



# The crew of the sun bark in the Amduat

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## **The crew of the sun bark in the Amduat**

The Amduat is one of the most important Netherworld Books which was recorded in various kinds of Ancient Egyptian sources since the beginning of the 18th dynasty, especially the walls of the royal tombs. The main theme of the Amduat is the journey of the sun god through the underworld where the solar bark and its crew is the central scene of the journey. The study focuses on finding the reasons of choosing the crew's members who manage the sun bark's journey in the Amduat. It also aims at illustrating the functions and responsibilities of each crew member. Following a historical approach, the study analyzes the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts as the most important documents before the New Kingdom, and proceeding to the inscriptions and writings of the monuments which contain portrayals and inscriptions of the Amduat in the New Kingdom. Furthermore, it sheds some light on the solar cycle's main features and primary aspects, and tries to scrutinize the date, meaning, and symbolisms of the Amduat and its indications in the earlier sources.

## **Die Mannschaft der Sonnenbarke im Amduat**

Das Amduat ist eines der wichtigsten altägyptischen Unterweltbücher, das seit dem Anfang der 18. Dynastie durch zahlreiche Textzeugen auf unterschiedlichen Schrifträgern, insbesondere aber auf den Wänden der königlichen Gräber, überliefert ist. Die vorliegende Untersuchung gilt der Darstellung der Mannschaft der Sonnenbarke im Amduat. Sie konzentriert sich darauf, die Funktionen und Zuständigkeiten der einzelnen Mannschaftsmitglieder darzulegen und festzustellen, aus welchen Gründen sie jeweils für diese ausgewählt wurden. Des Weiteren werden die hauptsächlichen Aspekte und Phasen des Sonnenzyklus ermittelt. Außerdem wird das Entstehungsdatum des Amduat bestimmt und seine Struktur, sein Bedeutungs- und sein Symbolgehalt untersucht. Dabei wird auch auf die Vorgeschichte und historische Entwicklung des Amduat eingegangen, beginnend mit den Vorläuferfassungen einzelner Sprüche in den Pyramiden- und den Sargtexten als den bedeutendsten Texten vor dem Neuen Reich bis hin zu Inschriften und Darstellungen des Neuen Reiches, in denen sich einzelne Szenen und Sprüche aus dem Amduat finden.





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## 0 Introduction

In the Old Kingdom, the ancient Egyptians created a diverse array of funerary rituals, magical spells, hymns, and petitions, emphasising the deceased's dependence on the solar journey for his successful crossing and resurrection.<sup>1</sup> The sun god's crew exists since the PT, the earliest surviving corpus to expound the solar journey. Nevertheless, the PT did not quantify a specific number of deities who occupy the solar bark or assist in navigating the god's vessel. In the Middle Kingdom, the CT declares the number of the crew members (see Doc. 59). In the New Kingdom, the Netherworld Books' composers developed the texts and images of the PT and CT that explain the internal events of the sun's journey, in particular, the image of the solar bark in which the sun god travels with his entourage through the twelve hours of the night.

The previous studies tried to establish a connection between the Amduat and the earlier sources through the treatises' grammar, the development of the images, and the architectural similarities (see 1.2.2). Nevertheless, they did not devote a separate study to the functions and responsibilities of the divine groups of the Amduat, which are already mentioned in the PT, the CT, and the BD, which adopts many CT spells and provides them with vignettes and illustrations. The present work examines the connection between the earlier sources and the Amduat based on the solar bark's crew. It tries to prove that the theology encapsulated within the Amduat has its roots in the PT and CT. The Amduat and the other Netherworld Books' importance is not limited to their contributions toward a better understanding of the netherworld's scientific characterisations. The Netherworld Books also provide a wealth of information as compositions of cosmographic significance, funerary religion, and "instructional" literature.<sup>2</sup> The study also aims to increase our knowledge of the solar bark's crew and their roles before and after the appearance of the Amduat. Although the PT lack paratextual information such as vignettes, the association of particular spells with specific locations within the pyramid chambers gives a spatial orientation to the spells,<sup>3</sup> providing a connection between these early sources and the later Netherworld Books. Furthermore, the Book of Two Ways of the Middle Kingdom is the earliest map of the netherworld's routes, and the BD parallels many CTs and provides them with vignettes. The two compositions' approach may represent a direct predecessor upon which the Underworld Books' composers chose to base these extensive corpora.<sup>4</sup> The hieroglyphic copies and photographs in the present study show a group of collated spells of the solar crew and related texts. However, a study of the textual transmission or a parallel edition of the text is beyond the scope of the present work, of which the main objective is to clarify the following points:

- 1- To examine the solar cycle's main features and phases and illustrate the crew's functions and responsibilities in each phase.

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<sup>1</sup> Allen, *AEPT*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Hornung, *Lebenslehren*, 217-224; Abt and Hornung, *Knowledge for the Afterlife*; Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*; Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch*.

<sup>3</sup> See Allen, in *Fs Leclant* 1, 5-28; id., *AEPT*, 8-12. Although this theory is not unanimously accepted (Hays, in: BIFAO 109, 195-220), the relationship of architecture to text and the fact that the texts can be concerned with purpose or function are not completely denied, cf. Smith, *Following Osiris*, 165.

<sup>4</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 2-3.

- 2- To place the location of the Duat temporally and spatially within the solar cycle in the sources.
- 3- To define the date, meaning, functions, elements, and symbolisms of the Amduat and its indications in the earlier sources.
- 4- To understand the reasons behind the choice of particular crew members to manage the sun god's journey and reveal the reasons for specific deities' appearance in particular hours.
- 5- To discuss the scholars' different approaches to the language, texts, and epistemology of the selected documents.

### Methodology and layout

Discerning parallels between the earlier sources and the Amduat is among the most important current approaches to studying this topic. Thus, the collected documents are selected to show the roles and functions of the divine crew in the solar cycle, the crew which appears throughout the PT, CT, BD, and the Amduat, both on board and not. I believe that it is impossible to determine a final reading of the Amduat, but I will provide a documentation of my interpretation in the catalogue of documents. It lies in the nature of those texts to be open to varying interpretations. Furthermore, giving the sources here shows the reading the present author has applied to the texts to allow the reader to follow. The excerpted texts of the PT, CT, BD, and the Amduat have been copied from each composition's most complete versions, i.e., the versions which have no breaks or fragments. Due to the many variants in the Book of Two Ways and the poor condition of the witnesses, I have followed the archetypal method of writing its texts. Thus, frequently using more than one witness in the same excerpt.

For the Amduat sources, the versions given here do not follow a single witness of the Amduat but draw primarily upon the texts in the tombs of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II with reconstructions from the other sources. Insertions describing the actions of the king are sometimes included here.<sup>5</sup> The tomb of Thutmosis III is unique, including three versions of the Amduat. Amenhotep II also utilised all twelve hours in his sarcophagus chamber. In Amenhotep II, some of the gods' names are omitted and replaced by *gmj-wš* "found missing."<sup>6</sup> The bark's image and some crew members are missing in the tombs of Tutankhamun and Ay.<sup>7</sup> Important among the early copies of the Amduat is the copy from a nonroyal tomb, the copy of User, a person who placed himself among the solar bark crew in all twelve hours of the night.<sup>8</sup> In the New Kingdom royal tombs, the texts of the Amduat were written in the retrograde system, either in lines or columns. In the catalogue of sources, the documents will only be written in lines. Here, I follow the same retrograde system of the New Kingdom in writing

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<sup>5</sup> See Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 23-25. For the construction of the texts and their distribution within the scenes of the hours, see Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 103-160.









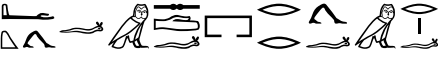












<sup>6</sup> *Gmj-wš* "found missing" is an Egyptian expression corresponding to the Latin *lacuna*. The *gmj-wš* should be distinguished from intentional empty spaces in the text, which have many functions, including a symbolic representation of the enemy as nonexistent. Rößler-Köhler, in: ASAE 70, 384 ff. Cf. Altenmüller, in: JEOL 20, 32; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 129, 130, n. 3. Also, "the style of the earlier sources recalls an aged papyrus manuscript, this is supposed to be a device to indicate damage to a papyrus scroll in actual manuscripts," Quirke, in O'Connor, eds., *Mysterious Lands*, 178.

<sup>7</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 128-129.

the lines, while in rows,<sup>9</sup> the signs of the words appear one above the other. Thus, I followed the normal system and I mimic the hieroglyphs in starting from left to right. Displaying the text in lines by maintaining the system poses particular challenges.

For example:

Hornung edition			Writing system of the present study	
1-	2-	3-	1-	 <i>hw rḥ&lt;.w&gt; m h3&lt;.w&gt; m wr r hr.t-ntr wj3</i> “He who knows (it), is one who descends as a great one.”
			2-	 <i>m hfty.w R<sup>c</sup> r h3w nw.t tn</i> “Into the enemies of Re in the vicinity of this region.”
			3-	 <i>m r3=f</i> “When he enters its tail, and comes out from its mouth.”
				
				
				
				

Furthermore, instead of using the cursive hieroglyphic signs such as , , and others, I used the original hieroglyphic signs.

The excerpted texts enable new interpretations of certain passages and scenes and present some of the first detailed commentaries about the bark’s crew in the Duat. The comprehensive textual analysis provides the basis for the overall interpretation of the Amduat and the early compositions. In the present work, a chapter is dedicated to the PT, CT, and BD. The sources proceed in the order in which the texts appear in the publications of Sethe (PT), De Buck (CT), and Hornung (Amduat). In the BD, I followed the numbering system of Naville. The excerpts of the Amduat fill a separate chapter that examines the roles of the solar entourage in the nocturnal journey and provides the first description of the divine crew in the first extant copy of an Underworld Book. The third chapter is an overview dedicated to describing the different conceptions of the netherworld (dating, layout, function, and topography), the crew of the solar bark in the other Netherworld Books, and their description of the solar vessel.

The texts and scenes are translated and commented on in the part with the sources. References to the published copies of the text and the closest parallel text in the other sources are placed in the title of each new document. The textual notes include lexicographical, grammatical, and theological discussions of the text. Furthermore, throughout the chapters’ commentary and interpretations,

<sup>9</sup> The most relevant edition of the Amduat is that of Erik Hornung (Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, II), which also contains a list of older arrangements. It reproduces the complete version from the tomb of Amenhotep II. This solution was not entirely satisfactory, as it made the continuous reading of individual versions difficult, so a synoptic text edition was submitted later (Hornung, *TZA* I, II, III). A translation of the entire Amduat can be found, for example, in Silvia Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 1-209 and David Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*. The most recent translation of the Amduat appeared in 2018 by John Coleman Darnell and Colleen Manassa Darnell, *The Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books*, 137-248.



references are made to the information provided by the Late Period Netherworld Books. The textual and pictorial sections of the Amduat are one of the strongest links between the ancient Egyptian mindsets before the New Kingdom and later.

## 1 The Duat

### 1.1.1 Pyramid Texts

The signs “determining” the word “Duat”<sup>10</sup> in the PT and CT may offer insights into the Duat’s nature as it was envisioned in those periods.<sup>11</sup> The three signs most often used to determine the word “Duat” in the PT were the star (★, ⊕) and the sign of the sky ⇐.<sup>12</sup> The signs of the stars indicate that the Duat belongs to a celestial domain, within which the stars moved along their cosmic cycles.<sup>13</sup> The sign of the sky is a further indication that the destiny of the afterlife was indeed a celestial one. Also, the sky can be portrayed as the goddess Nut’s body, who conceives the sun god each night and gives birth to him again in the morning. In the PT, “she appears in the role of the mother of the king, of the stars, and other celestial beings, to which she also gives birth and which travel along her body in their barks.”<sup>14</sup> The sign ⇐ occurs once, beside the star sign (Pyr. § 882c – version M), and would seem to point to the watery nature of the sky.<sup>15</sup> The use of ~~𓆎~~ alludes to a larger theological concept that the Duat was also conceived as a path towards rejuvenation.<sup>16</sup> In addition to its spatial meaning as a cosmic region, the Duat is also the morning time of twilight or is the dawn itself.<sup>17</sup> The king enters the Duat (as an area of dawn) to be conceived and reborn as the dawn swallows the stars or makes them disappear, apparently a reference to the stars becoming invisible at sunrise.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, the Duat in the PT is a celestial realm, in which the king participates in the cycles of the sun god and the stars across the sky.

However, the PT produce another image of the Duat’s nature, the chthonic Duat, where the annotations describe the Duat as an area whose gateway is identified with that of the earth. There, the passage designates the king as “this *Akb* who comes forth from the Duat, N who comes forth from Geb.”<sup>19</sup> The king is also still identified with Osiris in the Duat when the latter is regarded as the earth or Geb.<sup>20</sup> This suggests that the Duat in the PT is probably a place beneath the earth where Osiris’ realm exists or a region in the sky extending from its southeast side to its northwest area.<sup>21</sup> The celestial

<sup>10</sup> The word Duat is a very common term in Egyptology. It has three different orthographic writings (*d3*, *d3.t*, *dw3.t*), which are considered variants to the same phonologic entity. Zago, in: JARCE 54, 203, n. 2, cf. Allen, *Cosmology*, 21-22.

<sup>11</sup> Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 205.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Pyr. §§ 5b, 8d, 148a, 151a, 257c, 282a, 390b, 715b, 882c, 1014a, 1146c, 1152c, 1172b, 1717a, 1959a, 1986b, 2084a.

<sup>13</sup> Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 205.

<sup>14</sup> Zago, in: JARCE 54, 207. This notion is confirmed later in the New Kingdom Books of the Sky where the Duat is located within the body of the goddess. See, e.g., Roulin, *LdN* I, 341-342, II, pl. XX.

<sup>15</sup> Allen, *Genesis*, 5. The nature of this waterway in the sky is implicit in the verbs that are used to describe the journey across it: *nmj* “traverse,” *hnz* “travel,” *hnj* “row,” and *d3j* “cross.” Allen, *Cosmology*, 17, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Pyr. § 1434c, version P; Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 209, cf. Beaux, in: BIFAO 94, 4, n. 36.

<sup>17</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* I, 49-52; Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte*, 96.

<sup>18</sup> Beaux, in: BIFAO 94, 5 f.

<sup>19</sup> Pyr. § 1986a-b.

<sup>20</sup> Pyr. § 1013-1014, cf. Faulkner, *AEPT*, 170, 171 with note 2.

<sup>21</sup> Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung*, 125; Beaux, in: BIFAO 94, 6, cf. Allen, *Cosmology*, 23-24.

and chthonic nature of the Duat in the PT is evident, and it shows the deceased's relationship with Re and Osiris.<sup>22</sup> The existence of the solar and Osirian traditions in the PT proves that Re and Osiris control the destiny of the deceased's life in the hereafter, though they are not yet unified.<sup>23</sup> Their nocturnal union may be dated back to the PT (see 1.2.2) and may represent the New Kingdom Netherworld Books' central theme.

### 1.1.2 Coffin Texts

The word Duat in the CT is most often determined by the signs of the stars accompanied by the sign  $\square$ ,<sup>24</sup> which never appears in the earlier texts.<sup>25</sup> Using such a determinative pointing to a walled enclosed space, the CT composers may have meant to introduce the idea that the Duat is a more confined and circumscribed area within the cosmos. The use of  $\square$  in association with the word Duat can also suggest that this was seen as a place where one could inhabit, particularly the gods and the deceased. Accordingly, the *dw3.ty.w* "those of the Duat" (or "the inhabitants of the netherworld") is also at times given this determinative,<sup>26</sup> as these beings have their residence in the Duat.<sup>27</sup> Another meaning lies behind the use of  $\square$ . From the PT onwards, Nut is the celestial vault. She was believed to conceive the sun each night and give birth again each morning as the sun god's vessel and the container of the solar journey. Nut could be identified with the coffin, the sarcophagus, and the tomb in which the deceased's body lies (e.g., Pyr. § 616d-f).<sup>28</sup> With the coffin being, "as a whole, a ritual element that effectively transformed death into (new) life, the placement of the body within it can be conceived of as a return to the maternal womb."<sup>29</sup> Thus, the king's reconstitution (rebirth and rejuvenation of the deceased) occurs symbolically in Nut's womb and the sky at the same time.<sup>30</sup>

According to Allen, Nut's name may be identical with the word *nw.t*, meaning "ball" or "oval," which appears in the Book of the Amduat.<sup>31</sup> It is the variant determinative  $\equiv$  which would seem to be symbolically associated with her, according to which her body could be seen as a "pre-birth environment."<sup>32</sup> Thus, the Duat can lie in the sky or somewhere between the earth and the horizon, and it may even be located in Nut's womb, which harbours the sun and the stars and offers a place of regeneration through rebirth (see above).<sup>33</sup> The goddess Nut is given prominence by her dual nature

<sup>22</sup> Zago, in: JARCE 54, 204.

<sup>23</sup> Zago, in: JARCE 54, 205, n. 11. For the Osirian nature of the Duat, see Breasted, *Religion*, passim. On the celestial Duat, see Sethe, *Komm.* 49-52, 284. On the dual nature of the Duat, see Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 281-307, cf. Altenmüller, *Pyramidentexte*, in LÄ V, 17-18; Rößler-Köhler, *Jenseitsvorstellungen*, in LÄ III, 253; Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 1-11.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., CT I 54b (B1P); II 119i (S1C), 121d (pGardiner III); CT V 114f (T1C).

<sup>25</sup> Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 212.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. CT III, 302g (Sp. 236); V, 332a (Sp. 458).

<sup>27</sup> Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 214. For further discussion on the determinatives used to designate the term "Duat," see id., in: JARCE 54, 212-217.

<sup>28</sup> Allen, *Cosmology*, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 220-227.

<sup>30</sup> Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 215.

<sup>31</sup> In the fifth hour of the Amduat, the *nw.t* oval holds the body of Sokar, with whom the sun is united in the depths of the underworld before being reborn at dawn. See also the *nw.t* oval as the shape of the whole Duat in the upper register of the tenth hour (fig. 75).

<sup>32</sup> Billing, *Nut*, 11.

<sup>33</sup> Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 215.

representing the two extremes of death and life.<sup>34</sup> The Amduat links her with the Duat by equating the sun god's journey through the underworld with a journey through her body.<sup>35</sup> The Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom describe the Duat as a subterranean region, and the Books of the Sky portray it as a regenerative hidden space within the body of Nut.<sup>36</sup>

Contrary to the previous assumptions, a recent research has revealed that the transmission of the PT into the Middle Kingdom happened alongside the transmission of the CT, which resulted in these two corpora sharing many similarities.<sup>37</sup> However, the CT introduce new concepts regarding the Duat, for instance, the dangers awaiting the deceased within or beneath the earth and demons inhabiting it, especially the giant serpent Apophis, the enemy of the sun god, and the gates blocking the passages of the underworld.<sup>38</sup> The chthonic and celestial realms appear in the Book of Two Ways,<sup>39</sup> the first Egyptian cosmography representing the hereafter and its zigzagging paths on land and on water, and the notions of Rosetau (*r3-st3w*) and Imhet (*jmḥ.t*) are properly structured for the first time.<sup>40</sup> According to the contexts, the two places are imagined as chthonic domains. In the Amduat, Imhet is the deepest part of the netherworld in the fourth and fifth hours, the mysterious cavern of Sokar, where Re's rebirth occurs (see 3.4.4, 3.5.5). The CT also show the Duat as part of the sky or indicate a close relationship between these two domains.<sup>41</sup> This double use of the word is perhaps the reason behind creating an Upper Duat and a Lower Duat, which is also first attested in the CT.<sup>42</sup> Thus, the Upper Duat may be located in a cosmic region containing a path across the lower sky, while the Lower Duat may be the deepest part of the chthonic netherworld.<sup>43</sup>

The PT and CT spells evoke different aspects such as the stars, the winding waterways, the deceased's enemies, Nut as a vehicle of the solar birth, the primeval ocean Nun as a location in the heavens and underground,<sup>44</sup> and even the names of the netherworld areas. All of these features allow identification with the nature of the Duat in the Amduat. The Duat in the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom is a development of the Duat's concept within the funerary beliefs attested in the PT and CT. The aim

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<sup>34</sup> Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 215, n. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 194-195. The PT also link Nut and the Duat as the abode of the deceased. In Pyr. 802a-c, it reads: "You have traversed the Winding Waterway in the north of the sky as a star crossing the sea beneath the belly of Nut, where the Duat grasped your hand to the place where Orion is."

<sup>36</sup> Roberson, in Weeks and Wilkinson, *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, 316-362.

<sup>37</sup> Morales, *The Transmission of the PT into the Middle Kingdom*, passim, cf. Mathieu, in Bickel and Mathieu, eds., *Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages*, 247-262. See also Zago, in: JARCE 54, 208-209.

<sup>38</sup> Zago, in: JARCE 54, 209-210.

<sup>39</sup> "The first steps towards longer funerary compositions were advanced from the Book of Two Ways. The idea of depicting the possibility of a safe journey through the underworld and towards rebirth and regeneration is one of the key elements of the Amduat and may have been one of the main reasons for composing the funerary guides of the New Kingdom." Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 29. Cf. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 290-300.

<sup>40</sup> See Zago, in: JARCE 54, 209 with note 55, cf. Awadallah, in Peterková Hloučková and others, *Current Research in Egyptology 2018*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Zago, in: JARCE 54, 209.

<sup>42</sup> Zago, in: JARCE 54, 210 with note 64.

<sup>43</sup> Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 379. For an alternative imagination of the Upper and Lower Duat, see Leitz, in: ZÄS 116, 41-57; Bickel, in Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 56.

<sup>44</sup> See Zago, in: JARCE 54, 208, 213 with note 56.

of both the PT and the CT is the successful “*Akb*-ification”<sup>45</sup> or “transfiguration” of the deceased and his or her rebirth in the netherworld, which is reflected in the term *s3h* used to label funerary texts.<sup>46</sup> This “*Akb*-making” is extensively used in the Amduat and the Book of Gates to express the process of transfiguration.

Furthermore, the PT emphasise the deceased king’s victorious crossing without a detailed depiction of a connected solar journey through a topographically consistent netherworld.<sup>47</sup> The CT developed the netherworld’s topographical aspects, for instance, in the detailed maps of the Book of Two Ways. However, both sources provide certain elements and aspects that, in many ways, presage the major themes of the Netherworld Books.

### 1.1.3 The conception of the Duat in the Amduat

The Amduat is distinguished from the PT and CT by its extensive integration of text and image. It shows the details of the solar journey through the twelve hours of the night, representing the different regions of the underworld. The Amduat is more specific than the PT and CT in describing the journey’s location, time, and course: the descent into the western horizon, the topography, the population of the different hours, the combat with the serpent Apophis and the punishment of the enemies, and finally, the ascent into the eastern horizon. Furthermore, the sun god is the focus of the Amduat, although Osiris is present in all hours of the night; the union of Re and Osiris enables the sun god’s rebirth and the eternal nature of the solar cycle (see 3.6.2). The ram-headed sun god visits the corpse of Osiris and then flies up to heaven. The corpse of Osiris remains in the earth (see 3.3.1.2). Thus, the corpse of Osiris works to rejuvenate the sun god and fuels the solar cycle (see 3.12.7).

Because the netherworld in the Amduat is a chthonic dark realm, the sun god communicates with the netherworld inhabitants through speech and light. The means of illumination could be the eyes (see 3.1.3, 3.2.1.6, 3.12.2), the solar disc (see 3.11.3.1), or even the solar bark (see 3.4.2). Moreover, the chthonic deities play a significant role in the Amduat. The double lion Aker surrounds the egg of Sokar and guards the unification of Re and Osiris (see fig. 48). Nun as the primordial water participates in the rebirth of the sun god from his own corpse (see, e.g., 3.5.2). Geb also appears with other members of the Ennead in the Amduat’s fifth hour as a personification of the netherworld realm.<sup>48</sup>

The New Kingdom royal tomb functions as a model of the underworld realm. Each element can be understood to support the solar resurrection. The Amduat makes the burial chamber a “hidden chamber” where the solar regeneration takes place.<sup>49</sup> This regeneration process occurs in a defined frame of space and time.<sup>50</sup> In the following sections from 1.4 to 1.9, the dating of the Amduat, its function, and topography will explain how the Amduat is an extension of the PT and CT concepts, which were recreated and become more organised in the New Kingdom. Despite the different focus

<sup>45</sup> For this term, see Zago, in: JARCE 54, 211.

<sup>46</sup> Zago, in: JARCE 54, 212; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 37. For further discussion of the term *s3h* in PT and CT, see Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 13-37. For a thorough discussion of the terms *s3h* in the New Kingdom Netherworld’s Books, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 30, passim

<sup>47</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 1.

<sup>48</sup> See also Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 14-15. For Geb in the solar bark, see 1.4.2.17.

<sup>49</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 41-42

<sup>50</sup> See Hegenbart-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*.

and intention of the PT, CT, and BD (see 1.2.1), the Amduat collects the main ideas of these older sources and puts them into one solid unit: the benefits of being in the company of Re and Osiris, the presence of the solar bark as a locomotive vessel of the journey, repeated threats of the enemies, the assistants of the sun god, the crew of the solar bark, involving the king in the daily course of the sun, and the triumphant appearance of the sun god in the eastern horizon.

## 1.2 The Amduat

### 1.2.1 The transmission history of the Amduat

During the 18th Dynasty, the Amduat was the exclusive decoration on the royal burial chamber walls (except for Horemheb). In the Ramesside Period (19th and 20th Dynasties), it still belongs to the royal tombs' standard decoration (except Ramesses I), alongside other books of the netherworld.<sup>51</sup> The tradition of the royal New Kingdom copies of the Amduat begins with some fragments belonging to the tomb of Thutmosis I (KV38) and ends with the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV6). The Amduat exists in 17 other tombs, with additional excerpts appearing on the third shrine of Tutankhamun and the sarcophagi of Merenptah and Ramesses III.<sup>52</sup> The earliest example of the Amduat was a painted blocks in the tomb of Hatshepsut (KV20), with two small fragments from KV38.<sup>53</sup> Mauric-Barberio dates this example to the time of Hatshepsut.<sup>54</sup> Romer implies that Thutmosis III is the first one who uses the Amduat inside his burial. Incorporating the Amduat within the burial chamber of Thutmosis I's tomb must be at least contemporary with the reign of Thutmosis III.<sup>55</sup> A recent analysis of the Amduat limestone fragments from Thutmosis I's and Hatshepsut's tombs suggests that these fragments together form one unit. All the fragments originate from only one tomb, namely the tomb of Thutmosis I, and neither from two different tombs nor from different reigns.<sup>56</sup>

The Amduat is represented in 16 out of 23 royal tombs. In the tombs of Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II, and Amenhotep III, complete versions of the text and the accompanying illustrations are preserved. The only non-royal person in the New Kingdom who used the Amduat for his tomb is the vizier Useramun, who was in office under Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III. The burial chamber of Useramun's tomb contains both the long and short versions of the Amduat.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the long, illustrated version of the Amduat, a short version without illustrations is found in the tombs.<sup>58</sup> It is a sort of

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<sup>51</sup> Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 3. This was the case in the tombs of Seti I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, Seti II, Siptah, Ramesses III, Ramesses V/VI, and Ramesses IX, although it was no longer confined to the burial chamber as it had been in the 18th Dynasty.

<sup>52</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 40-41, cf. Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 128.

<sup>53</sup> Two fragments from the eighth and fifth hours of the Amduat were found in KV38 and published by Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois: CG 24990C*. See also Roehrig, *Building Activities*, 258, n. 87.

<sup>54</sup> Mauric-Barberio, in: BIFAO 101, 334.

<sup>55</sup> Romer, in: JEA 60, 119-133. For the identification of KV38 with the tomb of Thutmosis III, see Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 16 with note 40.

<sup>56</sup> Abdel Ghany, in: ZÄS 143, 5-21.

<sup>57</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 129. Niwiński and Abitz suggest the possibility that the non-royal use of the Amduat may have been regarded as illegal or even banned by royal decree. Niwiński, *Theban Funerary Papyri*, 235; Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 213, n. 429.

<sup>58</sup> This version, known as the "abrégée," was published by Gustave Jéquier at the end of the 19th century, based on papyri of the 21st Dynasty (Jéquier, *Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès*, 1894), and later in the editions by Hornung, *Das Amduat III*, 1967, and TzA III, 1994.

abstract or summary, listing significant names and adding further explanations on the book's usefulness. Only Thutmose III, in the upper pillared hall (the antechamber) of his tomb, added, as a third version, 741 deities from the Amduat as a catalogue,<sup>59</sup> but with just their names as the text and the enemies excluded.<sup>60</sup> Stars are included to express the desired ascent of the *Ba*-soul to the eastern horizon.<sup>61</sup> In this highly elaborate catalogue, each deity is assigned a small rectangle in which a name represents him.

The tombs of Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III also have all twelve hours from the long and short versions of the Amduat. However, they placed the hours consecutively around their burial chambers, ignoring the directions within the text itself, as it had been done within the tomb of Thutmose III.<sup>62</sup> After the reign of Akhenaten, the eminence of the Amduat within the royal tombs diminishes. Tutankhamun and Ay integrate only excerpts from the first hour in their burial chambers. Both tombs have the two figures of Osiris worshipping a scarab within a bark, and five members from the solar bark are depicted outside of the bark itself, a feature found only in the catalogue of Thutmose III.<sup>63</sup> The third shrine that surrounded the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun incorporates incomplete excerpts from the second and sixth hours. The burial chambers of Horemheb and Ramesses I replace the Amduat with the Book of Gates.<sup>64</sup>

In the 19th Dynasty, Seti I's tomb breaks up the previous decorative structures by distributing the hours of the Amduat throughout the rooms and corridors of the tomb.<sup>65</sup> The tomb of Seti I places the fourth and fifth hours in the third corridor (corridor C) of the tomb,<sup>66</sup> a feature present in all following 19th Dynasty tombs (except for the tomb of Tawosret/Sethnakht) and the tomb of Ramesses III. From the reign of Ramesses IV onwards,<sup>67</sup> most 20th Dynasty royal tombs either use short excerpts from the Amduat or omit the book entirely. The tomb of Ramesses VI is a remarkable exception where the Amduat, except for the twelfth hour, occupies the fourth and fifth corridors of the tomb. The tomb of Ramesses IX returns to the tradition of placing the Amduat in the third corridor but chooses the second and third hours rather than the fourth and fifth that previously occupied that position.<sup>68</sup>

After the end of the New Kingdom, ca. 1070 B.C, the Amduat was copied onto papyri and coffins of private individuals.<sup>69</sup> The Third Intermediate Period Amduat papyri provide many copies of the

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<sup>59</sup> The main edition of the catalogue is Bucher, *Tombe de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pls. 14-22.

<sup>60</sup> For the taxonomy of this catalogue and the relationship between its deities and the demons, see Manassa, in: ARG 14, 49-58.

<sup>61</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 7.

<sup>62</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 128.

<sup>63</sup> Manassa, in: ARG 14, 52.

<sup>64</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 40-41, cf. Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 129.

<sup>65</sup> Barta, in: BiOr 31, 197-201.

<sup>66</sup> Hornung and Burton, *Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I*, 16-18.

<sup>67</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 129. Piankoff comments on the Amduat in the tomb of Ramesses VI as follows: "This version is not a very good one. Moreover, it is very abridged, and the registers of divisions 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 are hopelessly intermixed." Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 229. For the selected parts of the Amduat in the tomb of Ramesses VI, see Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration*, 99-110.

<sup>68</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 129, cf. Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 18-19.

<sup>69</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, IX; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 7. The "democratisation model" has been challenged by Smith, *Democratization of the Afterlife*; Hays, in Strudwick and Strudwick, eds., *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives*, 115-130.

Amduat containing the last four hours. The papyri from the Cairo Museum suggest that the *Vorlage* of those later papyri is a copy of Amenhotep III's version.<sup>70</sup> The text has a very long tradition, and its royal privilege disappears after the Third Intermediate Period—the youngest copies date to the third century A.D.<sup>71</sup> Parts of the Amduat appear in the 22nd Dynasty tombs at Tanis where Room 2 includes the twelfth hour of Amduat.<sup>72</sup>

In the 26th Dynasty, the Amduat is present in the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33), which contains a complete copy of the Amduat.<sup>73</sup> Within the Theban Necropolis, the tomb of Mutirdis (TT 410) includes parts of the twelfth hour. Another two 26th Dynasty tombs contain images from the Amduat: Panehsi (excerpts from the ninth hour)<sup>74</sup> and blocks from an anonymous tomb.<sup>75</sup> In the 30th Dynasty, the Amduat appears prominently in the decorative schemes of the large stone sarcophagi; the Late Period sarcophagus combines excerpts from two or more New Kingdom Underworld Books.<sup>76</sup>

### 1.2.2 Dating the Amduat

According to the PT and CT, the sun god travels in his bark through the sky during the day, enters the underworld in the west each evening, and passes through it during the night. This conception becomes prominent in the New Kingdom when it is illustrated in the Amduat and other Netherworld Books, texts, and images that depict the sun's nocturnal journey through the regions and paths of the Duat.<sup>77</sup> As a result, some identify it as an invention of that time.<sup>78</sup> Others, however, believe that the Amduat was composed before the New Kingdom, in the Middle Kingdom, or even earlier,<sup>79</sup> although no copies of any older than the 18th Dynasty have ever come to light.<sup>80</sup> The dating of the Netherworld Books depends on the multiple aspects of the corpora, starting with the question of the origin of the composition, to the linguistic and grammar of the texts, to the visual and textual development of the content.<sup>81</sup>

For instance, Grapow suggests that the Amduat was composed of several components of differing dates; he considers the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat to be the oldest sections of the composition as some words were mentioned, as places, in the fourth and fifth hours, which are already

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<sup>70</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 130. The main sources of the later papyri are Sadek, *Contribution*, 1985; Niwiński, *Theban funerary papyri*, 1989. On the Amduat and the other Netherworld Books from the Third Intermediate Period to the Late Period, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Netherworld*, 438-441.

<sup>71</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 10.

<sup>72</sup> Roulin, in Brissaud and Zivie-Coche, eds., *Tanis*, 216-49.

<sup>73</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 68.

<sup>74</sup> El-Sawi and Gomaa, *Das Grab des Panehsi*.

<sup>75</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 130, with note 6, 131. Cf. Régen, in: BIFAO 120, 357-391.

<sup>76</sup> For the Amduat and the other Netherworld Books from the Third Intermediate Period to the Late Period, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 438-445, cf. Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 41-42.

<sup>77</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 245.

<sup>78</sup> E.g., Quack, who dates most of the Underworld Books to the Old Kingdom (Quack, in: BibOr 57, 547-558; id., in: WdO 28, 177-181; id., in Falk, ed., *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie*, 29.), see also Klotz, in: BiOr 68, 490.

<sup>79</sup> E.g., Hornung, *Jenseitsbücher*, 40, cf. Awadallah, in Peterková Hlouchová and others, *Current Research in Egyptology 2018*, 1-2.

<sup>80</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 245.

<sup>81</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 49.

attested in the Book of Two Ways.<sup>82</sup> Altenmüller has suggested that the Amduat is a Middle Kingdom composition based on a Heliopolitan tradition.<sup>83</sup> Hornung dates the Amduat to the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>84</sup> Wente has stated “certain passages in the Amduat suggest that it had a larger usage than the New Kingdom royal tomb,” he suggests that some of the royal Netherworld Books may date to the Middle Kingdom or First Intermediate Period.<sup>85</sup> He puts forth an argument that the earlier text, at least, must have originally been used by the living in non-funerary contexts and, therefore, proposes its earliest existence before the New Kingdom royal tombs.<sup>86</sup> Assmann identifies it as a pre-New Kingdom tradition.<sup>87</sup> Baumann, in his study of the verbal system in the Underworld Books, points out that the Underworld Books’ grammar cannot be used to definitively prove the original date of a composition.<sup>88</sup> However, in a study of the Book of Nut, von Lieven suggests that most of the texts from that composition date to the Old Kingdom, based on the apparent similarities with the older Egyptian grammar, orthography, and glossary.<sup>89</sup> In his abstract, Jansen-Winkeln says: “It is true that there are many words and forms that look very ancient, and some of them may indeed have their origin in old Egyptian texts. But, most of these elements are different in certain aspects (writing, syntax, or frequency) from those found in texts genuinely from the Old Kingdom. The more likely conclusion is that most of them have been adopted to make the texts of the Amduat look as if they had been composed in very ancient times.”<sup>90</sup>

Werning has examined the orthography and vocabulary in some detail. His linguistic arguments brought about the result that there are some features indicating an Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom or an early New Kingdom date. However, their presence in a text cannot be used to prove that it dates from an earlier period.<sup>91</sup> He interprets:

“The authors (of the New Kingdom Netherworld Books) did not object to the modern syntax; they did not try to perfectly, authentically mirror an older chronolect. The traditional morphology of its constituents was sufficient to give the construction as a whole a tradition flavor – at least enough so as not to seriously undermine the impression of traditional, elevated language evoked by the overall context. ..., a dating of at least Amduat, Litany, Gates, Caverns, Earth, and the enigmatic<sup>92</sup> Netherworld Books in their attested wording into the New Kingdom is therefore plausible.”<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Grapow, in: ZÄS 72, 34-35.

<sup>83</sup> Altenmüller, in: JEOL 20, 27-42.

<sup>84</sup> Hornung, *Umb*, 17-18.

<sup>85</sup> Wente, in: JNES 41, 156.

<sup>86</sup> Wente, in: JNES 41, 161-179.

<sup>87</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 13-14.

<sup>88</sup> Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, 452-453, cf. Roberson, *The Awakening of Osiris*, 122-123.

<sup>89</sup> Von Lieven, *Carlsberg Papyri 8 I*, 251-254 and passim.

<sup>90</sup> Jansen-Winkeln, in: JEA 98, 87-106, cf. Baumann, *Suffix Conjugation*, 452-453 with criticism and caveats regarding Baumann’s conclusions in Jansen-Winkeln, in: SAK 32, 205-210.

<sup>91</sup> Werning, in Moers et al. (ed.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 272-274.

<sup>92</sup> The term “enigmatic” is not semantic because the text is not written in so-called “enigmatic writing.” For many scholars, the text is written in “normal writing” or abbreviated forms of writing. See Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, XI, n. 4; Binder, in: BACE 6, 30, n. 9. For an opposition of this interpretation, see Drioton, *La cryptographie égyptienne*, 16 ff.; Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 27; Richter, in: JARCE 44, 77, n. 18. See also Roberson, Klotz et al., *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom*.

<sup>93</sup> Werning, in Moers et al. (ed.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, 274.



Based on the present arguments, the fact that New Kingdom compositions have such similarities with the Old and Middle Kingdoms texts, or even the Second Intermediate Period, is evidence that the New Kingdom manuscripts maintain the traditions and thoughts of the earlier sources. Moreover, Roberson agrees with the recent studies, according to which the Netherworld compositions of the Underworld and Sky originated not long before their earliest respective attestations.<sup>94</sup> In her study about the pharaoh as part of the cosmic regeneration, Wiebach-Koepke assumes that the composition has features from earlier sources and has similarities with the Heliopolitan sun cult. However, this set of ideas and traditions would probably not be tangible before the time of the New Kingdom.<sup>95</sup>

Others use the archaeological features to give indirect evidence for the existence of the Amduat in the earlier sources. According to Rößler-Köhler, for instance, the winding corridors of Senwosret II's pyramids and those of some subsequent 12th Dynasty kings were constructed to imitate the particular region of the underworld associated with the god Sokar.<sup>96</sup> The Sokar cavern is found in the underworld's darkest area, a region over which the solar bark traverses. It can only be reached via the winding path depicted in the fourth hour. Rößler-Köhler connects this region of the underworld to the aforementioned winding corridors of the pyramids, a presumption also supported by the existence of a small room south of the burial chamber, a possible storage place for the king's crowns as represented in the Sokar cavern.<sup>97</sup> She also lists some grammatical elements and syntactic structures that were originally attested in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>98</sup>

Wegner thinks that Senwosret III's tomb at Abydos is also an Amduat-tomb and that it embodies core ideas expressed in the Amduat.<sup>99</sup> This tomb consists of two parts: the first part is a linear limestone masonry, and the second part is a half curve built of red quartzite. According to Wegner, the first part, which terminates in the white limestone well shaft, represents Osiris and his burial and corresponds to the cavern of Sokar in the fifth hour of the Amduat. The second part represents Re and his rebirth. The two parts meet at the burial chamber, representing the space where Re encounters Osiris in the Amduat. Therefore, the location of the "hidden" burial chamber, which follows shortly after the Osirian well shaft, may correspond to the *ḥ.t jmn.t* "hidden chamber" described in the Amduat's sixth hour. He adds that the curving corridor and the inner quartzite chamber form the night's curving edge (the semicircular border of the twelfth hour). Furthermore, the positioning of this part of the tomb under the current pyramidal peak and its orientation towards the east are kinds of symbolic pictures of the sun god's rebirth in the twelfth hour of the Amduat. Roberson accepts Wegner's hypothesis. He points out that the linear and curved axis might also correspond to the concepts of time associated with these two deities, namely *d.t* (linear, Osirian) and *nhḥ* (cyclical, solar).<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Roberson, *The Awakening of Osiris*, 124, n. 582.

<sup>95</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 147.

<sup>96</sup> Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 73-88.

<sup>97</sup> Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 84-85, Abb. 3, cf. Billing, in: SAK 40, 62-63.

<sup>98</sup> Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 91-96.

<sup>99</sup> Wegner, in Silverman, eds., *Archaism and Innovation*, 103-169, especially pp. 144-146.

<sup>100</sup> Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 20-21. In his study on apotropaic magic wands from the late Middle Kingdom, Roberson provides clear evidence for the early existence of the conception of the underworld as exemplified by the Amduat and related texts as well (id., in Silverman, eds., *Archaism and Innovation*, 427-445).

In all these theories, the arguments are somewhat speculative since neither the texts nor the monuments give us a direct clue of what they represent.<sup>101</sup> However, the PT provide evidence that the New Kingdom Netherworld Books' contents were created in the Old Kingdom, for instance, the idea of the solar journey of the sun god and his rebirth from Osiris. In PT 364,<sup>102</sup> the deceased will be *Akḥ* in his name of "Horizon from which Re emerges." It has been argued that this designation alludes to the sun god's rebirth from Osiris as he encounters him in the netherworld.<sup>103</sup> The two barks of the sun god, the day bark and the night bark, are mentioned in several PT and CT spells.<sup>104</sup> The presence of the two voyages of the sun god, through the sky and through the underworld, may not have been fully organised at this time; however, the concept of Re's nocturnal and diurnal journeys was known.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the PT provide many passages of the deceased's desire to travel in the solar bark and join its crew. The functions and responsibilities assigned to the crew who manage the solar bark's journey in the PT and CT are evidence that the Amduat and the other New Kingdom Netherworld Books are an illustration of the Old Kingdom ideas and concepts.<sup>106</sup> In a nutshell, the repetition of ideas between the PT and CT on the one hand, and the Amduat and other New Kingdom Netherworld Books on the other hand, does not give an accurate dating of each corpus, nor does it hint at which of them comes before the other. The transmission, development and reuse of ideas is well known in ancient Egypt in religion, language, art, and architecture.

### 1.2.3 Layout and arrangement of the Amduat

As mentioned above, the Book of the Amduat exists in three distinct versions: the long version, the short version, and the catalogue of deities. The long version includes elaborate illustrations and annotations distributed in three registers; the short one contains summaries of each hour's names and events. The catalogue incorporates depictions of every deity within each hour and their names.<sup>107</sup> The composition of the long version of the Amduat is divided into twelve sections that correspond to the night's twelve hours.<sup>108</sup> The scenes are divided into three registers, except for the first hour, where two solar barks travel in the double middle register (fig. 6). In a few cases, this split also applies to the second and third hours (fig. 7), where lack of space determines this arrangement, as Hornung also suspects for the first hour.<sup>109</sup> However, this register's division does not show any signs of a "space solution" (as it is the case for the second and third hours) but rather represents a deliberate exception in structure.<sup>110</sup> Only the fourth and fifth hours are not as routinely structured.<sup>111</sup> The entire

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Smith, *Following Osiris*, 247.

<sup>102</sup> Pyr. § 621b, cf. Faulkner, *AEPT*, 119.

<sup>103</sup> See Smith, *Following Osiris*, 247, cf. Barta, in: ZÄS 117, 89-93; Billing, *Nut*, 116.

<sup>104</sup> See, e.g., Altenmüller, in: SAK 32, 26-28.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Bickel, in Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 56.

<sup>106</sup> See Awadallah, in Peterková Hloučková and others, *Current Research in Egyptology 2018*, 1-16.

<sup>107</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, VII-XI; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 127-128.

<sup>108</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 43.

<sup>109</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 9 f., 42 f., 62.

<sup>110</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 186. For more discussion, see *ibid.*, 186 f.

<sup>111</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 10. For the fourth and fifth hours and their relation to some architectural elements, see Roehrig, *Building Activities*, 244; Abitz, *Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte*, 92 ff.; id., in: SAK 17, 18-21, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 105.

composition has a name<sup>112</sup> and a title, and each hour has an introduction and a closing text. Depictions and text belong together.<sup>113</sup> Overall, the Amduat is surrounded by a pink strip of sand, which refers to the sandy, earthy, or underground environment. Above this is a dark blue narrow strip with yellow stars, which represents the night sky. Then, the Kheker frieze (𐀀𐀀𐀀) closes the ceiling, which is also designed as a starry night sky and a kind of artistic border (fig. 6, 7).

“The writing is Middle Egyptian: the text is written in mirror image from right to left with frequent transposition of signs, and the procession of the figures is also in reverse order.”<sup>114</sup> Another unusual element is the gaps (*gmj-wš*) in the text, which Hornung thinks have been intentionally inserted throughout.<sup>115</sup> During the 18th Dynasty, up to the Amarna period, all texts are written in cursive hieroglyphs. The figures themselves were depicted in a cursive form, in red and black, creating what appears to be a papyrus manuscript.<sup>116</sup> For quick orientation, introductions and instructions are written in red, the other texts in black. Starting with Tutankhamun, the writing converts to normal hieroglyphs, which are usually colored.<sup>117</sup> The texts and drawings of this composition work together with the tombs’ architecture to create a synthetic whole.<sup>118</sup>

The pictures and the text of the Amduat should not be regarded as an “out of nothing” composition.<sup>119</sup> The PT have no depictions or illustrations, but seeing them as only written material is a weak and deficient concept.<sup>120</sup> In the PT, hieroglyphs representing dangerous creatures, such as serpents, were mutilated in order to prevent their harm, which indicates that a sign could have the double function of a character in the text and an image. Both of them can have the intended function.<sup>121</sup> The indications of this concept can be found in the Amduat in several forms. In the sixth hour, the text adds knives to the determinative of the action of annihilating Apophis (𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀𐀀 *njk.yw* “punishing”).<sup>122</sup> Some pictures can also be read as detailed hieroglyphs, such as the *ntr* signs in the fifth hour, the sixth hour’s three graves, and the *šms* signs in the eighth hour.<sup>123</sup>

As mentioned above, in the earlier versions of the Amduat, the illustrations are single-line figures and closely resemble writing.<sup>124</sup> From the 19th Dynasty onwards, major improvements were taken to enhance the representations’ pictorial quality by adding body, details, relief, and color to the figures

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<sup>112</sup> For the name of the Amduat, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, X; Altenmüller, in: JEOL 20, 27; Grapow, in: ZÄS 72, 30, n. 33; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 9, n. 32, cf. Quack, in: Falck, ed., *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie*, 31.

<sup>113</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 10. For the distribution of the system of hours inside the royal tombs in the 18th and 19th dynasties, see Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 4-42; Richter, in: JARCE 44, 73-104.

<sup>114</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 10.

<sup>115</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 10.

<sup>116</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 132.

<sup>117</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 7, 9; Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 43.

<sup>118</sup> Richter, in: JARCE 44, 73. Cf. Hornung, *Jenseitsführer*, in: LÄ III, col. 246.

<sup>119</sup> For further information on the text and image in the Amduat, see Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 43.

<sup>120</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 27.

<sup>121</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 27, cf. Lacau, in: ASAE 26, 69 ff.

<sup>122</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 499.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 27.

<sup>124</sup> For more information about the characteristics of writing and depicting figures in the early sources of the Amduat, see Lapčić, in Neunert and Verbovsek, eds., *Bild: Ästhetik - Medium - Kommunikation*, 175 ff.

and the text.<sup>125</sup> The chronological precedence of the “drawn” over the “painted” versions might be due to a preliminary draft of the papyrus composition.<sup>126</sup> Most late copies of the Amduat on papyrus could revert to this less elaborate form of representation or they might rather be copies of the original version.<sup>127</sup>

A central feature in the areas of the Amduat is the density and variety of their population. This characteristic applies both to the hordes of figures on all levels of the journey and the sun god’s instant surroundings. All are depicted in the reverse direction of the usual direction of texts and scenes.<sup>128</sup>

The question arises: what are the reasons for this reversal? According to many scholars, the following reasons are given for this reversal:<sup>129</sup>

A. In the nocturnal journey, the sun god has to travel “backwards” from west to east. He enters the netherworld as an aged man to accomplish the solar cycle’s continuity, thus filling the cosmos with vitality and giving all beings life.

B. The world of the Duat stands in contrast to the known world, it is completely different, and text/image tries to make this tangible.

C. “Hiding” the text in the depth of the tomb, with an unusual illustrative method and implicit writing, seems to be appropriate and fitting for the magical function of the composition.

This writing method also fits the twisted and puzzling paths that the solar bark and its crew must go through every night.

The Amduat is unique for its insertion of directions within the text to place particular hours on specific walls of the burial chamber.<sup>130</sup> In the tomb of Thutmosis III, as one the earliest and best preserved Amduat tombs, the tomb’s architectural elements play a role,<sup>131</sup> for example, the bend in the tomb’s axis may represent the netherworld’s winding paths<sup>132</sup> or a spiral may express the endless repetition of the solar cycle. The positioning and orientation of the first and last hours, in the west where the solar bark starts its journey and in the east where it appears again in the eastern horizon, thus coincide with the reality of the solar cycle. He takes into account the directional notes in the text and tries to distribute the night hours accordingly to the four cardinal points.<sup>133</sup> The text reads: *ḥ3.t wp.t jmn.t sb3 n 3ḥ.t jmnt.t pḥwj kkw-sm3.w sb3 n 3ḥ.t jmnt.t* “the beginning is the horn of the west, the gate of the western horizon. The end is the utter darkness, the gate of the western horizon.”<sup>134</sup> However, the fifth

<sup>125</sup> Hornung, *Horizon of Eternity*, 82.

<sup>126</sup> On the sketch-style versions and their significance for evaluating the history of tradition of the Netherworld Books, see v. Lieven, in A. Pries, *Die Variation der Tradition*, 1-27.

<sup>127</sup> See Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 28, cf. Sadek, *Contribution*, pls. 1, 2.

<sup>128</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 10-11.

<sup>129</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 10. Cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 10; Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 37.

<sup>130</sup> Schott, *Die Schrift*, 327-328, 334.

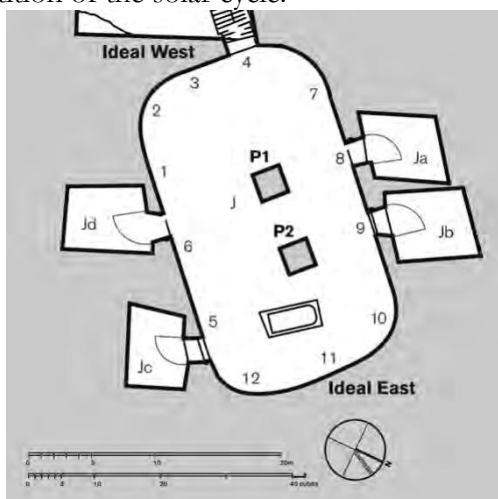
<sup>131</sup> On the architectural features as indications of an Amduat tomb, see Wegner in Silverman, eds., *Archaism and Innovation*, 103-169, cf. Richter, in: JARCE 44, 78 f., cf. Wilkinson, in: JARCE 31, 81, table 1; Baines, in O’Connor and Silverman, eds., *Egyptian Kingship*, 9.

<sup>132</sup> The winding paths are also represented in the Book of Two Ways, painted in Middle Kingdom coffins. See Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, 123; Abitz, in: MDIAK 45, 1-4; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, Abb. 1-5.

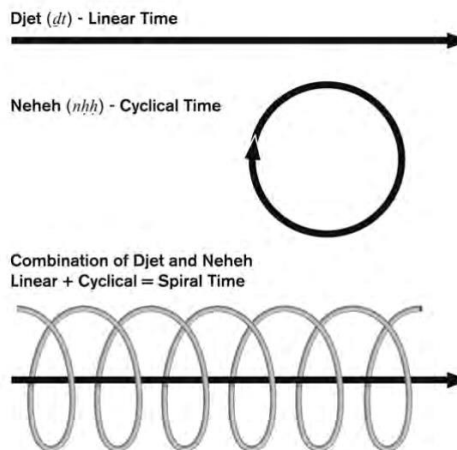
<sup>133</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 40.

<sup>134</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 101-102, cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 2, n. 1.

and sixth hours break up this consecutive order.<sup>135</sup> Barta explains that this ordering of the hours actually creates a spiral movement.<sup>136</sup> Richter interprets that these spiral forms “a combination of *nḥḥ* (cyclical time) and *d.t* (linear time), and with the spiral moving through time, it reflects the daily repetition of the solar cycle.”<sup>137</sup>



Plan of the burial chamber of Thutmose III,  
with numbers  
indicating placement of hours of the Amduat  
© Richter, in: JARCE 44, 79, fig. 3



Linear, cyclical, and spiral time  
© Richter, in: JARCE 44, 79, fig. 4

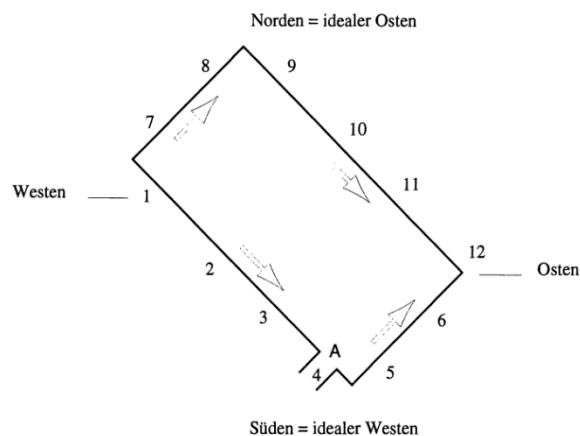
Abitz suggests a considerably different view. He interprets that the distribution of the hours in the tomb of Thutmose III does not fit the solar bark’s direction of travel. He thinks that the sarcophagus hall lies in the “wrong” direction of the sky (SW-NE instead of SE-NW). For example, this inappropriate position led to the separation of the fourth and fifth hours, although these two hours form a unity of geographical landscape. Therefore, he offers a picture of what the burial chamber might be like considering the wall decoration regulations and the bark’s direction of travel.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Richter, in: JARCE 44, 79.

<sup>136</sup> See Barta, in: BiOr 31, 199; id., in: JEOL 21, 168.

<sup>137</sup> Richter, in: JARCE 44, 79.

<sup>138</sup> Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 43-46.



### Indications of directions in the Amduat

© Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 44

The preceding assumption seems to be very plausible as the hour locations of the Amduat indicate that the first four hours should be on the west wall of the hidden chamber, the fifth and sixth hours on the south wall, the next two hours on the north wall, and the concluding hours on the east wall. The orientation of the first and last hours describes the entry into the netherworld in the southwest corner of the burial chamber and the rising of the rejuvenated sun god in the same room's southeast corner,<sup>139</sup> thus coinciding with the direction of the solar cycle. Here, one would also suggest that these two hours represent a particular case as they summarise the entire Amduat, where the sun god crosses the desert cavern of Sokar of the fifth hour and unites with the body of Osiris in the sixth hour to rejuvenate himself as Khepri. Therefore, placing them in this middle transitional area and in the same direction as the solar bark also indicates the journey's correct direction. This arrangement means that the last hour of the night is precisely to the east, and the sandy path of the land of Sokar represents the entrance to the coffin chamber and thus the access to the netherworld.<sup>140</sup>

Another symbolic reference may be observed in the tomb of Amenhotep II (KV35). Instead of following the directions in the Amduat, Amenhotep II placed the hours in numerical clockwise order around the walls of the burial chamber,<sup>141</sup> beginning with the first hour on the rear wall adjacent to the foot of the sarcophagus and ending with the twelfth hour on the rear left wall next to its head.<sup>142</sup> According to Richter, "They form a circle, which is nevertheless also typical of the solar cycle."<sup>143</sup>

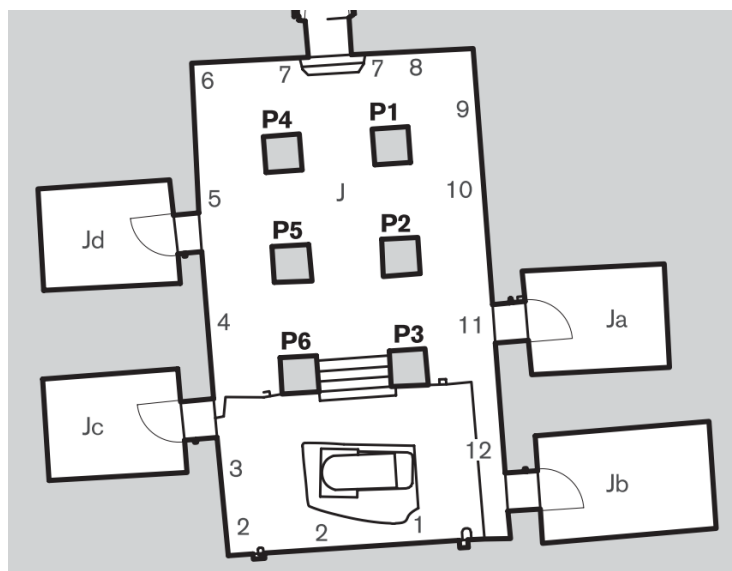
<sup>139</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 132.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 44.

<sup>141</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 40, 44.

<sup>142</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 12.

<sup>143</sup> Richter, in: JARCE 44, 93-94.



Plan of the tomb of Amenhotep II  
© Richter, in: JARCE 44, 79, fig. 15

In short: the placement of the hours of the Amduat creates a circular motion regarding the “hidden chamber,”<sup>144</sup> imitating the correct direction of the solar bark, the cyclical regeneration of the sun god and his crew, and the primary function of the composition.<sup>145</sup>

#### 1.2.4 The Function of the Amduat

The New Kingdom Netherworld Books describe the solar journey through the twelve hours of the night.<sup>146</sup> The hours show the descent into the western horizon, the deities that populate the underworld’s dark regions, the battle with Apophis, the punishment of enemies, and the glorious appearance of the sun god in the eastern horizon. Each book introduces the topography, the deities, and the events in a different manner. The Amduat describes all of these aspects and traces the sun god Re’s journey through the night’s twelve hours.<sup>147</sup> The main claim of the Amduat is to give a complete description of the underworld, not only of its landscape but primarily of the underworld beings and their functions.<sup>148</sup> The introductory title of the book speaks on its function and determines the purpose of the composition: “knowledge,” which is beneficial for both the dead and the living.<sup>149</sup> The Egyptian word *rb* “to know” is repeated nine times in the title of the book.<sup>150</sup> These nine statements of knowledge summarise the Duat’s events and the interactions between the sun god and the netherworld inhabitants and refer to the king as a solar priest. He rises with the sun in glorious

<sup>144</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 132.

<sup>145</sup> See Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 257-260.

<sup>146</sup> For the function of the Netherworld Books in general, see Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 36-41. For the Netherworld Books as a philosophical treatise, see Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch* I, 1-5.

<sup>147</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 14-22.

<sup>148</sup> Hornung, *Amduat*, in: LÄ I, col. 185 f.

<sup>149</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat*, XI; id., *TZA I*, 103-106.

<sup>150</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 102-106.

transformation.<sup>151</sup> This knowledge includes the mechanical workings of the cosmos, the words and actions of those intimately associated with the solar bark, the sounds of the sunrise, and the opening of the sky's gates.<sup>152</sup> It was placed in royal tombs to ensure the rejuvenation of the king after his death. A study of the Netherworld Books' textual transmission by Werning has shown that the references to the deceased are all secondary. This has led him to hypothesise that texts like the Amduat were originally cosmographic corpora rather than funerary compositions. Thus, their initial usage was in the temple, not in the tomb or for the afterlife.<sup>153</sup> This view is supported by statements in some compositions, notably the Amduat, to the effect that it is useful for people who have knowledge of their contents on earth.<sup>154</sup> Schott and Hornung believe that the Amduat was composed for the use of the deceased king in the royal tomb as a funerary ritual.<sup>155</sup> Wente opposes these opinions and assumes that the value of the Amduat is much broader. In his view, the Amduat was initially designed for use upon the earth and the netherworld and was only secondarily adapted as specifically royal funerary literature, retaining the *Nachtschriften* and offering formulas in its converted state.<sup>156</sup> According to Binder, "the Amduat does not belong to the category of *s3hw* "ritual recitation," as do some other New Kingdom Netherworld Books which aim at securing the blessed state of the deceased." However, she mentions that remarks refer to the text's effectiveness for those who know it on earth. However, in the Amduat, the *Akb*-ification and attaining the status of an *Akb*-spirit is frequently attested as an aim of the sun god and all the inhabitants of the netherworld.<sup>157</sup>

The Amduat, similar to the PT,<sup>158</sup> also includes the king's mythological biography in the hereafter. His life is equated to that of the gods; he accompanies the sun god and his crew in the solar journey. He can pass the gates without being attacked and get to the place of regeneration. His needs are addressed; he has air to breathe, plots of land full of food and water, and clothing.<sup>159</sup> In a funerary context, one of the most crucial functions of the Amduat is the text's presence in the tomb/burial chamber. As a scientific resource, it also conveys all the necessary knowledge about the hereafter: its topography, chronology, gates,<sup>160</sup> paths, helpers, enemies, names, methods of travelling in the netherworld, and manifestations of the sun god and his crew.<sup>161</sup> The book opens with a long title that stresses the importance of knowledge of the beyond.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 37, cf. Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 25.

<sup>152</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 39.

<sup>153</sup> For the hidden chamber in a non-funerary context, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 472-475.

<sup>154</sup> Werning, in Goyon and Cardin, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists II*, 1942; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 301. Cf. Wente, in: JNES 41, 167-175; Roberson, *Awakening of Osiris*, 123.

<sup>155</sup> Schott, *Die Schrift*, 332-33, 370; Hornung, *Grabkammer des Vezirs User*, 104-106.

<sup>156</sup> Wente, in: JNES 41, 165, n. 30, 175-176.

<sup>157</sup> See Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 30. For further discussion, see id., *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 221-223, 235, 236 f. See also Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 37.

<sup>158</sup> For the function of the Amduat and its relation to the PT and other New Kingdom Netherworld Books, see Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte*, 151 ff., 154; Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 57, n. 2; Barguet, in: RdE 24, 7 ff.

<sup>159</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 27.

<sup>160</sup> The introductory text of all hours gives the name of each region and its gate. Unlike the Book of Gates, however, the Amduat does not include any representations of gates. The lack of a depiction of the mysterious gate of Sais in the eleventh hour might have brought with it the lack of a representation of the other gates (see 3.11.4). Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 31.

<sup>161</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 27-28.

<sup>162</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, 1 (3-9), 2 (1-6); Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 12-13.



Knowledge means having the magical power to control events. If knowledge about the netherworld and its dangers is seen as a means to prevent a second death, this knowledge secures one's rejuvenation and links it with the sun god's fate. Knowing the fair paths of the underworld, knowing how to fight enemies and how to survive in the regions of the ultimate danger is proof that the deceased is legitimately a "spirit" or "blessed one." It thus ensures the eternal recurrence of the solar journey and the stability of the cosmos.<sup>163</sup> Through the Amduat's information, the deceased knows the underworld's rhythms, which makes him no longer entirely at the mercy of the events.<sup>164</sup> Brunner goes beyond the idea of "providing knowledge" and understands the main function of the Amduat to be to revive what is mentioned through the texts and the images. The sun god's proceeding, the punishment of the enemies, and the process of regeneration all come into being.<sup>165</sup> Thus, the focal point in the sun's journey is the destruction of the enemies, in which various gods are involved in protecting the sun god and assisting him in his battles. Not only for his sake, but they also fight and destroy the sun's enemies because each victory over the forces of chaos means that the continuation of time, the continuation of the spatial world, and thus the preservation of creation, to which gods and men belong, is guaranteed.<sup>166</sup> If Brunner is right, it means that the crew of the solar bark and all the sun god's assistants are gathered for one mission: fighting the sun's enemies and defeating them. But this idea seems deficient, particularly since the book refers many times to other roles that the crew and the assistants of the sun god would play to ensure his appearance in the sky and ensure the continued flourishing life for the netherworld inhabitants. Therefore, as Assmann says: "The Amduat serves to codify and transmit the appropriate knowledge since it relates to the Night Phase of the solar journey."<sup>167</sup>

To be reborn on the eastern horizon, the king is identified with the sun god as he voyages through the netherworld towards his transformation. This identification is realised by personalising the tomb for the king with his name and depiction in the texts and images. In the tomb of Thutmosis III, his name appears in the introductory text of almost every hour, allowing Menkheperre specifically to be the one who knows the meaning of what is written in the "hidden chamber" and to benefit from this secret knowledge. For example, at the end of the introduction to the second hour, in reference to pictures of the otherworldly *Bas*, the text states: "It is useful for the King of Upper Egypt, (Menkheperre) |, living forever on earth . . ."<sup>168</sup> Later versions of this text in other royal tombs omit direct reference to a specific king, saying simply that the pictures are "useful for a man on earth."<sup>169</sup> Although the Amduat of the New Kingdom is attested in the royal tombs (with the exception of the vizier Useramun), their applicability is not limited to the king during the Third Intermediate Period

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<sup>163</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 28.

<sup>164</sup> Rickert, in Färber and Gautschy, eds., *Zeit in den Kulturen des Altertums*, 84.

<sup>165</sup> Brunner, in: SAK 8, 81-84.

<sup>166</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 6.

<sup>167</sup> Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 26.

<sup>168</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 181. In the earliest copies of the Amduat, the king was "constantly inserted" into the text, but this practice was largely abandoned by the middle of the 18th Dynasty, indicating that those personalized elements were not viewed as an essential part of the composition. Roberson, *Awakening of Osiris*, 132. See also Werning, in Moers et al. (ed.), *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, passim.

<sup>169</sup> Richter, in: JARCE 44, 80.

and later.<sup>170</sup> The Amduat appears to belong to the Egyptian funerary literature tradition as a collection one must know to practice and recite.<sup>171</sup> In the Amduat, in some cases, the verb *jrj* “to do/act” is substituted with the verb *rh* “to know,” when describing the proficiency of the composition, i.e., the benefits are for the one “who knows” rather than the one who acts.<sup>172</sup> Arguably the deceased presence, his participation in the events, and the knowledge gathered in the texts that prepare the king for his after-death life in the PT, CT, and the Amduat are different.

In the first hour, the sun god transforms into flesh, and the ram-headed *Ba* of the nocturnal sun, who travels in his multiform bark through the twelve hours (see 1.8.1). In the second hour, the solar bark enters the watery region of Wernes, where one of Re’s principal functions is the distribution of plots of land to all of his entourage in the netherworld (see 3.2). The third hour emphasises the destruction of the *Ba*-souls of the enemies and the annihilated ones, allowing the *Ba* of Re to travel to the eastern side while his corpse remains in the netherworld (see 3.3.1.2).

By descending into the cavern of Sokar in the fifth hour, the sun god descends into an unseen and unperceived mysterious cavern. The mysterious location of this place is Nun’s waters, where the sun god rejuvenates himself in the form of Osiris-Sokar (see 3.5.5). In the sixth hour, the solar bark regains the same shape as it had in the first three hours and no longer requires haulers. This hour describes the approach of Re into the solar/Osirian corpse to manifest in the form of Khepri (see 3.6.2).

In the seventh hour, the serpent Mehen replaces the shrine that protects Re within his bark; a feature appearing in all remaining hours. This hour’s most meaningful event is the destruction of Re’s archenemy, Apophis (see 3.7.3). There, the evil serpent is defeated by tangible physical means (ropes, knives, and pouring water) as well as through the magical spells of Isis and the Eldest Magician. The defeat of Apophis allows Re to proceed, and the lower register’s hour goddesses guide him to the eastern gate. The eighth hour is divided into ten caverns. Each of them is associated with a sound. These sounds refer to the events of creation (see 3.8). The other concern of the eighth hour is supplying clothing, atop which the caverns’ deities sit. The ninth hour continues the previous theme of clothing (see 3.9).

The tenth hour contains the image that summarises the entire nocturnal journey; the scarab-beetle holding the Amduat oval at the beginning of the first register (3.10.1). Eventually, the sun god proceeds to the last hour of the night (the transitional station between the two realms). The solar bark sails through a giant serpent in the middle register, beginning at the tail and ending at the mouth (see 3.12.3). This retrograde action reverses time itself, rejuvenating the sun god, his crew, and his entire entourage and enabling the process of the transformation into Khepri.<sup>173</sup> The events of the Amduat illustrate the function of the composition. It describes Re and Osiris’s mysterious union and the triumphant appearance of the sun god in the east; its meaning goes well beyond the information about the underworld structure, i.e., the continuity and stability of the cosmos,<sup>174</sup> also, the rebirth of the

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<sup>170</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 40, cf. Baines, in: JARCE 27, 12-13.

<sup>171</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 41.

<sup>172</sup> Wente, in: JNES 41, 164-168.

<sup>173</sup> In the Amduat, the text is written primarily in retrograde hieroglyphs, with the columns placed in the reverse order of that which they are normally read in (see above).

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Binder, in: BACE 6, 28.

compositions' owner and those who are on earth, and it ensures the deceased's permanent presence in the company of the sun god and his crew.

### 1.2.5 Topography, landscape, and symbolism of the Amduat

The Duat is a place that lies beyond the horizon, alternately in the earth or the sky,<sup>175</sup> or it is the third region that is neither earth nor sky.<sup>176</sup> The Duat is the chthonian body of Osiris and the celestial body of Nut (see 3.12.7)<sup>177</sup> It could thus be equated with the architectural elements of the tomb,<sup>178</sup> particularly the inner chambers of the tomb.<sup>179</sup> As early as the Old Kingdom's PT, according to Allen, a general association of the tomb with the Akhet and the Duat is developed.<sup>180</sup> However, the New Kingdom royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings have particular architectural features designed to introduce more specific elements of the Duat and show the process of the solar regeneration. For instance, the corridors, cartouche-shaped designs,<sup>181</sup> and shafts refer to many Amduat and later Netherworld Books representations.<sup>182</sup> With its description of the sun god's journey and his entourage between sunset and sunrise, the Amduat could arguably be described as a map of the afterlife recording the journey through the night.

The netherworld is a universe of typical features that possess dual properties: space and time.<sup>183</sup> In the Amduat, the underworld is divided into twelve sections, which can be measured as a unit of space or distance and a unit of time. As the sun god descends into the Nun's waters and unites with his Osirian corpse, time itself is renewed, enabling the resurrection and recreation of the cosmos.<sup>184</sup> The topographic elements of the netherworld are manifold and distinguished in the Amduat. Robinson uses the tomb of Thutmosis III (KV34) as a specific example to determine the topography of the Amduat.<sup>185</sup> He provides an overview of the Amduat's topographical elements and its relationship with actual earthly geological features (e.g., the Theban Peak, El-Gourna, which overlooks the royal necropolis). However, his equations with these earthly features are to be regarded with caution.<sup>186</sup> In the Amduat, the solar bark proceeds in the transitional area of the first hour to the region of Wernes in the second and third hours. The solar bark crosses a region of irrigated fields, as indicated by gods brandishing ears of wheat or sprouting grain from their hair. The first three hours contain vast areas

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<sup>175</sup> Allen, *Genesis*, 5-7.

<sup>176</sup> Von Lieven, *Carlsberg Papyri* 8, 384.

<sup>177</sup> Beaux, in: BIFAO 94.

<sup>178</sup> Allen, *Cosmology*, 25. For a discussion of the royal tomb's architecture, see, e.g., Barta, in: GM 71, 7-10; Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration*; id., in: SAK 17, 1-40.

<sup>179</sup> Capart, Gardiner, and van der Walle, in: JEA 22, 178.

<sup>180</sup> Allen, in: *FS Leclant I*, 5-28; Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 18. This theory has been rejected by Hays, in: BIFAO 109.

<sup>181</sup> Hornung has suggested that the burial chamber's form represents a papyrus scroll. Hornung, *Horizon of Eternity*, 71. Clagett has said that the images were laid out on the walls as if the walls themselves formed a giant papyrus. Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science I*, 472.

<sup>182</sup> Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 18-19; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 41-42.

<sup>183</sup> See Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*.

<sup>184</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 42.

<sup>185</sup> Robinson, in Ives, Lines, Naunton, eds., *Current research in Egyptology III*, 51-61.

<sup>186</sup> See Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 43, n. 71. Compare the equations of the Amduat's journey with those to the Western Desert and the Paleo-Chad lakes. Schneider, *The West Beyond the West*, 1, 3. Additional remarks of the topographical features of the Amduat in Maruéjol, *Thoutmosis III et la corégence avec Hatchepsout*, 350-353.

of fertile agricultural lands due to the existence of many waterways.<sup>187</sup> What the deceased wishes for and expects during his sojourn in the fields of Iaru<sup>188</sup> (another name of Wernes)<sup>189</sup> is expressed in spell 110 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>190</sup>

The fourth and fifth hours are mysterious desert regions with hidden twisted paths and barrier doors. They represent the region of Rosetau, the mysterious paths upon which the bark must be hauled across, and the sacred roads of Imhet on which the serpentine solar bark crawls (fig. 42, 43). The cavern of Sokar of the fifth hour represents the site of recreation (see 3.5.5). It is equated with the so-called well shaft *wsh.t jsq* “hall of hindering.”<sup>191</sup> Roehrig notes that the pyramidal mound of sand protected by Isis’s head at its peak and the cavern of Sokar form a cutaway image of the Valley of the Kings, with the pyramidal mound of the Gurn rising above the oval burial chamber itself.<sup>192</sup> The most prominent toponyms in the Amduat are the Heliopolitan and Memphite locations,<sup>193</sup> which characterise the fourth, fifth, and sixth hours. In the eleventh hour, various deities also exist along the “sacred path” and “sacred portal of Sais” (see 3.11.4).<sup>194</sup>

To explore the connections between Heliopolis<sup>195</sup> and the Amduat, one may begin with the tradition of identifying Heliopolis with the burial place of the solar god and the netherworld’s location, which appears already in the CT.<sup>196</sup> The sixth hour portrays the solar corpse in the context of Heliopolitan toponyms. In the upper register, there appear three chests containing a head, wing, and tail. The central structure is labeled *hw.t st3w hr-ꜥbꜥ* “House/Burial of the Hauling of Kheraha.” Here, the identifiable toponym is Kheraha, which was a place in the vicinity of ancient Heliopolis where Atum and the

<sup>187</sup> The first three hours of the night seem to be very similar in their formal conception (introduction, main part with illustrations, and closing text) and also belong together in terms of content.

<sup>188</sup> The fields of Iaru are one of the most natural places for the sun god and the deceased king. In these fields, the sun god purifies himself so he can be resurrected, and this is referred to in Pyr. § 275. In the CT, we have a reference to those fields and the fields of offerings in spells 464-468, in which the deceased moves with his bark through the fertile lands and watercourses. Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 43, n. 164; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 90 ff.

<sup>189</sup> The sun god enters the region of the second hour *Wrms*, which covers an area of 309 *jtrw* in length and 120 *jtrw* in width. Hornung, *TZA* I, 174. Cf. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 74; id., *Die Nachtfahrt*, 37-38. The term *jtrw* as a measure of length represents a distance of about 10.5 kilometers, or about 7 miles. The term is usually translated with the Greek term *schoenus* (plural *schoenoi*). Perhaps the short length of the first hour might represent the period after sunset with its afterglow. Robinson, in Ives, Lines, Naunton, eds., *Current research in Egyptology III*, 52, n. 9. Cf. Faulkner, *CD*, 33; Claggett, *Ancient Egyptian Science I*, 507. See also Quirke, in O’Connor and Quirke, *Mysterious Lands*, 179 f.

<sup>190</sup> *BD* 110; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 210 ff.; id., *Die Nachtfahrt*, 37; Schweizer, *Seelenführer*, 62; Stadler, *Elysische Gefilde*, 7.

<sup>191</sup> Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 18.

<sup>192</sup> Roehrig, *Building Activities*, 245, 256, n. 49. On the meaning of the fifth hour’s cavern, see also Brunner, *Bild und Wort*, 212.

<sup>193</sup> The region of Heliopolis/Memphis possessed a locale named “Cavern,” appropriate for a transposition of netherworld places. Moret, in: *BIFAO* 30, 730-731.

<sup>194</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 424, cf. Hornung, *Unb*, 504, n. 75.

<sup>195</sup> “The Egyptians believed that the underworld contained the counterparts to such important religious cities as Heliopolis. The depictions in the Amduat do not include houses, palaces, or temples; the funerary context of the composition may have produced a different definition of ‘city,’ which would have had fairly loose metaphorical associations with Egyptian towns on earth. The text mentions a great ‘city,’ which can be interpreted as the underworld itself.” Hoffmann, in: *ZÄS* 123, 31. See also Hornung, *TZA* I, 188.

<sup>196</sup> Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 61, n. 144.

Ennead were venerated.<sup>197</sup> Below the three burial chests is the solar corpse itself, the recumbent, striding solar/Osirian body surrounded by a multi-headed serpent (see 3.6.2). From the temple of the Benben to the place of Apophis's destruction, the geography of Heliopolis is transported into the sixth and seventh hours of the sun's nightly journey. On earth, Re might visit his corpse in the Osirian sanctuaries, and in the underworld, the solar bark also sails past the solar god's remains.<sup>198</sup>

In the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat, the specifically Heliopolitan association of the solar burial expands to include the Memphite region. In the introductory text of the fourth hour of the Amduat, the Heliopolitan temple of Atum appears alongside Rosetau: "He knows how to travel the roads rightly, how to go upon the paths in Rosetau,<sup>199</sup> how to see the images in Imhet."<sup>200</sup> The land of Sokar<sup>201</sup> appears as a designation of the fourth and fifth hours, and the roadways within the two hours bear the names of Rosetau and Imhet, respectively. Rosetau, as an earthly toponym, encompasses the region of Giza and Saqqara but may also signify any other necropolis. Imhet is the Upper Egyptian source of the Nile near ancient Heliopolis and modern Fustat.<sup>202</sup>

The Memphite and Heliopolitan toponyms in the Amduat continue in the eleventh hour. A new toponym appears in the description to uraeus-forms of Isis and Nephthys: "They exist at the second portal of the unbroken darkness, the sacred road of Sais."<sup>203</sup> The next scene in the middle register of the eleventh hour continues the Saite imagery with four hypostases of the goddess Neith.<sup>204</sup> Sais is the location of the coronation of Osiris and the defeat of his enemies, both appropriate to the conclusion of the solar journey through the underworld.<sup>205</sup>

The preceding paragraphs illustrate that despite the imaginary nature of many elements of the sun's path on its nightly journey, the Amduat connects certain hours and regions with places within the Nile Valley (desertic and watery fields). In the fourth and fifth hours, the solar bark begins a descent into a desert world, where it is dragged over sand, passing serpents and demons of evil. In this realm, the stream of life runs dry, and there is not enough water to carry the solar bark over the shallows. Without the supportive presence of the four deities who tow it, and without their rope (see 3.4.3), the continuity of the journey would be seriously challenged. Here, the sun god is most definitely in need of the help of his entourage. His bark is transformed into a double-headed serpent, for only the serpent can successfully traverse this dangerous region.<sup>206</sup>

The fourth hour's sandy area should then have symbolised the west bank of the Nile and the funeral procession's landing site. The cavern of the Memphite god of death, Sokar, in the fifth hour is

<sup>197</sup> Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 690. Cf. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum* II, 115–16; Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re*, 313, 422; El-Sayed, in: BIFAO 82, 189.

<sup>198</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 424–425.

<sup>199</sup> *W3.t št3.t n.t R3-š3w* "secret road of Rosetau." Hornung, *T3-A* II, 347, 349, 354.

<sup>200</sup> *Mtn dsr n jmh.t* "sacred path of Imhet." Hornung, *T3-A* II, 347, 349, 349.

<sup>201</sup> In Pap. Louvre N 3176, an interesting series of epithets suggests that Sokar "who is upon his sand," the same epithet used in the fifth hour of Amduat, possessed a cult in Abusir near Giza. Bargaet, *Le papyrus N 3176*, 11, ll 12–16, 24.

<sup>202</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 427, n. 103, 104 with references cited therein.

<sup>203</sup> Hornung, *T3-A* III, 775–776.

<sup>204</sup> Hornung, *T3-A* III, 778.

<sup>205</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 428; Seyfried, in Strudwick and Taylor, eds., *The Theban Necropolis*, 61–68, cf. Willems, *Chests of Life*, 148–150.

<sup>206</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun God's Journey*, 78.

identified with the next destination of the funeral procession, namely, the cleaning tent that is to be recognised within the royal pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom, probably in the valley temple. The chest *bn* shown in the fifth hour's upper register and guarded by Anubis is interpreted as the royal sarcophagus that was deposited in the cleaning tent.<sup>207</sup>

Having successfully passed through this potent but dangerous region of the netherworld, the solar bark moves into the critical sixth hour, where it enters a water hole surrounded by five protective serpents and containing the primeval, regenerating water of the Nun that is necessary to complete Re's rejuvenation. The *Ba* of Re thus unites with his corpse, the body of Osiris; this union is shown by the solar scarab on the head of the rejuvenated god. In the fifth and sixth hours, we essentially see a repetition of creation: Sokar's dark cavern contains pre-creation energy, the spark that breathes new life into the union of two elements (Re and Osiris).<sup>208</sup>

During the eighth hour, the body is embalmed and cleansed. According to Baret, the cloth marks given to the deities in the eighth hour would be reminiscent of the activities in the embalming centre.<sup>209</sup>

In the riverine environment of the ninth and tenth hours, the solar bark heads eastwards to prepare for the coming sunrise. As dawn approaches, the entourage passes a valley "of those who are upside down and hindered in going,"<sup>210</sup> fiery pits containing evil spirits, and goddesses of the desert,<sup>211</sup> before finally coming to rest on the eastern horizon at the moment of sunrise.<sup>212</sup> Yet, the twelfth hour, "Who Sees the Perfection of Re," bears witness to the miracle of rebirth, as the gods physically drag the sun on his bark through the body of the coiled serpent, renamed in this scene as "Life of the Gods."<sup>213</sup> The placement of the twelfth hour near the sarcophagus facilitates the king's rebirth at dawn.<sup>214</sup>

The last three hours of the Amduat are said to describe the necropolis-related events. After the arrival of the funeral procession in the necropolis during the tenth hour, the tomb itself is said to have been reached in the eleventh hour. These findings are justified by the reference to the tenth-hour area as the realm of the dead *jgr.t*, and the eleventh-hour area which bears the name *r3 n krr.t jp.t h3.wt* "mouth of the cavern which examines the corpses". In the twelfth hour, the arrival of the corpse inside the tomb must have been metaphorically understood and represented as the emergence of the newborn sun god in the east.<sup>215</sup> The eastern horizon appears on the arms of Shu at the rounded edge

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<sup>207</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 155.

<sup>208</sup> The cycle in which Re and Osiris are linked together ensures that the cosmos continues to function, which is in turn a precondition for the continuity of the afterlife. Without this cycle, there would be no prospect of posthumous existence. Second, the *Ba*/body relationship of Re and Osiris provides a model for that between the *Ba* and body of every deceased person. The *Ba* descends upon the body each night just as Re encounters with Osiris. Smith, *Following Osiris*, 337, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 105 and the references cited therein. See also the documents of the third, sixth and twelfth hour of the Amduat.

<sup>209</sup> Baret, in: RdE 24, 10.

<sup>210</sup> Hornung, *Amduat I*, 188, 9.

<sup>211</sup> See the lower register of the eleventh hour.

<sup>212</sup> Robinson, in Ives, Lines, Naunton, eds., *Current research in Egyptology III*, 54.

<sup>213</sup> Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 50.

<sup>214</sup> Richter, in: JARCE 44, 91.

<sup>215</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 156.

of the underworld. This pictorial proximity provides the impetus for the formation of the burial chamber in the tomb of Thutmosis III.<sup>216</sup>

### 1.2.6 The nocturnal solar cycle of the Amduat

According to the ancient Egyptians, the solar cycle is a fundamental element in Egyptian religion. They composed units of texts and images to describe the events of the sun's journey.<sup>217</sup> In particular, the sun god's nocturnal journey became the focus of much funerary literature. This solar journey's description became the guide and the guarantee for the deceased's reconstitution and resurrection.<sup>218</sup> In the Amduat, the elderly sun god enters into the western horizon and, through his netherworld journey, transforms into Khepri, the form of the newborn sun. The Amduat encapsulates the phases of this mysterious rebirth in almost every hour.<sup>219</sup> The Amduat also summarises the phases of the solar cycle in many ways, for example, the burial of the three parts of the solar corpse in the upper register of the sixth hour (see 3.6.2), and the chests containing the four deities who represent the phases of the solar cycle (Re, Khepri, Atum) and the solar corpse (Osiris) in the seventh hour (see 3.7.3). In particular, the eleventh and twelfth hours of the Amduat combine images that show the preparation for the sun's new birth. Accordingly, in the upper and lower register of the eleventh hour, defeating the enemies who threaten the decisive moment of sunrise plays a role. Finally, in the twelfth hour, the underworld dwellers' function alluding to the process of rebirth predominates.<sup>220</sup> The sun god rises from the underworld only to maintain the cyclical process of death and rebirth. Each sunrise, expressed in the twelfth hour of the Amduat as "going forth from Nun and resting in Nut," is only the herald to another sunset (see 3.12.7).<sup>221</sup>

The last two hours encapsulate another two representations of the eternal solar cycle. In the first scene of the eleventh hour's upper register, the stars between the two serpents represent the hours of the night that have passed so far, which are swallowed by the serpent on the right or the personification of the *d.t*-eternity sitting on it and only released again at sunrise (see 3.11.1). On the one hand, Doc. 123 explicitly connects this representation with the durative aspect of immortality (*d.t*). On the other hand, by referring to the renewed freeing of the hours at each sunrise, it implicitly refers to the iterative concept of eternity (*nḥb*). Thus, the two aspects of time and eternity are not viewed as separate from one another but as interlocking and interdependent.<sup>222</sup>

The middle register of the twelfth nocturnal hour is taken up by a representation that can be primarily associated with the circular concept of the *nḥb*-time. There, the bark is hauled forward by a crew of twelve gods. The gods stand atop a giant serpent called *k3 n di ʿnḥ nṯr.w* "Ka of the One Who Gives Life to the Gods," where the sun god, accompanied by his inboard crew and the hauling crew, enters

<sup>216</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 44.

<sup>217</sup> For the solar cycle, events, forms, and phases of cosmic resurrection in the Netherworld Books, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*.

<sup>218</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 1, 29.

<sup>219</sup> See Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 47-55.

<sup>220</sup> Hornung, *Das Tal der Könige*, 79-81, cf. id., *Die Nachtfahrt*, 173, 184.

<sup>221</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 1, 175.


<sup>222</sup> Rickert in: Färber and Gautschy, eds., *Zeit in den Kulturen des Altertums*, 81.

his tail and emerges from his mouth as Khepri (see 3.12.3).<sup>223</sup> Thus, in all night hours, many deities and personifications participate in assisting the sun god and join his crew to cross over the nocturnal realm of the Duat and arrive at the eastern gateway.

### 1.3 The solar bark

The solar bark represents a common element in the funerary literature since before the New Kingdom. The solar bark is not only a symbol of movement or sailing but also, and most importantly, of royal power and the official justice associated with it.<sup>224</sup> The two barks of the solar deity correspond to the two ships used by the king in the Old Kingdom to travel through the country to dispense justice and peace, and fix taxes.<sup>225</sup> Each of them depicts different variation of the solar journey and the transformation and regeneration process that the sun god undergoes; they all describe the entry into the Duat.

Although the main objective remains the same, the presentation of the solar bark changes from one form to another. Here, I will not trace the forms and attestations of the solar barks but shed some light on the roles of the solar barks in the Duat, the most prominent names of the solar barks, their crew, their components, and their cargo in order to try to extract a consistent concept behind merging those elements.

Since the PT, the identification of the deceased king with the sun god can be explicitly determined because the deceased wants to gain his place beside Re, cross on the bark to the horizon, to the place where the gods are born, and join the cosmic order to the east which represents the rising of the solar bark and rebirth after a period of darkness.<sup>226</sup> The term  *jw* “the boatless one,”<sup>227</sup> is known since the PT. To be without a bark means that the person will be deprived of any journey, either on the earth or in the netherworld.<sup>228</sup> The idea of the solar journey as a journey on a bark is at the same time an old attestation and the most enduring.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Khepri appears above the last three goddesses or beside them as a scarab beetle, which appears to enter the eastern horizon, see fig. 90, 91.

<sup>224</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 71.

<sup>225</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 71.

<sup>226</sup> This identification of the deceased king with Re may have occurred at night in the body of the sky goddess. The daily birth of the sun from the body of Nut is described in the following passages: “He (Re) who comes out of the Duat and rests in the day bark, who sails upon Nun until the hour of Re (called) ‘The One Who Sees Her Master,’ who becomes Khepri, and moves towards the horizon, who enters the mouth and who comes out of the vulva, who shines forth in the opening of the door of the horizon at the hour (called) ‘She Who Causes the Beauty of Re to Appear’ to cause the people to live.” Pyr. §§ 698, 1688; Sethe, *Lauf der Sonne*, 8-9. See also the goddesses of the twelfth hour of the Amduat who deliver Re to the eastern horizon. On the nighttime journey of the sun through the body of Nut, see Piankoff, in: JEA 20, 57-61.

<sup>227</sup> For the meaning of the term, see Pyr. §§ 1177, 1188, 1429, CT III, 28b, V 174d. *Wb* I, 47, 13-15; Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 208, 3. For another purpose of this term, see Faulkner, *AECT* I, 145, n. 3 (CT 168).

<sup>228</sup> Jacq, *Le voyage*, 37, § 17.

<sup>229</sup> The first representation of the solar barks, though it is a conjecture, is depicted on an ivory tablet (Petrie, *Royal Tombs* II, pl. X (2), XI (2)) from the tomb of the king Hor-Aha from the 1st Dynasty at Abydos. These barks are represented side by side and drawn in a stylised manner. Each possesses a high prow and stern, with three stemposts on board, and is ornamented by a long mat or curtain. See also the small bark which occurs on the Narmer palette. Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 36-37.



Therefore, the ancient Egyptians believed that the sun god had two journeys, one during the day and the other one during the night.<sup>230</sup> During this course, the sun god needs a vehicle that facilitates his journey. The earliest depictions of two barks and representations of towing the vessels, rowing, and paddles already appear in late Predynastic rock inscriptions.<sup>231</sup> The PT and CT contain a diverse assortment that describes certain elements and aspects of the solar barks. The earlier Netherworld Books, the Amduat and the Book of Gates, give the solar bark a leading position in each hour's middle register.<sup>232</sup> By contrast, the later books represent the solar bark more rarely. It appears just once in the sixth division of the Book of Caverns, twice in the Book of Solar-Osirian unity and on the enigmatic wall from Ramesses IX's tomb, and several times in the Book of the Earth.<sup>233</sup>

### 1.3.1 The solar bark in the netherworld

Since the solar barks are the means of traveling by both the sun god and the deceased on the two journeys, the verbs used to describe the act of getting from one bark to another are different. To express the ascent into the day bark after accomplishing the nocturnal journey, the verb must indicate the divine resurrection. This indication is clearly borne out by PT 573: *sdr=k m <m>skt.t j.rs=k m <m>nd.t* "you sleep in the night bark, you awaken in the day bark."<sup>234</sup> This incantation shows that the two barks are intended to be used, one for the day and one for the night. Here, the text speaks of the deceased king, so we know that the king is identified with Re to make the use of these divine vessels. Hence, the fact that the king utilises these barks because of his identification with Re shows us unmistakably that the latter was the original navigator of the solar bark.<sup>235</sup>

Another verb used to describe the movement of the sun god in the solar bark is *h̄tp*. In the Amduat, this verb is used to describe the pausing of the sun god in the regions of every hour. It also describes the peaceful movement from the night bark to the day bark. The introductory text of the twelfth hour reads: *prj=f m dw3.t h̄tp=f m <m>nd.t* "he goes forth from the netherworld, (and) places himself in the day bark."<sup>236</sup>

### 1.3.2 Cargo of the bark

In addition to the divine passengers and crew, the solar barks also carry cargo. This cargo consists of food and drink offerings. PT 409 sheds further light on this event: *nb jst.t 5 t t3 r p.t t 2 r t3 jn <m>sktt.t h̄nc <m>nd.t h̄nntj nw n N* "lord of things of five meals, three meals in heaven and two meals on earth; it is the night bark and the day bark, which conduct these two meals to N."<sup>237</sup> Of these meals,

<sup>230</sup> On the different aspects of the solar cycles in the PT, see Barta, in: SAK 2, 39-48 and its review in Altenmüller, *Aspekte des Sonnenlaufes*, 1-15.

<sup>231</sup> Darnell, in: Archéo-Nil 19, 92, 102, fig. 25, cf. Huyge, in: Friedman, *Gifts of the Desert*, 200-201.

<sup>232</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 4.

<sup>233</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 4, n. 31.

<sup>234</sup> Pyr. § 1479a.


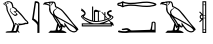

<sup>235</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 98.

<sup>236</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 795. For the lexicographical development of *h̄tp*, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 61. For the verbs of mobility and transition, see *ibid.*, 50-74, passim.

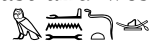
<sup>237</sup> Pyr. § 717. See also Pyr. § 124a-b, where the text reads: *h̄.t n=j k̄ wj3 jmy jr.t ntr* "a meal for me, you with access to Re's bark, you in the God's eye (bark)." Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 33.

three were to be taken in heaven, that is while traveling in the solar bark, and two were to be taken upon the earth. It would seem that the solar barks, when reaching the eastern and western mountains, pause for a while. Thus, when the barks touch the earth, the two earthly meals are taken, and we may reasonably suppose that it was also this moment in which the transference of the sun god from one bark to the other took place.<sup>238</sup> In the second hour of the Amduat, the sun god eats the bread on the bark of the earth (Doc. 78).<sup>239</sup> The presentation of the divine meals in the solar bark is retained in the CT<sup>240</sup> and the BD.<sup>241</sup> For instance, in the BD, these offerings were made on earth for the temple of Re in Heliopolis and transferred to the solar bark, where they provided food and clothing for the deceased.<sup>242</sup> Therefore, both night and day barks carried a cargo consisting of food, drink, and clothing for the refreshment and use of the passengers who travelled therein.<sup>243</sup>

### 1.3.3 Names of the solar bark

The common name of the solar bark was  *wjꜣ*.<sup>244</sup> It is also called  *wjꜣ-ꜥꜣ* the “Great Bark,”<sup>245</sup>  *wjꜣ-R* the “Bark of Re,”<sup>246</sup> and *wjꜣ n ḥḥ.w* “Bark of millions.”<sup>247</sup> Many other names appear in the New Kingdom Books of the Netherworld, e.g., *wjꜣ n nb ḥḥ* “Bark of the Lord of Eternity” in the seventh hour of the Book of the Night,<sup>248</sup> and *wjꜣ-n-ntr-pn-ꜥꜣ* “Bark of this Great God” in the twelfth hour of the Book of Gates.<sup>249</sup> In the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat, the serpent barks’ names are *dm-wꜣ.t* “Piercing the Way” and *ꜥnh.w-bꜣ.w* “With living *Ba*-soul,” respectively.<sup>250</sup> However, during the Old Kingdom and later, the most significant names of the solar barks are Mesketet and Mandjet.

#### 1.3.3.1 Mesketet and Mandjet barks

The two solar barks are symbolic of day and night/east and west, which comprise the sun’s total movement. The sun god travels during the day in the  *mꜥnd.t* bark<sup>251</sup> (east-west) and at

<sup>238</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 99.

<sup>239</sup> In the Amduat, the act of moving from the earthly day bark to the night bark occurs in the second hour, which is considered the netherworld’s actual entrance. On the first hour of the Amduat as an intermediate realm separating the actual world from the netherworld, see 3.1.

<sup>240</sup> CT III, 75, (Sp. 181).

<sup>241</sup> The text in BD 124 reads: *r-ntt t=j m bty ḥdt ḥnkt=j m jt dšr jn <m>skt.t <m>ꜥnd.t jn n=j st* “for my bread is of the white emmer and my beer is of the red barley. It is the night bark and the day bark that bring them to me.” Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 267. Cf. Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 182.

<sup>242</sup> On Heliopolis as a cult centre of the sun god where these gifts and offerings were made, see BD 102 in the papyrus of Nu. Sethe, *Komm.* III, 326-327; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 228. Cf. RÄRG, 740.

<sup>243</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 119.

<sup>244</sup> *Wb* I, 271. Cf. for example, the text of the middle register of the second hour and the introduction of the ninth hour. Hornung, *TZA* I, 197-200; id., III, 645, 646.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. the text of the goddesses who haul the solar bark in the twelfth hour. Hornung, *TZA* III, 832. This name might also be applied to the bark of the king. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 125.

<sup>246</sup> See Doc. 4, 9, 13. Also *wjꜣ n R* in Doc. 24, 42.


<sup>247</sup> See Zandee, *Amunhymnus*, II 558-560.

<sup>248</sup> Roulin, *LdN* II, 75.

<sup>249</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* I, 385, cf. Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien* II, 348, 14.

<sup>250</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 365-366, 420.




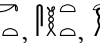


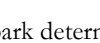
<sup>251</sup> Var. , , , , , , , . Sometimes the determinatives are omitted. For more variants, see Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 90, n. 2, 3.

night in the  *mskt.t* bark (west-east).<sup>252</sup> The change of barks takes place at the moments of sunrise and sunset.<sup>253</sup> The barks' duality stems from the Egyptian way of thought, of the basic structure of polar opposite pairs or "dual units." What is expressed in the two barks and all pairs of symbols relating to the day-night cycle is a concept of perpetuity characterising the Egyptian concept of cosmic time as an eternal movement circling within itself.<sup>254</sup> The importance of pairing lies in the combination. In this case, the two barks complement one another to secure the solar circuit's unity through both the day sky, visible to the human eye, and the night sky, unseen and potentially not covered.<sup>255</sup>

The two barks often have different forms of writing. The night bark took the name Mesketet, from the root *skj*<sup>256</sup> "to perish/destroy," as the bark for the period of the disappearance of light from the earth. In contrast, the day bark was called Mandjet, from the root *ꜥd*<sup>257</sup> or *ꜥndj*<sup>258</sup> "to become safe" or *ꜥd.t* "to grow fat," for the time of day when light fills the world.<sup>259</sup> Thus, these two designations can determine the state of the sun god during the corresponding time. He appears as a vulnerable old man in the night traveling as *Imf-Re* (the combination of the *Ba*-soul and the flesh), then young and ideally vital in the morning.<sup>260</sup>

According to Albright, the root *ꜥnd*, "be healthy, unblemished," is a synonym of *wd3*, the Arabic *wuḍū'* *وضوء*, "be bright, clean." The primary meaning of the root *wd3* is "to go out, rise," as we know from other Semitic languages.<sup>261</sup> Since the structure of the stem *skj* is doubtful, a combination with *skj* "destroy, be destroyed" is to be considered. A connection with *سكت*, "die," primarily "be silent," is sometime assumed.<sup>262</sup> This etymology is perhaps intended to show a contrast to the powerful sun of the daytime and means the weak or the destroyed sun of the night.<sup>263</sup> When the two barks are depicted side by side in the PT, they have the same representation, and when they are not, the distinction gives rise to only the desire for change.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> *Wb* II, 150. Var. , , , , , ,  (with varied bark determinatives). Sometimes the names of the bark are written without any determinatives. On the substitution of the letter *m* and the metathesis of the two names, see Chatelet, in: BIFAO 15, 140.


<sup>253</sup> Thomas, in: JEA 42, 65-79.

<sup>254</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 72, 73 with note 64. For the concept of duality in the in ancient Egyptian thinking, see Servajean, *Duality. UEE.*, 1-4.

<sup>255</sup> Quirke, *Cult of Re*, 47.

<sup>256</sup> *Wb* IV, 312, 4, 18-19.

<sup>257</sup> *Wb* I, 237, 11; 240, 1.

<sup>258</sup> On the possibilities of reading the sign  in the word *mꜥnd.t*, see Chatelet, in: BIFAO 15, 139.

<sup>259</sup> Quirke, *The cult of Re*, 46, cf. *ꜥndw* "brightness of the sun." *Wb* I, 207, 13.

<sup>260</sup> From the Middle Kingdom onwards we see that the roles of the solar barks are reversed, and the night bark becomes the day bark and vice versa. In the Graeco-Roman Period this reversal recurs frequently. Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 90, n. 6, cf. Chassinat, *Edfon* III, 10, 30, 129, 199, etc.; id., *Dendara* I, 9, 34; II, 19, 184, 194, etc. On that matter, see also Smith, *Papyrus BM 10507*, 85.



<sup>261</sup> Albright, in: AJSLL 34, 142. For further information on *mꜥnd.t* and its corresponding word in Arabic, see Brockelmann, in: *Mélanges Maspero* I, 381.

<sup>262</sup> Albright, in: AJSLL 34, 142.





<sup>263</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 90.

<sup>264</sup> See Anthes, in: ZÄS 82, 78.

### 1.3.3.2 *Zḥn.wj* the “reed-floats”

Barta suggests that the reed-floats’ utterances in PT 263-266 represent the sun’s full day and night cycle, and the reed-floats themselves are the most ancient example of the solar bark.<sup>265</sup> Altenmüller argues that it is unanimously agreed that the reed-floats, subsumed under the term  *Zḥn.wj*,<sup>266</sup> on which the sun god and, like him, the deceased king, ferry across to the sky,<sup>267</sup> are rather primitive vehicles. They are, therefore, unlikely to serve as the solar barks for the entire journey of the sun god.<sup>268</sup> This interpretation does not conform with many passages in the PT which declare that the reed-floats are the solar barks on which the sun god proceeds along his journey. For instance, in Pyr. § 337a, the text clearly states that the sky’s reed-floats are a place for Re, that he might cross on them to the horizon.<sup>269</sup> Here, these primitive floats fulfil the role of the solar barks.<sup>270</sup> The deceased king is identified with Re and  *Zḥn-wr*, the “Great Float-user,” to achieve his goal of being in the solar bark (Doc. 1). The original name *Zḥn.wj* seems to have been lost. The latter one has been considered to mean “Great Embracer,” or “Great Protector,” referring to the sun in its course encircling or embracing the universe<sup>271</sup> and visualising the circular journey of the sun which is symbolised by the ring-*šn*, hence this idea that the world is equivalent to “everything that the disc encircles.”<sup>272</sup>

### 1.3.3.3 Maaty solar barks

Many excerpts from earlier texts<sup>273</sup> suggest that the word *m3<sup>c</sup>.ty* was used for the name of one bark or two solar barks: *tbw.ty N pn m m3<sup>c</sup>.ty pry=f rf šwy=f rfr p.t* “The feet of this N are  the two Maat barks, so that he may emerge and ascend to the sky,”<sup>274</sup> *ššm N pn R<sup>c</sup> m m3<sup>c</sup>.ty=f hrw ḥts rnp.t* “This N guides Re in his  two Maat barks on the day of bringing the end of the year,”<sup>275</sup> *N pn mn m p.t smn m p.t m sbb Wr m s<sup>c</sup> R<sup>c</sup> ḥr n m3<sup>c</sup>.ty=f m sbb nḥḥ* “This N is firm in the sky (and) established in the sky as the one who proceeds to the Great One, like the one who causes Re to go up to his  Maaty bark, and the one who sends the Eternity.”<sup>276</sup> In another CT spell, it reads: *wn...k wn...k nn(?)... [d3j]=k Hr.t pḥ=n R<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>.ty* “//////, is after Re has reached  the Maaty bark so

<sup>265</sup> Barta, in: SAK 2, 39 ff.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. Breasted, in: JEA 4, 174-75.

<sup>267</sup> Pyr. § 337a.

<sup>268</sup> Altenmüller, *Aspekte des Sonnenlaufes*, 2-3.

<sup>269</sup> Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 51.

<sup>270</sup> Firchow, in: WZKM 54, 35.

<sup>271</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 3.

<sup>272</sup> *Wb* IV, 490, 7-15; Perdu, in: BIFAO 82, 320-321. See also a text from the Middle Kingdom tomb of Sebakhesourou from Kôm el-Hisn designating *Zḥn-wr* as a solar epithet. *ibid.*, 320.

<sup>273</sup> *Wb* II, 25, 11,12; Helck, *Maat*, in: *LÄ* III, 1112. For the dualism applied to the Maaty barks and their relation to the Mesketet and Mandjet as solar barks, see Anthes, in: ZÄS 82, 81-84.

<sup>274</sup> Pyr. § 1315a-c (539) – version P.

<sup>275</sup> Pyr. § 1785b (627b) – version N. A single Maat bark is also in Pyr. § 1429c.

<sup>276</sup> CT VI, 312n-p (Sp. 682).

that you shall go across the sky.”<sup>277</sup> The Two Maaty appear in the Amduat as two goddesses,<sup>278</sup> where the text identifies them as part of the solar bark’s crew (see 3.1.3).

Kees suggests a different translation for these two barks and that they are “right traversing” barks because they sail a course of established regularity and order on account of the right wind which fill their sails, that is to say, the exact wind is needed to make them arrive at their destination. Thus, Maat is also called “She who sails with rectitude.”<sup>279</sup> According to Hassan, this explanation is not very plausible because, “in the PT, we have only a single reference to the day bark being propelled by means of a sail. In the Middle Kingdom, the day bark is said to “sail upstream” using the north wind, while the night bark is either moved or towed.”<sup>280</sup> The solar bark borrows the name “Maaty” on account of the resemblance to the form to the hieroglyph *m<sup>3</sup>c* “right, truth, justice, etc.” This is further evidenced by the fact that the justified king’s tongue is likened to the Maat Bark,<sup>281</sup> *ns n N pn m m<sup>3</sup>c.tj jr m<sup>3</sup>c.t* “the tongue of this N is that of the truthful/guide for the Maat bark.”<sup>282</sup>

The sun god exercises the rule of setting truth and justice in the form of a journey on a bark, i.e., a “royal journey” of the same kind that the Egyptian king undertakes after he accedes to the throne as a sign of his assumption of power, especially in the early days of the Egyptian state.<sup>283</sup> Therefore, the barks are the “royal barks” of the sun god and are less navigational instruments than the exercise of power, meaning justice and supply.<sup>284</sup> Therefore, the barks carry Maat or Maat symbols (see 3.2.1.6) as an indication of jurisdiction and the falcon standards as a symbol of royal power. The exercise of power by Maat means overcoming resistance, resolving the crisis, and defeating the enemies.<sup>285</sup>

### 1.3.4 Main components of the solar bark




In the PT, the small boats that determine the solar barks’ names are so carefully and meticulously created and so full of varied details that they serve as illustrations in themselves for the type of bark they refer to. In their primary form, the barks of the PT do not vary very much.<sup>286</sup> The typical bark has a *šms-Hr*<sup>287</sup> prow and stern. The prow-post is usually decorated with a hanging curtain (mat). The solar barks in the PT may also possess cabins, and these may be single or in groups of two and may

<sup>277</sup> CT VI, 3260-p (Sp. 693).

<sup>278</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 17. Cf. Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 90.

<sup>279</sup> Kees, *Totenglauben*, 156.

<sup>280</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 90, n. 1.

<sup>281</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 90, n. 1. Here, the tongue is likened to the guide of the justified king on his way to the solar bark, which it seems he could only enter if he had been found righteous in some judgement. The reference may also be to the form of the bark itself which resembles the hieroglyph , and in this respect we may remark that the Egyptian names for the prow and stern respectively were  and . Thus, this explanation appears most likely to me. Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 82; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 173.



<sup>282</sup> Pyr. § 1306c.


<sup>283</sup> Assmann, *Ma’at*, 180.

<sup>284</sup> For the conception of the essence of the coronation and enthronement rituals and its connection with the funeral rituals, see Stadler in: Backes and Dieleman, *Liturgical Texts*, 75-90.







<sup>285</sup> Assmann, *Ma’at*, 180.

<sup>286</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 82.

<sup>287</sup> The *šms-Hr* bark is identical to the form of the barks in the PT in which the Horus sign  and the sign  occupy the prow and stern of the solar bark. On the origins of this group, see Boreux, *Nautique*, 85-100; Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 31-32; Anthes, in: ZÄS 82, 78.

vary in shape and size. The solar barks also contain a hawk, one or more large sticks set upright, the sign , a seat or a throne, and other divine emblems.<sup>288</sup> There are a lot of additional elements that are presented in the solar bark. Doc. 40 shows some parts are in the solar bark in which all of the bark parts are named after deities. Vignettes of BD 99B in Neferrenpet present all the objects that the deceased should know to achieve a successful journey. The vignettes consist of the command: “Tell me my name,” the same command of Doc. 40, then the bark parts are presented.<sup>289</sup> One may see other elements which the deceased uses for proper navigation: wind, a river, riverbanks, and the ground.<sup>290</sup> As mentioned above, the solar barks contain judicial instruments of power and the falcon standards as sign of royal authority. However, the Netherworld Books (the Amduat and the Book of Gates) present a simplified form without the instruments of power, falcon standards, mast, and a mat on the prow (except for the bark of the Amduat’s first hour). Even the cabin is often replaced by the Mehen serpent, which encircles the sun god in a protective gesture (see 3.7.1).<sup>291</sup> In the following few pages, I will try to focus on the most important solar bark components that appear in the Amduat.<sup>292</sup>

#### 1.3.4.1 The prow and the stern

Almost all the sacred or funeral barks have the same prow and the stern curved in the shape of a sickle () . The name of the prow is  *m3-ḥ3.tj*,<sup>293</sup> and the name of the stern is  *m3-pḥwtj*.<sup>294</sup> According to Jéquier, these two parts of the bark may be associated with the  *ḥ3.t* of the gods  *ḥ3-nb-jmn.t*,<sup>295</sup> whose brow is the bark’s bow-piece and  *Sbk*, whose brow is the stern of the bark.<sup>296</sup> However, I do not agree with his view, since these parts of the bark can be associated with any deity (see doc. 40). Furthermore, Jéquier says that we do not know the role of these two deities since they play no part in the solar bark. He adds that it would be plausible to identify them with Hu and Sia.<sup>297</sup> He does not explain this identification, but one would assume that it is because Hu and Sia tend to stand on the bark, one in the prow and the other on the solar bark’s stern.<sup>298</sup> In the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat, the solar bark in the middle register is transformed into a serpent bark with the prow and stern ending in serpent heads (see 3.4.2). In the eleventh hour, the

<sup>288</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 83.

<sup>289</sup> Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 176-177.

<sup>290</sup> Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 178.

<sup>291</sup> See Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 72.

<sup>292</sup> For the other components of the barks, see Jéquier, in: BIFAO 9, 37-82.


<sup>293</sup> Jones, *Nautical titles*, 166, 62.

<sup>294</sup> Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 166, 61. For *m3<sup>c</sup>* “(prow?) rope” of a boat, see *ibid.*, 167, 64.

<sup>295</sup> *Urk* V, 183, 1.

<sup>296</sup> See CT V, 125a-b.

<sup>297</sup> Jéquier, in: BIFAO 9, 44.

<sup>298</sup> See the relationship between the sign  and the two Maat barks in note 281.

proW of the solar bark is surmounted by a solar disc. The text refers to its role as the “Shining One,” guiding the sun god towards the end of the netherworld (see 3.11.3.1).<sup>299</sup>

### 1.3.4.2 The mat (hanging curtain)

First of all, this mat sometimes serves as a pedestal for a crowned hawk or, later, for a small bird that appears in the papyrus of *Hr-wbn*.<sup>300</sup> In the later representations, we also see the prow’s place is occupied by “Horus the child,” who acts as a shipmaster to the solar bark.<sup>301</sup> In the barks of the PT, these mats are either surmounted by two, three, or four pieces over which its mat would be woven, or are quite plain, and sometimes they consist of reeds and a curtain of beadwork, or neither. Their origin and function are not certain.<sup>302</sup> Hassan suggests a practical function, perhaps a mooring-rope, anchor-cable, or an ornamental development of a protective fender.<sup>303</sup> This mat in the solar bark was retained in the CT: *ḥmsj=k ḥr psḥ n mfk3.t r ḥ3.t wj3 n Rc twt wbn=k mj wbn Rc* “you sit on a *psḥ*-mat<sup>304</sup> of turquoise in the prow of the bark of Re, and you rise like the rising of Re.”<sup>305</sup> In the Middle Kingdom solar bark from El-Bersheh, the prow is decorated with a box-like object, which is perhaps intended to represent the hanging mat. According to a Middle Kingdom text mentioning the divine bark’s parts, this object is explained as its *šw*-cordage.<sup>306</sup> In the CT,<sup>307</sup> this *šw* with plant determinative probably refers similarly to the prow and stern-pieces, representing the ends of the reeds lashed together at either end of the bark.<sup>308</sup> In the Amduat, this mat is depicted only in the main bark of the first hour. Roulin has suggested that the mat might protect the bark from winds, which assail the navigation during the entry to the underworld.<sup>309</sup>

### 1.3.4.3 Seats or thrones of the solar bark

Occasionally we see a great throne instead of a cabin. The throne of the solar bark is vacant, thus fulfilling the exact words of texts in which the deceased king rises from earth to heaven, where on his

<sup>299</sup> See also the prows and sterns of the solar barks in the second and third hours of the Amduat which are depicted in very different forms in 3.2.1, 3.3.1.

<sup>300</sup> Nagel, in: BIFAO 28, 35. Maspero suggests that this bird is identical to a small green bird common in the Theban plain which has the habit of fluttering swiftly along in front of travelers, as though it were guiding them upon their way. He argues that, when seated upon the prow of the solar bark, it performs the function of guidance. According to Hassan, this explanation concerning the small bird is plausible, but the hawk is more likely to represent either the king or one of the solar gods. Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 69.

<sup>301</sup> The deceased king replaces Horus and undertakes the difficulties of this dangerous task by making himself indispensable to Re upon the solar bark. Pyr. § 367a-b.

<sup>302</sup> See Thomas, in: JEA 45, 45. For further details on the physical composition and components of the solar mat, see *ibid.*, 38-51.

<sup>303</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 70-71.

<sup>304</sup> *Psḥ* or *psḥ* is recorded in *Wb* 1, 553, 5 as “etw. auf dem man vorn im Sonnenschiff sitzt.” It may refer to the mat-like appendage often depicted as hanging curtain from the prow of the solar bark, on top of which a divine or semi-divine figure is often seated. Faulkner, *AECT* I, 57, n. 9.

<sup>305</sup> CT I, 260f-261a (Sp. 61).

<sup>306</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 152 f.




<sup>307</sup> CT V, 74r (Sp. 396).

<sup>308</sup> Faulkner, *AECT* II, 24, n. 19; Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 189, 159, cf. Jéquier, in: BIFAO 9, 56-57.

<sup>309</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 74-74. See also Goebis, in: GM 165, 57-72.

arrival, he identifies himself with the sun god and takes his seat in the solar bark (Doc. 9). Another example where the throne is mentioned is: *wšb ns.t=k m ḥnw wjḏ ḥmsj=k m dp.t ntr* “wide is your throne in the bark, and you sit in the divine bark.”<sup>310</sup> Many references to the throne occur in BD, where, e.g., the soldiers of Re protect the thrones of those who are amid the bark of Khepri.<sup>311</sup> According to the introductory text of the ninth hour of the Amduat, the benefit of having a throne among the sun god and his crew is guaranteed to the one who knows their names upon the earth and who knows their names in the west (see Doc. 115). However, there is no depiction of thrones in the Amduat.

#### 1.3.4.4 The *Hr-šms* group

The Accommodation of the *Hr-šms* is found in the PT; another prominent emblem consists of a falcon upon a perch or a stick. This hawk may be either a symbol of the god Horus, its original significance, or it may represent the king, who is identified with Horus.<sup>312</sup> Another emblem which can be seen in the solar barks connected to Horus is the sign , which may have originally represented the god's followers.<sup>313</sup> This group is one of the oldest elements to have appeared on the solar bark. It is mentioned in an event named  which is recorded in the annals of the first dynasties and in a royal decree by Pepi II.<sup>314</sup> It has been argued that it may refer to a trip made by the king or his officials for the purpose of tax collection or other government duties. It could have been a combination of a religious festival, tax collection, and royal government activity.<sup>315</sup> The presence of this group in the king's festive, ritual, or ceremonial occasions is to symbolically open and purify the way for him.<sup>316</sup> The sign  was regarded as an instrument of punishment. On a fragment of an alabaster cylinder bearing King Den's name, this sign is shown as a standard of the goddess Mafdet.<sup>317</sup> This would suggest that the sign attached to the cylinder was called the “claws of Mafdet.” Thus, it was the weapon used to punish the enemies of the deceased king. She protects the sun god from serpents,<sup>318</sup> and sometimes carries out this role in representations of the solar bark.<sup>319</sup> The sign *šms* also appears in the solar bark during the New Kingdom and later. The word means “the follower” or “the servant” of a lord, a king, or a god.<sup>320</sup> A scene from the eighth hour of the Amduat shows nine *šms* signs with human heads following the solar bark (fig. 70), undoubtedly to open its way and defeat the enemies of the sun god and his retinue (see 3.8.2).

<sup>310</sup> CT I, 258g-259a.

<sup>311</sup> BD 39; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 46, 10-12.

<sup>312</sup> Hassan, *Giza VI*, 1, 72.

<sup>313</sup> Hassan, *Giza VI*, 1, 72.

<sup>314</sup> Kaiser, in: ZÄS 85, 131 with n. 10, 132.

<sup>315</sup> Kaiser, in: ZÄS 85, 132. For the divinities who belong to the *Hr-šms* group and their relation to the kingship, see *ibid.*, 118-137; Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 358.

<sup>316</sup> Kaiser, in: ZÄS 85, 137.

<sup>317</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, 25, pl. VII.









<sup>318</sup> See Pyr. § 1212d-e.

<sup>319</sup> Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 187.

<sup>320</sup> *Wb IV*, 483, 17-18. See also Doc. 6, 11, 13, 19, 43, 71.









### 1.3.4.5 The staff

As a weapon, “this instrument was commonly used by the nomadic tribes inhabiting the deserts to the east and the west of the Delta, and it was the most used and favorite weapon of the Delta marsh-dwellers themselves, as we find it constantly employed throughout the historical period for fowling in the marshes.”<sup>321</sup> Boreux suggests that it may have been used as an emblem to symbolise the people of the conquered Delta, just as he thinks that the  was used to represent the conquering followers of Horus.<sup>322</sup> This staff resembling the sign , which Gardiner identifies as a boomerang or throw stick, determines the names of foreign people and localities.<sup>323</sup> According to TLA, it is the       *wdy.t* “bearer of the rudder.”<sup>324</sup> Thus, this vertical post may appear to stand for the steering gear or refer to the steering gear itself, the “helm.”

According to Jéquier, this *wdy.t* is the actual propellor of the solar bark, which does not sail by rowing but by magic.<sup>325</sup> A staff like that is an excellent weapon to annihilate Apophis; in the BD, Neferrenpet uses such a stick to paralyse the inimical serpent.<sup>326</sup> In almost every hour of the Amduat, these staffs are directly attached to the stern’s rudders. In the first hour, these rudders are ornamented by a hawk head (see, e.g., fig. 15, 29, 32, 52).

### 1.3.4.6 The paddles

No solar barks dating from the Old Kingdom have been found either in reality or in representation that show any means of guidance or propelling. According to Hassan, this omission of all navigation systems occurs because the solar bark is a development of the reed-floats. The latter may have been paddled along by the bare hands of the passenger. But whatever the religious or artistic convention was which prevented these devices from being represented in the early boats, the texts leave no doubt as to their employment, while even the determinative sign for the words “to row,” etc., shows us forms of the oars.<sup>327</sup>

The solar bark sails by means of magic or by hauling, and to steer it, there are two oars,<sup>328</sup>   *h̄mw* or     *h̄my.t*.<sup>329</sup> Those of the solar bark are not paddles, but the steering rudders of the bark,<sup>330</sup> called *h̄pw.t*.<sup>331</sup> Goyon does not translate *h̄pw.t* as “rudders,” but as “runnings,” which according to Assmann, is perhaps better.<sup>332</sup> This assumption may be derived from the function of the

<sup>321</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 74.

<sup>322</sup> Boreux, *Nautique*, 110.

<sup>323</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 498.

<sup>324</sup> “ein hölzernes Schiffsteil,” *Wb* I, 399, 12. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 52, n. 32; Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 162, 45. Cf. the word *wdy.t* determined with the sign  in *Urk.* V, 205, 6.

<sup>325</sup> Jéquier, in: BIFAO 9, 47.

<sup>326</sup> Milde, *Neferrenpet*, pl. 26, fig. 26.

<sup>327</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 112.

<sup>328</sup> Sometimes four paddles. See Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 156-157. Cf. BD 148, in which four paddles, representing the four sides of the sky, are given to the deceased. Quirke, *Prt m Hrw*, 355.

<sup>329</sup> Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 200.

<sup>330</sup> Boreux, *Nautique*, 448.

<sup>331</sup> On *h̄pw.t* as a description of the solar journey, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 218, n. 143.

<sup>332</sup> See Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 31, n. 37. On *h̄pw.t* as a description of the solar journey cf. id., *Liturgische Lieder*, 218, n. 143.

rudders as accelerators of the bark's movement. In the twelve hours of the night, all the barks possess twin steering oars except for the fourth and fifth hours, where the landscape of the netherworld changes into a desiccated surface, and the bark no longer requires paddles (see 3.4.1). The middle register of the ninth hour mentions "rowers," and a series of twelve deities holding oars are depicted before the solar bark (fig. 72, 73). Details concerning the benefit of the oars and the splashing of the crew occur in the tenth hour of the Amduat (Doc. 119).

#### 1.3.4.7 The Udjat eye

One or two *wḏ3.t* eyes are shown on the bark's body (see, e.g., fig. 4a, 25, 33). The significance of this eye regarding the solar bark is crucial. Besides the usual role of this eye as a protective agent, it also symbolises sight for directions.<sup>333</sup> The *Udjat*-eye becomes the receptacle of the newborn sun. Its place in the bark may foreshadow the ascension into the eastern horizon<sup>334</sup> since its restoration mimics the solar journey through the underworld.<sup>335</sup> Furthermore, the *Udjat*-eyes protect the sun god as he sails over Apophis.<sup>336</sup> The sacred eye could also function as a symbol of offerings. Variants on these themes appear frequently, as in BD 130, which shows Thoth as a baboon offering the *Udjat*-eye to the sun god in the bark of Khepri (see 3.7.2, n. 1461).

#### 1.3.4.8 The ropes

The ropes are usually used to haul the solar bark. The prow and stern ropes (*ḥ3.t* and *ph.wt*) of the solar bark are brought by the gods to raise it to the sky (Doc. 16). Hathor is the mistress of *wsr.wt*-ropes who guides those who are in the netherworld (Doc. 35). Thoth holds the *ḳ3*-rope of the solar bark to fetch the west to east (Doc. 73).<sup>337</sup> The ropes first appear in the fourth hour of the Amduat where the bark travels from the irrigated fields of the first three hours to a sandy terrain where the bark must be hauled by ropes over the sandy surface (fig. 43, 49). The action of hauling continues in the fifth hour where fourteen male and female deities, assisted by Khepri, who grasps the towing rope from above, take the towrope of the bark to climb the mound of Isis (fig. 48). In the sixth hour, the bark resumes its regular topography for sailing and no longer requires haulers. The towrope appears again in the eighth hour as its landscape resembles that of the fourth and fifth hours (see 3.8). Twelve gods pull the sun god's bark in the twelfth hour through the tail of the "serpent of rebirth." Having passed the serpent, thirteen goddesses grasp the rope and lead the sun god into the eastern horizon (fig. 90, 91). The haulers and their rope are assigned to the sun god and his entourage to assist in his nightly rebirth. Another function of the ropes appears in the seventh hour; Selket and another deity hold the ropes that bind Apophis (fig. 59).

<sup>333</sup> Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 43.


<sup>334</sup> Cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 28-29. For the sun god and the *Udjat*-eye, see Darnell, in: SAK 24, 35-48.

<sup>335</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 65.

<sup>336</sup> Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 305-308. For further information on the solar eye in the Amduat, see 3.2.1.6, 3.3.4.

<sup>337</sup> The deceased has the same function in Doc. 65.

### 1.3.4.9 The shrine

Since the PT and CT, the sun god usually stands in a shrine-cabin (Doc. 5, 44). Its name is  *k3r*.<sup>338</sup> In the Amduat, the sun god appears inside a shrine in the first six hours. In the seventh hour, the Mehen serpent replaces Re's shrine, a feature present until the last hour of the night.<sup>339</sup> The theology of the Mehen serpent protecting the sun god in the bark finds its roots in the CT; the earlier annotations locate Mehen in the solar bark to protect the sun god along the dark paths of the netherworld (Doc. 47, 48).

### 1.3.4.10 The sun disc

Only in the Amduat's eleventh hour, a new element is added in the bark. It is a red sun disc adorned with a uraeus. According to the text, this disc, at the head of the bark, leads the sun god and his crew along the roads of darkness by means of what is in it (fig. 84, 85).

### 1.3.4.11 The scarab

The god Khepri is supposed to roll the solar disc to make it come out of the earth as he does with a dung ball.<sup>340</sup> In the Amduat's tenth hour, the scarab appears rolling an oval shape representing the netherworld (fig. 75). In the twelfth hour, the scarab, the image of the sun god's rebirth, occupies the prow of the solar bark (fig. 89). The same scarab appears again to break through the oval end of the underworld (fig. 90).

## 1.4 The crew of the solar bark

### 1.4.1 The term "crew"

The sun god does not travel alone but sails on a bark with a divine crew. Each onboard member offers a quality indispensable to safe passage and plays an active role.<sup>341</sup> The word *js.t* "crew" is the most common word used to designate the gods who occupy the solar bark. However, texts can mention Re's entourage without directly using the term crew. We find that the crew members are referred to by their divine quality as *ntr.w jmy<.w>=f* "Gods in It" (Doc. 17),<sup>342</sup> the latter appellation is used in almost all witnesses of the Amduat (see below). They are *hnn.w wj3 R* "Rowers of the Bark of Re" (Doc. 4) and *pr.w wj3* "Sailors in the Bark" (Doc. 46). The term *šnw.t* "entourage" is also used to define the solar bark crew (Doc. 29, 42, 55, and others). In Thutmose III's catalogue, the crew of the solar bark are presented in a brief way. They appear as *ntr.w jmy.w=f* "Gods Who Are in It." They sit in a separate field, with three seated figures of gods marking the plural (with the bowl of incense facing them).<sup>343</sup> In the sixth hour, the solar bark and its crew, presumably due to lack of space, are put

<sup>338</sup> *Wb* V, 183, 2, 3. It is also called  *fd.t*, see *Wb* I, 183, 18.

<sup>339</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 135.

<sup>340</sup> Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 113.

<sup>341</sup> Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 44.






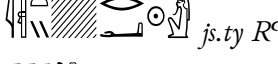
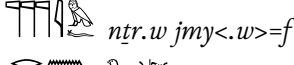
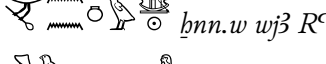


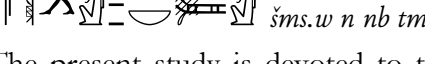
<sup>342</sup> It refers to the solar bark.

<sup>343</sup> Lapčić, in: GOF 58, 180, 188, Tab.2, Ex-7.

together in the same field, so that, instead of the detailed writing of the three figures of gods, the nominal phrase *ntr.w jmy.w=f* is determined by the seated god with the three-strokes plural sign.<sup>344</sup>

In the PT, no writing of the different solar barks' determinatives appears to contain crew members other than the sun god and the deceased king who may have been represented by the bark's emblems, e.g., the Horus hawk and the *ntr*-sign. This does not mean that the barks carried no additional deities and were not provided with any means of propulsion or guidance.<sup>345</sup> In fact, one of the most significant implements which appears in the writings of the solar bark in the PT is the sign *šms*,<sup>346</sup> which could be a characterisation of the entire crew.<sup>347</sup> Moreover, the PT state that the solar bark has a crew of deities, usually composed of, e.g., Isis and Nephthys (Doc. 1, 12, 17), Hu and Sia (Doc. 5, 6), and the Unwearying and Imperishable Stars (Doc. 13).

The mention of the term "crew" is attested in ancient Egyptian literature in many variants. The following table clarifies some variants of the word crew and its designations from the PT, CT, the Book of the Dead, and the Amduat.

The term	Meaning	Paragraph
 <i>jr.w-jz.t hnnj.w R<sup>c</sup></i>	Crew who rows Re	Doc. 9
 <i>js.t R<sup>c</sup></i>	Crew of Re	Doc. 57, 67, 70
 <i>js.t=f</i>	His crew	Doc. 65, 115, 116
 <i>js.t wj3 n R<sup>c</sup></i>	Crew of the bark of Re	Doc. 111, 117
 <i>js.t n.t ntr.w</i>	Crew of gods	Doc. 119
 <i>js.ty R<sup>c</sup></i>	Two crews of Re <sup>348</sup>	Doc. 28
 <i>ntr.w jmy&lt;.w&gt;=f</i>	Gods in it (the bark)	Doc. 17
 <i>hnn.w wj3 R<sup>c</sup></i>	Rowers of the Bark of Re	Doc. 4
 <i>hnj.w=k</i>	Your rowers	Doc. 80
 <i>šnw.t R<sup>c</sup></i>	Entourage of Re	Doc. 29
 <i>šms.w n nb tm</i>	Followers of the Lord of All	Doc. 19

The present study is devoted to texts that illustrate the roles of the solar bark's crew in ancient Egyptian literature, before the first appearance of the Amduat and in the Amduat itself. These roles and functions may be assigned to the crew of the bark as a group, or they could be determined for a specific member of the crew. The following pages shed some light on the bark itself, its names, and its main components. The last part of the first section is a general description of the crew of the solar

<sup>344</sup> Lapčić, in: GOF 58, 180, 188, Tab.2, Ex-8.

<sup>345</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, vol. 1, 110.

<sup>346</sup> See Doc. 1.


<sup>347</sup> See 3.8.2.

<sup>348</sup> Presumably the crews of the day and night barks.

bark, not only in the PT, CT, BD, and the Amduat, but also in the other Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom and the Late Period.

### 1.4.2 The members of the crew

In the PT and CT, the number of the solar bark's crew members is not clarified. An excerpt from the Book of Two Ways states that there are five crew members (Doc. 59). Since the New Kingdom, the number of the crew is not subject to a determined rule. In the Book of Gates, the two creative forces, Sia and Heka, accompany the sun god in his bark,<sup>349</sup> which inspired the creator of the Book of the Night to form two creative powers for the crew's composition who assist the sun during its nocturnal journey, Sia and Hu. The goddess Maat is added to evoke the necessity of this principle force.<sup>350</sup> In the Book of the Night, the bark is towed by a group of gods, the "Unwearying Stars," and it is identical in all hours.<sup>351</sup>

In the Book of the Day, the first event of the day takes place in the east and represents the new sun's birth.<sup>352</sup> The first representation of the solar bark depicts the god Shu with a crew of gods.<sup>353</sup> The crew of the solar bark in the Book of the Day differs in each hour. It carries Hu, Sia, Geb, Isis, Horhekenu?, Wepwawet, Nebetwia, the *šms* sign, and others. In the second, third, fourth, and fifth barks, the goddess  *šr.t* "Who Lets Rise" stands on the prow,<sup>354</sup> and pronounces incantations that move the bark forward.<sup>355</sup> In the first scene, the day and night barks are represented with Isis and Nephthys standing on their front sterns. The goddesses transfer the sun disc from the night bark to the day bark. Above the two prows, the word "Mehen" is inscribed.<sup>356</sup>

In the Amduat, the solar bark crew is consistent in the twelve hours, with a few variations. From the bark's prow to the stern, the typical crew is Wepwawet, Sia, Nebetwia, the sun god, Horhekenu, Ka-Maat, Nehes, Hu, and Kherepwia. In the second hour, the solar bark sails with the addition of Isis and Nephthys as two uraei at the prow (fig. 14, 15). In the fourth and fifth hours, the bark's body transforms into a giant serpent that carries the entire crew and guides them on the dark roads of Rosetau (fig. 42, 43, 49, 50). In these two hours, the solar bark is towed by haulers; a feature also occurring in the eighth and twelfth hours. In the second and third hours, other barks carry additional crews who accompany the main solar bark (fig. 13, 33). In the seventh hour, Isis and the "Eldest Magician" replace Nebetwia and Wepwawet to aid in the destruction of Apophis (fig. 59, 61-64). From the seventh hour onwards, the serpent Mehen surrounds the ram-headed sun god. In the eleventh hour, a new addition to the bark is the presence of a female sun disc called *psd.t dwꜣ.t* "Shining One

<sup>349</sup> Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 57.

<sup>350</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 78-80, pl. I-XV. For the deceased king occupying the solar bark in the Book of the Night, see *ibid.*, 80.

<sup>351</sup> Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, 32; Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 409.

<sup>352</sup> For the oldest representation of the initial image of the Book of the Day, see Dorn, in: *FS Susanne Bickel*, 101-115.

<sup>353</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 389.

<sup>354</sup> *LGG* VI, 193.

<sup>355</sup> Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, 9-11; Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 77.

<sup>356</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 389, fig. 130. The well-known scene of the "sun disc transferal" appears in Sethe, *Lauf der Sonne*, 276 f.; Chatelet, in: *BIFAO* 15, 139; Grapow und Schäfer, in: *ZÄS* 73, 97-100. The two solar barks need two crews to proceed on the two journeys of the sun. The idea of the two crews is plainly stated in the CT. CT II, 176u (Sp. 143).

of the Netherworld” on the prow (fig. 84, 85). The twelfth hour’s bark contains the typical crew it has had since the eighth hour with the addition of Khepri at the prow (fig. 89). Although the deceased king does not appear in the solar bark in the New Kingdom’s royal tombs, in the tomb of the vizier User, the tomb’s owner appears with the inboard crew and among the bark’s haulers controlling the ship.<sup>357</sup> In several Late Period sarcophagi, the deceased appears in the Amduat’s bark, kneeling in adoration of the sun god.<sup>358</sup>

According to Quirke, the sun god remains the source of authority. Still, he does not actively participate: the crew that tows the solar bark hauls it throughout the entire journey and provides the necessary accompaniment for the sun god.<sup>359</sup> This assumption does not seem plausible since the sun god appears as the dynamic force in the underworld, the authority who issues the orders which give meaning and purpose to those around him. This seems evident through the frequent use of the verb *wḏ* or *wḏ mdw=f* “to command.”<sup>360</sup> Thus, the sun god’s roles in the netherworld place him as the leader of the solar bark’s crew and the regulator of all the events. The crew comprises a group of divine qualities necessary to create, rule, and organise the whole cosmos.<sup>361</sup> Accordingly, “the eternal solar cycle provides the life force for all creatures on earth, and the created world is entirely dependent on the continuation of the sun’s journey through heaven and the underworld. The creative aspect of the end of the underworld is further emphasised in the figures that accompany the solar barks.”<sup>362</sup>

On a layout level, the solar bark figures are “read” from right to left, whereas most of the texts and the illustrations of the other deities are depicted from left to right.<sup>363</sup> “The sun god, as the protagonist, issues orders to or makes provisions for the other deities, who function as the objects of the action, stating their needs for such directions and praising his actions, thus reaffirming the leading position of the sun god and his crew. While much of the text separates the sun god from the remainder of the deities,<sup>364</sup> the pictures in each hour show him in the solar bark and distinguish him from the crew by placing him inside a shrine or within the coils of the serpent Mehen.”<sup>365</sup>

Navigating the solar bark, protecting and guiding the sun god, and confronting the enemy involve the attendant divine crew. It is part of the idea of the boat journey as a royal journey that the sun god is surrounded by a “court/entourage” (*šn.wt* or *js.t*), as is specifically mentioned and addressed in certain solar hymns.<sup>366</sup> Here, the question arises why the sun god in the Amduat has a large crew, while in the Book of the Gates, he is only accompanied by Sia and Heka. S. Geoga suggested that the situation in the Book of the Gates “aligns with Assmann’s first tenet of the new solar theology: ‘The Sun...is alone

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<sup>357</sup> See Hornung, in Dziobek, *User-Amun*, 42 ff.

<sup>358</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 468.

<sup>359</sup> Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 45-46.

<sup>360</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 32.

<sup>361</sup> Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 46.

<sup>362</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 175.

<sup>363</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 10.

<sup>364</sup> Wherever the sun god pauses, they are revived to serve and support him. Though they are dependent on the sun god, it is also true that the god himself, weary from his duties, cannot regenerate without their assistance. Schweizer, *The Sungod’s Journey*, 196.

<sup>365</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 35. See also 3.7.1.

<sup>366</sup> See Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 52.

in the sky, so that the sun god accomplishes his course in complete solitude.”<sup>367</sup> Geoga also added that in the Amduat, there is more connection between the sun god and his crew. Although Re is separated from his crew by a shrine in the first six hours, Horhekenu often eliminates the barrier by touching the god’s shrine. She interprets: “*While Ra is not completely alone and thus does not correspond exactly to the new solar theology’s sun god, there is a clear shift between the Amduat’s large entourage and the Book of Gates’ much emptier barque, which is best explained by a trend toward, if not a wholesale adoption of, the new solar theology.*”<sup>368</sup> Moreover, one would assume that the varied and dynamic events of the Amduat need this huge crew, especially that the sun god communicates and interacts with his crew and the netherworld inhabitants in all hours of the Amduat.

### 1.4.2.1 The sun god, the leader of the crew

The sun god has two daily trips that he has to make.<sup>369</sup> The first is visible to the living ones; it is the one that illuminates the earth. The second is nocturnal, during which he descends into the netherworld to enlighten it, chastise the guilty, and distribute the offerings to the beneficent. During these two trips, he changes his physical form according to the temporal phase. Thus, his morning form is different from the nocturnal one. In the morning, he takes the form of the scarab Khepri,<sup>370</sup> whose name means “to become” or “to create,” a symbol of resurrection and rebirth. BD 17 says *Hprj hr-jb wj3=f Rc pw ds=f* “Khepri amid his bark is Re himself.”<sup>371</sup> In the evening, he takes Atum’s name, a symbol that he has completed his course and is preparing to descend into the underworld, as a text inscribed on the shrine of Tutankhamun puts it: *Rc htp=f hr M3nw jrj hpr.w m Jtmw* “Re when he goes to rest in the Western Mountains and transforms into Atum.”<sup>372</sup> The sun god takes the form of an old man: *šsp tw c.wy jmnty.w m jrw=k dsr n nbh* “the arms of the westerners receive you in your protected form of an old man.”<sup>373</sup> In the Amduat, the ram-headed god is depicted standing upright in his chapel, but later representations show him leaning forward as an “old man” in his bark or inside the solar disc.<sup>374</sup>

The most important assimilation of the sun god in the Amduat is that of him and Osiris. In the second bark of the first hour, the scarab, the morning form of the sun, is being worshiped by Osiris, who is considered his nocturnal form (fig. 6, 12). In the fifth hour, another representation of the union of

<sup>367</sup> Geoga, in: SAK 47, 51-52.

<sup>368</sup> Geoga, in: SAK 47, 52.

<sup>369</sup> For the divine phases (*Phasen-Gottheiten*) of the sun god in the solar cycle, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 205-207.

<sup>370</sup> For Khepri in the Heliopolitan theology, see RÄRG, 134; Assmann, *Chepre* in: LÄ I, col. 934-940; Leitz, *LGG* V, 713-717; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 82-93 and passim. On Khepri in the Netherworld Books, see also *ibid.*, 153 ff.

<sup>371</sup> Quirke, *Prt m Hm*, 62.

<sup>372</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, in: GM 177, 79. For the replacement of Atum by Khepri, see Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis*, 63.

<sup>373</sup> Amduat, third hour. Hornung, *TZA* I, 317.

<sup>374</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20. In the later compositions, represented by the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, Caverns, and Earth, the sun god appears more often as or within the solar disc. Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 4. There is, for example, a scene that depicts the aged sun god *jw*f on a limestone stela (ht.: 21 cm., w.: 35 cm.), standing on his bark and enveloped by the serpent Mehen. Behind him stands the goddess Isis, in front of him, the god Shu. *Ars Antiqua Auktion* III, 29, Taf. 7.

Osiris and the sun god takes place.<sup>375</sup> Then, Re and Osiris unite at the deepest point of the netherworld, the sixth hour of the night (see 3.6.2). Furthermore, in the upper register of the seventh hour, Osiris is named as: *juw Wsjr* “Flesh of Osiris (fig. 60),” i.e., similar to the appellation of the sun god in the Amduat (see below). In addition to Osiris, the sun god unites with several gods in the netherworld. He also assimilates himself with Hu, the partner of Sia. Thus, the fields of Hu-Re are placed in front of the deceased’s seat on the day of ascending to the sky (Doc. 21). The third syncretism, Re-Horakhty, is the sun god’s form in the day bark (see 1.4.2.1). This form appears in the fifth (Doc. 90) and twelfth hour (Doc. 129) of the Amduat. Both captions call the sun god Re-Horakhty.

#### 1.4.2.1.1 The sun god in the Amduat

The sun god transforms himself into a ram before he reaches the realm of the netherworld according to a text that is inscribed above the second half of the middle register of the first hour:<sup>376</sup>

<i>ʿrry.t ʿppw.t ntr pn hr=sn<sup>377</sup> m sr</i>	Gateway through which this god passes as a ram.
<i>jrr=f hprw m-ht ʿpp=f ʿrry.t tn</i>	He makes the transformation after he passes through this gateway.

The ram is the nocturnal manifestation of the sun god. This is confirmed in the upper half of the middle register when the sun god appears as the ram-headed god *shdw-wr* “Great Illuminator.”<sup>378</sup> The old translation of the term *jrr hprw* as “to transform” is better than the newly proposed one “to appear as,”<sup>379</sup> and what is meant is Re’s transformation from a hieracocephalic deity to a criocephalic one which occurs during his entrance into the first hour, the “gateway” to the underworld proper.<sup>380</sup> The *m-ht* is used to connect simultaneous events (entering the Duat and transforming into a ram).<sup>381</sup> Wiebach-Koepke interprets that the text shows the sun god passing by the field and the doorway as a ram. Afterwards, the transformation into a ram takes place in the area of the first hour. This assumption presupposes that there are two rams. This is contrary to the reality of the events. Therefore, she suggests that there are two transformation events in the passage - a transposition of *m sr* with *m-ht*, and the second being *jrr=f hprw*, referring to a transformation other than that into the form of a ram.<sup>382</sup> Accordingly, one may agree with Wiebach-Koepke that two kinds of transformation occur in this hour. One represents the sun god in his nocturnal appearance as a ram. The second is him transforming into the morning form of a scarab on his bark in the lower part of the middle register.<sup>383</sup>

<sup>375</sup> See 3.5.6.

<sup>376</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 133-134.

<sup>377</sup> *Hr=sn* refers to both the *sh.t* in the upper register and to *ʿrry.t* in this passage. Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 24.

<sup>378</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 25.

<sup>379</sup> Federn, in: JNES 19, 241 ff.; Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 25. For more information about the term *jrr hprw*, see Ranke, in: ZÄS 79, 52 f.; Müller in: ZÄS 86, 142, n. 6.

<sup>380</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 203.

<sup>381</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 25, n. 5.

<sup>382</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, in: GM 177, 72 ff.

<sup>383</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, in: GM 177, 80.



This ram form is an indication that the sun god descends into the depths as a *Ba*-soul, since many texts write  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  for *Ba*,<sup>384</sup> suggesting that the ram-headed god who travels in the solar bark and flies forth to the eastern horizon is both the “flesh” and the “*Ba*” of Re.<sup>385</sup> Furthermore, the *Ba* of the sun god, the ram-headed bird, often appears inside a solar disc in the Netherworld Books, mainly in the Litany of Re.<sup>386</sup>

In the Amduat, the sun god bears the name *jwḥ* “flesh,” in some other hours, it is *jwḥ Rḥ* “Flesh of Re.”<sup>387</sup> The standard designation of his otherworldly nocturnal manifestation in its corporeality corresponds to the *ḥꜥw* “body”<sup>388</sup> of the CT.<sup>389</sup> The sun god represents himself as “flesh” in the dialogues between him and the inhabitants of the netherworld such as in the closing text of the third hour: *mj r=k n=n ḥnww jwḥ=f sšmw n ḥꜥw=f ds=f* “come to us, you whose flesh is being rowed and who is guided to his own body.”<sup>390</sup> In the concluding text of the Amduat’s first hour, the purpose of the sun’s journey through the netherworld is to give life to the sun god’s own corpse:<sup>391</sup> “That I have come here is to greet myself and give breath to my limbs.”

This juxtaposition of the *Ba*, the ram, and the flesh embodies the rejuvenation and continuity of the process of life.<sup>392</sup> Hornung interprets that the body of the sun god is unlike the nonactive corpse (*ḥꜥ.t*), which has no influential role in the netherworld,<sup>393</sup> however, this interpretation does not seem plausible, as a passage quoted from the Book of the Creation of the solar disc describes how Horus emerges from the body of his father (*ḥꜥ.t jt=f*), and how Isis and Nephthys unite with the body of the reborn *Ba*-form of the sun god.<sup>394</sup>

Furthermore, the scarab, into which the sun god turns in the twelfth hour and which is in the programmatic scene over the entrance of the Ramesside royal tombs together with the ram-headed god, is enclosed by the solar disc. In later representations, the sun god appears fully as a ram and a scarab in the bark or inside the solar disc.<sup>395</sup> It is a fact that the ram’s head also represents the west, the realm into which the sun god enters on the journey in the Duat; in the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medinah, a scene shows the four winds, in which the east wind appears as a scarab with four wings and the west wind as a hawk with a ram’s head.<sup>396</sup>

<sup>384</sup> See *Wb* I, 414, 8.

<sup>385</sup> For the ram as the *ba* and newborn state of the sun god, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 244-245, 352, and passim.

<sup>386</sup> Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, pls 4, 6.

<sup>387</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 21, 46.

<sup>388</sup> For the variants of the terms *ḥꜥ.t*, *jwḥ*, *ḥꜥw*, and *d.t*, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 225-229.

<sup>389</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachfahrt*, 20.

<sup>390</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 313-314.

<sup>391</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 153-154.

<sup>392</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 81. For more sources regarding this issue, see *ibid.*, 40 with footnotes 9-11.

<sup>393</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 21.

<sup>394</sup> Piankoff, *La creation du disque solaire*, p. 48, pls. D, 26, cf. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 244.

<sup>395</sup> Munro, *Totenstelen* II, Taf. 50, 51, 55 (BM 1018, Achmim I, B; Leiden VII, 8, Achmim II; BM 1160, Achmim II to E I).

<sup>396</sup> De Wit, in: *CdE* 32, 25 ff., fig. 4, cf. De Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina*, fig. 112, 1-4. On the four winds, see also Riggs, in: *BIFAO* 106, 317-320.

#### 1.4.2.1.2 The main activities of the sun god in the Amduat

It is well known that the crew of the solar bark and its assistants in the Duat have a role, function, and responsibilities that help the sun god to continue his nightly journey. He surely needs those who lead and guide him through this mysterious world, but before that, the sun god provides them with instructions, distribution of lands, clothing, and food. Some actions seem to be repeated every hour, and others are performed once for the corresponding hour.<sup>397</sup>

The description in the title of the Amduat as a hidden space already refers to the netherworld as a shielded, inaccessible area by implying a precise characterisation of the place in which this nocturnal journey takes place.<sup>398</sup> So, the first and most important mission of the sun god is to enter the netherworld. When the sun goes down, it does not immediately reach the underworld as such. The first hour is a transitory region<sup>399</sup> separating this world from the actual netherworld where no enemy of the sun god, the unauthorized, or even the dead may set foot.<sup>400</sup> According to the text, it is clear that the gate's path is located in the earth or leads into the earth, a valuable indication for the general localisation of the "hidden space."<sup>401</sup> Then, the god who was depicted at the end of the lower middle register is named *db<sup>c</sup>-t3* "He who seals the earth," again stressing the importance of preventing the sun god's enemies from entering the realm of the beyond.<sup>402</sup>

The sun god enters (*ḳ*) from the portal (*ḳrry.t*)<sup>403</sup> to the Water of Re (*n.t R<sup>c</sup>*), which is located in both regions of the first and second hours.<sup>404</sup> In contrast to the other hours of the night, the verb *ḳ* "enter" is used instead of the stereotypical word *ḥtp* "resting" or "pausing," to designate the entrance of the sun god into the underworld as a whole.<sup>405</sup> The first thing the sun god does is take care of the netherworld inhabitants by giving commands, guidance, and advice.<sup>406</sup> The sun god is like a leading guide who satisfies their essential needs and renews the daily resurrection through the will that he

<sup>397</sup> For the repetition of events, see Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 17; Wiebach-Koepke, in: SAK 24, 347 ff.

<sup>398</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 14.

<sup>399</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 11.

<sup>400</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 134-135.

<sup>401</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 139 (no. 82), 166.

<sup>402</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, no. 82; Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 32; LGG VII, 620a.

<sup>403</sup> The *ḳrry.t* as a liminal area already appears in the Book of Two Ways, where it separates the world of the living from the realm of the dead. The word is used extensively in the Amduat, and it has a more complex meaning than *sb3* "door." Hermsen, *Die zwei Wege*, 119 ff.; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 85, n. 97, cf. Sethe, in: ZÄS 67, 115-117. "The word *ḳrry.t* takes the determinative that more efficiently expresses the schematisation of the domain to which a gate belongs, meaning a house, or any generic building. The determinative thus conveys the idea of the whole (house, building) to which the part (gate) belongs, which is what metonymies generally express." Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 208.

<sup>404</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 110-112.

<sup>405</sup> The word *ḳ* is used again in the introduction of the second hour, but this time it is for entering the earth, the usual subterranean realm of the dead in the Amduat. Hornung, *TZA I*, 179, cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 53.

<sup>406</sup> E.g., Hornung, *TZA I*, 129, 151, 167, 198; II, 393, 400, 423; III, 645, 697, 743. For the frequent use of the term *wd-mdw* in almost every hour of the Amduat, see Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 32. For the commands of the sun god as an awakening voice which activates the underworld and causes their virtual existence to manifest, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 27-28. For the *wd-mdw* of Re, Atum, Khepri, and Osiris, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 203, 414-416.

utters.<sup>407</sup> His commands are given to the inhabitants of the netherworld to open the gates for him.<sup>408</sup> In the Amduat, the sun god is particularly concerned about goods for its inhabitants, so he provides them with portions of land and fields,<sup>409</sup> and this distribution of land is the central theme of the second hour.<sup>410</sup> The sun god's presence in the Duat brings light and peace to the netherworld, which is why those who dwell in the riverbanks awaken to life when the sun god passes by.<sup>411</sup> Removing darkness is done directly by the sun god.<sup>412</sup> In the middle register of the first hour, a god standing in front of the bark takes the same form as the sun god and is called *šḥd wr* the "Great Illuminator,"<sup>413</sup> a hypostasis of the sun god since the CT.<sup>414</sup> The means of illumination are also portrayed as the eyes (3.1.3), the disc (3.11.3.1), or even the bark of the sun god (3.4.2). Furthermore, the enemies exist in all nocturnal hours, for paradoxically, nothing can be created without the existence, even the support, of darkness and evil, and there is no regeneration of life without the presence of these enemies and the constant need to repel them.<sup>415</sup> Thus, from the very beginning, the sun god defeats all who oppose him.<sup>416</sup> The third hour emphasises the destruction of the *Ba*-soul of the damned, thus allowing the *Ba*-soul of the sun god to ascend to the sky.<sup>417</sup> The annotation of the middle register of the seventh hour attributes the fall of Apophis to the magic spells recited by Isis, the Eldest Magician, and the sun god himself (see Doc. 104). Thus, the participation of the sun god in some roles and functions is a kind of support to his crew and the other netherworld inhabitants who assist in his nightly renewal.

#### 1.4.2.2 Sia

The word *sj3* means "perception," "knowledge," and "understanding."<sup>418</sup> Usually depicted in anthropomorphic form, he sometimes appears as a nonhuman being.<sup>419</sup> In Heliopolitan theology, Sia and Hu are two aspects, personified as two followers of the primeval god Atum.<sup>420</sup> In the company of Hu and Heka, he participates in the creation process.<sup>421</sup> Sia appears in relation to Re many times in the CT (see, e.g., Doc. 33, 36, 44, 46, 52, 59). According to Altenmüller, there is a kind of syncretism between the sun god and Sia, and by identifying the deceased with the latter, it will guarantee his identification with Re.<sup>422</sup> Moreover, she interprets that the god Sia represents one of the sun god's

<sup>407</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 72.

<sup>408</sup> E.g., Hornung, *TZA I*, 151-152.

<sup>409</sup> E.g., Hornung, *TZA I*, 174-175, 176-177.

<sup>410</sup> Hornung, *Amduat II*, 61.

<sup>411</sup> See, e.g., Hornung, *TZA I*, 169-170, 183-184.

<sup>412</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 226-230.

<sup>413</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 73; Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 23, no. 57.

<sup>414</sup> LGG VI, 477; *Wb IV*, 226, 11; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 896.

<sup>415</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 34.

<sup>416</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 237-238.

<sup>417</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 134.

<sup>418</sup> *Wb IV*, 31, 1-6; Gardiner, in: PSBA 38, 43; Mercer, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 245-246.

<sup>419</sup> LGG VI, 164.

<sup>420</sup> Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*<sup>2</sup>, 165. See BD 17, in which Hu and Sia are the blood falling from the cut phallus of the sun god to be in the following of their father Atum. Quirke, *Prt m Hrw*, 57 (section 15). Cf. Doc. 36.

<sup>421</sup> Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 18. For depictions of Heka with Hu and Sia, see Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, papyrus 10, 11.

<sup>422</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 104.

forms, from which came the syncretism Sia-Re (see Doc. 46, 59). She contradictorily adds that Re dominates in this syncretism; Sia is only a personification of an ability or function that Re has. The two are not identical; the latter is the master of Sia.<sup>423</sup> BD 17, among other texts, does not support Altenmüller's criteria, since the sun god creates Hu and Sia there by cutting his phallus. Likewise, in the corresponding passage CT 335, Hu and Sia are in the presence of their father Atum (*jmy.w-b3h*) every day (Doc. 36). Altenmüller's identification of Re with Sia is not entirely misleading, however. In CT 1006, Sia exists in the eye of Re.<sup>424</sup> Here, the sun god's eye is not the centre of visualisation but also that of perception and insight. Thus, the eye of the god is the seat of his reasoned imagination and intelligence.<sup>425</sup> Furthermore, in the same spell, Sia appears as an equivalent to Re as the creator of Hu,<sup>426</sup> as in CT 307, Hu is created by the sun god (Doc. 32). Bickel comments on this spell, stating that Hu is the creation of Re and Sia is never created, but Re can be his master or possessor.<sup>427</sup> According to her, it is the only occurrence where Hu is presented as a creation, or as a son of the creator. However, not mentioning the act of creation does not mean that Sia is not created,<sup>428</sup> and the events related to the origin of Hu and Sia in BD 17 and CT 335 also somewhat speak against this interpretation.

Since the PT, Sia is closely connected to the creator sun god, and thus he accompanies him on his journey through the underworld (Doc. 3, 5). In CT 1006, Sia says: *jnk wḏ jnk jrr wḏ* "I am he who gives orders, and I am he who acts as one who gives orders."<sup>429</sup> This spell also associates Sia with a personification of order.<sup>430</sup> It may then be that his presence on the solar bark is linked to this notion.<sup>431</sup> Many passages in the CT mention his roles in the solar journey regarding the deceased and the sun god.<sup>432</sup> In all New Kingdom Netherworld Books, Sia and Hu and other deities accompany the sun god in his bark. While many figures appear in the Amduat's barks, the sun is attended only by the two creative forces, Sia and Heka, in the Book of Gates, where Sia stands at the prow and acts as the spokesman of the sun god and addresses the gatekeeper at every division to open the door for Re. Moreover, in the same book, in the second hour, seventh scene, Sia and Heka have acquired a protective function. They participate in the solar journey to care for the deceased and provide him with his power and position.<sup>433</sup> The bark crew in the Book of the Earth consists of Horus at the stern, Atum, Khepri, and a god called *sšmw* "guide." A notable variant occurs in the version of Ramesses VI,

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<sup>423</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 183.

<sup>424</sup> CT VII, 222a, x.

<sup>425</sup> Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 96-97, 108.

<sup>426</sup> CT VII, 222c.

<sup>427</sup> Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 109.

<sup>428</sup> See also "Sia belongs to Re" in Doc. 52.

<sup>429</sup> CT VII, 222v-w.

<sup>430</sup> Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 108.

<sup>431</sup> The deceased can also play the role of Sia when he joins the bark of Re. In BD 38, the text reads: "I stand at the deck of the bark of Re, I read his words to the populace, I repeat his words to the narrow-throated one." Quirke, *Prt m Hrw*, 111.

<sup>432</sup> See Doc. 29, 33, 36, 44, 46, 48, 52, 53, 59.

<sup>433</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 58. See also Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 262, n. 36. Note that Sia is the protection of the deceased's body in Doc. 71.

which appears to be influenced by the crew in the Book of Gates. As in that book, it consists of Sia and a deity in the prow probably representing Heka.<sup>434</sup>

In the Book of the Night, the crew consists of three deities to assist the sun during its nocturnal journey, Hu, Sia, and Maat.<sup>435</sup> A passage from the fourth hour clarifies Hu and Sia's role in the solar bark; they guide the deceased king on his nocturnal journey. As the king is the image of the sun god and one of his forms, the two creative forces that generally have the task of guiding Re during his nocturnal journey become the king's assistants.<sup>436</sup> Furthermore, in the second hour, Sia delivers a speech whose themes are expressed in the imperative mode (*wḏ mdw* and *ḏḏ mdw*), which presents the actions as being "carried out." They are linked to the justification, the preservation of the body, and the supply of offerings.<sup>437</sup> In the Book of the Day, Sia takes his position at the back stern of the solar bark, which is not his usual position in the Amduat and the Book of Gates.<sup>438</sup> There, he is the source of knowledge which is given to the gods.<sup>439</sup> Therefore, the presence of Sia in the solar bark and the roles he plays during the nightly journey correspond with his speech in the CT as the maintainer of the order.<sup>440</sup>

### 1.4.2.3 Hu

Hu personifies the "authoritative utterance" and "food."<sup>441</sup> Like Sia, he comes into being from Re's phallus when he mutilates himself; he is also created by Re (Doc. 32).<sup>442</sup> Hu and Sia are among the 14 *Ka*-forces of the sun-god and thereby stand with the other creative forces of the sun-god such as *ḥk3* "magic," *m33* "seeing," and *sḏm* "hearing."<sup>443</sup> However, he is also linked to the Memphite theology, according to which the god Ptah creates the universe through his perception and authoritative utterance.<sup>444</sup> He is depicted in anthropomorphic and nonhuman forms.<sup>445</sup> The PT attest Hu in several events; he appears as the deceased king's companion in the solar bark. These texts repeatedly state that the king maintains his powers by possessing Hu and Sia (see, e.g., Doc. 5, 6).<sup>446</sup>

In the CT, Hu fulfils the function of the Nile god (Doc. 37 with note 159),<sup>447</sup> who provides the food in the god's great fields (Doc. 14). This explains why Hu and Djefa appear in scenes together. Hu is responsible for the food offerings. Thus, the deceased lives on Hu,<sup>448</sup> so Hu is in his mouth and in his

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<sup>434</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 136-137. On the god in the prow, Hornung interprets: "ist vermutlich Heka, doch ist der Name fortgelassen." Hornung, *Zwei ramesidische Königsgräber*, 87.

<sup>435</sup> Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, 32.

<sup>436</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 151.

<sup>437</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 70-71.

<sup>438</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 80.

<sup>439</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 115.

<sup>440</sup> CT VII, 222v-w.

<sup>441</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 128.

<sup>442</sup> Also, CT IV, 145c.

<sup>443</sup> Assem, in SAK 41, 21.

<sup>444</sup> Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*<sup>2</sup>, 165.

<sup>445</sup> LGG V, 51-52.

<sup>446</sup> See also PT 251, 697.

<sup>447</sup> See also CT 320.

<sup>448</sup> For the identification of the deceased with Hu, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 129.

body.<sup>449</sup> Hu is also associated with Thoth, the god who writes the divine formulae and provides the deceased with Hu and Maat.<sup>450</sup> Hu and Sia are the companions of the god Atum as attested in Doc. 36. Together with Re, they pass within the Mehen serpent's body at night (Doc. 48), and the *phr.t* "circuit" of Hu and Sia is the circuit of the sun god. In the Book of Two Ways, they are the crew who stands at the solar bark's stern (Doc. 59). In contrast to Sia, Hu does not combine with Re in a syncretistic divine name.<sup>451</sup>

Hu is a powerful entity. "The sky trembles, the earth quakes at the voices of Hu."<sup>452</sup> Atum provides Hu with his powers,<sup>453</sup> and gives him to Horus, the son of Isis, so that he may rule Egypt.<sup>454</sup> Thus, Hu's power is that of Atum, who can distribute these effective abilities to other deities.<sup>455</sup> The sun god wants to have the power of Hu to assist him in his journey. Hu and Heka participate in destroying the enemies of the sun god (Doc. 60). CT 325 is a spell "to become Hu." There is a variant with Heka in G1T, showing that Hu and Heka can carry out the same function, and which may explain the presence of Heka instead of Hu in the Book of Gates.

Hu appears among the attendant deities of the solar bark in all New Kingdom Netherworld Books except for the Book of Gates. In the Book of the Day, Hu regularly takes the form of a human and is only falcon-headed in Ramesses VI. Together with his successor, Sia is always shown in the same shape and form as Hu, the bark's helmsman. The rudders are sometimes crowned with falcon heads, suggesting a connection between Horus and Hu. Perhaps the rudder's shape goes back to the fact that Horus often takes on the function of the helmsman.<sup>456</sup> In the Amduat, Hu stands at the back stern directly before Kherepwia.

Thus, Hu has a crucial role in the solar bark. He is the divine word that the sun god needs to execute the creation and rebirth. Hu personifies the concept of the "authority" who created the universe with his utterance, and thus manages the entire process of creation with power and control. Also, he is the source of food and nourishment that the sun god uses to distribute to his crew and the netherworld's inhabitants.

#### 1.4.2.4 Wepwawet

Wepwawet is a jackal god whose name means the "Opener of the Ways."<sup>457</sup> His most common form is a standing jackal on a standard, and this animal form was later reinterpreted as a wolf.<sup>458</sup> The

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<sup>449</sup> Assem, in SAK 41, 22.

<sup>450</sup> Assem, in SAK 41, 22. See also Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 128-129. For more details on Thoth, Hu, and Sia, see Boylan, *Thot*, 104-106 and passim. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 13, 176, 273 and passim.

<sup>451</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 128.

<sup>452</sup> CT VI, 339k-l (Sp. 709).

<sup>453</sup> CT IV, 154b (Sp. 325). See also Doc. 34.

<sup>454</sup> CT IV, 86s-t (Sp. 312).

<sup>455</sup> Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 108-109.

<sup>456</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 80. Hu adopts the name of the "Eldest Magician" in the copy of Osorkon II., *ibid.*, 91. For Hu in the Book of the Night, see above (Sia).

<sup>457</sup> *Wb* I, 304, 16; *LGG* II, 342c.

<sup>458</sup> See the dialogue between Geb and Horus in a section in the Memphite theology. Frankfurt, *Kingship*, 26. For Wepwawet as a wolf, see *LGG* II, 343a.

standards of Wepwawet were carried before the king on different ceremonial occasions.<sup>459</sup> In the festival at Abydos, Wepwawet was a manifestation of the “victorious Horus” who came to help his father by conquering his enemies.<sup>460</sup> He also appears as a human-headed god.<sup>461</sup> His cult centre is Assiut, the imagined border point between Upper and Lower Egypt, where his role in Horus and Seth’s confrontation appears.<sup>462</sup>

Many passages in the PT identify the deceased king with Wepwawet in the latter’s solar aspect. As the parter of paths, Wepwawet opens the ways not only in this world but in the netherworld as well. He leads the deceased king in the beyond and secures his ascension to the sky (Doc. 7, 11, 12).<sup>463</sup> He wears the jackal mask to confirm this assimilation.<sup>464</sup> In the CT, the most crucial task of Wepwawet is also undoubtedly to open ways.<sup>465</sup> The path-opening function of Wepwawet was initially related to his combative role, such as knocking down enemies in front of Horus’s followers.<sup>466</sup> He fights the enemies to clear the path for the deceased.<sup>467</sup>

The connection between Wepwawet and Re led to the syncretic divine name Wepwawet-Re, which first occurs in the CT.<sup>468</sup> Another passage points to such a relationship, but without mentioning the syncretic divine name Wepwawet-Re; it includes the designation of Re as the “only jackal in the sky.”<sup>469</sup> The apparent idea is to recognise the sun god, who pervades the secret paths of the netherworld and thus “opens” them in the form of Wepwawet.<sup>470</sup>

In the Amduat, the sun god indeed needs Wepwawet to cleave the ways and rout the enemies of this mysterious realm. Wepwawet occupies an important place as the first god at the prow of the bark.<sup>471</sup> He is always depicted as a human-headed god, not in his usual form as a jackal or wolf. Only three times is he removed from the bark’s prow; in the second, the seventh, and the twelfth hours. In the second hour, Isis and Nephthys precede him as two serpents at the prow. Perhaps their presence refers to a fight against Apophis, whose defeat by the bark’s crew is mentioned in the second hour (see 3.2.2). In the twelfth hour, the scarab occupies the front stern of the bark; an indication of the emergence of Khepri from the solar bark (see 3.12.5). In the seventh hour, Wepwawet and Nebetwia are replaced by Isis and the Eldest Magician who join to perform their magical utterances in the main

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<sup>459</sup> See Frankfurt, *Kingship*, 71, 91-92, cf. Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 213. The adze of Wepwawet was used in the “opening of the Mouth” ritual, cf. PT 21.

<sup>460</sup> Assmann, *Tot und Jenseits*, 310.

<sup>461</sup> For the other forms of Wepwawet, see LGG II, 342, 343. On different functions of Wepwawet, see, e.g., the primary sources: PT 21, 482, 734; CT 345, 845, 953; BD 145, 182.

<sup>462</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 38, cf. Graefe, *Upuant*, in: LÄ VI, col. 863.

<sup>463</sup> See DuQuesne, *Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, 394, 397.

<sup>464</sup> See, e.g., Pyr. § 1304.

<sup>465</sup> See, e.g., CT I 34a, 74i, 312i; IV, 376a.

<sup>466</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 39.

<sup>467</sup> CT 193b, 194a (Sp. 45), cf. Faulkner, *AECTI*, 40, n. 13. For more details on Wepwawet, his cult, his associations with other deities, his nature, and his functions, see DuQuesne, *Jackal Divinities of Egypt*, 390-397, §§ 506-616.

<sup>468</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 39.

<sup>469</sup> For the solar form Wepwawet-Re, see Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*, 56.

<sup>470</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 39, cf. 2.2.1. An implicit identification of Wepwawet with the sun god occurs in the PT. See, e.g., Pyr. §§ 455, 1010, 1090, 1304, 1638, 1713, 1723.

<sup>471</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 20.

battle against Apophis (see 3.7.2). In the Book of the Day, Wepwawet also appears as an anthropomorphic deity at the solar bark's prow.<sup>472</sup>

#### 1.4.2.5 Horus

Horus is the celestial falcon. His name means “Who is Faraway,”<sup>473</sup> and Horus is equated with the sun god in the syncretism of Re-Horakhty, the celestial falcon who defeats his enemies to rise in the east.<sup>474</sup> Since the PT, he is considered the morning form of the sun god<sup>475</sup> and the personification of light and rising.<sup>476</sup> Horus is also asked to raise the deceased to the sky and not leave him boatless.<sup>477</sup> In his ascension to the sky, Wepwawet opens a way for the deceased king,<sup>478</sup> and Horus prepares this way for him without any obstacles.<sup>479</sup> He conducts the king to the sky and guides him on its roads.<sup>480</sup> The deceased as Horus of the Duat, the star which illuminates the sky, accompanies the sun god in his journey from the western side of the sky to its south-east side.<sup>481</sup> In the CT, the deceased hopes to come forth from the night bark and to go aboard the day bark as Horus,<sup>482</sup> and arises to the celestial water as Horus of the Duat.<sup>483</sup> He rows the bark of Re and acquires his throne as one of those who are in the retinue of Horus.<sup>484</sup> CT 1104 places Horus and the deceased among the crew of the solar bark: “I may announce the number of the appearances of Re as Khepri when Horus the first-born of Re goes around the sky, and he will see me among those who are at the steering oars (of the solar bark).”<sup>485</sup> Furthermore, Horus is the son of Re in CT 364, where he has free movement as a falcon and takes his position at the prow of the solar bark of the rising sun god (Khepri).<sup>486</sup>

Horus, often mentioned in the PT, works with Seth to benefit the deceased king. Together they destroy the serpent enemies of the sun god. While Horus fells them so that they cannot live, Seth cuts them into pieces to prevent them from rising.<sup>487</sup> Horus and Thoth are also asked to cross and to ferry the king who is in his Maat bark, which is the same bark of the sun god (see 1.10.2.). Furthermore, the bread which the night bark and the day bark carry for the deceased comes from the house of Horus and Thoth which is in Heliopolis.<sup>488</sup> To exist in the company of the sun god, the deceased associates himself with Horus. He wears the clothes of the god (Doc. 12), uses Horus's feathers to fly to the sky (Doc. 8), and proclaims that he is Horus in the solar bark (Doc. 24), where Isis places him at the prow

<sup>472</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 89, 355, and passim.

<sup>473</sup> Schenkel, *Horus*, in: LÄ III, col. 14.

<sup>474</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 144.

<sup>475</sup> Schenkel, *Horus*, in: LÄ III, col. 14.

<sup>476</sup> RÄRG, 309.

<sup>477</sup> Pyr. § 1030a-b.

<sup>478</sup> Pyr. § 1090a.

<sup>479</sup> Pyr. § 1048a.

<sup>480</sup> Pyr. §§ 1010a, 2106.

<sup>481</sup> Pyr. § 362a-b.

<sup>482</sup> CT I, 54c-e.

<sup>483</sup> CT I, 311.

<sup>484</sup> CT VII, 2g-i.

<sup>485</sup> Faulkner, *AECT* III, 159, cf. CT VII, 447 (Sp. 1116).

<sup>486</sup> CT V, 24d-25d.

<sup>487</sup> Pyr. § 678b-c.

<sup>488</sup> CT VI, 287.



of the sun god's bark (Doc. 38). The god's eye raises the deceased to the netherworld (Doc. 49), and in the BD, Horus and Wepwawet raise the deceased to see his place beside Re in the Duat (Doc. 72). In the Book of Two Ways, Horus occupies the solar bark's prow with Isis and Seth (Doc. 59). Horus and Seth's duality occurs in the Amduat, where a god with a Seth-head and falcon head appears in the second hour's upper register (see 3.7.2).

In the Book of the Day, the god Horus is present in his hawk-headed and anthropomorphic forms in the solar bark.<sup>489</sup> In the Book of the Earth, in Aker's scene beneath the solar bark, the falcon-headed Horus mans the steering oars at the back stern.<sup>490</sup> In the third hour of the Amduat, a follower of Horus appears among the fourth bark's crew (3.3.1.2.3). Horus of the Duat is the leader of the "Imperishable Stars." He leads them to guide the sun god to the eastern horizon (3.7.4). Furthermore, Horus is the concealer of Isis and Nephthys's images, which guard the sacred paths of Sais in the eleventh hour of the Amduat (3.11.4).

#### 1.4.2.6 Horhekenu

His name means the "Horus, the Acclaimed One" or similar.<sup>491</sup> He is associated with Min, Nefertem, and Atum.<sup>492</sup> The interpretations of the element *ḥknw* in the name of the god are very controversial; Brugsch connects it with the holy oil *ḥknw*,<sup>493</sup> and Kees defines the god as a manifestation of Nefertem (Horus of Fragrance), the god who invigorates fragrances and the lotus blossom on the nose of Re.<sup>494</sup> His name refers to his epithet *nb mk.t* "Lord of Protection"<sup>495</sup> and "Horus Who Praises."<sup>496</sup> He is one of the warlike forms of Horus in Bubastis, and he embodies the solar breath that keeps the enemies of the god away.<sup>497</sup> He appears as a falcon-headed god with the majority of the Amduat's crew in the bark in the Book of the Day.<sup>498</sup>

In the first hour of the Amduat (Amenhotep II, Tutankhamun, and Ay), the word *ḥknw* has vanished; it only reads "Horus". ThIIIK shows the god with a human head, and the other versions show him with a falcon head.<sup>499</sup> The Horus element is written with the road sign (N31), derived by consonantal principle from *ḥr.t*, "road," as attested in both cryptographic and non-cryptographic contexts.<sup>500</sup> In the Book of the Day, Horhekenu always appears in front of the god's shrine, so it may be that this god plays the role of "protecting" the sun god or "praising" him during the day. However, in the Amduat, the ointment function can be attributed to him, where he appears behind the sun god. The latter is known as *Jwḥ*, "the flesh/corpse." We know that during the dying process, the body needs a

<sup>489</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 79, 88.

<sup>490</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 135-137, fig. 5.2. See also *ibid.*, 139, 189.

<sup>491</sup> See Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 639, n. 59, and the references cited therein.

<sup>492</sup> *Wb* III, 180, 1-3. On this deity, see also Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, 245-250.

<sup>493</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 22.

<sup>494</sup> Kees, *Götterglaube*, 83, n. 4. For Nefertem as Horhekenu in BD 17, see also: Grapow, *UrK* V, 57, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 22.

<sup>495</sup> see *LGG* III, 652, cf. *RÄRG*, 306.

<sup>496</sup> *LGG* V, 277-278.

<sup>497</sup> Jankuhn, *Horhekenu*, in: *LÄ* III, col. 1.

<sup>498</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 90, 188, 217, 253.

<sup>499</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 22.

<sup>500</sup> Roberson. *The Awakening of Osiris*, 104, cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 489; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 66-67.

substance that makes it supple. This substance is par excellence, the ointment. Thus, he is the provider of the ointment essential to the god's survival.

#### 1.4.2.7 Kherepwia

The director of the bark,<sup>501</sup> the helmsman of the solar bark, holds the helm in several hours of the night. In BD 125, he assumes his function as a pilot in the judgement court of Osiris.<sup>502</sup> Horus appears as the helmsman of the bark entitled *brp n wj3*,<sup>503</sup> which is also meant in the Amduat.<sup>504</sup> In the CT, the bark which transfers the deceased to the place of rising is named *wj3 brp* “Bark of the Controller/Director” (Doc. 35). In the Amduat, he is the last god standing on the divine bark to wield its rudders, except in the fourth hour where the bark is towed upon a sandy realm (fig. 42, 43). In some versions, Kherepwia appears as a hawk-headed god in the main bark of the third hour (fig. 32), and the tomb of Petamenophis in the Asasif represents him as a hawk-headed god in all hours.<sup>505</sup> In his tomb, the vizier User adds himself as the bark's helmsman, where he occasionally appears before Kherepwia (fig. 29). This depiction stems from the deceased's desire to join the sun god and his crew in the prominent place.<sup>506</sup> His name gives us an idea of his role: steering the bark, a function justified by his location on the bark.

#### 1.4.2.8 Heka

Heka,<sup>507</sup> or the godly personification of magic, is the divine force that exists in the universe.<sup>508</sup> The god's name is usually written  $\text{𓆎𓅓𓏏}$ , with related variants, and the signs  $\text{𓆎}$  or  $\text{𓅓}$  *ph* or *phṯy* “strength/power,” frequently replace the phonetic spelling of the god's name;<sup>509</sup> the latter represents the hinder part of a lion.<sup>510</sup> According to Te Velde, this hinder part refers to the “physical strength,” the “sexual power,” and the “creative force” that the creator god needs.<sup>511</sup> Heka is *nb k3.w* “Lord of Kas” and *smsw k3.w n Rc* “Oldest of the Kas of Re.”<sup>512</sup> In the Book of the Heavenly Cow, the enemies of Re are on their faces because Heka is the *Ba* of the sun god.<sup>513</sup> Heka is not only the *Ba* and the *Ka*

<sup>501</sup> LGG V, 948.

<sup>502</sup> Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 97, 2. Cf. Maystre, in: RAPH 8, 30; Lapp, *Totenbuch Spruch 125*, 27-28.

<sup>503</sup> CT IV, 49c (Sp. 296); Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 73; Quirke, *Prt m Hrw*, 201.

<sup>504</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 22.

<sup>505</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 22; id., *Die Nachtfahrt*, 23.

<sup>506</sup> Grapow, in: ZÄS 77, 65, 77.

<sup>507</sup> For Heka in general, see Kàkosy, *Heka*, LÄ II, col. 1108-1110.

<sup>508</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 139. For Heka as a power of disposition over people and objects, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 28.

<sup>509</sup> Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 25.

<sup>510</sup> Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 183. Te Velde rejects the assumption of Dawson in: JEA 31, 105 that the *ph* and *h3.t* signs represent two gods in the rear of the solar bark and interprets that both are forms of Heka. Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 183, n. 54. For the writings of *h3*, see Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 14-28.

<sup>511</sup> Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 184.

<sup>512</sup> LGG V, 553c.

<sup>513</sup> Maystre, in: BIFAO 40, 104, cf. Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, 47.

of Re; Heka is also one of the sun god's names. In the Book of Felling Apophis, Re says: "My name is Heka"<sup>514</sup> Thus, he belongs to the sun god's closest entourage.<sup>515</sup>

The earth and the sky tremble because the deceased king is identified with Heka.<sup>516</sup> Heka is the heir of Atum and the protection of what Atum commanded.<sup>517</sup> He helps the deceased to overcome the dangers of the netherworld through his magical knowledge.<sup>518</sup> Heka and Hu form a pair that defeats the evil serpent for Re (Doc. 60). Heka, Hu, and Sia are the deities that enable the creator to bring himself into existence and to create other beings. Sia is the perception/insight and knowledge, which allows the creator to visualise other forms. Hu is the authoritative word, which enables the creator to bring things into being by uttering them. Heka is the personification of magic and mysterious energy by which the insight and the commands of the creator come into existence.<sup>519</sup>

In the Book of Gates, Heka and Sia accompany Re in the night bark.<sup>520</sup> Because of his nature, which transforms the divine words into reality, Heka stands next to Sia as a representation of Hu,<sup>521</sup> while in the Book of the Day, his role may be reduced to the magic that moves the bark forward and aids in stopping Apophis. In the Book of the Day, Heka appears as a short name of *Hk3.w-smsw* "Eldest Magician."<sup>522</sup> According to Müller-Roth, this suggests that the two gods are identical,<sup>523</sup> and this is how Te Velde<sup>524</sup> and Ritner<sup>525</sup> interpret this identification (see also 3.7.2).<sup>526</sup> Thus, this indicates the presence of the god Heka in the bark of the Amduat.

#### 1.4.2.9 Maat

The term *m3c.t* represents many concepts in Ancient Egypt.<sup>527</sup> Like Hu, Sia, and Heka, Maat is the personification of the sun god's creative force.<sup>528</sup> She is personified as a female goddess wearing an ostrich feather on her head. Maat shares her feather emblem with Shu.<sup>529</sup> Another symbol of Maat is the plinth sign  $\Leftarrow$  that was used in the writing of her name.<sup>530</sup> The goddess Maat is the daughter of

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<sup>514</sup> Pap. Bremner-Rhind 28, 22, cf. Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 182.

<sup>515</sup> See also 2.3.6.

<sup>516</sup> Pyr. § 924a-b (PT 472).

<sup>517</sup> CT 261. For Heka as an "oldest" deity, see Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 152-157.

<sup>518</sup> CT I, 117b-118a; III 321d-e.

<sup>519</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 160, cf. Boylan, *Thot*, 125; Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 13; Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 112-113.

<sup>520</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 251.

<sup>521</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 35.

<sup>522</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 91.

<sup>523</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 91.

<sup>524</sup> Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 177.

<sup>525</sup> Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 19, n. 77.

<sup>526</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 131.

<sup>527</sup> *Wb* II, 18, 12; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*<sup>2</sup>, 113 ff.; Helck, *Maat*, in: LÄ III, col. 1111; Hornung, *Geist der Pharaonenzeit*, 123-137. For the cosmic Maat, see Assmann, *Ma'at*, 25-34; Reyes, in: GM 259, 76 ff.

<sup>528</sup> See, e.g., Pyr. § 1768; CT III, 6.

<sup>529</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 159-160. For more information about the relationship between Maat and Shu, see RÄRG, 433; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 172-173.

<sup>530</sup> LGG III, 222b. For the meaning of this sign, see Assmann, *Ma'at*, 16, n. 3.

Re, the creator sun god,<sup>531</sup> and one of his *Kas*.<sup>532</sup> Thus, her roles correspond precisely to the basic etymological meaning of the word *m3<sup>c</sup>.t*. According to Westendorf's reasonable formulation,<sup>533</sup> the name derives from the verb *m3<sup>c</sup>*, which means "to give things the 'correct' direction", so Maat, as the daughter of the sun god, is the force that gives the course of the sun its proper path.<sup>534</sup>

As a companion of Re, she is already mentioned in Pyr. § 1774b (*m3<sup>c</sup>.t m R<sup>c</sup>*).<sup>535</sup> In the CT, she belongs to Re and occupies his great bark (Doc. 55).<sup>536</sup> She walks in front of him as his forehead serpent.<sup>537</sup> Then Maat is thought of as the *nsr.t* "angry flaming" uraeus serpent, which appears on the sun god's forehead as a sign of his kingship or at the prow of the solar bark to open his ways.<sup>538</sup> The existence of Maat in the solar bark is still preserved in the form of Isis (Doc. 54). Re is the protector of Maat and the one who lives in and through Maat. Maat is brought to Re by Thoth.<sup>539</sup> Thoth in the BD is the "Lord of Maat"<sup>540</sup> who raises her every day to her father.<sup>541</sup> The two deities participate in the sun god's daily fight, and Thoth then takes the epithet "Bull of Maat."<sup>542</sup> She manifests herself with Re in the sun god's shining form but never becomes a manifestation of Re himself. She remains merely a personification of essential features of Re.<sup>543</sup>

In the Book of the Night, Maat shares the same shrine with Re in his bark.<sup>544</sup> Two functions can express Maat's role concerning the sun god, the first being an acting principle, as a sign of the sun's victory of its triumph over its adversary, corresponding to the representations of the goddess on the prow of the bark or as a serpent on the forehead of the god.<sup>545</sup> The second function which Maat has is presenting the sign of life to the sun. This means that the sun lives on Maat, which guarantees the continuity of the solar cycle, and consequently, the cosmic order's constancy.<sup>546</sup>

In the battle against the enemies, the enemy confronts the sun god in the form of a giant water serpent, which, with its "evil eye," threatens to impede the solar bark's movement and threatens to drown out the celestial ocean with its mouth. Because of the presence of Maat, the enemy's destruction occurs not in the form of a fight but of a judgement. The enemy is "punished," and the sun god is

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<sup>531</sup> Assmann, *Ma'at*, 161.

<sup>532</sup> *RÄRG*, 432.

<sup>533</sup> Assmann, *Ma'at*, 163, cf. Westendorf, in: *Fg Walter Will*, 206 ff.

<sup>534</sup> Assmann, *Ma'at*, 163.

<sup>535</sup> See also Pyr. § 1582, where Maat stands behind Re.

<sup>536</sup> See also the Book of the Dead in Doc. 67.

<sup>537</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 67.

<sup>538</sup> Assmann, *Ma'at*, 177-178, 182-183.

<sup>539</sup> See Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 67-70, cf. Assmann, *Ma'at*, 189-190.

<sup>540</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 221.

<sup>541</sup> Helck, *Maat*, in: *LÄ III*, col. 1112.

<sup>542</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 70.

<sup>543</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 69.

<sup>544</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 75, fig. 2. For the connection between Maat and the solar shrine, see the statement in the Ritual for the Cult of Amun. Pap. Berlin 3055, col 24 in Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus*, vol 1, pl 24.

<sup>545</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 177.

<sup>546</sup> See Roulin, *LdN*, 79.

“justified.”<sup>547</sup> Moreover, the sunrise brings the judgement of the enemies who could wreak havoc in the night. The sun god appears as a savior and judges in the morning, just as the victorious and punishing king appears as the morning sun. So, it is the morning light that exists in Maat that expels the darkness.<sup>548</sup> Thus, Maat personifies the cosmic force which appears in the light; in other words, there is a daily struggle between Maat “order” and Isfet “disorder.” However, the domain of the victory of Maat is not the universe but the solar journey.

The dual concept of Maaty is also personified as two goddesses in the PT and CT.<sup>549</sup> Similarly, they are assigned to Re, play a role in the deceased’s judgement hall, and are brought to Osiris for his justification.<sup>550</sup> The two Maats are also names of the two solar barks (see 1.3.3.3). Like the two solar barks *m<sub>s</sub>kt.t* and *m<sup>c</sup>nd.t*, the Maat barks are also equated with the eyes of the lord of heaven (sun and moon), which are associated with Shu and Tefnut.<sup>551</sup> Since Maat and Tefnut can also be equated, the ideas of the sun’s eyes, daughters of the sun god, and the solar barks are intermixed, so that the Maat barks are moored to the solar barks.<sup>552</sup>

In the Amduat, Maat hauls and leads Re along the netherworld paths (Doc. 76, 83). Two Maat goddesses are present in front of the first hour’s solar bark (fig. 6, 9). In the twelfth hour, the two Maats may appear again as Re’s two daughters (Doc. 130). The two goddesses’ presence at the beginning and the end of the Duat heralds Re’s triumph on the eastern horizon.<sup>553</sup> They also fulfil a similar function of the sun god’s left and right eyes, which are personified as barks in the second hour’s middle register.<sup>554</sup> The presence of Maat in the solar bark evokes the power, order, and justice which the sun god needs in his journey through the netherworld.

#### 1.4.2.10 Isis and Nephthys

The most important aptitude of Isis is her magical powers. Isis uses this power to reveal the most secret names of Re. Thus, Isis indeed becomes *wr.t ḥk3.w* “Great of Magic.”<sup>555</sup> For in gaining knowledge of Re’s secret name, she came to know everything.<sup>556</sup> Furthermore, Isis’ power over the sun god appears when Horus is poisoned; she halts the progress of the solar bark until he is healed.<sup>557</sup> The PT allude to Isis and her sister Nephthys navigating the solar bark (Doc. 1, 16). They lead the deceased from his earthly abode into the sky to join the gods, including the mother goddess Nut (Doc.

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<sup>547</sup> Assmann, *Ma’at*, 181. For Maat as the companion of Re during the diurnal and nocturnal portions of the sun’s course, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 67-72; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 89-90; id., *Liturgische Lieder*, 270-271; Zandee, *Amunshymnus I*, 138-141.

<sup>548</sup> Assmann, *Ma’at*, 184.

<sup>549</sup> See, e.g., Pyr. § 317a-b; CT VI 282e.

<sup>550</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 71.

<sup>551</sup> In CT 75-80, the terms “life” and “Maat” are names of Shu and Tefnut, cf. Zandee in ZÄS 97, passim. On the function of Shu spells, see Willems, *Coffin of Hegata*, 270-286.

<sup>552</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 72. For the equation of Maat with Tefnut in a cosmic concept, see Assmann, *Ma’at*, 167.

<sup>553</sup> See also Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 202, 210.

<sup>554</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 224, 366.

<sup>555</sup> A late version of BD 142 refers to Isis as the “Great of Magic” and “Possessor of Magical Protection.” Budge, *Pap. Greenfield*, 114 d, 31; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 119, S4, cf. Quack, in: ZÄS 127, 78, 81.

<sup>556</sup> Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*, 177.

<sup>557</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 151.

10). Some of the spells show that they protect the deceased king (Doc. 12).<sup>558</sup> In the CT, Isis speaks the deceased's name in the god's bark (Doc. 20), where the deceased stimulates her power and takes his position in the solar bark (Doc. 28) as a companion of the sun god (Doc. 24). Another CT spell tells of Isis and Nephthys suckling and nursing the deceased to make his appearance like Re (Doc. 31).<sup>559</sup> Isis links the deceased to her son Horus, who stands at the bark's prow (Doc. 38).<sup>560</sup> In one of her roles with Hathor, Isis lifts the sun god to the day bark (Doc. 35, 37). She is also assimilated with Maat, the guiding goddess who shows the deceased the roads of the sky (Doc. 54). Isis and the powerful deities, Seth and Horus, in the prow of the solar bark lead its defense against the serpent of chaos (Doc. 59). In the Book of the Dead, the deceased uses her magic to properly navigate and defend the solar bark (Doc. 65).<sup>561</sup>

Isis is depicted with her sister Nephthys as assistants to the goddess Nut in the solar birth scenes. In the Book of the Day, the winged scarab appears as it comes out from the vulva of Nut. Beneath the rejuvenated sun, the sky goddess is represented as a pregnant woman holding the disc. She sits between two assisting goddesses, Isis and Nephthys.<sup>562</sup> Below is Shu's bark, then the two barks of day and night with the two goddesses standing on their prows. Nephthys stands on the night bark to transfer the sun disc to Isis in the day bark.<sup>563</sup> A comparable scene is known from the Book of the Night, where such a transfer of the sun disc also takes place in the twelfth hour. Although Isis and Nephthys are there atop the bark and not in it, the analogy is unmistakable.<sup>564</sup> This idea recalls the concluding scene of the Book of Gates. The solar bark contains Isis and Nephthys, whose arms support a large scarab pushing a solar disc.<sup>565</sup> Thus, from their location in the solar bark, the two sisters participate in the sun god's daily rebirth and resurrection.<sup>566</sup>

In the Book of the Day, Isis appears five times in the solar bark.<sup>567</sup> The most crucial moment occurs in the sixth hour when the sun reaches its highest intensity at noon. While Seth has immense power and tends to outfight Apophis, his sister Isis uses her magic against him.<sup>568</sup> Isis and the Eldest Magician interchangeably use two methods of destruction (magical and physical, see 3.7.2). In the Amduat, Isis and Nephthys appear helping the sun god in the solar bark and on the land. In the second hour, the bark has Isis and Nephthys as two serpents (fig. 14, 15) on the prow in addition to its crew (See 3.2.1.1). In the middle register of the fifth hour, Isis crowns the head of the pyramidal mound of Sokar (fig. 47, 48) to help in hauling the solar bark (see 3.5.4). Isis stands between five deities in the same register to secure peace in the netherworld by presenting the latter to the sun god (see 3.5.5). In the

<sup>558</sup> See for instance BD 69, where Isis, with her son Horus, protects the deceased from his male and female enemies. Quirke, *Prt m Hm*, 168.

<sup>559</sup> In the tomb of Thutmose III, Isis is shown as a sycamore tree goddess suckling the king. Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt*, 170, fig. 28.

<sup>560</sup> See also Doc. 68.

<sup>561</sup> For more information about the role of Isis in the CT, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 176-179, 352.

<sup>562</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 389; Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 9.

<sup>563</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 389.

<sup>564</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 82. Cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, pl. 149; Roulin, *LdN II*, pl. 20.

<sup>565</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 336, pl. 28.

<sup>566</sup> For Isis as the mother of the sun god who gives birth to him and serves as a midwife, see Münster, *Isis*, 94-96.

<sup>567</sup> The first, the second, the third, the sixth, and the ninth hours, cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 389, 397, 401, 402.

<sup>568</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 202, 205.

seventh hour, the bark carries Isis and the Eldest Magician (fig. 61, 62). Isis, on the prow, stretches out her arms, uttering incantations (Doc. 103-105). In some versions, she cuts the enemy's head with a knife (fig. 63, 64). In the eleventh hour, Isis and Nephthys again appear as two serpents with the crowns of the North and the South resting on their backs (fig. 87). They guard the netherworld's gate, which is unknown, unseen, and undetectable (Doc. 128).<sup>569</sup> Furthermore, in the Amduat's fifth hour, Isis and Nephthys appear in the form of two kites to keep a long vigil over Osiris' grave, containing Khepri, the morning epithet of the sun god (fig. 47, 48).

The two sisters appear as a couple three times in the Amduat (see above). Isis and Nephthys seem to play a crucial role in the solar journey. They usually occupy the solar bark or appear near it, a tableau that symbolises the protection of the sun god. They also appear outside the bark presiding over the land to protect and guard the path of the sun god.

Nephthys is mainly featured as the devoted companion of her sister, Isis, and a popular protective goddess in funerary literature. After the murder of Osiris, Nephthys, and Isis search for the dismembered parts of that body. The two goddesses protect the body until Anubis mummifies it.<sup>570</sup> Although Isis and Nephthys's role in the Osiris myth is protecting Osiris, their association with him does not stop because the goddesses' protective function accompanies him to the netherworld. As Osiris, as Re-Osiris, or as the deceased having associated with Osiris, the protective actions are continued in the underworld.<sup>571</sup>

Osiris' assimilation with the sun god has the consequence that the two sisters act for the sun god as they do for Osiris. It is known that they serve a protective function for the sun god. They accompany him during his nightly journey in the underworld to protect him from hostile forces. Their main concern is to ward off Re's archenemy, the serpent Apophis, from the solar bark's path. In the Book of Gates, Isis and Nephthys guard the last gate of the underworld. Between them is the following text: *ntsn s3w<.w> sb3 pn št3 n jmn.t* "it is they who protect the doorway of the west."<sup>572</sup> When the sun god passes through this gate, he enters the eastern horizon. Due to Nephthys' depiction below, at the height of the god Nun, who is half-hidden in the depths and lifts the sun bark from the primeval waters, Nephthys is the last being who accompanies the sun god until the end of his nightly voyage. In contrast, Isis is shown at the top level with Osiris' curved figure, on whose head Nut stands receiving the solar disc.<sup>573</sup> Then, they occupy in the solar bark to receive Khepri (see above).<sup>574</sup>

In the Book of the Earth, Isis and Nephthys guard Osiris and Horus' mummies in two barks.<sup>575</sup> Roberson sees that "the appearance of Isis and Nephthys together with the mummified forms of Osiris and Horus alludes to the post-mortem procreation, by which Isis begat the dead god's son and

<sup>569</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 309.

<sup>570</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 171.

<sup>571</sup> Ahmed-Mohamed, *Die Göttin Nephthys*, 73-74. The usual interpretation of the deceased's having become Osiris is rejected by M. Smith, *Following Osiris*, passim, and already in earlier works of this author. He translates *Wsjr N* not as "Osiris N" but as "Osiris of N."

<sup>572</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* I, 409, cf. Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 335.

<sup>573</sup> Ahmed-Mohamed, *Die Göttin Nephthys*, 82.

<sup>574</sup> See also the Book of the Earth, where Nephthys and Isis stand between Aker and the solar bark. They appear supporting Khepri's wings. The placement of the two sisters reflects the goddesses' normal associations with the east and the west and the solar bark's direction of travel. Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 134.

<sup>575</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 163, fig. 5.9.

heir.”<sup>576</sup> Hornung ascribes a plaintive function to Isis, which, of course, includes Nephthys. According to Ahmed-Mohamed, there is no evidence for Hornung’s view in the depicted scene. The attitude of the goddesses rather indicates the veneration or protection of the respective mummy. He adds that these barks can be the night bark with Nephthys (below) and the day bark with Isis (above).<sup>577</sup> This idea seems plausible since the represented Horus is “Horus of the Duat,” not “Horus son of Isis,” which means that he belongs to the hereafter and not to the event of procreation. Moreover, sun discs are mounted on the barks’ prows and sterns, which provides a Solar-Osirian conception of the scene. In the PT and CT, Isis and Nephthys’ role regarding the deceased, the sun god, and the solar bark is very obvious, as is the case in the New Kingdom Netherworld Books (see above). In the Amduat, Isis and Nephthys sometimes appear alone (see, e.g., 3.6.1),<sup>578</sup> or with another deities (see 3.5.6 and 3.7.2). The two goddesses together help in the solar bark and participate in the circumstances of the sun god’s birth. When the two flank the sun god’s three forms, the sun disc, which contains a scarab and a ram-headed god, they guard and protect the sun’s rising and setting as well as its rebirth. At sunrise, Isis and Nephthys are shown standing inside or outside the bark, in the middle of which the sun god appears as Khepri, whom they hold in their arms in many scenes.<sup>579</sup> Isis repels Apophis, and in the Book of the Dead, a spell to raise Re in the eastern horizon shows that Nephthys has done away (*bhnu*) with him.<sup>580</sup> They protect the syncretism of Re and Osiris.<sup>581</sup> Therefore, Isis and Nephthys control the solar cycle by taking the responsibility of destroying the enemies of Re and Osiris and transferring the sun disc to the light of the eastern horizon since they regulate the two divine barks.

#### 1.4.2.11 Mehen

His name means the “encircling” or the “coiled.”<sup>582</sup> The Mehen serpent appears as a protective agent encircling the sun god as early as the Book of Two Ways.<sup>583</sup> Piccione interprets that the Old Kingdom’s serpent game is based on the same ideas as the mythology about the Mehen serpent. He explains that the dark and dangerous roads that surround the sun god are the roads of Mehen (see also Doc. 47, 48, fig. 1). The game’s player has to follow this road until he reaches the sun god in the center. Piccione’s quotes show that the completion of this goal is associated with the deceased’s rebirth.<sup>584</sup> Thus, this serpent embodies the fiery roads that lead to and originate from the sun god as he traverses the netherworld.<sup>585</sup>

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<sup>576</sup> Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 164.

<sup>577</sup> Ahmed-Mohamed, *Die Göttin Nephthys*, 310, cf. Hornung, *Umb*, 450.

<sup>578</sup> See, e.g., Nephthys in the middle register of the first hour. Hornung, *TZA I*, 139 (no. 79).

<sup>579</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 96.

<sup>580</sup> Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 19, 15A4 (4); Münster, *Isis*, 98; Ahmed-Mohamed, *Die Göttin Nephthys*, 80-81.

<sup>581</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 96. The concept of a syncretism of Re with Osiris is discussed by M. Smith, *Following Osiris*, 334-336, who considers it as “a dynamic process, not a static one (see *ibid.*, 336).

<sup>582</sup> Helck, *Mehen*, LÄ IV, col. 3.

<sup>583</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 13.

<sup>584</sup> Piccione, in: JARCE 27, 43-52, cf. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 303. For a recent publication on the Mehen game, see Khaled, in Kamrin and Barta, eds., *Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass II*, 859-871.

<sup>585</sup> Hermsen, *Die zwei Wege*, 201-203. On the protective and hostile aspects of this serpent, see Ritner, in: JNES 43, 219-220.



Isis brings the Mehen serpent to protect her son Horus at the prow of the solar bark in the presence of the sun god (see Doc. 39), and thus Isis creates Mehen to protect Horus and Re in the solar bark.<sup>586</sup> This serpent appears in the solar bark of the Amduat from the seventh hour to the twelfth hour as additional protection in the confrontation with Apophis. Furthermore, in the Amduat's seventh hour, the flesh (*jwḥ*) of Osiris is enveloped by a serpent, with the label "Osiris, who is in the Mehen serpent" (fig. 60).<sup>587</sup> Furthermore, the Mehen serpent is the mediator of the sun god's rebirth in the eleventh and twelfth hours of the Amduat (see 3.11.3.2, 3.12.3). In the Book of Night and the Book of Gates, it is present in all of the night's hours,<sup>588</sup> forming the divine shrine. In the Book of Gates' second hour (sixth scene), Mehen is Re's protector and guardian. There, twelve striding male figures say to Re:<sup>589</sup> *mn R<sup>c</sup> n jtn=f sḥm k3r ntt jm=f wn mḥn n s3w.t=f* "Re lasts due to his disc. Powerful is the shrine (and) what is in it; the Mehen serpent who is for his protection." Furthermore, in the fifth hour, the *Akb*-spirits praise Re as follows:<sup>590</sup> *bnw n=k ʿk=k dsr.w m mḥn* "jubilation to you, you may enter the sacred place within the Mehen serpent." In solar hymns, the solar bark's shrine appears in combination with the Mehen serpent in the day and night barks.<sup>591</sup>

#### 1.4.2.12 Seth/Nehes

Seth,<sup>592</sup> the tumultuous god who was the enemy of his brother, Osiris, and the rival of Horus, was incorporated into the Heliopolitan Ennead as one of the children of Nut and Geb.<sup>593</sup> In the Early Dynastic Period, Seth appears together with Horus on the *Serekh* of Khasekhemuy,<sup>594</sup> indicating equality at this time with the great falcon god. This attribute makes him and Horus the gods who participate in the king's coronation.<sup>595</sup> Plutarch referred Typhon's (= Seth's) name to "overmastering" or "overpowering."<sup>596</sup> However, his sacred animal is not identifiable until today.<sup>597</sup> It was used as a determinative in several words, most often ones with bad connotations like, for example,

<sup>586</sup> CT VI, 390, On this spell, see also Piccione, in: JARCE 27, 44-46.

<sup>587</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 127.

<sup>588</sup> See Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 36; Roulin, *LdN* I, 74.

<sup>589</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* I, 22-23. For an alternative idiosyncratic transliteration, see Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, 30-31.

<sup>590</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* I, 149, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 51.

<sup>591</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 301.

<sup>592</sup> For the name of the god and its variants, see Te Velde, *Seth*, 1-3; *LGG* VI, 691b.

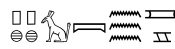
<sup>593</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 191. For the birth of Seth as the beginning of all disorder, see Te Velde, *Seth*, 27.

<sup>594</sup> Leprohon, *Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*, 29.

<sup>595</sup> See, e.g., Ramesses III crowned by Horus and Seth in the Egyptian Museum (JE 31628), Cairo.

<sup>596</sup> Griffiths, *Plutarch. De Iside et Osiride*, 196-197. See also Te Velde, *Seth*, 3-4. *LGG* has a different meaning of the word as "Gerichtete/Getrennte." *LGG* VI, 691b.

<sup>597</sup> For the animal of Seth, see Roeder, in: *ZÄS* 50, 84-86. In myths, Seth takes the form of many different animals, such as bulls, pigs, hippopotami, wild asses, crocodiles, serpents, and panthers, to carry out destructive acts. Te Velde, *Seth*, *LÄ* V, col. 910. Maret, in: *BIFAO* 105, 107-128 and Castillos, in: *GM* 250, 81-92 provide an overview of the god's animal, assuming it to be the African anteater. See also Westendorf, in: *Fs Rößler-Köhler*, 461-464, who understands Seth as "the smasher" or "the crusher" and wants to value him as a "respectful expression of the enormous power that became visible in the giraffe." However, their equation is to be regarded with caution.

 *phpb* “thunderstorm.”<sup>598</sup> As the son of Nut, it appears that he involuntarily came out of his mother’s womb and was then considered to be her excrement or vomit.<sup>599</sup>

Seth becomes the personification of evil not only in the form of violence and murder but as the epitome of all manner of evils and transgressions, such as lying, robbing, greed, adultery, blasphemy, and rebellion.<sup>600</sup> Contrarily, Seth plays a positive role by protecting the sun god in his daily journey and slaying his enemy. In the PT, Seth and Horus take the hand of the king to the Duat,<sup>601</sup> cause the king to stand and sit in the pure place of Re,<sup>602</sup> and raise him to the sky.<sup>603</sup> Also, in the CT, it is the power of Seth which serves the deceased,<sup>604</sup> whose enemy cannot reach him because Seth is behind him.<sup>605</sup> In CT 564, the deceased associates himself with Seth: “I am Seth who is among the gods, and I will not perish,”<sup>606</sup> and “I am (the deceased) the Lord of Life, ruling in the sky, while Seth is my protection because he knows the nature of what I do.”<sup>607</sup> The deceased also says of himself: “Open a path for me, for I am Seth about to sail the bark.”<sup>608</sup> He was worshipped by a large section of the Egyptian population and was even adopted as a national deity by certain kings.<sup>609</sup> Thus, the ancient Egyptians use Seth’s violent and devious nature to destroy the dangerous enemies. Furthermore, the disturbance of the universal order caused by Seth in no way endangers the existence of creation but constitutes a new state of affairs that now has its place in the world, unlike Apophis’s evil that exists within the created universe, a very different factor that represents a real and permanent threat to creation.<sup>610</sup>

The gods need Seth’s brute strength to defend the solar bark from the chaotic enemy because Seth possesses the intensity that allows him to stand against Apophis. The PT likens the king’s power to the god Seth’s power because he is “Great in Power.”<sup>611</sup> In the CT, Isis and Nephthys bring Horus and Seth, who are “Great of Magic,” to place the heart of the deceased in his body.<sup>612</sup> The text also mentions the magical powers<sup>613</sup> that he possesses in addition to other enigmatic powers.<sup>614</sup> These two powers appear together in the CT when Seth binds the serpent with his hands (Doc. 26) and uses his magic to tie (*snb*) it and restrain (*m jnt.wt*) it.<sup>615</sup> As the god “who causes storms and clouds,” Seth is

<sup>598</sup> *Wb* I, 544, 5.

<sup>599</sup> Te Velde, *Seth*, 28.

<sup>600</sup> Assmann, *Of God and Gods*, 34, 36.

<sup>601</sup> Pyr. § 390b.

<sup>602</sup> Pyr. § 473b.

<sup>603</sup> Pyr. § 1148a.

<sup>604</sup> CT I, 49a.

<sup>605</sup> CT II, 143c.

<sup>606</sup> CT VI, 163g.

<sup>607</sup> CT VI, 269s-t.

<sup>608</sup> CT VI, 271d.

<sup>609</sup> Castillos, in: GM 250, 82. For the cult places of Seth, see v. Lieven, in: ZÄS 133, 141 ff.

<sup>610</sup> Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 227.

<sup>611</sup> Pyr. § 1156b.

<sup>612</sup> CT VI, 118-119. See also Nut carrying Horus and Seth and their great magic. CT VII, 9r-s.

<sup>613</sup> Pyr. § 204a.

<sup>614</sup> *RÄRG*, 703. For Seth in the CT, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 200-207.

<sup>615</sup> CT 160, cf. BD 108. On Seth defending the solar bark, see Nagel, in: BIFAO 28, 33-39; Vandier, in: MDAIK 25, 191; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 41; Brunner, in Röllig, ed., *Das hörende Herz*, 128-129; Shupak, in: JEOL 40, 76-89, cf. Leitz, *Tagenählerei*, 78-79. The role of Seth against Apophis also appears in the literary texts, see the story of Anat and Seth

also the natural defender of the solar bark. According to the “Contendings of Horus and Seth,” Seth’s role as storm god is to protect Re; when Re appoints Seth to chase the serpent, it is said that he will “thunder in the sky and be feared.”<sup>616</sup>

Seth is the source of magic which is devoted to the aid of the sun god<sup>617</sup> and the source of life at the prow of the solar bark.<sup>618</sup> Since the CT, Seth is placed among the solar bark’s crew (Doc. 58, 59). In the New Kingdom Netherworld Books, Seth acts as the destroyer of Apophis. For instance, the Book of the Day places the struggle with Apophis in the sixth hour (the hour that rises of Seth). There, “the gods who are in the bark rise to repel Apophis. Seth is “he who puts his hand to overthrow Apophis.”<sup>619</sup> According to the Book of the Day’s six-hour annotations, Isis and Seth play a crucial role in felling Apophis.<sup>620</sup> The Amduat’s seventh hour also mentions the two deities’ same role (Doc. 104-107). Hence, the destruction of the enemy occurs in the most crucial moments of the day and the night. If Seth does not exorcise and spear it at the right time so that it disgorges the water it swallowed, the solar journey is at risk of stoppage and disturbance.<sup>621</sup>

Osiris’ underworld is an inaccessible place for the enemy of Osiris; however, he enters the realm of the Duat as an opponent of Re’s enemy, not of Osiris. He enters the solar bark as the “son of Re” and the “chosen of Re.”<sup>622</sup> So, the *Ba* of Seth is authorised to take part in the solar bark, but he is held back so as not to approach Osiris. The *Ba* remains restricted to the bark. In *BD* 175, in the well-known dialogue between Atum and Osiris, Atum responds to the anxious question of Osiris as to whether the *Ba*-soul of Seth had been sent out (to the Duat): “I have caused his *Ba*-soul which is in the bark to be restrained, because of his wish to revere the body of the god.”<sup>623</sup> There, he is helpful indeed: the sun god employs his word and physical powers to destroy the enemy serpent.

Furthermore, since the solar bark heads toward the body of Osiris (e.g., 3.6.2), it seems that the authors of the Amduat avoid mentioning the name of Seth in the solar bark and place the name of Nehes (the wakeful one)<sup>624</sup> instead as a hypostasis of Seth.<sup>625</sup> Moreover, Nehes is the slaughterer of Apophis in a funeral papyrus from the end of the New Kingdom (Pap. Louvre N 3292 H).<sup>626</sup> The vignette shows the solar bark, with Thoth standing at the prow, the scarab-headed sun god, and a third figure who does not have a name; it seems that it is Nehes, whose name appears in the text as Apophis’s slaughterer. Nehes appears among twelve figures who haul the tow rope of the bark.<sup>627</sup>

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in hieratic papyri from the Penn Museum in Pennsylvania (CG2006-4-1A). Silverman and Houser-Wegner, in Hawass, eds., *Essays in Honor of David O’Connor* II, 417-418. For a republication of a 19th Dynasty stela showing the human-headed Seth stabbing Apophis, see Petschel and von Falck, eds., *Pharao siegt immer*, 21-22.

<sup>616</sup> Broze, *Les aventures d’Horus et Seth*, 119-120.

<sup>617</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 200.

<sup>618</sup> Nagel, in: BIFAO 28, 34.

<sup>619</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 401.

<sup>620</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 202-205.

<sup>621</sup> Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 363.

<sup>622</sup> Te Velde, in: JARCE 7, 39.

<sup>623</sup> Faulkner, *AEBCD*, 175, cf. Quirke, *Prt m Hrm*, 438.

<sup>624</sup> *Wb* II, 287, 12; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 531.

<sup>625</sup> However, the name of Seth appears in the introduction of the first hour (*TꜣA I*, 110), and the *ms.t-Nbs* “Staff of Nehes” in the lower register of the tenth hour (3.10.4).

<sup>626</sup> Nagel, in: BIFAO 29, 40, pl. III.

<sup>627</sup> Piankoff, *Le livre des Quererts*<sup>2</sup>, pl. CXXI.

### 1.4.2.13 Thoth/Ka-Maat

The two main manifestations of Thoth are a baboon and an ibis or an ibis-headed man.<sup>628</sup> Furthermore, the sun god is the one who creates the ibis (*bbj*) and the baboon (*ᶜnᶜn*) of Thoth.<sup>629</sup> Thus, the baboon's choice to be the announcer of the first sunrays at dawn is not haphazard. The name (*Dḥwtj*) cannot be etymologically explained, and the reasons for the typical iconography of Thoth have remained speculative.<sup>630</sup> Hermopolis is the main cult centre of Thoth, where he is worshipped as a creator god who produces and protects the cosmic egg.<sup>631</sup> This title of the creator is attributed to him before the New Kingdom.<sup>632</sup> In the conflict between Horus and Seth, Thoth heals the injured eye of Horus,<sup>633</sup> he is Horus's son who was born on Seth's forehead.<sup>634</sup>

The sun god appoints Thoth to be his vizier (*t3tj*) and representative (*stj Rᶜ*) in the sky.<sup>635</sup> In the *Myth of the Solar Eye*, Re sends him to bring his daughter, who is her father's eye, back from Nubia.<sup>636</sup> In the Amduat's fourth hour, a falcon-headed god and an ibis-headed god, as representatives of Horus and Thoth, appear lifting an *Udjat*-eye (fig. 41). The protection of the eye refers to the resurrection of Osiris,<sup>637</sup> and thus the resurrection of the sun god. Thoth can be the son of Re, and is identified with him or assimilated with him. Sometimes Thoth can substitute Re when he represents him during the night as a nocturnal star in the solar bark.<sup>638</sup>

Since the PT, Thoth occupies the solar bark, acting to benefit the deceased and the sun god.<sup>639</sup> In BD 144, the deceased lets Maat rise, open the sky, and restrain the power of Apophis. According to the Book of Two Ways, these actions occur in Thoth's area, with the speaker expressly referring to the deceased as Thoth's follower.<sup>640</sup> Thoth registers (*hsb*) those who enter and come out of the bark of Re.<sup>641</sup> He also remarks to Re to take care of the deceased's *Ba*-soul in the bark of Re.<sup>642</sup>

One of the most important functions of Thoth as one of the crew members aboard the solar bark is to supervise the bringing the offerings to the sun god. The followers of Thoth lighten the darkness and bring the offerings. The ritualist who is one of those followers brings Maat to offer it to Re. This

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<sup>628</sup> Stadler, *Thoth. UEE*, 2.

<sup>629</sup> Stadler, *Thoth. UEE*, 9.

<sup>630</sup> For the iconographies and forms of Thoth, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 30-34, 171. On the scribal competence of Thoth and his relationship with Seshat, see Budde, *Die Göttin Seschat*, 144-151.

<sup>631</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 209. For Thoth in Hermopolis, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 68-92.

<sup>632</sup> Cf. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 166 ff. and passim. For Thoth as a creator god, see *ibid.*, 135-136, 164-166. Bickel assumes that the title of Thoth as a "creator god" was not assigned to the god before the New Kingdom, but her assumption does not seem to be correct. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 54.

<sup>633</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 335-336, cf. Te Velde, *Seth*, 44-45. On Thoth as the son of Isis and other goddesses, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 152-155.

<sup>634</sup> See Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 147 ff.

<sup>635</sup> Stadler, *Thoth. UEE*, 9. Thoth is also *jb Rᶜ* "heart of Re." Kurth, *Thot*, in LÄ VI, 504 f. He is one of Re's *Ba*s, cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 106. For Thoth as the deputy of Re, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 211-214.

<sup>636</sup> Stadler, *Thoth. UEE*, 9.

<sup>637</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 103.

<sup>638</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 212-213.

<sup>639</sup> See Doc. 12, 52, 73 and 3.7.2.

<sup>640</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 262.

<sup>641</sup> BD 100 = BD 129. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 442-443.

<sup>642</sup> BD 100, Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 82.

Maat offering is connected with bringing the *Udjat*-eye.<sup>643</sup> Although the events there refer to the moon's rising, they show one of Thoth's activities as a member of the sun god's retinue.<sup>644</sup> In the middle register of the sixth hour of the Amduat, Thoth appears as a baboon-headed god, presenting an ibis to a goddess who is hiding the two eyes of the sun god.<sup>645</sup> In the text above the scene, Re says to Thoth: *Dḥwtj ḥnty nb.t dw3.ty.w ... mn n jr.w.w=k mn n 3ḥ.w=k* "Thoth, who presides over the entire netherworld, .... may your actions endure, may your magical spells endure."<sup>646</sup> This scene refers to Thoth's *Akb*-powers, and he exists in the Duat because of his role in returning the solar eye.

Thoth performs the purification for the sun god inside the solar bark's shrine<sup>647</sup> and is the one who does what Re praises in his shrine.<sup>648</sup> CT 1099 and BD 130 may be considered proof of Thoth as the guide of the stars. Thus, Thoth maintains a list of the crew members who are also stars.<sup>649</sup> In the Amduat, Thoth may be the "Eldest Magician", the one who fights the enemies of the solar bark (see 3.7.2). Thoth's roles in the solar cycle, such as fighting enemies, accounting, guiding, and supervising, emanate from his abilities and characteristics.

Furthermore, the god Thoth is repeatedly referred to as a "bull," like "Bull of the Sky," the "Great Bull," or "Bull of the West."<sup>650</sup> Thoth is also *K3-m3<sup>c</sup>.t* "Bull of Maat."<sup>651</sup> This designation is probably the reason that this manifestation, Ka-Maat, accompanies Re in his bark.<sup>652</sup> The most frequent hypostasis of Thoth in the solar bark is that of Ka-Maat. In Medinet Habu, Ka-Maat and Thoth appear together in the solar bark.<sup>653</sup> Thus, the god and his hypostasis can appear in the same bark, as we saw with Seth and Nehes (see 3.5.6). This form of Thoth appears in the Amduat and the Book of the Day.<sup>654</sup>

#### 1.4.2.14 Hathor

Ancient Egyptian traditions and myths of gods point to a close relationship between the sun god and the goddess Hathor, although this relationship can be presented differently. In the Old Kingdom's solar sanctuaries near Memphis, there was a close cult community between the two deities.<sup>655</sup> On the one hand, Hathor is a companion of Re; on the other hand, she is a part of the sun god as his shining

<sup>643</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 377.

<sup>644</sup> Thoth's cosmic competence is certainly derived from his quality as a moon god, which is evident in other parts of the BD when the eye, the day bark, and the night bark are read as astronomical metaphors. The title of BD 100, for instance, reads: "Enable the deceased to go aboard the bark of Re." Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 441.

<sup>645</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 194.

<sup>646</sup> Hornung, *T3-A II*, 489-490.

<sup>647</sup> CT VII, 393a-b (Sp. 1099).

<sup>648</sup> BD 182. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 223.

<sup>649</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 443.

<sup>650</sup> Kessler, in: *Gs Barta*, 229. For commentary on Kessler, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 31 f. Ka-Maat could be read as "Lord of Maat." For *k3* as "lord of something," see Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, 155, n. 2.

<sup>651</sup> For this form of Thoth, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 31-32, 127, 411, cf. *LGG VII*, 257c-258b.

<sup>652</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 63. Ka-Maat is attested since the CT. CT IV, 21c, e (Sp. 277).

<sup>653</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 88-89.

<sup>654</sup> *Medinet Habu VI*, pl. 421 B (22) and (26).

<sup>655</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 113.

eye. In the CT,<sup>656</sup> the sacred eye shines as Re and travels as Hathor.<sup>657</sup> The deceased wants to be in the presence of Re by presenting himself as Hathor (Doc. 8). He asserts this connection when he serves the two deities in the earth and the sky (Doc. 45) and sits on the solar bark's mat where he shines as Re and Hathor.<sup>658</sup>

Unfortunately, we have no representation of Hathor in the solar bark from the earlier compositions up to the beginning of the New Kingdom. However, traces of the idea of her presence can be found in the PT and CT.<sup>659</sup> The oldest indication of this idea is in Pyr. § 490b. There, the deceased king is referred to as *msj.n nb.t ntr.w jm.t h3.t wj3 R<sup>c</sup>* "born by (the goddess) whom the gods beseech, who is at the prow of the bark of Re."<sup>660</sup> According to Allam, the goddess Hathor should be meant.<sup>661</sup> Many excerpts from the CT support the suggestion of Allam. For instance, she sails with Re in the solar bark,<sup>662</sup> and her place is at the prow of Re's bark (Doc. 43),<sup>663</sup> where she is called the "Great Lady Who Is In the Prow of the Bark of Re."<sup>664</sup> CT 47 describes Hathor as *dj=s n=k cntyw m hw.t-3.t m-m prj.w m-hnw wj3 n h<sup>c</sup>.w* "she gives you myrrh in the Great Mansion among those who go forth within the bark of the body."<sup>665</sup> The bark of the body is undoubtedly the solar bark; later, the netherworld sun god usually bears the name *juw* "flesh" within the night bark in the later netherworld compositions.<sup>666</sup> However, as Sethe suggests, it could be Maat,<sup>667</sup> since she also appears on the prow of the solar bark (*wj3 3*, Doc. 55).<sup>668</sup> Thus, the presence of Hathor in the solar bark is evidenced in the Old Kingdom and before the first appearance of the Amduat.

In the Amduat, it has been argued that the twelve goddesses who appear in the first hour are hypostases of Hathor, *nb.t wj3*, who stand at the prow of the solar bark during the twelve hours of the night (3.1.1). Hathor's function in the Amduat may result from her association with Re's eye, which protects her father in the underworld (3.3.4). In BD 39, Hathor tells the sun god's crew to take their weapons to overthrow Apophis,<sup>669</sup> the same role assigned to Isis in the seventh hour of the Amduat. Therefore, the role of Hathor in the solar bark, as the "eye of Re," is to lighten the path of the sun god and to help in the elimination of his enemies.<sup>670</sup>

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<sup>656</sup> See, e.g., CT 242b-c (Sp. 413).

<sup>657</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 134.

<sup>658</sup> CT I, 261a-b (Sp. 61). For the horizon as the place of Re and Hathor, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 134. For the connection between Hathor, Re, and the deceased, see Allam, *Hathorkult*, 114.

<sup>659</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 117.

<sup>660</sup> For an alternative translation, see Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 162.

<sup>661</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 117.

<sup>662</sup> CT I, 204e-205a.

<sup>663</sup> Cf. CT I, 260f-261b.

<sup>664</sup> See also Doc. 35, where Hathor is the "Mistress of the Prow Rope." Cf. Allam, *Hathorkult*, 117. Maat mirrors Hathor's role in bringing the sun's eye (see 3.2.1.6).

<sup>665</sup> CT I, 204f-205a..

<sup>666</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 117.

<sup>667</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* II, 327 f.

<sup>668</sup> See also BD 130 = Doc. 67.

<sup>669</sup> Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 46 (11); Quirke, *Prt m Hmw*, 114.

<sup>670</sup> See Münster, *Isis*, 78-79, 109-110.

### 1.4.2.15 Nebetwia

Her name means “Mistress of the bark.”<sup>671</sup> This goddess is a hypostasis of Hathor, with her cow horns and the sun disc on her head.<sup>672</sup> The female goddess appears in the Book of the Day in the same form;<sup>673</sup> she is not missing in any hour of the Amduat except for the seventh, where Isis replaces her (fig. 59). Her name appears in the name of the eleventh hour of the night, “Starry One, Mistress of the Bark,” where her function is to guide the sun god and repel his enemies at the eastern horizon (Doc. 123).<sup>674</sup> Therefore, Nebetwia represents two aspects: she is Hathor’s manifestation, and she represents the corresponding hour goddess, who leads the sun god in her domain.<sup>675</sup> In the tomb of Amenhotep II, Hathor hands the ankh sign to the king on all eight sides of pillars 3 and 6, which stand closest to the sarcophagus. Her epithets, such as “Mistress of Heaven, Chieftainess of the Necropolis” on the southern face of pillar 3 and *nb.t p.t hry<.t>-dp smy.t* “Mistress of the Sky, Chieftainess of the necropolis” on the south face of pillar 6, both of which face the sarcophagus, underline her role as a solar goddess as well as a goddess of the netherworld.<sup>676</sup> As the representation of regeneration for the king in the afterlife, her images next to the sarcophagus would aid in his rebirth.<sup>677</sup>

### 1.4.2.16 Shu

Shu, whose name may mean “emptiness” or “air,”<sup>678</sup> is created by Atum.<sup>679</sup> Shu and Tefnut were the first divine pair in the Ennead of Heliopolis. This pair produced Geb, the god of the earth, and Nut, goddess of the sky. Shu is the god of life-giving air and sunlight.<sup>680</sup> Shu is the space between earth and sky in which all beings can breathe the air that gives life. In this space, the sun god could rise and move away from the primeval darkness.<sup>681</sup> Shu is mentioned in the PT when the deceased king is purified in the “lakes of Shu” (2.1.1) and is said to ascend to the sky upon the “bones of Shu” (2.2.2). He raises the deceased king, assisting both Nut and Re, who present a helping hand to the king.<sup>682</sup> The deceased as Shu says of Re in a statement in CT 80: *N wj r šr.t=f<sup>c</sup>.wy=j hr=f nḥm=j sw m-<sup>c</sup> ʿ3pp sd3=f r 3ḥ.t jmnt.t sw3d=j b<sup>c</sup>n.t jm.t <m>skt.t jm.t <m><sup>c</sup>nd.t m nf.wt=j* “I am at his nose, and my hands are under him (carry him). I might save him from Apophis so that he might reach the western horizon. I

<sup>671</sup> LGG IV, 38, 3.

<sup>672</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 20-21; Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 63.

<sup>673</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 89.

<sup>674</sup> See also the hour goddess of the fifth hour, “She Who Guides in the Midst of Her Bark,” whom Hornung assumes to be Nebetwia. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 21.


<sup>675</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 20-21.

<sup>676</sup> Richter, in: JARCE 44, 95-96.

<sup>677</sup> Hornung, *The Tomb of Amenhotep II*, 145.

<sup>678</sup> *Wb* IV, 429, 1. See also Derchain, in: RdE 27; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 994.

<sup>679</sup> See Pyr. §§ 1248-1249 (PT 527), § 1652 (PT 600). For Shu and his creation, see Te Velde, *Schnu*, in: LÄ V, col. 735; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 260-261.

<sup>680</sup> Te Velde, *Schnu*, in: LÄ V, col. 735. Note the writing of Shu as . *Wb* IV, 430, 7. Also, the marriage of Geb and Nut, which resulted in a halt in creation, ended with the two deities being separated by their father, Shu. This disunity made Shu the god of luminosity. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 209.

<sup>681</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 65, 195-196.

<sup>682</sup> See, e.g., Pyr. §§ 275e-f, 519c, 1247d.

cause the neck which is in the night bark and the day bark to be made by means of my breath.”<sup>683</sup> According to CT 366 = Doc. 38, Shu is said to *tj* “lift up” the forepart of the deceased as well as to *tw3* “support” Nut with his left hand.<sup>684</sup> He is often depicted with his arms raised, supporting the sky goddess Nut and holding her apart from Geb with the assistance of the Heh deities.<sup>685</sup> Shu and Tefnut are also identified with the twin Lions of the Horizon. They are shown as two lions, facing away from each other with the sun on the horizon between them.<sup>686</sup>

The creation of Shu and Tefnut occurs in a CT passage in the moment of changing from the night bark to the day bark on the eastern horizon: *wn n=f<sup>c</sup>3.wy mskt.t sn n=f sb3.w <m><sup>c</sup>nd.t sn=f Šw km3=f Tfn.t* “the two doors of the night bark are opened for him (Re) and the gates of the day bark are opened for him that he may breathe Shu and that he may create Tefnut.”<sup>687</sup> This means that they exist in the solar bark, and the sun rises, and that the creation of the universe takes place simultaneously. Another statement from the same source shows that Shu and the creator circulate together around Hu and Sia’s circuit, i.e., the sun god’s circuit (Doc. 33).

The previous excerpts certainly mean that Shu joins the entourage of the sun. Furthermore, in the vignettes to BD 100, Shu stands with the deceased, Isis, Thoth, and Khepri in the solar bark (fig. 4a). In the concluding scene of the Book of Gates, Shu takes his position with Geb, Heka, Hu, and Sia at the back stern of the bark which is held aloft by Nun.<sup>688</sup> In the Book of the Day, Shu appears alone in the day bark supporting the scene of the sun’s birth.<sup>689</sup> In the Amduat’s twelfth hour, the arms of Shu hang on the rounded end of the netherworld and receive the scarab, the image of the rejuvenated sun god. It seems that his presence among the crew of the solar bark is due to his primary role of raising the sky on which the sun god travels during his journey. Above, Shu stands in both the night and day barks or near the bark’s path to help the sun god deal with the enemies, receive him, and raise him to the eastern horizon.

### 1.4.2.17 Geb

Geb is the earth god and the mate of the sky goddess Nut. The name *gb/gbb* is the old term for the earth, which *t3* later replaced.<sup>690</sup> Geb was usually represented as a bearded man with a goose on his head or as a goose. He is also depicted as a man wearing the Red Crown, or in terms of his mythological role, reclining on his side beneath the sky goddess.<sup>691</sup>

<sup>683</sup> CT II 37h-38b (Sp. 80), cf. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 227, 256.

<sup>684</sup> Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 711; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 256.

<sup>685</sup> For the other representations of Shu, see LGG VII, 34.

<sup>686</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 197. See also the ivory headrest from the tomb of Tutankhamun showing the god Shu kneeling and holding the headrest of the king, symbolically represented as the sun, as it “rose” between two lions (18th Dynasty). Egyptian Museum (JE62020), Cairo.

<sup>687</sup> CT VII, 325c-326a (Sp. 1065).

<sup>688</sup> For Shu and Nun in this role at the eastern horizon, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 60-63, 373.

<sup>689</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 77.

<sup>690</sup> Mercer, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 265, cf. Te Velde, *Geb*, in: LÄ II, col. 427.

<sup>691</sup> On the other forms and representations of Geb, see LGG VII, 303a-306a. On Geb, see also Te Velde, *Geb*, in: LÄ II, col. 428, cf. Watterson, *Gods of Ancient Egypt*, 36.



Since the PT, Geb plays an important role in supporting the deceased king against his enemies (Pyr. §§ 578b, 1619c).<sup>692</sup> He removes the evil from the deceased king,<sup>693</sup> and provides him with protection behind him so that he may not die, and his name may not perish.<sup>694</sup> He also performs the role of raising the deceased king.<sup>695</sup> Geb is often represented taking the arm of the king to heaven.<sup>696</sup> Geb leads the king to the gates of the sky.<sup>697</sup> The deceased king finds his way to the firmament where Geb and Re exist.<sup>698</sup> A passage from the PT illustrates Geb and Nut's role in raising and opening the doors of heaven:<sup>699</sup> *rdj.n t̄w Gbb šsp.n t̄w Nw.t prj=k r=k jr p.t j.wn<.w> n=k ʿ3.wy p.t* “Geb has given you up, Nut has received you. Ascend to the sky, for the doors of the sky will be opened for you.”<sup>700</sup> Although Geb is the god of the earth, he is also considered a heavenly father of the deceased, besides Atum and Re. Frequently, Geb receives the deceased king in the sky and conducts him to pass its gates.<sup>701</sup> In the CT, Geb opens his realm's doors to let the deceased ascend to the sky portals (Doc. 21).<sup>702</sup> He supports the deceased to mount up to the horizon and reach the sunshine.<sup>703</sup> In CT 575, the text reads: *j Gb k3 nw.t jrj w3.t n N tn hr w3.t=k tw* “O Geb, Bull of the sky, prepare a way for this N on this path of yours.”<sup>704</sup> It should also be noted that the Duat is parallel to Geb. In the PT, the deceased king is identified with Osiris, who came forth from Geb.<sup>705</sup> Furthermore, in the CT, Geb is mentioned in association with Rosetau<sup>706</sup> as his son Osiris' realm.<sup>707</sup> Thus, as the god of earth, the most crucial role of Geb is to ward off the enemies who reside in his realm, especially the serpents, and open the doors that lead to the sun god's domain (see also 2.2.2). In the eleventh hour of the Book of Gates, Geb and other gods hold a rope binding Apophis and four other serpents.<sup>708</sup>

Geb appears among the deities in the solar bark of the concluding scene of the Book of Gates. In the Book of the Day, Geb is represented as a hare-headed god who holds a pole at the solar bark's prow. This pole also serves as a hunting device for snakes.<sup>709</sup> His depiction as a hare god refers to many positive qualities. They include fertility, which would have made him a symbol of renewal and rebirth.

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<sup>692</sup> He also participates in destroying Seth and his followers, see Pyr. §§ 626d-e, 1033a-c.

<sup>693</sup> Pyr. § 840c, cf. Pyr. § 1622a-b.

<sup>694</sup> Pyr. § 1812a-c.

<sup>695</sup> See, e.g., Pyr. § 1045a-c, 1353a. Geb plays an indirect role by erecting a ladder for the deceased to climb up to the sky, cf. Pyr. §§ 477c-479a, cf. 941c-d.

<sup>696</sup> Pyr. § 1030c-d, cf. Pyr. §§ 1300b, 2014c.

<sup>697</sup> Pyr. § 1115a-b.

<sup>698</sup> Pyr. § 1142a-b.

<sup>699</sup> Pyr. § 2234b-c.

<sup>700</sup> See also CT VII, 35g-j.

<sup>701</sup> Ismail, *King's Assistants*, 290.

<sup>702</sup> Cf. CT I, 75b-c.

<sup>703</sup> CT II, 254i-k.

<sup>704</sup> CT VI, 185a-b.

<sup>705</sup> Pyr. § 1986a-b.

<sup>706</sup> For Rosetau as a region in the netherworld, see 3.4.

<sup>707</sup> CT VII, 351b.

<sup>708</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 247. See also 3.10.2.

<sup>709</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 78.

Besides, his speed and vigilance are very needed to repel the underworld demons.<sup>710</sup> Joris Borghouts assumes that he is a donkey-headed crew member, and, therefore, he considers Geb a direct replacement for Seth.<sup>711</sup> The hypothesis of Borghouts seems plausible since the text of the sixth hour of the day mentions that it is Seth who raises his hand to knock down Apophis while the god pictured in the bark is Geb.<sup>712</sup> That means Geb can assimilate into the entourage of Re as Seth.<sup>713</sup> Therefore, Geb's presence in this bark comes to ensure his role of opening the earth for the sun god and defeating his enemies so he can go forth into the eastern horizon and be resurrected.

#### 1.4.2.18 The Stars

The daily rising of the sun could be associated with the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars.<sup>714</sup> It has been argued that the Unwearying Stars are the crew of the night bark, and the Imperishable Stars are the crew of the day bark as early as the PT (see 2.2.3).<sup>715</sup> By identifying with these stars, the deceased becomes a solar crew member (Doc. 13).<sup>716</sup> Many passages in the CT deal with the integration of these two crews into the solar cycle. In the CT, the deceased and the Unwearying Stars, who are described as gods of the sky, follow the bark of eternity, the solar bark (see also 2.3.4).<sup>717</sup> Another passage clarifies the function of the stars: "This bark of Re shall be navigated by the crew which are the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars" (Doc. 23).

In the CT, the Imperishable Stars' crew and the Unwearying Stars surround the deceased (equated here with the sun god) and knit together around him.<sup>718</sup> They are the entourage (*šnu.t*) who acts as the crew of the bark.<sup>719</sup> Later, in the New Kingdom and the Late Period, the continuity of this concept is demonstrated by its frequent occurrences in the Netherworld Books' compositions (see 3.3.3, 3.7.4, 3.9.1).

#### 1.4.2.19 The deceased king

In the netherworld literature, the king is identified with different gods. In the PT, he has the privilege of joining the sun god in his bark, not only as a member of the bark's crew (Doc. 4), but the deceased was admitted to the sun god's seat (Doc. 9). He stays in the company of the sun god by possessing the divine qualities of Re, Hu, and Sia (Doc. 3, 5), or escorting the entourage of the sun god, for instance, Isis and Nephthys in the day and night barks (Doc. 1, 16), Wepwawet on his way to the sky (Doc. 7, 11, 12), or the Imperishable and Unwearying Stars (Doc. 13). Hence, the deceased king passes

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<sup>710</sup> See Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 78.

<sup>711</sup> Borghouts, *Book of the Dead* [39], 49.

<sup>712</sup> Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, 16 with note 2; Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 202.

<sup>713</sup> For a further connection between Seth and Geb, see v. Lieven, in: Lotus and Laurel, *Fs P. J. Frandsen*, 181-207.

<sup>714</sup> For the stars as the crew of the solar bark, see Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, 32; Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, 44 f.; Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 261; Roulin, *LdN* I, 88 f.

<sup>715</sup> See RÄRG, 749; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 289; Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 143-144.

<sup>716</sup> See also, e.g., Pyr. §§ 1171a-1172a, 1439a.

<sup>717</sup> CT I, 240e-c.

<sup>718</sup> See, e.g., CT III, 362c-364a.

<sup>719</sup> Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, 122-123, cf. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 94.

into the sun god's domain; he associates himself with the victorious Re and his crew in order to join them in the east.

The netherworld texts of the New Kingdom ensure the deification of the deceased king. One of the peculiarities of the Amduat is that its attestation is restricted, at least in the New Kingdom, to the king's tomb (with one exception, see 1.2.1). However, there are no indications in the text itself that identify it as a royal composition. The copy of Thutmose III inserts the name of the king into the Amduat's text. These insertions emphasise that the king knows the Amduat's contents and, therefore, participates in the solar journey and will "go in and out of the Duat" together with the sun god, i.e., attend the regenerating cycle of the sun.<sup>720</sup> In the Amduat, one of the identical texts is the one of the fourth hour's middle register which describes Thutmose III: *njsw.t (Mn-Hpr-Rc) | m3c-hrw prj=f m dw3.t r sḥd p.t r šms Rc m p.t m t3* "the king (Menkheperre) |, the justified, he may go out of the Duat to illuminate the sky and to follow Re in heaven and earth."<sup>721</sup>

Furthermore, the deceased king identifies himself entirely with Re in the fifth hour, where the hour goddess guides him to the sky like the sun god (Doc. 87). In the third hour of the Book of Gates, in the version of Ramesses VI, the deceased king is included in the bark crew. Sia says to the guardian of the door: *wn sb3=k n Rc sn 3=k n 3b.ty jw=f sḥd=f kkw ... njsw.t-bjtj () | sš=f*<sup>722</sup> *r dw3.t* "open your gate to Re, swing open your door leaf to 'He of the Horizon', for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramesses, when he goes to the netherworld."<sup>723</sup> The equation of the king with the sun god would have resulted in the deceased joining the voyage of the sun. In the Book of the Day, the deceased king is involved in the fight against the serpent Apophis.<sup>724</sup> The deceased king and the sun god appear in the bark of the Book of the Night, and he is among the deities who haul the bark.<sup>725</sup> He declares himself among "those who ignore fatigue,"<sup>726</sup> a designation of the divine crew. Hence, the Netherworld Books are concerned with ensuring that the deceased will join the following of the sun and meet the same fate as Re and Osiris.<sup>727</sup>

The question is: what is the role of the deceased king in the solar bark? In the PT, he is the one who guides the sun god and the netherworld deities on the paths of the west and causes them to shine in the east (Doc. 6). In the Amduat, in the version of Seti I, the night's second hour is blessed by the king's arms.<sup>728</sup> In Ramesses IV's version, the king describes the ninth hour as "the mysterious cavern of the west, where the great god and his crew rest in the Duat."<sup>729</sup> In the seventh hour of the Book of the Night, the king causes the bark to be jubilant.<sup>730</sup> Thus, the king is an agent of "help and support" to the sun god; with his words, he will defeat Apophis, and the bark will be able to sail harmoniously

<sup>720</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 234. For all royal inserts in the Amduat, see *ibid.*, 235-237.

<sup>721</sup> Hornung, *T3-A II*, 369.

<sup>722</sup> For *sš* with the determinative *3*, see *Wb III*, 483, 2.

<sup>723</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, 90; Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 157, n. 27.

<sup>724</sup> Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 186.

<sup>725</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 73; II, pl. I, III.

<sup>726</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 120.

<sup>727</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 189 ff.

<sup>728</sup> Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 24.

<sup>729</sup> Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 24.

<sup>730</sup> Roulin, *LdN*, 206.

in the netherworld.<sup>731</sup> The figure of the king or the tomb owner sometimes appears among the solar bark's crew. However, in the Luxor temple (room 17, east wall, upper register over the passage), the king appears before the solar bark and its occupants. There, his name is depicted above each crew member, because the king himself is represented as a worshipper of the bark.<sup>732</sup> Thus, the king fulfils all of their functions<sup>733</sup> and refers to his (roles), which he can play in the context of sun worship.<sup>734</sup>

#### 1.4.2.20 The deceased

The deceased person, like the deceased king, has access to the afterlife and is involved in the sun's journey.<sup>735</sup> We find that he is then equated with the bark's entourage, e.g., Horus, Isis, Nephthys, Osiris, Wepwawet, Shu, Thoth, and the sun god.<sup>736</sup> Furthermore, he carries on the deceased king's function in establishing justice in Re's bark (Doc. 17, 22). He fights the enemies of the sun god (Doc. 21), navigates the bark (Doc. 26, 28, 46), and leads the crew during the sun's journey (Doc. 55). The deceased also has the title *n wrd.n=f m wj3 R* "he does not tire in the bark of Re,"<sup>737</sup> the same designation as for the deceased king and the crew. These functions continue during the New Kingdom. The deceased assumes the same tasks in the BD (Doc. 62, 64, 65, 66, 68). He even revives the crew (Doc. 70). He appeals for the support of Wepwawet (Doc. 72) to be in the domain of the sun god. He fulfils the same role as Isis by strengthening his magic to repel Apophis (Doc. 65) and transforms into the uraeus, which is on the god's forehead, on the front of his bark.<sup>738</sup>

In a solar hymn from the New Kingdom, the deceased participates in the sun's journey by taking up the night bark's prow rope and the day bark's stern rope.<sup>739</sup> The same function was given to the deceased in his name of Thoth (Doc. 73).<sup>740</sup> In the Amduat, e.g., in the tomb of User as one attestation from the non-royal burials, which contains the long version of the Amduat, the tomb owner is depicted in the bark of Re (except for in the second hour). In the fourth and eighth hours, he hauls the ropes; his titles and name are written above his head.<sup>741</sup> User actively participates in the solar journey. In the sixth hour's middle register, in Re's speech to the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, an annotation for the vizier is added: *nd<.jw>-hr jmy-r3 nw.t t3tj Wsr dp t3 njk.jw 3pp* "you are those who greet the governor and vizier User on earth, who destroy Apophis."<sup>742</sup>

<sup>731</sup> Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 68.

<sup>732</sup> Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, pl. 66.

<sup>733</sup> Altenmüller, in: JEOL 20, 29-31.

<sup>734</sup> Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 4, n. 1.

<sup>735</sup> See Smith, *Democratization of the Afterlife*; Hays, in Strudwick and Strudwick, eds., *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives*, 115-130.

<sup>736</sup> See, e.g., CT I, 191a, 194a; 201a-f, 231a, 307g; II, 5, 40h, 119j-k; III 76a, 262c; 327b; V 183e, 261b, 291m, 293b; VI 118f, p, 132a, 177h; VII 17c, 30, cf. BD 1, where the deceased says of himself: *nwj wnd.wt=k Wsjr jnk w<sup>c</sup> m nw n ntr.w ms.w Nw.t* "I am one of your people, Osiris. I am one of those gods, the children of Nut." See also *jnk R* "I am Re" in BD 11 = CT 567.

<sup>737</sup> CT II, 366c.

<sup>738</sup> BD 66, cf. Quirke, *Prt m Hm*, 164.

<sup>739</sup> Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 18.

<sup>740</sup> For the deceased as Thoth, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 116-234.

<sup>741</sup> Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 26.

<sup>742</sup> Hornung, *T3A II*, 499; id., *Die Grabkammer des Vezirs User*, 107.

On a few Late Period sarcophagi, the solar bark may include a small image of the deceased praising Re as he travels through the hours of the night.<sup>743</sup> These sarcophagi contain a series of statements that describe the deceased's actions during the hours of the night.<sup>744</sup> Thus, the deceased wants to perform each stage of the sun's journey during the night so that he can be reborn on the eastern horizon each day. We can notice that the roles of the deceased and the king are interrelated. They are more or less identical. However, their positions are different. When the pharaoh dies, he enters the same beyond as all beings, but his status is more comfortable. Just as he plays the sun god's role on earth, he also acts as Re in the hereafter. Therefore, what sets him apart from all the other dead is his exercise of domination. So, the deceased strives to be around his king, the night sun, in the netherworld. To give him a new life, he calls the deceased king, as he did in his lifetime, "You are Re."<sup>745</sup>

#### 1.4.2.21 The additional crew of the solar bark

As most of the figures in the Amduat are depicted with epithets, a certain number of them can be identified as aspects of major deities. That is why Hathor, Horus, Thoth, and Seth are not directly represented among the members of the solar bark's crew. The presence of specific deities in the registers defines them as inhabitants of the underworld. They fulfil a particular role in a specific area or time, while at the same time, they assimilate with a significant deity.<sup>746</sup> Many examples can be found between Seth and Nehes, Thoth and Ka-Maat, and the sun god himself, who has many manifestations outside his bark.<sup>747</sup> Thus, if we see the sun god's journey as a procession, as Assmann suggests,<sup>748</sup> the number of barks would need to increase and thus break the thematic and artistic system of the composition.

The additional crew belongs to the crew of the sun god. In most cases, they help the sun god in their hour's region. Sometimes, they join the sun god in his bark and accompany him in certain situations, like, for instance, the two Maat goddesses in the first hour (Doc. 76), the crew of Nun's water in the fifth and tenth hours (Doc. 88, 121), Khepri (Doc. 90, 123, 131), and the stars (Doc. 108, 109). Furthermore, the crew of the solar bark goes on land to help the sun god in his journey, such as Hu and Sia (Doc. 84), Hathor (see 3.3.4), Isis and Nephthys (see 3.5.5), the nine *šms*-signs (Doc. 114), and Nehes (Doc. 98, 122). Hoffmann interprets:

*"The presentations of a core group in the solar bark and a related expanded version 'on land' are probably due to visual rather than textual considerations. The composition, or at least the funerary versions we know, was meant to fit into a limited space, the walls of a royal burial chamber. The depiction of a huge solar bark with a 'complete' crew would have made it impossible to highlight the progression of the sun god through the underworld geography, or to incorporate the appearance of a number of strictly underworldly deities, such as no. 323, who is said in the text not to move to any other place."*<sup>749</sup>

<sup>743</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 71.

<sup>744</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, passim.

<sup>745</sup> Hornung, in Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I*, 414. For the deceased king as a participant in the cosmic process, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 91-98, 133-138.

<sup>746</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 32.

<sup>747</sup> Cf. Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 38.

<sup>748</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 137.

<sup>749</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 38.

This assumption seems reasonable because the sun god does not need all of these deities with him on the solar bark. He only needs the main crew's indispensable qualities. Thus, these regional crews were allocated for specific goals at particular times, and then they leave the sun god after the completion of their missions.

## 2. The crew's role in the solar cycle

In the Egyptian religious documents, the identification between the deceased and the sun god can be explicitly determined because the dead wants to gain his place beside Re and cross, thereby to the horizon. He targets the site where the gods were born and join the cosmic order to the east, which represents the rising of the solar bark and rebirth after a period of darkness. Thus, the deceased returns to the point where the Egyptian universe is mythically renewed.<sup>750</sup> The dead wants to defeat his enemies, overcome his threats, make his resurrection, and achieve his ascension and manifestation on the horizon. In the PT and CT, one would assume that the circle of rising encounters three phases: the first phase is before the deceased's ascension; the second is during the ascension; and finally, the phase after the ascension. This chapter aims to explore the nature of the role played by members of the solar bark's crew during the three phases as well as the role of the deceased as a member of the crew. These phases start from raising/resurrection and continue to fight enemies above the solar bark until the deceased assumes the permanent position in the god's domain and shining with Re in the eastern horizon.

This group of sources representing the PT, CT, and BD revolves around the desire of the deceased to join the crew of the solar bark. Thereby, it was problematic to distill the myth from its funerary conception. Consequently, the roles of the bark's occupants, including the deceased, will be investigated in a funerary context. He is one of the crew who associates himself with the sun god and his crew, and exercises his role in sailing, opening the paths, protecting the sun god, and fighting his enemies.

### 2.1 The first phase of the solar cycle

#### 2.1.1 Before the ascension

Directly before the ascension, Isis and Nephthys have many tasks to do. They hold the functions of purifying, suckling, and nursing the deceased (Doc. 31). Suckling and nursing<sup>751</sup> by the two goddesses are to take place there at the Jackal Lake in which the deceased king is purified.<sup>752</sup> The jackal is the meaning of birth and represents the last purification process before the ascension. The same event occurs in Pyr. § 370a-372e where Horus cleanses the deceased king twice in the lake of the netherworld.<sup>753</sup> Water is not only a means of physical cleansing but also a symbol of purification and rebirth. Thus, the deceased is the ideal and perfection of man, who is initiated into the divine sphere, and the ordinary mortal who enters a new life at death. The water is also the root of life and the symbol of eternal life.<sup>754</sup> Once the realm of the Duat is reached, a second purification occurs at the entrance of this new sphere. Now, the motif of the solar cycle is restated in a resume in which the more neutral name of Re, takes the place of Atum. Then the deceased king becomes pure in this realm and gets rid of his impurity in the lakes of Shu.<sup>755</sup>

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<sup>750</sup> Cf. Davis, in: JNES 36, 166; Allen, in W. K. Simpson, ed., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, 1-25.

<sup>751</sup> On the connection between suckling and nursing, see Münster, *Isis*, 66-67.

<sup>752</sup> See also suckling and nursing the deceased in the solar bark in Doc. 68.

<sup>753</sup> The most significant role of Isis, Nephthys, Seth, and Horus is to take care of the deceased's corpse during the process of embalming until reaching the horizon and being encircled by his mother Nut. Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 151-152.

<sup>754</sup> Thausing, in: *FS Christian*, 108.

<sup>755</sup> Pyr. § 202-208.

## 2.2 The second phase of the solar cycle

### 2.2.1 Going out from the earth

Before the ascension phase to the sky, the deceased wishes to leave the earth, but the earth remains closed, and the dead remain imprisoned in it, like Re, who does not rise, and who also remains caught in the earth. Geb is a dreaded realm of the dead, who aims to hold on to what it has once seized.<sup>756</sup> The fate of the deceased is linked to that of Re. So, in the day of ascending to the sky, Geb opens the doors for him to reach the fields of Hu, which he places it in front of his seat.<sup>757</sup> The deceased also equates himself with the epithet Nehes, as the one who gives the power to the deceased to overcome his foes (Doc. 21).<sup>758</sup> The ascension takes place from Pe where the deceased banded with the breast-band of Horus and clothed in the clothing of Thoth<sup>759</sup> before Wepwawet parting a path for him.<sup>760</sup> Isis and Nephthys are surrounding him and Shu lifting him. At the same time, the *Ba*-souls of Heliopolis establishing a ladder for him,<sup>761</sup> and Nut opens her arms to receive him (Doc. 12). When the king is raised to the sky, Nut will *ndr* “hold” or *šsp* “receive” his hand, and she will prepare his way to the horizon. This means that the deceased king will take his way through his mother Nut to be reborn again in the Akhet of Re.<sup>762</sup>

The deceased also wants to escape the darkness of the tomb and travel in the bark of Re on his successful journey through the underworld. He wants to reach the brightness of his daily rebirth in the eastern horizon of heaven, to be like Re, and to gain eternity.<sup>763</sup> In Doc. 32, the deceased says that he is Re, and he is the one who created Hu; he comes into being daily in the name of Khepri. In this incantation, the deceased asserts identity as the *Ba*-soul of Re, the creator sun god, so part of the fundamental matter of existence. Successively, this primeval essence brings identity as Hu “the divine authority,” Khepri “the symbol of rebirth,” and Nun “the primeval waters” and “ruler of all time.”<sup>764</sup> In order to go forth from the earth, ascend to the sky, enter the Duat, and open its gates and paths, Wepwawet is the one who intercepts this mission. In Doc. 7, Wepwawet raises the deceased to join the sun god and his brothers of gods. He stands on the prow of the bark of Re in most hours of the night in the Amduat, and this function was extensively mentioned in the PT and CT. Wepwawet is the one who opens the entrance to heaven for the dead king, keeps dangers away from him, and whose fighting aspect and jackal shape connected him with Anubis, the guardian of the cemetery.<sup>765</sup> The god is known as Sed until the third dynasty when he gained the epithet Wepwawet, meaning opener of the

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<sup>756</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 95.

<sup>757</sup> On fields of Hu, see e.g., Docs. 14, 21.

<sup>758</sup> CT II, 85a-86a.

<sup>759</sup> See Thoth in the solar cycle in 1.4.2.13.

<sup>760</sup> In the CT, the role of Wepwawet as an opener of the ways is frequently paralleled. Cf. CT I, 34a, 74i, 193b, 194a, 312i; IV, 376a-b, 378a; VII, 94h, 168e. In CT I, 74i-75a.

<sup>761</sup> Among several passages mentioned the stairway in the PT (Pyr. §§ 1090c-d, 1296a, 1322a, 1717a, 1749b), Doc. 12 is the only one that states its erecters. It is the *Ba*-souls of Heliopolis who assist the deceased in his ascension to the Duat by constructing it for him.

<sup>762</sup> See e.g., Pyr. §§ 275e-f, 756a-b, 1758a.

<sup>763</sup> Žabkar, *The Ba Concept*, 9, 126.

<sup>764</sup> Bargaet, *TdS*, 548, n. 241; Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 200.

<sup>765</sup> Logan, in: JARCE 27, 64; Friedman, in: JARCE 32, 5, 7.



ways, as shown in a sealing from a tomb at Beit Khallaf.<sup>766</sup> In the Old kingdom, Wepwawet related to kings in their victory over enemies and, similarly, in victory over death, and in specific PT, he is identified with them.<sup>767</sup> Wepwawet is the leader of the gods and is shown accompanied by the warlike rearing cobra who slaughtered and cut off the heads of the followers of Seth.<sup>768</sup>

In many texts, he also features when assisting in the funeral of the deceased.<sup>769</sup> Wepwawet was one of the “Followers of Horus” *šms.w Hr*<sup>770</sup> and closely connected with the jackal-headed “Ba-souls of Nekhen.” In the PT, the words “Followers of Horus” are determined with the Wepwawet standard,<sup>771</sup> the bow, and the stick<sup>772</sup> which relate to the god.<sup>773</sup> This typical connection with Horus introduces a symbolic meaning for the function of Wepwawet as a raiser of the deceased in the vertical journey to the realm of the Duat in the sky.

Also, there was a functional connection between Wepwawet and Re, which led to the syncretistic god, Wepwawet-Re, found in CT VI, 177h: *jnk R<sup>c</sup> s3b w<sup>c</sup> m p.t* “I am Re, the sole jackal in the sky.” Here, there is an obvious precept that, in the night, Re opens the dark paths of the netherworld with the aspect of Wepwawet.<sup>774</sup> The deceased ascends to the sky by all means of protection. In PT 539, the deceased’s face becomes that of Wepwawet to achieve his ascension. The dead king shall become Wepwawet,<sup>775</sup> who is already on High,<sup>776</sup> and perhaps the face of Wepwawet is chosen because of its attitude of eagerness.<sup>777</sup>

In Doc. 73, the ascension takes place from Kheraha,<sup>778</sup> where Thoth knotted the cord of the solar bark and arranged the ferryboat to sail. The composition of BD 180-183 shows the union of Re and Osiris, with the call of Re and those towing his bark to allow the deceased both to rest and to journey through eternity, using the solar bark, as a solar divine being, and so not to suffer from a second death. One of the declarations of Thoth is that he will attach the towrope of the solar bark, link the east to west, and open the ways in the name of Wepwawet.

Doc. 10 describes the entire process of going out from earth, reaching the gates of the sky where the crew of the sun god, who are in front of and behind him, honoring the deceased and causing him to

<sup>766</sup> Frankfurt, *Kingship*, 92. Cf. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 227; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, 297-298; LGG VI, 715. Note also the personal name *sd-htp* in Hassan, *Giza III*, 108.

<sup>767</sup> Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 31.

<sup>768</sup> Johnson, *The Cobra Goddess*, 53.

<sup>769</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 39.

<sup>770</sup> On *šms.w-Hr*, see 1.3.4.4.

<sup>771</sup> Pyr. § 921a.

<sup>772</sup> Pyr. § 1676b.

<sup>773</sup> Brovarski, *Naga-ed-der*, 66-67. In the CT, the role of Wepwawet as an opener of the ways is frequently paralleled. See e.g., CT I, 34a, 74i, 193b, 194a, 312i; CT IV, 376a–b, 378a; CT VII, 94h, 168e. Cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 39-40; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 227, n. 1223.

<sup>774</sup> Assmann, *Totenliturgien*, 107.

<sup>775</sup> Pyr. § 1010a.

<sup>776</sup> Pyr. § 1011a.

<sup>777</sup> Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts III*, 651.

<sup>778</sup> The name of Kheraha according to Pyr. § 1350 refers to the field of the battle where the fight between Horus and Seth took place. Sethe, *Komm.* V, 279. Cf. Westendorf, in: GM 200, 99. It is also an area of ancient Heliopolis. El-Sayed, in: BIFAO, 189; Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum II*, 115-116.

be in their follow.<sup>779</sup> Isis and Nephthys speak to him, the spirits come to him in obeisance. He moves from the towns of Sia into the hands of his mother Nut who holds his arm in order to give him a road to the horizon, the place where the sun god is. There, Re stands waiting for him, holds his arm to induct him to the dual shrines of the sky where he enthrones him as Osiris, and guides him into the horizon.<sup>780</sup>

Doc. 25 also briefly narrates the process of the solar cycle and the desire of the deceased to be in the togetherness of the sun god. It is the *hnbmw*-bark that penetrates the earth and raises the deceased to the day and day barks, which open the doors of the eastern horizon. The connection of the fate of every blessed deceased individual with that of the sun god, and the need to live after death *‘nh m-bt mwt*<sup>781</sup> is much wanted by the deceased. It is the crew of the solar bark who holds this mission, especially in the evening (night journey), when the dangerous increase and the enemies of the cosmos take advantage of the dark. Accordingly, one may say that this rejuvenation and the new birth of the sun god and the deceased is the most crucial mission assigned to the bark’s crew. This rejuvenation is seen as a new birth of the sun god or of the dead, or even a new birth of both.<sup>782</sup>

In the conjunctive spell BD 38A, the deceased uses the *hnbmw*-bark of Khepri to pass the gates of Geb and enter the earthly Duat. The *hnbmw*-bark will guide the bark of Re (the night bark) to join the occupants of the day bark (Doc. 64). There, he strengthens his power, lives, and breathes without his throat being pinched, where he can obtain the most important three elements in the realm of the dead: food, air, and drink.<sup>783</sup> This section is therefore about the elementary desire to “live after death,” and the resurrection of the sun god. The analogy becomes even more precise in CT II, 265b; V, 291m. The resurgence is primarily due to breathing air in the realm of the dead, which appears in the title of the spell and the vignette, showing N. holding a lotus and a sail (symbol of air or breath).<sup>784</sup>

Finally, it is Geb who supports the deceased not to stay inside the earth, mount up to the sky, and travel to the sunshine.<sup>785</sup> The ones who stopped him will be devoured and destroyed.<sup>786</sup> In the bark of Re, his mother, Isis announced that he is Horus; he is the son of Re, and his companion (Doc. 24). Thus, the deceased was not seized by Geb, so that he will not stay long in the realm of Osiris as well

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<sup>779</sup> Pyr. § 752-754.

<sup>780</sup> Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung*, 82. Pyr. § 757a starts with the phrase: *gmj=k R<sup>c</sup> ‘h<sup>c</sup> z3=f n=k* “You will find Re standing as he waits for you.” In Pyr. § 812-813, the text reads: *prj.n N pn r p.t gmj.n=f R<sup>c</sup> ‘h<sup>c</sup> bsf jm=f* “This N has gone up to the sky and found Re standing to meet him.” This is one of many images that magnify the glory of the sun god, and even if Re is aware that the king is greater than himself, it sounds like a courtesy to the king, who was ready to sit down beside Re, approached him, and stood beside him on his throne. Once he arrives, he will sit on the throne of Osiris, a matter which introduces further evidence of the relationship between the resurrection of Osiris and the integration of the deceased into the solar cycle. Cf. Pyr. §§ 752b, 754b, 2025.

<sup>781</sup> For the purpose of guaranteeing “a full life after death,” see, Žabkar, *The Ba Concept*, 101-105. Cf. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 202.

<sup>782</sup> Sander-Hansen, *Der Begriff*, 20; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 194; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 69.

<sup>783</sup> Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 438 f.

<sup>784</sup> Zandee, in: GS Otto, 512; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 45, n. 80; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 60; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 116.

<sup>785</sup> CT II, 254j-k. see also the name of the solar bark’s mast is Aker.

<sup>786</sup> See Münster, *Isis*, 6.

as he will not face the danger of the earthly harmful beings because of Isis, who will daily prepare the deceased for the ascension through announcing his name<sup>787</sup> and his abilities.<sup>788</sup>

### 2.2.2 Rising to the realm of Re

Doc. 1 is also considered a collective spell in the PT, comprising the three phases of ascension into the realm of the sun god. The deceased wants to join the sun's cycle, so he compares his birth to that of the sun's and tries to join the day and night barks via Isis and Nephthys. After passing through the bones of the god Shu,<sup>789</sup> who is between the earth and the sky and appears on the horizon, the sky is reached when Nut takes the new-born child in her arms.<sup>790</sup> After cleaning in the lakes of Shu (see above), the sun god in his many epithets, Isis, and Nephthys accompany the deceased in the night and day barks. The verification of the function of the two sisters supervising the sailing process is mentioned in Pyr. § 150a-c where the speaker, perhaps the high priest, addresses the deities who accompany the sun gods on his journey.<sup>791</sup>

Isis, and Nephthys perhaps obtained the relation to the night and day barks by the equilibrium of the two barks, which represent the two eyes of Osiris. In the PT and CT, Isis and Nephthys use the day and night barks to gather the body parts of Osiris. In Pyr. § 1981b-1982a:<sup>792</sup> *sn.tj=k wr.tj ʿ3.tj s3k.tj jwf=k ts.tj ʿw.t=k j.sbc.tj jr.tj=k m dp=k <m>skt.t <m>ʿnd.t* “The two sisters are great and powerful (in Magic), who collected your flesh, bound together your limbs, made your two eyes appear in your head, (namely) the bark of the evening and the bark of the morning.”<sup>793</sup> It seems strange that Nephthys is mentioned before Isis. It may be connected to the role of Nephthys during the resurrection ritual of the deceased king.<sup>794</sup> One may also assume that the arrangement of events determines the order of responsibilities, as Nephthys has a function to carry out in the night bark, which sails first according to the sun's cycle, in which the sun god, and the deceased, navigate from night to day. This would mean that Nephthys takes care of the sun god, starting from the downfall into the netherworld until Isis takes this responsibility at sunrise, and the tasks are distributed between the two sisters throughout the night and the day.<sup>795</sup>

In the process of ascension, the deceased king is identified with the sun god,<sup>796</sup> takes possession in the sky, and is conducted on the roads of Khepri. The deceased engages himself in the night solar cycle when he rests in the west and shines anew in the east in the presence of the dwellers of the netherworld. The solar bark is hauled to him and he takes over the horizon after he acquired Hu, Sia, and Eternity (Doc. 6). He associates himself with the prow of Re, the kilt of Hathor and Horus's

<sup>787</sup> See Isis announces the name of the deceased in the solar bark in Doc. 20.

<sup>788</sup> In PT 217, Re-Atum is told that he and the king may journey over the sky together. Then Seth and Nephthys, Osiris and Isis, Thoth and Horus are advised to announce the king's arrival. See also Ismail, *King's Assistants*, 282.

<sup>789</sup> Pyr. § 208a-c. Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 43.

<sup>790</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* I, 148; Frankfurt, *Kingship*, 121.

<sup>791</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 50; Spiegel, *Anferstehungsritual*, 178.

<sup>792</sup> Compare CT VI, 384b-g.

<sup>793</sup> For parallel texts, see Kees, in: ZÄS 57, 108; Mercer, *Pyramid Text I*, 295.

<sup>794</sup> Spiegel, *Anferstehungsritual*, 178, 213, n. 13.

<sup>795</sup> Ahmed-Mohamed, *Nephthys*, 79.

<sup>796</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 67.

plume. Sethe suggested that “the prow” is the “horns of Re,” and that it must refer to the sun god as a bull, comparing the texts 543c and 547b.<sup>797</sup> Here, the adornment of the deceased king is compared by the gods, Hathor with her apron (the apron of the female deity is sought of as the royal apron of the god-king), and Horus the falcon with his feather to fly to heaven (Doc. 8).<sup>798</sup>

In addition to his function of opening the ways, Wepwawet gets involved in raising the deceased to the Duat. The deceased king speaks to the warden of the way who guards the great portal of the sky to witness his arrival because he is the son of Re who supports the sky, who guides the earth, and who judges the gods.<sup>799</sup> Then he enters the realm of the dead and sits between the inhabitants of the netherworld. Those of the netherworld are realm of stars, which carry the king in the same manner they carry Re (Doc. 11). The deceased king addresses those netherworld inhabitants to raise him like Wepwawet, who has a task to achieve, which is rising the king on high. The text paralleled in Pyr. §§ 1638a-b: *prj.n N r rw.t ḥꜥ m nsu.t kꜣ m Wp-wꜣ.wt rmn=f n wrd.n=f* “This N has ascended to the portal, apparent as a king, high as Wepwawet, and he associates with him who does not tire.”<sup>800</sup> In this text, the suffixes must refer to Wepwawet as a supporter of the king.<sup>801</sup> It is known that the sun god was rowed in his solar bark by crews of Imperishable Stars (Doc. 13), therefore there is no doubt whatever, that stars here are the crew of the sun god.<sup>802</sup> Thus, the deceased appears to be their chief as in Pyr. § 1301a (PT 537): “You mount as Horus of the Duat before the Imperishable Stars.”<sup>803</sup>

In an address to the sun god (PT 569), the deceased king threatens Re that his crew of Imperishable Stars will be prevented from rowing him if he prevents them from allowing the deceased to go aboard the bark.<sup>804</sup> Here, Re is viewed as a threat to the deceased, the crew of the solar bark is not suspected of hindering the deceased, but the sun god as its lord (and lord of the universe)<sup>805</sup> the punishment for this will afflict them, causing the interruption of the sun journey.<sup>806</sup>

A group of spells in the CT are dedicated to make the deceased fly up and alight on the bark of Khepri,<sup>807</sup> as well as walk like Osiris with his two kites<sup>808</sup> on the east of the sky. The deceased wishes to ascend to the solar bark, represents himself as the sky, as Nut, and as being supported by Shu. Also, the determinative of the word *tsj*; it contains the sign of the “headrest.” Through the headrest, the deceased lifts his forepart (Doc. 38). Often the deceased’s front is said to be lifted *tsj/wts*, in only this case with the expression of the impossibility of the opposite movement of “falling” *ḥr* being added.<sup>809</sup> Here, the deceased connects his fate with the fate of Nut (the embracer of the sun god in the east) as

<sup>797</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* III, 26; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 262.

<sup>798</sup> Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 263.

<sup>799</sup> Pyr. § 952a-c

<sup>800</sup> Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 264. Cf. Pyr. § 1374a

<sup>801</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* IV, 239f; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 244; Staehelin, *Ägypt. Tracht im AR.*, 69.

<sup>802</sup> On the “The imperishable,” and “The Unwearying” stars as the crew of the solar bark in the lower register of the seventh hour (there, they are also led by Horus of the Duat), see Doc. 109, 110.

<sup>803</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* I, 49 ff.; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 286; Kees, *Götterglaube*, 223 ff.; Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, 99, n. 23.

<sup>804</sup> Pyr. § 1439a-d; Sethe, *Komm.* V, 371 f.; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 51; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 222.

<sup>805</sup> For Re as the lord of the bark and the lord of all, cf. Roeder, in: SAGA 16, 192; Hornung, *Der Eine*, 230 f.

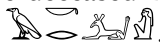
<sup>806</sup> Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, 27.

<sup>807</sup> CT V, 25d. Cf. CT (Sp. 364-366).

<sup>808</sup> Isis and Nephthys in bird form. Faulkner, *AEPT* II, 6, n. 4.

<sup>809</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 172.

if his forepart falls to the ground, the forepart of Nut will fall to the ground. The role of Isis is to raise the solar bark and lift the forepart of the deceased at its prow, where she placed her son Horus.<sup>810</sup>

Then, Seth appears to raise both the sun god and the deceased from the earth to the sky. Aker is connected with Seth, by his mammal determinative <sup>811</sup>. There are also other excerpts where Seth is connected to the earth, e.g. in BD 96: *štp.n=j swty m nḥḥ n 3kr dšrw m jm3ḥ n Gb* “I have appeased Seth with the spittle of Aker and blood from the marrow of Geb.”<sup>812</sup> Barguet has interpreted that Seth is the figure of Aker in the third division of the Book of the Caverns.<sup>813</sup> Since Seth can be viewed as a storm god, he can thus create earthquakes, something closely associated with this vision of Aker rearing up. In the fourth hour of the Amduat, the earth leaping up during the nocturnal course of the solar bark,<sup>814</sup> yet the mention of the earthquake also manages to evoke the god Seth.<sup>815</sup> Geb/Aker is featured as the first god among the deities attacking Apophis in the eleventh hour of the Book of the Gates.<sup>816</sup> As for raising and protecting the solar bark, Doc. 38 shows Seth supports the sun god to raise from the earth into the heaven.<sup>817</sup>

In Doc. 49, The eyes of Horus and Wepwawet raise the deceased to the sun god in the Duat, open his cavern, and protect his spirit from falling into the darkness.<sup>818</sup> They help him to place himself among the Imperishable Stars of the sun god. Wepwawet has the same function in the Book of the Dead. The BD version of Nebseni consists of nine sections, including explicit divisions into *ḥw.t* “domains” or “stanzas.”<sup>819</sup> The content of the nine stanzas repeats a series of familiar ideas: triumph over enemies and the deification of the deceased.<sup>820</sup> In the seventh section, Horus, Wepwawet, and the bearers of the sky raise the deceased to see Re and to see his pure place in the Duat. There, the deceased moves on the shoulders of Wepwawet, who opens the paths of the horizon (Doc. 72).

In most cases, this ascension is carried out by Hu and Sia. In the second phase, when the deceased is going forth from the fire behind the great god,<sup>821</sup> he knows the names which allow him to control everything, assumes his place behind Re, and has the powers of Hu and Re (Doc. 30). Then he claims that he himself is Re. Zandee cites several passages in which Re and Hu are at least the same.<sup>822</sup> In CT 107,<sup>823</sup> the recitation states the purpose of the journey: to go out into the day and open the netherworld.

<sup>810</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 100 f.

<sup>811</sup> CT VI, 177c (Sp. 573). Cf. CT V, 189g – version B7C.

<sup>812</sup> Naville, *Tb*, Kapitel 96, 3; Zandee, in: ZÄS 90, 152-153.

<sup>813</sup> Barguet, in: RdE 28, 29.

<sup>814</sup> Hornung, *TZA* I, 362.

<sup>815</sup> Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, 92-94.

<sup>816</sup> Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien* II, 306-307.

<sup>817</sup> Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* I, 158. Further information about the relationship between Geb, Aker, and Seth and their roles in warding off the enemies of the sun god, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, 92-94.

<sup>818</sup> In a text on the Sesen-ebenef coffin from the Second Intermediate Period, the night bark is equated with the right eye of Horus as a god of the heaven and the day bark is equated with his left eye. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 104; Kees, in: ZÄS 57, 92-120.

<sup>819</sup> Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 425-428.

<sup>820</sup> Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 515.

<sup>821</sup> CT III, 339a.

<sup>822</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 42; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 184.

<sup>823</sup> CT II, 119i-120a.

So, it is clearly beneficial for the deceased to identify with Hu during the process of ascension until reaching the eastern horizon, where Hu accompanies Re during the entire cycle. In the same passage, the deceased recites: “While I open the lower netherworld, I am the sun of this day, I am Horus within his eye, (...) how happy is Hu, having the scalp of the sun disk.”

Numerous passages from the PT and the CT attest to the role of Hu and Sia in placing the deceased in the daily solar cycle of Re. Doc. 5 shows the deceased takes the function of Shu in raising the sky by acquiring the abilities of Hu and Sia, who are the personification of the two most important spiritual qualities of the sun god and his constant companions.<sup>824</sup> By taking possession of the authoritative utterance and the knowledge/perception of the sun god, the deceased king gets his place inside the shrine of the sun god and takes over his role as a world creator.<sup>825</sup> Furthermore, the king himself preserves his superiority by assuming the knowledge of the gods. In Pyr. § 411c-d: *n nḥmm sḥw N m ḥ=f jw ḥm.n=f Sḥḥ n ntr nb* “The king’s dignities shall not be taken away from him, for he swallowed the “Sia” intelligence and perception of every god.”<sup>826</sup> But doubtless, the deceased is only about to take his place on the throne of Re and the worshipping of Re is never questioned.<sup>827</sup> Likewise, the acquisition of the god’s abilities is not intended to deprive them of these powers or to weaken them, but rather to gain these powers to reach the ultimate goal of being in their realm. Doc. 34 shows that the deceased wants to be bright in the presence of Re by becoming Hu. In this text, the role of Hu, as of the authoritative word, is to render the mortuary formulas even more efficient,<sup>828</sup> so the deceased wishes to be transformed into Hu and identified with him.

The Inherence of Hu and Sia to the sun god is verified in CT 335b when the deceased arrives at the gods who are about the shrine through the Duat’s sacred portal from which Atum proceeded to the eastern horizon of the sky.<sup>829</sup> Then he asked Hu and Sia who are in the sun god’s presence to give him their hands because he came into being among them. The deceased also associates himself with the great cat who split the *ḥsd* tree on that day when he destroys the foes of the Lord of All; this great cat is Re himself who gets this name when Sia spoke about him (Doc. 36). This text was preceded by a famous passage of CT (Sp. 335a), a text entirely devoted to the rising sun. The passage refers to the primordial situation which was repeated every night when Re visited the corpse of Osiris, on which he alighted in the form of Osiris *Ba*. One might compare these to the scene of the twelfth hour of the Amduat, which show the mummy of Osiris laying on the rounded end of the netherworld.<sup>830</sup>

Among the methods which are used by the deceased that he could get to the realm of the sun god in the sky is the celestial ladder.<sup>831</sup> The ladder is as a solar element. In the PT, groups of gods have erected a ladder or have contributed in raising it, it is Re and Horus who have erected it<sup>832</sup> as well as Atum,<sup>833</sup>

<sup>824</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* I, 346 f.

<sup>825</sup> Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, 25.

<sup>826</sup> Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 140; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 82; Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, 47.

<sup>827</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte*, 132 f.

<sup>828</sup> CT IV, 153e; IV, 157a; Żabkar, *The Ba Concept*, 94, n. 35.

<sup>829</sup> CT IV, 223b-226a.

<sup>830</sup> Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 264, n. 1496.

<sup>831</sup> Cf. Breasted, *Religion*, 111 f.; Kees, *Totenglauben*, 105-107; Kessler, *Leiter*, in: LÄ III, cols.1000-1005.

<sup>832</sup> Pyr. § 472a-d. Cf. Pyr. § 390a-b; § 971; § 978c.

<sup>833</sup> Pyr. § 2082a-d.

Seth,<sup>834</sup> the four children of Horus-Khem,<sup>835</sup> *Ba*-souls of Pe-Buto, *Ba*-souls of Nekhen,<sup>836</sup> and *Ba*-souls of Heliopolis.<sup>837</sup> The CT added the role of Shu and his helpers.<sup>838</sup> In Doc. 15, the deceased addresses the ladder<sup>839</sup> which the *Ba*-souls of Pe-Buto and the *Ba*-souls of Nekhen have erected to place a hand for him so that he may sit between the two great gods.<sup>840</sup> The two great gods who place the deceased king at his place in heaven are Thoth and Horus.<sup>841</sup> Sethe suggested that they also could be Hu and Sia, the two spiritual qualities of the sun god who are always standing between the gatekeeper and the sun god.<sup>842</sup> One sees the speculation of Sethe is very plausible in the context. It is the desire of the deceased, which corresponds to the presence of Hu and Sia that his seats come to the fore, his arm may be received in the field of offerings,<sup>843</sup> and he may sit among the stars of the sky.<sup>844</sup>

### 2.2.3 A place in solar bark

Although the solar bark's voyage is under permanent threat, the deceased needs to sail in the day and night barks to assure the continuity of his life in the hereafter. Although every birth must necessarily precede death, even before death, life can be renewed by imitating the solar cycle.<sup>845</sup> PT 251 "The king departs to join the sun god," is about defeating the deceased's enemies and reaching the horizon where he will not be barred. Because of having power and control, the deceased becomes a supreme deity, governs men, and judges living within the sun god's domain. He sits with the crew of Re, and when he commands something good, Re does it (Doc. 4). In PT 407, the deceased king takes his place in the sky after purifying himself.<sup>846</sup> He occupies the prow of the solar bark using the crew of Re who will row him and conduct him around the horizon (Doc. 9). The pure place in heaven is where the deceased king will live eternally. Emphasis on the purity of the place in heaven has doubtless a religious note of regeneration, attaching to the place where the deceased king born anew. In Pyr. § 710b, while his *Ba*-soul has this pure place, his body will continue to have its beautiful place on earth, its pyramid, and its well-attended tomb.<sup>847</sup> The utterance ends with the phrase: "Re purifies me and protects me from what might be evilly done against me."<sup>848</sup>

According to the exhaustive PT 513, Re finds the deceased on the borders of heaven. The sun god extends his arm towards him to welcome him and give him a place in the solar bark.<sup>849</sup> He rows with

<sup>834</sup> Pyr. § 971a-d. Cf. CT VI 402j.

<sup>835</sup> Pyr. § 2078a-2079d. The four children of Horus or Horus-Khem are frequently participate in all kinds of raising the deceased king, either during his resurrection or during his ascension. See. e.g., Pyr. §§ 1340a-d, 1824h-j, 1828a-b, 1829a-d.

<sup>836</sup> Pyr. § 1253a.

<sup>837</sup> See Doc. 12.

<sup>838</sup> CT II, (Sp. 76).

<sup>839</sup> See Faulkner, *AEPT*, 199, n. 1.

<sup>840</sup> Cf. Wolf-Brinkmann, *Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 99, n. 83; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* III, 625.

<sup>841</sup> In PT 583, the text reads: "The arm of Horus is to you, the arm of Thoth is to you, the two great gods have supported you, and they prepare your place which is in [...]."<sup>841</sup> Pyr. § 1571a; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 237.

<sup>842</sup> Sethe, *Komm.* IV, 238; Cf. *ibid.*, V, 154.

<sup>843</sup> See Hu in the fields of Re in Doc. 14, 27, 50.

<sup>844</sup> See Hu and Sia as stars in Doc. 2.

<sup>845</sup> Barta, *Opferformel*, 311; Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 118 f.

<sup>846</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 133.

<sup>847</sup> Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 350.

<sup>848</sup> Pyr. § 713b.

<sup>849</sup> Pyr. § 1169a-1171a.

the Imperishable Stars, sail with the Unwearying stars, and receives the night bark's cargo. Then, he becomes an *Akb*-spirit in the Duat and live of that gracious life whereof the lord of the horizon lives. The followers of Atum ask the deceased about the doer of those benefits, and he replies that "it's the great one (Re) who stands at the north of the waterway that Nut supervises."<sup>850</sup> (Doc. 13). Here, the Duat is associated with watercourse<sup>851</sup> either as a place traversed by bark or in the existence of the Duat lakes. The latter identification suggests that there is a separate realm is reached prior to the Duat itself.<sup>852</sup> One passage in CT 53 clearly affirms the use of the Unwearying stars to clarify the deceased's destiny in the daily solar cycle.<sup>853</sup> The deceased joins the Unwearying stars to rejuvenate during the night hours, on a daily basis similar to the sun.<sup>854</sup> This passage compares the nightly regeneration of the deceased with that of the sun god.<sup>855</sup>

As noted above, the deceased wants to identify himself with the Unwearying Stars and the Imperishable Stars (see also Doc. 11, 23). By this equation, the deceased becomes a member of the solar bark's crew. It has been emphasized that the Unwearying Stars were identified with the crew of the night bark and that the Imperishable Stars were identified with the crew of the day Bark.<sup>856</sup> There are many compositions found in the CT deal with the integration of these two crews of stars into the solar cycle. CT I, 271a-c identifies these two groups as the crews who convey the deceased across the heavens: *skd tw js.ty jptny n.t jhm.w-sk n.t jhm.w-wrd wd=sn tw jth=sn tw hr w<sup>r</sup>.t mw m nwḥ.w=sn n.w bjḏ* "These two crews of the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars shall navigate you, they shall pilot and tow you in the *w<sup>r</sup>.t*-region of the water with ropes of iron." This passage describes the deceased as having a place in the solar bark, steered by its crew of stars. This indicates that the deceased is engaged in the daily solar cycle, with his journey taking place in the night and the day barks.<sup>857</sup> In the lower register of the seventh hour of the Amduat, the text does mention the Unwearying Stars and the Imperishable Stars. But it would indicate that this refers to the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars navigating the solar bark to the eastern horizon (Doc. 108, 109).

One of the most used and successful ways of receiving a place in the sun's bark is by imitating one or more of the members' crew. In Doc. 43, the deceased announces his arrival from the riverbank of Hu dressed in the garb of Hathor for his protection.<sup>858</sup> The text also indicates that it is about Hathor's multiple faces, starting with her presence in the two barks of Re and Khepri<sup>859</sup> and the fact that she has changed the number of her face to fulfil her responsibility as a helmsman,<sup>860</sup> guarding and protecting the bark against its enemies. Another spell is dedicated to the deceased becoming the scribe of Hathor, the two barks coming to the deceased, and the deceased receiving his seats in the bark

<sup>850</sup> See Nut in the Amduat p. 161-162.

<sup>851</sup> Pyr. § 1169a. Cf. Doc. 66.

<sup>852</sup> See also the first hour of the Amduat as a separation area, p. 104.

<sup>853</sup> CT I, 240e-241b.

<sup>854</sup> Wallin, *Celestial cycles*, 115.

<sup>855</sup> Faulkner, *AECT I*, 52, n.1.

<sup>856</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 289; Barta, in: ZÄS 107, 1-2; Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 142-144.

<sup>857</sup> Wallin, *Celestial cycles*, 122.

<sup>858</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 126, 131.

<sup>859</sup> The texts mention Hathor several times as attendants of the sun god in the bark. CT I 260-262; Altenmüller, *Apotropäia*, 120; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 118.

<sup>860</sup> Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, 39.



among those who control the rowing of the bark *hrpw.w hn.t wj3*. This means that the deceased has been raised to be her scribe.<sup>861</sup> Here, the deceased's rebirth will occur at the two barks of the sun, and Hathor will guide him because of being a scribe of hers.<sup>862</sup>

A particular way to characterize unnatural beings is to refer to the number of their faces. The owners of many faces grant the deceased power over his enemy by sending the deceased against him (CT II, 62e), who is said to fear the snake addressed by the speaker in CT V, 244c. The deceased elsewhere identifies himself with this being and claims to have defeated Apophis (CT VII, 517a-b).<sup>863</sup>

After getting his place upon the bark, the deceased also associates with Nehes and incorporates himself with the sun god's entourage. The deceased acts like the sun god, whose daily course of the sun the movement of barks symbolize crossing the sky from east to west in his day bark and traversing the west-east in his day bark. Khepri also moves in his bark to heaven, where the deceased wishes to participate in this solar cycle. In the bark, Khepri can cross the path from the underworld to the sky and thereby becomes the symbol of the rising morning sun. Re connected with Khepri during the night journey and the solar bark entitled the bark of Khepri in many events: "Dispatches the *hnbmw*-bark of Khepri, "raises me up to the two barks of Khepri," "the ways of the bark of Khepri," "I have stood in the bark of Khepri, I cross on foot with Re over the *msk.t* (milky way) with Khepri," "O Khepri, dwelling in your bark, and "the great bark of Khepri."<sup>864</sup>

In addition to his representation to a member of the crew, the deceased may hold his function, or declare himself to be this member. In an utterance to appear as Sia in the solar bark (Doc. 3),<sup>865</sup> the recitation speaks of Sia as the one who carries the divine book, at the right hand of Re. Boylan thinks that this passage refers to Thoth, because in the later periods Sia is identified with Thoth, who is also called the "scribe of the divine book."<sup>866</sup> However, according to Stadler, the identification of Thoth with Sia in later times does not at all prove the same thing for the Old Kingdom. Thoth is not Sia, nor does he bear his name, but, at most, Thoth possesses Sia's qualifications in his relation to the creator god as his own heart and tongue. In the Book of the Gates, Sia is the spokesman of the sun god who orders the gates of the netherworld to open wide for Re.<sup>867</sup> Thus, the deceased personifies himself as Sia, and holds the function of carrying the god's book at the right hand of Re. Another reference to the deceased's becoming Sia is his mentioning that he says what is in the heart of Re. It is conceded that Sia exists in the heart of the creator god.<sup>868</sup>

To ensure that he joined the crew of solar bark, the name of the deceased must be announced in the solar bark. In CT 47, 48 the deceased goes forth within the bark of the sun god, appears as lord of the west, oblations are given to him as to Re.<sup>869</sup> Isis rejoices by his appearing and his rebirth like Re.<sup>870</sup>

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<sup>861</sup> CT VI, 135a-k.

<sup>862</sup> Schott, in: JEA 54, 49; Allam, *Hathorkult*, 118, n. 5.

<sup>863</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 166.

<sup>864</sup> For a discussion of Khepri and the barks, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 165 f.; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 68-70.

<sup>865</sup> Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 46.

<sup>866</sup> Boylan, *Thot*, 81 f. Cf. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 10.

<sup>867</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 428-29. Cf. Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 203-204; Awadallah, in Peterková Hloučová and others, *Current Research in Egyptology 2018*, 4.

<sup>868</sup> LGG VI, 164-165. Cf. Doc. 46: "Sia-Re, his heart is happy."

<sup>869</sup> CT I, 205a-c.

<sup>870</sup> CT I, 206d-e

These events occur on the tribunal day, and the deceased must fear no complaints on the day of judgment before Osiris.<sup>871</sup> About Isis, who protects him, it is said: “Be pre-eminent in the sacred booth, because she speaks your good name within the bark on the day of reckoning characters” (Doc. 20).<sup>872</sup> Thanks to the words of Isis, the deceased wins his place in the solar bark, cross the heaven, and secure the continuity of his life. The sun journey and the court of the dead are connected. The judgement of the deceased occurs upon the solar bark during the night journey, and the crew of the bark holds this event as a kind of examination (see also Doc. 22).

As mentioned above, the deceased hopes to play a role among the crew of the solar bark, to captain the sailing, or at least to have a leading role on board. Before the deceased can board the solar bark, he has to pass by a group of protective beings. constituting a kind of tribunal.<sup>873</sup> The incidence of the court in the solar bark is explained by the attendance of some members of the bark’s crew in the court scene in the Book of Dead, where the title of Re there is: “Re, the great god in the midst of his bark.”<sup>874</sup> Noteworthy, there is a connection between the speech of Isis during the rituals of embalming and her speech upon the bark. In Doc. 20, Isis’s characterization as “Mistress of the desert,” connecting her with the funeral rituals.<sup>875</sup> Thus, the speech in the bark is maybe referring to the coffin bark and the transportation into the necropolis, the matter that recalls the idea of the sun journey through the sky and the presence of the solar bark upon the coffin bark itself. From the Old Kingdom, Isis and Nephthys are depicted aboard the coffin bark.<sup>876</sup> Here, the role of Isis is to say the name of the deceased and recommend him to the lord of the bark.

The deceased declares himself the favourite one in the shrine of Re,<sup>877</sup> he goes in and out at this shrine<sup>878</sup> and expels what Re detests from his bark.<sup>879</sup> He is also the giver of life who acts as he wishes because Hu is in his mouth, and Sia is in his body.<sup>880</sup> While the deceased steered the day bark, he announces that the crew of the sun god is in joy, singles out Hu who is thrilled, Sia-Re, whose heart is delightful, and the ennead who are in celebration (Doc. 46).

Several texts not only state the announcement of the deceased’s name in the solar bark, but also attribute a position of rank to him in the god’s vessel. The deceased king navigates with Re at his bark to the horizon to rule the gods with him (Doc. 17). Here, the deceased magnifies himself as a god when he orders ones greater than him, and he does not suffer from any such modesty. He states that he is one of the gods! This idea of judging in the solar barks was also noticed in the CT.<sup>881</sup> In CT 75,

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<sup>871</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 270. Cf. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 267.

<sup>872</sup> Cf. Doc. 24.

<sup>873</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 600.

<sup>874</sup> Assmann, *Totenslurgen* I, 262; Kees, *Götterglaube*, 228; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 14 (plate above); Seeber, *Totengerichts*, 134. Cf. The connection between the Judgement of the Dead and the solar bark is found in CT I, 181 (Sp. 44).

<sup>875</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 33.

<sup>876</sup> Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. 5 (left bottom); Lüddeckens, in: MDIAK 11, pl. 1, 7, 8.


<sup>877</sup> Apparently the shrine of the solar bark.

<sup>878</sup> CT VI, 267t-u.

<sup>879</sup> CT VI, 267y.

<sup>880</sup> CT VI, 268o. Cf. CT II, 43d, 107d; VII, 320h. For Hu and Sia as personifications of Authoritative utterance and perception, see Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 45; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 97, 108, 156, 288; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 180, n. w; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 369 f.

<sup>881</sup> CT I, 201; II, 139; 140. Cf. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 108 f.

the deceased declares that he is strong and raging in the bark of Re,<sup>882</sup> and he is the one who captains it and its crew (*jnk srr*<sup>883</sup> *wj3 ʿpr.w*).<sup>884</sup> Doc. 62 summarizes that the traveler enters the water of the Duat in the evening as a powerful Double Lion, and ruler of the bark's crew (see also Doc. 22). He acts as the sun god, and he issues the orders to the crew that he may live after death like Re. The theme of CT 1029-1033 and 1099 is joining the night journey and following Re in his path.<sup>885</sup> The deceased addresses Maat to travel at the head of the solar bark,<sup>886</sup> reach the sun god, and lead the entourage in a delightful journey. There, the role of the crew is to look after the beauty of the sun god (Doc. 55). He proclaims that he is a follower of Re.<sup>887</sup> He will take his seat in the great bark of Khepri,<sup>888</sup> and he will witness the delivery of the bow-warp of Re to his crew.<sup>889</sup> The deceased is identified with Re a little earlier in this passage when he declares that, "I will not be turned away from the horizon, for I am Re, I will not be boatless in the great crossing."<sup>890</sup> BD 100 is a ritual fundamental to the solar cycle:<sup>891</sup> "The book for initiating a *Ba*-soul blessed and permitting it to board the bark of Re with those in his suite and ward off the hostile serpent Apophis."<sup>892</sup> There, the solar bark is depicted on a stream of water and equipped with Isis, Thoth, Khepri, Shu, and the deceased who stands at the stern before two steering-oars topped by falcon's heads (fig. 4a-b). Sometimes the order is changed, gods are added or substituted, Thoth comes last, and Nephthys has joined the company. Isis generally stands in front, the reason for this prominent place is formulated by the deceased: "I made myself the companion of Isis." In the Papyrus of Neferrenpet, Isis is at the head of the crew members. Her name was written with the determinative ,<sup>893</sup> referring to her appearance as a serpent-goddess in the solar bark in the second hour of Amduat. To participate in the process of sailing and join the entourage of the bark, the deceased legitimizes himself above all as a sun worshiper,<sup>894</sup> that Re extended his hands to him, and his crew shall not repulse him. He associates himself with Isis and strengthens the power of her magic, which he supposes to use against Apophis. Moreover, he declares his functions on the bark that he tied the rope, repulses the enemy, and restrained his steps." (Doc. 65). In BD 101, "spell for protecting the bark of Re,"<sup>895</sup> the composition opens with an invocation to the deity sailing at the prow. The vignette in pNeferrenpet shows the solar bark sailing on the sky symbol

<sup>882</sup> CT I, 330b.

<sup>883</sup> *Srj* or *srr* + Obj. = to lead upon or rule, an example in CT VI, 390h: *Hr pn s3 3s.t srr pw.t mj kd=sn ntr.w=s jm=s* "Horus son of Isis who rules all the skies and their gods who are in them." *Wb* IV, 189, 10-14; Zandee, in: ZÄS 97, 159; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 292, 293, n. 4.

<sup>884</sup> CT I, 325b.

<sup>885</sup> Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, ST 1029-1033, 1099. For the occurrence of those spells in the Book of the Dead, see Quirke, *Prt m brm*, 286.

<sup>886</sup> For Isis as Maat showing the paths of the sky, see Doc. 54.

<sup>887</sup> CT VII, 400a-402a.

<sup>888</sup> CT VII, 409c.

<sup>889</sup> CT VII, 411a.

<sup>890</sup> CT VII, 398a-c.

<sup>891</sup> See Quirke, *Prt m brm*, 225.

<sup>892</sup> Taylor, *Book of the Dead*, 240.

<sup>893</sup> Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 94, 99.

<sup>894</sup> Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 477 f.

<sup>895</sup> This title was given by Budge, derived from a Late Period papyrus. Barguet, *LdM*, 138, n. 1.

towards a gate;<sup>896</sup> a falcon-headed sun god is sitting in the bark, whom the deceased standing in front of honours.<sup>897</sup> Re has included the deceased, a pure spirit, in his crew (Doc. 66) and assures him that he will be healthy.<sup>898</sup> In the papyrus of Horemheb (BM 10257), the solar bark is depicted carrying the phoenix and a squatting falcon-headed sun god. Horemheb holds what looks like a paddle and punts the bark in front of them.<sup>899</sup> This daily course across the sky in the company of Re and his divine crew guarantees his participation in the god's daily rebirth and being part of the eternally cyclical system.

## 2.3 The Third phase: reaching the Duat

### 2.3.1 At the gates of the Duat

The aim of pausing at the gates of the Duat is to determine that the existence of the deceased among the solar bark's crew is settled. There, the traveller is a Ruti, and that he is free to leave the day bark and to enter the day bark, which probably means that he has the will and power to commute between the two barks.<sup>900</sup> Although Zandee considers that the text deals with the nocturnal journey of the solar bark,<sup>901</sup> the use of the term *mšrw*, "evening," makes it more likely that only the beginning of that journey is intended.<sup>902</sup> Therefore, the event occurs at the gates of the Duat, and thus the entry of the solar bark into the netherworld. "This transitional moment is interpreted as the moment when the crews of the day bark and the day bark hold session as a court of justice over which the deceased, identified with the sun god, presides" (Doc. 22).<sup>903</sup>

In Doc. 29, the deceased claims that he will not be turned back at the gates of the Duat, he ascends to the sky with Orion, and his residence is at the high portal of the entourage of Re, where he can receive the food offerings and supplies from the crew who accompany the sun god. Finally, he directly declares that the executioners of Osiris do not have the power to close his mouth or to limit his movements because he knows what Sia knows. The same event situated in CT III, 314a, *dmj.n=j Sbb.t k3.t šnw.t Rc lbs.t 3.w* "I have reached the high portals of the entourage of Re who reckon up the pillared bark."<sup>904</sup> So, the deceased wants to leave the realm of Osiris, which seems to be a judge court, and join the realm of the sun god. But before opening the gates of the Duat another purification occurs at the entrance of the Duat. In Doc. 71, the deceased wishes the perfect of his vision because he is about to enter a dark realm. He stands on Pega<sup>905</sup> as a follower of the sun god to be purified at the cedar tree. There, Sia protects his body and Seshat surrounds him.

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<sup>896</sup> Apparently, the gate of the eastern horizon.

<sup>897</sup> Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 478; Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 174, pl. 47.

<sup>898</sup> Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 227; Taylor, *Book of the Dead*, 240.

<sup>899</sup> See Andrews, Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 100.

<sup>900</sup> Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 193.

<sup>901</sup> Zandee, in: *BiOr* 41, 27. Hornung defines *mšrw* as the period around sundown. Hornung, in: *ZÄS* 86, 109-111.

<sup>902</sup> See also Doc. 25, 62.

<sup>903</sup> Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 193 f. Cf. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 168.

<sup>904</sup> The portals of the entourage are also regarded as courts of justice. Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 106. For gates as places of judgement, see Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 211 f.; Strudwick, *Administration*, 304; Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 304-305.

<sup>905</sup> Pega, in the Book of the Gates, is an outspread place in the underworld, on which the deceased stands. Hornung, *Pfortenbuch* I, 313; II, 215; Faulkner suggested that it is "the entrance of the sky." Allen translated it as: "the battlefield." Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 177; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 135.

To open the gates of the Duat and ferry across, the deceased speaks to the doorkeeper to let him through, and he refers to his good qualities that he is Re in his appearances, Hathor receives him with a smile, while Isis and Nephthys strengthen his power.<sup>906</sup> Here, the speaker approaches the gatekeepers. He wants to see his father in the solar bark. He uses some intimidating language to convince them that they should not restrain him so that he assimilates himself to Re and the Nile.<sup>907</sup> Then he states that Hathor welcome him, and he represents Isis and Nephthys (Doc. 37). During the New Kingdom, these texts were converted into many representations of Isis and Nephthys among the passengers of the solar barks, who recited magical spells to ward off the attacks of demonical beings and to facilitate the passage of the solar bark.<sup>908</sup>

### 2.3.2 Opening the gates and paths of the Duat

It is notable that in the solar cycle, the deceased wants to leave the realm of Osiris and settle in the realm of Re. In Doc. 2, the deceased opens up his place in the sky to join the stars. There, he is the companion of Hu, the attribute of Re,<sup>909</sup> Here, the deceased king ascends far from Osiris to the starry sky and “looks down upon” him from above. The text reveals the desire of the deceased not to join the *Akb*-spirits of Osiris in the netherworld, far below the sky where the deceased now takes his place.<sup>910</sup> To safeguard his perpetual place beside Re, he confirms his relation to Hu, as one of the permanent companions of the sun god. The functions of the Lone Star are relate to the protection of the sun god during his night journey.<sup>911</sup> The deceased king is not identified with Osiris. Indeed, there is a notion here that whereas the dead in general are subject to the role of Osiris in the underworld, an exception is made of the king in that he becomes a star and joins the realm of the sun god.<sup>912</sup> Apparently, Doc. 2 is an example of celestializing the Osirian hereafter, as had been the Osirian theology when it was interfered with that of Heliopolis. As a result, the penetration of Osiris to the sky in the PT was partly and took such epoch.<sup>913</sup>

To open a path for his *Ba*-soul and his shade, to see Re within his shrine, and to place his *Ba*-soul as the chiefest among the crew of the sun god,<sup>914</sup> the deceased needs to have power in his leg (see also Doc. 21). So, he praises Re and Hathor to take his *Ba* and his *Akb* with them,<sup>915</sup> to sit in the horizon among their entourage,<sup>916</sup> and serve them eternally.<sup>917</sup> Hu is the one who opens the fair paths, which leads to the great gods who are in the sky and earth (Doc. 45).

<sup>906</sup> CT IV, 343a; Zandee, *Death*, 115.

<sup>907</sup> Cf. CT III, 268-269a; IV, 84f, 316a; V, 333g-h; BD 92.

<sup>908</sup> Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* III, 665; Münster, *Isis*, 80, n. 930.

<sup>909</sup> Piankoff, *Unas*, 55.

<sup>910</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 58, n. 5.

<sup>911</sup> See Pyr. §§ 877c, 1899d-e, 1920c. Sia, the partner of Hu, is also thought of as a star as well, which is natural as he is a companion of Re; hence the deceased is a star. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 125; Mercer, *Pyramid Text* II, 115, 447; id., *Pyramid Text* III, 858.

<sup>912</sup> Breasted, *Religion*, 142; Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, 148.

<sup>913</sup> Breasted, *Religion*, 148.

<sup>914</sup> CT VI, 82a-f, var. B3Bo: “to be among those who distribute years.”

<sup>915</sup> CT VI, 82h.

<sup>916</sup> CT VI, 84b.

<sup>917</sup> CT VI, 84bo.

Three spells from the CT hold particular importance for the clarification of the function of Hu and Sia in placing the deceased on the cycle of the sun god and parting paths for him in the Duat, namely CT 321, 758, and 759. In Doc. 33, the deceased travels in the company of Shu on the paths of Hu and Sia. In this passage, the “winding” *k3b*<sup>918</sup> seems to be the path by which the word of Atum goes out from his *jb*,<sup>919</sup> a circuit on which Shu, Hu, and Sia travel. It is also found elsewhere in the CT as the location where creation takes place. In the light of the later connection of Hu and Sia with mouth and heart respectively, especially as it is found in the Memphite theology, Bardinnet interprets these ways as leading paths from the heart (associated with Sia) to the mouth (associated with Hu). Based on this connection, Hu and Sia act to denominate the roads of the Duat, and thus, denominate everything.<sup>920</sup> The dark paths of Hu and Sia appear in the vignette of CT VI, 386, where the enthroned sun god is enclosed in a series of ovals or encircled by a serpent within his coils (fig. 1).<sup>921</sup> This vignette belongs to CT 758 and the first lines of CT 759. The purpose of these spells is to know the dangerous roads, full of fire, which the solar bark travels through, and to come within the circumference of the Mehen-Serpent, shining on the Mehen-bark,<sup>922</sup> and to be protected by it like Re (Doc. 47).<sup>923</sup> Hu and Sia are traveling by the path which is in the vertex of Re (Doc. 48). There seems to be good ground for identifying the seated figure accompanying the text as the sun god. The figure wears a crown reminiscent of an *3tf* consisting of four serpents. According to Nyord, it seems plausible to identify the “four dark serpents” mentioned in the spell with the “four knots of Mehet-Weret. This would be the place of manifestation of Hu and Sia, and the roads would be parallel to the “windings” found in Doc. 33.<sup>924</sup> The deceased does not want to be rejected from Re inside his Mehen,<sup>925</sup> so he said that he knows the dark paths which Hu enters<sup>926</sup> together with Sia like the dark serpents behind which and before which light is spread.<sup>927</sup> The deceased, on his journey, must know how to pass dangerous places safely. The Book of the Two Ways is full of gates guarded by dangerous and terrifying gods. In this situation, the deceased must push them to open the gates by using his abilities. When the deceased reaches a gate, he may say that he comes from a sacred town, e.g., Abydos,<sup>928</sup> which gives him authority to be let through.<sup>929</sup>

<sup>918</sup> For the association of *k3b.w* in CT 321 with the circulation of the sun, see Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 303, n. 1811.

<sup>919</sup> For philological analysis on the term *jb* and its synonyms with critics for the translation of Nyord for *jb* as “interior,” see Stadler, in: WZKM 101, 501-506.

<sup>920</sup> Derchain, in: RdE 27, 115; Bardinnet, *Dents et mâchoires*, 143 f.; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 371 f.

<sup>921</sup> Faulkner, *AECT* II, 290, n. 1, cf. § Pyr. 2265a.

<sup>922</sup> The bark of the Mehen-serpent is a symbol of the shrine of the solar bark *mskt.t* during his journey of the Amduat from the seventh to the twelfth hour of the night till the eastern horizon. Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, Nr. 491, 508, 574, 648, 721, 778, 849.

<sup>923</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 164 f.; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 303, n. 1808.

<sup>924</sup> Piccione, in: JARCE 27, 44; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 375. See also, Hu in the paths of Mehet-Weret in Doc. 27.

<sup>925</sup> In BD 15, the text reads: “praise be to you (Re) when you rise wearing Mehen, the encircling one, lord of the sky, foremost who is therein. May you give refreshing breath to Osiris N.” Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 14, S4.

<sup>926</sup> In Doc. 45. Hu prepares all the fair paths of the deceased.

<sup>927</sup> Cf. Zandee, *Death*, 164; id.; in: JEOL 15, 68.

<sup>928</sup> CT VII, 480j.

<sup>929</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 29.

Moreover, he says at the gate that Hu, who speaks in the darkness, belongs to me, who opens the way that I may pass by saying my name (Doc. 61).<sup>930</sup>

The idea of Hu being an “opener of the ways” appears in BD 78, where the text reads: “I request Hu from the Lord of the universe. May the gods of the Duat be afraid of me; may their gates beware of me.”<sup>931</sup>

In addition to Re and Osiris, the “Book of the Two Ways” also involves Thoth, as the lunar-ferryman, in guiding the deceased through the paths of the netherworld.<sup>932</sup> The spells of CT 1089-1098 describe the paths of Thoth. CT 1093 reads: “This is the way of Thoth toward the house of Maat.” It adds that the deceased will be in the suite of Thoth at night. CT 1094 is also addressed to Thoth who is in the suite of Re. By being in the entourage of Thoth, the deceased descends to the solar bark, saves Re from the storm of Apophis without falling into his fetters, and cleans the injured eye in the “House of Maat.” Obviously, it is a place of the healed eye and thus represents the regeneration of the sun god by Thoth, whereby the moon is hidden behind the Horus eye to be healed. There, the ritualist carries the solar eye to the solar bark on which Thoth and his retinue are present.<sup>933</sup> Having participated in healing the eye, the deceased reclaims himself; this is his right of have access to Thoth and to the sun god himself, his ultimate goal in the horizon.<sup>934</sup>

Doc. 54 introduces Isis for the first time in the Book of the Two Ways. She plays the role of Maat as a guide of the celestial body while crossing the sky. The deceased will possess Isis (in the form of Maat) to show him the ways as she does for Re. The question arises why Isis is equated with Maat? This approximation is not common. The role attributed to Isis as Maat in the text is to show the ways of the sky. It is well known at the bow of the solar bark, and it is a similar voyage that Thoth follows Isis in it. In addition, the “enchanted” Isis is a key figure in the repelling of Apophis, an event that is crucial to Thoth, and in which Maat can also participate actively.<sup>935</sup> In CT 1099: “I may receive offerings and equip Thoth with what was made for him, I will cause Maat to travel around at the head of the great bark.”<sup>936</sup>

Furthermore, Isis appears as the guide of the moon; in accordance with Maat, she guarantees that Thoth, as the representative of the sun god, will make his night journey safe.<sup>937</sup> Here, we learn that Thoth is among the entourage of the sun god by night, where we have the mention of the solar bark and the ferry crossing of the sky.<sup>938</sup> Scholars agree that the lower register of CT 1128 depicts a solar bark.<sup>939</sup> Its ends look like a plant-motif. There is also a picture of a falcon on a standard.<sup>940</sup> The position of the falcon and CT 1095 referring to Isis in front of the solar bark are also instructive. In CT 1098, Isis is credited with having brought the Mehen-serpent to the head of Re in the solar bark. There, Isis

<sup>930</sup> Cf. Doc. 50.

<sup>931</sup> Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 67.

<sup>932</sup> Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 6; Hoffmeier, in: *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 49., see also Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, passim.

<sup>933</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 378.

<sup>934</sup> CT VII, (Sp. 1092- 1096); Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 356; Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, 64, 81.

<sup>935</sup> Apophis's pain has been caused by Maat. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 39, S 4.

<sup>936</sup> CT VII, 404c-d. Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 356. Cf. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 170, n. 1343.

<sup>937</sup> Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 199.

<sup>938</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 252.

<sup>939</sup> Kees, *Totenglauben*, 298; Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 99; Barguet, in: RdE 21, 12.

<sup>940</sup> Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, Abb. 8.

represents Hathor, the goddess of heaven and the partner of Re or Horus the Elder.<sup>941</sup> Later, we will gather that Isis, Horus, and Seth are among the entourage occupying the prow of the solar bark (Doc. 59).<sup>942</sup>

Elements of BD 144 and 147 occur in the Book of the Two Ways.<sup>943</sup> One distinctive feature in the two compositions is the existence of the gates. As mentioned above, the deceased must use different methods for passing those gates. Armed with knowledge, he passes the doorway, confirming and enhancing his purity and allowing himself to gain a more fully transfigured status. It means that he will not be driven off or turned away at the portals of the netherworld.<sup>944</sup> Although, in this theme of BD 144, a bark or sailing does not play a role, the text speaks of sailing in the bark of Re describing the deceased that he is the one who provide the bark with offerings, make the safe travels of the bark, and the vivifier of the crew of Re (Doc. 70).<sup>945</sup> In one version of BD 145, from the papyrus of Iahtesnakht, Wepwawet was among the council of seven gods who guard the twenty-first gateway. The deceased must reveal his name, as he did for all the guardians, in order to wide open his way.<sup>946</sup>

### 2.3.3 Giving power, life, and protection

The deceased opens the doors of the sky through his beauty (*nfr.w*), and he is granted that he will join those who are in the bark of Re.<sup>947</sup> He wants to make his corpse, which in Heliopolis, recognizes his *Ba*-soul, which is in the upper sky.<sup>948</sup> Nephthys honours him and provides him with the power of dread that allow him to rise in the east of the sky (Doc. 18). He sails southwards and northwards in the night and day barks. Astronomically, this may refer to the location of the Unwearying Stars and the Imperishable Stars as a crew of the solar bark.<sup>949</sup> Furthermore, in CT 53, Nephthys favors the deceased to join the Unwearying Stars and thereby rejuvenate in the night time.<sup>950</sup> Nephthys molds the deceased in her name of Seshat,<sup>951</sup> she is the possessor of life in the day bark, who raises up Horus.<sup>952</sup> It seems that Nephthys plays a crucial role in the fate of the deceased in the day bark by serving him as a transporter and a protector in his ascension to the sky,<sup>953</sup> before reaching Re at the double gate which is in the east of the sky.<sup>954</sup> Similarly, before reaching the eastern horizon, Hathor

<sup>941</sup> Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 200. For this role of Isis in the capacity of Maat, see Griffiths, in: *Fs Leclant* 3, 255-264; Jacq, *Voyage*, 93; 102; § 944- 947.

<sup>942</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 390.

<sup>943</sup> For a diagram of area from the Book of the Two Ways showing the position of elements occur in BD 144 and 147, see Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 322.

<sup>944</sup> Assmann, *Death and Initiation*, 147; Taylor, *Book of the Dead*, 136.

<sup>945</sup> Cf. CT VII, 332d (Sp. 1069).

<sup>946</sup> Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 133; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 291; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 334, 341.

<sup>947</sup> CT I, 181a-f; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 35 f.

<sup>948</sup> In the CT, it is difficult to visualize the region in which the deceased lived. Is the sky the residence of the deceased? Or is it the underworld as depicted in the Book of the Amduat? Žabkar, *The Ba Concept*, 109.


<sup>949</sup> Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, 120.

<sup>950</sup> CT I, 240e-241a.

<sup>951</sup> Seshat opens the portal when the deceased is admitted to the netherworld. CT I, 33d.

<sup>952</sup> CT VI, 410f-1 (Sp. 778).

<sup>953</sup> Ahmed-Mohamed, *Nephthys*, 80.

<sup>954</sup> B10C<sup>c</sup> reads:  *m j3b.t p.t*, “in the east of the sky.”



anointed the deceased and gave him life like Re in the west.<sup>955</sup> Isis is the power of his strength.<sup>956</sup> All the inhabitants of the Duat are glad because of this arrival. Doubtless, the crews of the night and day barks are included (Doc. 19).

The Book of the Two Ways begins with a description of the rising sun god Re, whom while proceeding from the eastern horizon in the shrine of his bark, the deceased addresses. He wants to be protected from the fire of Apophis, just like the sun god.<sup>957</sup> The “entourage of the flame,” and a remark about Re<sup>958</sup> and his shrine<sup>959</sup> suggest that fire surrounds him. The spell ends with the phrase: “To pass by the entourage of the flame of the cabin of the bark of Re.”<sup>960</sup> Here, Shu is the one who burns the fire: “I am he who burns the flame of fire,”<sup>961</sup> This perhaps means that Shu used the force of another fire to destroy the flames of Apophis. In this consequence, we shall see that the flame indicates the protective gods surrounding the shrine of the solar bark. In this spell, the protective gods around Re are the “entourage of flame.” This entourage received various designations in the CT: *ḥ3.w k3r* “Those who are around the shrine,”<sup>962</sup> *šnw.t R* “entourage of Re,”<sup>963</sup> and succinctly “entourage.”<sup>964</sup> They are also called *rw.w* “lions,”<sup>965</sup> and *n<sup>c</sup>w*-serpents.<sup>966</sup> This entourage is also mentioned in parallelism with the Heh-gods.<sup>967</sup>

CT 1128, which is considered the precursor of the Amduat,<sup>968</sup> describes the gods surrounding the sun god in his bark as *šnw.t sd.t*, “the entourage of flame.” At the bow stand Seth, Isis, and Horus. Behind the shrine are Hu and Sia (Doc. 59). They were meaningfully distributed. Isis,<sup>969</sup> Seth, and Horus, are the most suitable and capable in the defence against Apophis. Horus is also connected with the aspect of a future glorious rule. Hu and Sia act as the quality of creation. The name of the gods as *šnw.t* is not a coincidence, because the term “crew” comes close to *šnw.t n.t sd.t* in CT 1033. *šnw.t* also evokes the idea of encircling and guarding. Here, the impenetrable environment of the sun god is not presented as a fire or a fiery guardian-reinforced gateway but manifests itself among well-known gods on his bark.<sup>970</sup> There (i.e., in CT 1033), the sun god’s entourage, which includes Isis and Horus, resides

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<sup>955</sup> CT I, 192a-d.

<sup>956</sup> CT I, 194d: Assmann, *Religion*, 348 f.; Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 102-106.

<sup>957</sup> Assmann, *Religion*, 327-329; Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 11-17; Barguet, in: RdE 21, 7-17; Lapp, *Zweivegebuch*, in: LÄ VI, col. 1430, 1431.

<sup>958</sup> CT VII, 263a.

<sup>959</sup> CT VII, 268b.

<sup>960</sup> CT VII, 278a-b.

<sup>961</sup> CT I, 380a. Noteworthy that CT 75 is for the *Ba*-soul of Shu and for becoming Shu. Also, Shu is leader of the entourage (CT IV, 178k).

<sup>962</sup> CT I, 394a; CT IV, 102f-g, 179b, 224b; CT VI, 231b, 236b. For the *ḥ3.w k3r* as protectors of the cabin of the solar bark, see, Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 195. Cf. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 318 f.

<sup>963</sup> CT I, 398b.

<sup>964</sup> CT I, 393d.

<sup>965</sup> CT I, 386a-b.

<sup>966</sup> CT I, 390b.

<sup>967</sup> Doc. 55.

<sup>968</sup> Grapow, in: ZÄS 72, 30-33.

<sup>969</sup> Cf. BD 142, where Isis is given the epithet: “The great of Magic, Isis the possessor of magical protection, Isis who protected her father.” Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 119, S4.

<sup>970</sup> Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 225f; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 423.

in and/or represents Mehen's coils surrounding the sun god in the figure CT 758-760 (fig. 1). They cover the solar bark on its four sides, forming rings that symbolize the netherworld's dark and fiery roads.<sup>971</sup> All these texts stress the fact that these gods perform their protection by means of using fire and being around Re in his cabin.<sup>972</sup>

In BD 17, which is recognized as one of the most important spells in the Book,<sup>973</sup> section 32 features the deceased asking for help from Khepri, who appeared as the sun god<sup>974</sup> on his bark and adored by Isis, Nephthys, and the baboons. He wants to be rescued from those who are in the protection of the lord of the universe and examine the enemies of the sun god (Doc. 63). The deceased wants to be saved from their knives, and maybe he will not enter their places of execution.<sup>975</sup> The long papyrus of Iufankh presents two versions of the sun god in his bark: first as Khepri, with scarab-beetle for the head, accompanied by the deceased and the baboons; then, as a human-form god, but praised by two pairs of baboons and the goddesses Isis and Nephthys in human form, once on either side (fig. 3). As Isis and Nephthys oversee these examiners, they fight enemies of all kinds with magic and knives.<sup>976</sup> Therefore, it is essential for the deceased not to become the enemy of the two sisters, who are slaughtering the sun god's foes.<sup>977</sup> So, the deceased associates himself with Isis and Nephthys because they drive away those who would disturb him.<sup>978</sup>

BD 134, "a spell to embark the bark of Re and join those that are in his train,"<sup>979</sup> is closely related to the wish of the deceased to be consistently and everywhere with Re. The function of Isis and Nephthys in suckling and nursing the deceased before the ascension phase (Doc. 31) is again held in the bark of Re. Here, the deceased wants to overthrow the assailants assailing the bark of Re. Thus, he declares that he is the incarnation of Horus who repel the gang of Seth (Doc. 68) and cut off those assailants' heads.<sup>980</sup>

The group of BD 130-136 aims at securing a place for the deceased in the bark of the sun god,<sup>981</sup> and the vignettes of this composition show the enthroned falcon-headed "Re who is in his chapel" in the solar bark (fig. 5a). The caption in fig. 5b shows the bark bearing the deceased, facing a long narrow block at the center of the bark bearing falcon and the nine gods, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys. Doubtless, those deities are responsible for protecting the bark of Re and guaranteeing a place for the deceased in the solar bark.

A group of spells in the CT are to be recited for giving a spirit power in the realm of the dead, opening paths for the deceased's *Ba*-soul, removing obstacles to reach the horizon like a great falcon, and

<sup>971</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 389.

<sup>972</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 170.

<sup>973</sup> See Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches*, 1-7.

<sup>974</sup> Westendorf, *Totenbuchstudien*, 203.

<sup>975</sup> Le Page Renouf, in: PSBA 14; 380; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 31; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 73 f.; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 49.

<sup>976</sup> For the aggressive character of Isis: CT II, 151e, 203b, where the dead man wants to be released from the census of Isis and all other gods. Münster, *Isis*, 197, n. 2109.

<sup>977</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 197.

<sup>978</sup> Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 75; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 49.

<sup>979</sup> This title is given in the version of Nebseni. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 109.

<sup>980</sup> Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 48 (4), frame 17; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 298.

<sup>981</sup> Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 286.

entering to Re within his shrine.<sup>982</sup> The Ba in the netherworld is protected against fire, the form which the deceased hoped to achieve. One of the greatest threats for the deceased is that the *jb.t.ty.w* “Trappers” haunt his *Ba*-soul. Sia speaks to those hunters and demons that their fiery blast shall not reach the deceased’s *Ba*-soul, and their testimony shall have no power over it (Doc. 44).<sup>983</sup> In Doc. 52, it is the power of Sia (who belongs to Re) which the deceased uses to frighten the gods of the netherworld, dispatch himself and dispatch Maat with him to the horizon.<sup>984</sup> The passage contains an indication to Hu as he is the one who created Maat by the power of Sia, and Sia is the one who brought the authoritative utterance (Hu) to Re.<sup>985</sup>

The crew of the sun god sail the bark, overthrow Apophis, and cause the manifestation of the sun god as Khepri (Doc. 69). Although Khepri is not mentioned, the Ptolemaic Pap. Turin 1791 of Iufankh says: *skdj js.t wj3 sbr 3pp h3y n=t hknw n R<sup>c</sup> sbpr hpr.fj.lw Hprj* “The crew sails the bark, and Apophis is overthrown. Acclamation to you and praise to Re, the forms of Khepri are brought into being.”<sup>986</sup> Furthermore, according to the version of Iufankh, the presence of Khepri represents the aretology of the creator god. It introduces him as the originator of all manifestations of the sun god.<sup>987</sup> This appearance occurs after the defeat of Apophis. In BD 134, Khepri is not only mentioned with his epithet *Hprj hry-jb wj3=f* but also placed in direct connection with the enemy of the sun, because he only rises and shines when Apophis falls.<sup>988</sup>

### 2.3.4 Punting the solar bark

The crew of the solar bark is the empowered group that achieves significant responsibilities in the night journey in the Duat. The crew of Re that does not know any weariness, authorizes the navigation of the solar bark. B1C in the same passage refers to the crew of the bark as the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars (Doc. 23).<sup>989</sup> Furthermore, the Unwearying Stars are described as followers of the solar bark of *d.t* and *nbb*.<sup>990</sup> “If the bark of *d.t* and *nbb* is the solar bark, the Unwearying Stars, following it, will be its crew.”<sup>991</sup> The navigational parts of the bark will not be damaged or broken because of the sun god’s crew. Nut joins the crew as a rudder of the bark. The deceased says that he helps the crew in rowing the sun god, and he travels like Isis (Doc. 28).<sup>992</sup> In this spell, Isis is the one who opens the chest of the gods. Knowing the contents of some god’s secret chest has its parallels

<sup>982</sup> CT VI, 76i-77c; Zandee, *Death*, 250, 289.

<sup>983</sup> CT VI, 76d-e; Brunner-Traut, in: ZÄS 94, 11, n. 32; Wolf-Brinkmann, *Deutung des Begriffes ‘b3’*, 18, n. 48; Zandee, *Death*, 230; George, *Schatten*, 57.

<sup>984</sup> Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 62.

<sup>985</sup> Zandee, *Schöpfervort*, 45.

<sup>986</sup> Lepsius, *Todenbuch*, 57, 9-10.

<sup>987</sup> Cf. Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 26, 21-23.

<sup>988</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 114. Cf. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 48 (2-3); Quirke, *Pri m hrw*, 298.

<sup>989</sup> See also Doc. 11, 13.

<sup>990</sup> CT I, 241c.

<sup>991</sup> Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, 120. For the location of the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars, See also Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 14-66, 145.

<sup>992</sup> Cf. In CT II 75m (Sp. 181), the text reads: “For it is Isis who rows me every day.”

elsewhere,<sup>993</sup> which make certain that such an act of indiscretion or burglary enlarged the stature of the speaker. It could also be dangerous, and of course, it is a crime, ascribed to Seth.<sup>994</sup>

Doc. 35 indicating that it is the speech of Hathor, and the goddess adds in the same breath “I am Isis,”<sup>995</sup> which may or may not have been intended as the sequel to the same goddess’s words in the preceding spell.<sup>996</sup> The speaker identifies herself with Hathor and Isis<sup>997</sup> and although there is no title, it does not seem to be a spell “For becoming Hathor” like CT 331.<sup>998</sup> The text rather deals with the involvement of Hathor/Isis in the nightly journey of the sun and situates the deceased aboard the solar bark, handling its steering oar during the night. Both Hathor and Isis determine the course of the solar bark, leading it, and protecting it.<sup>999</sup>

In this context, Hathor is the mistress of navigating in the bark. She fetters the steering oars’ bonding and leads the deceased, as a serpent goddess, on the paths of the wakeful ones (*nbs.w*).<sup>1000</sup> Here, the journey is not that of the rising sun after sunrise. It perhaps refers to the deceased’s movements in the northern sky, which were subject to Hathor.<sup>1001</sup> There are indications that the text does not concern the daily rising of the sun, but that on New Year’s Day. This day was preceded by the epagomenal days, the liturgy of which included a kind of funerary vigil (*nbs.w*) before the sun’s resurrection. To sum up, Hathor’s statement seems to be intended to portray her as Seth, who is responsible for the advent of the New Year and thus for the vigils celebrated in this period to enable the rebirth of the gods.<sup>1002</sup>

At the end of the spell, Isis appears as a serpent, armed with her magic, and lifts Re to the day bark. By enabling him to enter the day bark, she grants him the privilege of being born again.<sup>1003</sup> Thus, Doc. 35 indicates a large parallel and interaction between the functions of Hathor and Isis in the solar bark. Here, the deceased addresses Isis in her name of Nat-serpent, which is the name of the crown’s serpent, and thus she is the leader of the bark on the forehead of the god.<sup>1004</sup> Isis shows that she and Nephthys raise the sun in the morning and place it into the day bark; however, this cannot be meant here. Because if Isis is in the solar bark, then she is on Re’s forehead and cannot lift him into the bark. Thus, the text passage indicates that the uraeus serpent removes the god’s enemies and lets him rise in the morning when he ascends to the day bark.<sup>1005</sup> In the same spell, the bark is entitled “the bark of the controller,” and doubtless it is the bark of Re, which will take him to his place of rising. An

<sup>993</sup> In CT I, 160b-c, it is the *fd.t n.t Sḫ* “chest of Sia,” whose contents the deceased wants to know, and up from which the deceased descends to the night bark (CT IV, 54d). See also Doc. 29.

<sup>994</sup> Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 216.

<sup>995</sup> Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 7.

<sup>996</sup> Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 353.

<sup>997</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 106.

<sup>998</sup> CT IV, 172a (sp. 331).

<sup>999</sup> Allam, *Hathorkult*, 116-120; Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, 36-40; Münster, *Isis*, 106.

<sup>1000</sup> For Hathor as serpent, see Allam, *Hathorkult*, 110 ff. She lifts the beauty of every god (*wtṣ.t nfr*) and unites their *Akb*-power (*ḫb.t ḫb.w*). Münster, *Isis*, 107.

<sup>1001</sup> Cf. CT V, 159c-160b (sp. 398).

<sup>1002</sup> Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 354, 359.

<sup>1003</sup> CT IV, 178c-e.

<sup>1004</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 107.

<sup>1005</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 108.

inscription in the temple of Medinet Habu and the papyrus of Queen Nedjemet (pBM EA 10541) show an allusion to the god *hrp wj3*, who guards the stern of the solar bark in the twelve hours of Amduat.<sup>1006</sup> Similarly, there is a dual mention to *nbs* “the Wakeful one.” Once in relation to the journey’s paths and the other related to the lashings, apparently the lashings of the solar bark. In CT VII, 335b 1 (Sp. 1071), the wakeful ones prepare the paths to the lord of all. The text is followed by an image of the zigzag paths (Sp. 1072), as a representation of the ways of Rosetau. Particularly concerning the large Two-ways section, an interpretation of the “wakeful ones” as guardians of these paths cannot be taken out of thin air. Thus, why should the “ways of *nbs.w*” not be a designation of the guarded paths to Re and Osiris?<sup>1007</sup>

In the first and last paragraphs of CT 1099, the deceased confirms his followership and dependency on Re.<sup>1008</sup> He tries to prove his efficiency by taking the responsibility of navigating the bark. He precludes the flood to be an obstacle to sailing.<sup>1009</sup> There, the deceased is also described as the son of the sun god and his legitimate heir and successor (Doc. 56).<sup>1010</sup>

Likewise, BD 130 shows the desire of the deceased to sail with Re in his bark, set the truth in the bark, lead the entourage of Re, and give them a blessed journey. The crew of Re practices their protection and Maat exists around her Lord (Doc. 67). The first section of the spell is to open the gates and paths of the netherworld, while the second section is paralleled with CT 1099 (Doc. 55, 56)<sup>1011</sup> when the texts refer to the dangers of the sun’s journey and the punishment of the damned. These texts are considered to be one of the earliest evidences for concepts of what is represented in the seventh hour of the Amduat where we find the beheaded enemies kneel before Osiris in the upper register, and the scene of defeating Apophis before the solar bark, which is led by Isis, in the middle register.<sup>1012</sup>

The different versions of BD 130 and its vignettes depict several forms of the night and day barks, and illustrate the new-born sun, the followers of the sun god, and the crew in the solar bark.<sup>1013</sup> The deceased is promised not to suffer from any of the evils awaiting him since he knows the names of his enemies, and they cannot reach the bark. Before the final rubric, he has access to the bark of Re and is considered as his protector.<sup>1014</sup>

### 2.3.5 In the great fields of Re

In the “Spell for arriving at the first portal of the field of Rushes. What is to be said to the gatekeeper, to let him through if he knows the spell concerned,” a part of the ship is identified as the standard of Wepwawet, and the bailer of the bark is equated with the hand of Isis. It is not equated with Isis herself but with a limb of the goddess (Doc. 40).<sup>1015</sup> Many bark parts are identified with the hands of

<sup>1006</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 213; *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 420 B 1-2; Shorter, *Catalogue*, pl. V, 1-2.

<sup>1007</sup> Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 328.

<sup>1008</sup> CT VII, 386, 414; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 377.

<sup>1009</sup> Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 98, n. 274.

<sup>1010</sup> See also Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 600. Cf. Pyr. §§ 906b, 1171a, 1235c.

<sup>1011</sup> Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 65, 102; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 291.





<sup>1012</sup> CT VII, 396- 410; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 494; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 154 f; id., *AEBD*, 101.

<sup>1013</sup> Milde, *Neferenpet*, 152-155.

<sup>1014</sup> Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 102; Haekal, in: *ASAE* 63, 64.

<sup>1015</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 121; Müller, in: *JEA* 58, 102 f.; Willems, *Coffin of Hegata*, 157, n. 775.

various divinities. For example, the lashings of the bark are the hands of Isis and the fingers of Nephthys,<sup>1016</sup> the oars are the hand of Mafdet which saves the *jb.t*-net from the rage of those who eat the Great Ones,<sup>1017</sup> and the oar-loops of the bark are the hands of the goddess Repet.<sup>1018</sup> The deceased must know all the divine names of the parts of the bark as well as the names of the whole bark in order to transform himself into a ferryman and reach the field of Rushes. Worth mentioning, in the same passage, the name of the front sterns of the bark is “Reeds” which is in the field of the god.

In Doc. 41, the name of the bark is  the “Buttock of Isis which Re cut off with a knife.” The sign  is the hinder quarters of a lion, therefore is spelled with this sign, with no variation, and it is used in relatively restricted ways.<sup>1019</sup> But why this part of Isis’s body, especially such an essential one, be used as a bark of the sun god? In Pyr. § 1313, the buttocks of the deceased are the day bark and the night bark. Here, the buttock was determined in the form of the hieroglyph , which was one of the philological forms of the sign *hk3*, usually read *ph* or *ph.ty* “might,” it may be concerned with ideas of magical power giving might or strength.<sup>1020</sup> Thus, it is not for nothing that Isis was considered as *wr.t hk3w* the “Greatest of magic.” So, the term “magic” is an abstract and masculine form of the magic power of Isis, and the hieroglyph  would connect both. Therefore, because of the latent power of this part of the body, Re uses it as a vehicle for the ascension.<sup>1021</sup> Isis’s cutting of the leg and the hind parts is either to use them as bark or to be understood as the role of Isis to bring her leg for the god to use as a bark.<sup>1022</sup>

As a celestial god, Re does not allow the king to stay in the realm of Osiris, the earthly equivalent of the Duat. Thus, in every place the deceased goes, Re will give him a hand, whether he travels to the west or to the east.<sup>1023</sup> Atum also take hold of the hand of the deceased, who is ready to be one of the Imperishable Stars.<sup>1024</sup> Even in the fields of Rushes,<sup>1025</sup> Re and his crew of gods give a helping hand to the deceased to go aboard the bark, open the doors of the Duat, and navigate in the *sb.t*-fields of Re.<sup>1026</sup> As in various positions of the PT,<sup>1027</sup> Re holds the deceased’s hand, Atum lifts his head. Isis and Nephthys act as sailors in the solar bark where they grasp the ropes of both sterns of the *hnbw*-bark (Doc. 16).<sup>1028</sup> In a spell to cause a woman to be a spirit in the sky, with great protection, the deceased asserts authoritatively that he is Re and he owns Hu in his hands. By means of having Hu,

<sup>1016</sup> CT VI 39a-b.

<sup>1017</sup> CT VI, 39i-j.

<sup>1018</sup> CT V, 74y.

<sup>1019</sup> Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 361.

<sup>1020</sup> Cf. Münster, *Isis*, 99.

<sup>1021</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 207; Westendorf, in: *Fs Emma Brunner-Traut*, 355-356.

<sup>1022</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 99.

<sup>1023</sup> Pyr. § 608a-c. See also Doc. 10 where Re give a hand to the deceased to set him on the throne of Osiris.

<sup>1024</sup> Pyr. § 996c-997a-c.

<sup>1025</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 211.

<sup>1026</sup> The field of Rushes here seems to be located in heaven at the point where the underworld is separated from the beginning of heaven. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* III, 666.

<sup>1027</sup> Pyr. §§ 275e, 531a, 608a-c, 1347a, 1471c.

<sup>1028</sup> One of the names of the night bark of the sun. *Wb* III, 113, 6- 8.

he will be able to go across the sky, take possession of the fields of offerings, and even prepare the provisions food for himself (Doc. 50).

After the deceased king reaches the *šb.t wr.t* of Re which is located in the eastern horizon of the sky,<sup>1029</sup> he eats from it in the presence and supervision of the god Hu (Doc. 14). Here, Hu is not the god of authoritative utterance, but his function is he who presides over food.<sup>1030</sup> One may assume that being supervising the food in the great field of Re gives Hu another function upon the solar bark, that he oversees the food supplies and offerings which represent the cargo of the solar bark. In Doc. 39, Hu provides what the deceased desires.<sup>1031</sup> when the deceased enters the realm of the dead, he comes as Neper, stands as Wepwawet, and he enters to the house of Hu to get what he requires.<sup>1032</sup> In Doc. 27, the deceased praises the gods who are responsible for supplies,<sup>1033</sup> Hu, Bah, Neper,<sup>1034</sup> and Sek, who make oblations to Re in the field of offerings. [Shu], Tefnut, and Wepwawet caused the deceased to be nourished in the field of offerings of Re. Hu is said to be in Mehet-weret, which indicates another function of Hu as the one who shows the dark paths (see also Doc. 48).<sup>1035</sup> Wepwawet is shown on the right of the deceased, to open the paths for him. In the field of offerings, the deceased is bathing and being purified, and then he dresses himself with the golden kilt.<sup>1036</sup> The wish for food offerings in the heavenly regions is very prominent in the CT, a method from which the deceased achieves his purpose of associating with celestial gods,<sup>1037</sup> the divine barks,<sup>1038</sup> and sitting on the thrones of sunshine.<sup>1039</sup>

In Doc. 51, the deceased wants to see his fields in the netherworld,<sup>1040</sup> therefore. Therefore, he directs “The Great Nehes” to look out in the cavern of Sokar. The preceding spell (886) begins with the words: *wn ʿ3.wy p.t n Rwtj* “The doors of the sky are opened for the double lion,”<sup>1041</sup> recalling the idea of the scene of the Land of Sokar in the lower register of the fifth hour of Amduat. The idea of the double lion here may be referring to Aker in his form of the double sphinx, represents the netherworld. His task is to guard the secret flesh, that is, the corpse of the sun god.<sup>1042</sup> The double lions could also

<sup>1029</sup> Altenmüller, in: SAK 32, 15, n. 16.

<sup>1030</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 194, n. 12.

<sup>1031</sup> CT IV, 144a-b; Faulkner, *AECTI*, 248, n. 1.

<sup>1032</sup> A group of spells are sent along with the dead. Neper is the corn god. Hu is the god of command, who is also related to food. This spell is akin to the spells for having the living subsistence of bread, bier, and water. CT V, 33d (Sp. 371); Moftah, *Bäume*, 214, n. 428; Zandee, *Death*, 72.

<sup>1033</sup> Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 93.

<sup>1034</sup> Neper, the grain god, “the most important aspect of which was the growing of new grain after the deed seeds had been planted (buried).” Klotz, *Adoration to the Ram*, 32. See Neper occupies the second bark of the second hour (3.2.1.2).

<sup>1035</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 375, 377, n. 3818. In BD 80: “I have seized Hu in the city (Abydos), where I found him, and I have conquered the darkness by my power.” Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 70.

<sup>1036</sup> Pyr. § 1415c-1416a; Naville, *Tb* 172, 31; Sethe, *Komm.* IV, 340 f.; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 40.

<sup>1037</sup> CT III, 64g.

<sup>1038</sup> Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 161.

<sup>1039</sup> CT III, 63d.

<sup>1040</sup> Cf. CT VII, 99h-i in the same spell, “A path to the field of [ ... ] is prepared for me.”

<sup>1041</sup> CT VII, 98q-r.

<sup>1042</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 103 f.

represent the idea of “yesterday” and “Tomorrow.” In the Amduat, they symbolize the continuity of time, yesterday and tomorrow blend into each other, guaranteeing this continuity.<sup>1043</sup>

It is generally assumed that the goal of the journey in the “Book of Two Ways” is the field of offerings. The importance of offerings, both for the gods and for the deceased himself, is repeatedly emphasized (Doc. 56).<sup>1044</sup>

### 2.3.6 Fighting enemies

Doc. 42 describes the expulsion of Apophis from the bark of Re. Apophis appears in his epithet of Imy-Nehed-ef. While he spreads terror in the vicinity of the sun god, the flame from the mouth of the sky (the solar bark) will get into the interior of the enemy’s cave, and the gods will fasten his shackles. This action of fettering occurs in the seventh hour of the Amduat after the magical power of Isis and the Eldest Magician paralyzes Apophis and deprives him of his “strength.” So that it makes it easy for the other deities involved there (Selket) to tie him to his tail and neck with ropes, and thereby render him utterly defenceless (Doc. 107). The passage refers to the deceased as being of *ꜥ3-br* “with many faces.” This ability gives the deceased power against his enemies. Here, it is said to fear the serpent addressed by the speaker.<sup>1045</sup> But one can assume that this is not fear, but rather the worry of confrontation, with evidence that the deceased had initially threatened his enemy and announced his sins against the sun god. Doc. 43 inserts Hathor’s multiple faces among the qualifications of the goddess in the solar bark.

The CT present the connection between Seth and Re in the Duat: Seth is the protection of Re,<sup>1046</sup> and he sails the bark of the sun god.<sup>1047</sup> CT 160 aims at going in and out of the eastern gates of the sky among the followers of Re.<sup>1048</sup> There, in the underworld Bakhu-mountain, Seth triumphs over its serpent, called “He who is in his burning,” denoting without stating the name of Apophis. The serpent tries to hamper the course of the solar bark and stops the journey by turning his eyes towards the sun god.<sup>1049</sup> A standstill comes about among the crew and a great bewilderment during the sailing, and because of that, Seth must defeat him (Doc. 26). In Seth’s magical utterance,<sup>1050</sup> with whom the deceased is identified in this text,<sup>1051</sup> he refers to himself as the one whose magic is great.<sup>1052</sup>

In BD 108, we have a more detailed description of Seth’s nightly victory over the enemy of the sun using his tangible and intangible powers. This passage, expressing the same idea found in Doc. 26,

<sup>1043</sup> Schweizer, *The sun god’s Journey*, 111-112.

<sup>1044</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 550.

<sup>1045</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 166.

<sup>1046</sup> CT VI, 269t.

<sup>1047</sup> CT VI, 271d.

<sup>1048</sup> CT III, 363a-b.

<sup>1049</sup> Zandee, *Death*, 134; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 208.

<sup>1050</sup> Compare Seth’s magic in Pyr. § 204a.

<sup>1051</sup> Doc. 58 offers a comparable situation. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the Eldest Magician in CT 1127 is a designation of Seth, whose role the deceased plays here. The deceased is not overtly mentioned here, but this can be simply due to the absence of reference to the speaker in the first person in the short text of CT 1127.

<sup>1052</sup> CT II, 383a. Cf. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 550.



describes Apophis's<sup>1053</sup> destruction by Seth: *rdj.br Swty w<sup>c</sup>r mt3 r=f n bj3 rdj.br=f bs=f<sup>c</sup> mt.n=f nb.t rdj.br sw Stb m drj=f dd.br=f m hk3w hm n bj3 jmy<sup>c</sup>=j ... wd3=j wd3=kwj jnk wr hk3w s3 Nw.t* “Then Seth is to fend him off with a lance of Metal, to force him to spew out all he swallowed. Then Seth is to set him in his grip, and he is to speak in magic: ‘Fall back before the sharp metal that is in my hand ... I am well, being well. I am the great in magic, son of Nut. My magic power is given to me against you.’”<sup>1054</sup> Apophis hypnotizes the crew and gulps the water of the solar bark, and only Seth can withstand him.<sup>1055</sup> Seth hurls a spear against him to disgorge the water he has swallowed. He seems to spell his magic, thus taking away his power. Therefore, perhaps he is the Eldest Magician who helped Isis paralyze Apophis and prevent him from drinking the solar bark's water in the seventh hour of the Amduat (Doc. 107).<sup>1056</sup>

Doc. 58 presents Seth as the opponent of Apophis.<sup>1057</sup> In this quality, he is invoked and adored. There, the Eldest Magician utters a magical incantation in order to divert Apophis's evil glance. The shortness of speech possibly indicates the efficiency of the magic and its quick effect. The seriousness of the situation imposes a powerful confrontation by means of word and action. This is represented by the Eldest Magician's compact and powerful words against the giant serpent. His magical spell is immediately followed by an order to the bowmen and spearmen to physically attack the body of the giant serpent. Thus, the greatest challenge that faces the crew of the solar bark here is the magical power of Apophis's eye. Therefore, the involvement of the Eldest Magician is required.<sup>1058</sup>

Although Doc. 60 poses an indirect presence of Apophis, the confrontation between the guards of Re and the dangerous serpent is implicitly understood. There, the protectors of the solar bark are referred to as *sgrw nšn* “Ones who silence the storm.” The storm is probably caused by Apophis in order to impede the journey of the solar bark. There are two crews accompanying the sun god in the solar bark: “Those who silence the storm” and the “entourage.” One group is busy calming the storm while the other taking care of the navigation.<sup>1059</sup> We see an additional crew of goddesses responsible for calming the weather in the middle register of the twelfth hour of the Amduat (Doc. 133).

There, the deceased navigates with the crew of the solar bark who provide him with the good deeds within the portals of the horizon and crossing the sky with Hu and Heka who are felling the “one of evil character for him.”<sup>1060</sup> According to Ritner, *dw-qd* is to be equated with Apophis, the malicious enemy.<sup>1061</sup> Hu, together with Heka, is helping the “Lord of All” to appear unobstructed in the horizon and defeat Apophis. Rößler-Köhler reads *Hk3.w (smsw)* instead of *Hk3* „der (älteste) Zauberer.”<sup>1062</sup>

<sup>1053</sup> See uttering the name of Apophis in the last passage of the spell in Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 23 (5).

<sup>1054</sup> Sethe, in: ZÄS 59, 73-99; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 85 f.; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pls. 22 (7-10), 23 (1); Quirke, *Prt m hrv*, 238-239.

<sup>1055</sup> See Zandee, in: ZÄS 90, 151; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 138; Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis*, 125 f.; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 139, n. 7.

<sup>1056</sup> Cf. Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 177-178; Borghouts, in: JEA 59, 115.

<sup>1057</sup> Backes, *Zweigegebuch*, 420.

<sup>1058</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 550.

<sup>1059</sup> Lorton, in: SAK 20, 126, n. 6. Cf. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 566.

<sup>1060</sup> Otto, in: *Gs Otto*, 16.

<sup>1061</sup> Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 18, n. 76.

<sup>1062</sup> Rößler-Köhler, in: *Gs Merklein*, 129.

Apparently, her proposal is based on comparing the text here with the situation in Doc. 58 and the seventh hour of the Amduat. Earlier, Otto rejected the possibility that the restoration of the lacuna between the three strokes of Heka and the *br* sign in B6C might have accommodated the *smsw* sign.<sup>1063</sup> Ritner also criticizes this reading. He suggests that this name is not an epithet of Seth, and that it should be associated with Heka instead. He points out that “the magic-powers of Heka should be regarded as a reference to his primordial status as first-born son of Re-Atum.”<sup>1064</sup> But Ritner’s argument in rejecting this reading does not sufficiently investigate the earlier sources, such as the CT.<sup>1065</sup> As noted above, In Seth’s magical utterance, with whom the deceased is identified in Doc. 26, he refers to himself as the one whose magic is great. BD 108 offers a similar designation. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the “Eldest Magician” in Doc. 58 and 60 is an epithet of Seth. Furthermore, in Doc. 60, Sherbiny suggests “It is metaphorically said that only Hu and Heka are annihilating Apophis. This does not mean that only two divine beings are fighting the enemy of the solar bark. Hu represents the magical power of the word and Heka suggests a physical act.” One would accept this interpretation because as he said both of them belong to the magical realm, and this is actually what is happening in Doc. 58. Apophis is being attacked by both the magical spell of the Eldest Magician and the weapons of both bowmen and spearmen.<sup>1066</sup> Sherbiny added: “Although Hu and Heka receive a divine determinative each, this appears just as a general term for two magical powers that will defend the sun god and his vessel during the ferry crossing.”<sup>1067</sup> But many evidences from the Netherworld Books weakens this assumption where the texts present particular deities to carry out this situation.

The confrontation between the sun god and his enemy is like an act of jurisdiction. Re travels through the sky “justified.” Apophis therefore not only embodies cosmic opposition to light and free of movement, but also the principal of evil that should be removed.<sup>1068</sup> “At the moment of creation, Maat placed the Isfet on the island of fire. It is a matter related to the sun, its rise, and its victory over the enemies. It is by the virtue of this that the deceased gains the privilege of being revived in the isle of fire with the sun god, and triumphally sailing in his bark into the new dawn.”<sup>1069</sup> I.e., Maat which as a result of this victory travels around the solar bark (Doc. 55), and in the horizon (Doc. 52).

Many passages in the Book of the Two Ways illustrate the role of the deceased in fighting the bark’s enemies. On the celestial roads, the deceased receives his throne aboard the solar bark. Then he will act as a pilot and a guide to Re, and opposed Apophis, who came to obstruct the bark. Also, he knows the names of the sun’s hostile beings,<sup>1070</sup> so they will not be able to attack the bark (Doc 56). According to Sherbiny, “The identity of this group of beings is not clear from the text. He thinks that the plural pronoun refers here to the gatekeepers whom we are going to meet immediately after this text in the composition, i.e., CT 1100-1114. Indeed, the solar bark is to pass by these gates in the darkness before

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<sup>1063</sup> Otto, in: *Gs Otto*, 10, n. 21.

<sup>1064</sup> Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 18-19.

<sup>1065</sup> Cf. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 549.

<sup>1066</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 549.

<sup>1067</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 549.

<sup>1068</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 77.

<sup>1069</sup> Smith, in: BACE 5, 70.

<sup>1070</sup> Faulkner, *AECT III*, 156, n. 33.

dawn. No wonder that the reference to these celestial gatekeepers comes at the end of this long spell.” Although it is reasonable to consider the gatekeepers as dangerous beings who shall attack the solar bark and its occupants, and their names indicate their hostile intention, they did not feud the sun god or his crew. On the contrary, in the following spell (CT 1100), the name of the gatekeeper is “He who stretches out the bow-warp.”<sup>1071</sup>

As an heir of the sun god, the deceased is entitled to the privileges of his father. Therefore, he holds the epithet “Lord of Sia.” By getting the qualities of Sia, the deceased will be able to repel Apophis, the archetypal enemy of the solar bark, forging a path for himself and allowing him to row in the solar bark. There, the deceased is profiled as the son and heir of the sun god.<sup>1072</sup> He is also versed in magical practises for he has already treated the wounds of Re, by spitting on them (Doc. 53). Here, the deceased states that he has performed a kind of execration rite on Apophis subduing him and defeating him for the sake of the sun god. This is then expressed by capturing Apophis and spitting upon the wounds inflicted on him by the deceased or the sun god in an earlier phase of their combat.<sup>1073</sup> Note that the act of spitting on Apophis could also be illustrated in the Amduat in the form of pouring water (See p. 141).

Here, the deceased is asked to proceed and to row the bark and is called “Lord of Sia.” This fits well his role as a creator god. Such attributes of the deceased in the role of the creator god are elaborated upon in Doc. 60 as the “Lord of All.” The upshot of the preceding discussion is that CT 1130 is a passage utterance that enables the deceased to obtain the necessary knowledge and qualities that will allow him to pass by a group of liminal beings on the one hand, and to fulfill part of a certain ritual by acquiring the identity of the sun god and his divine abilities on the other.<sup>1074</sup>

The accounts of the battle against Apophis, for which the evidence is relatively scarce in the Coffins Texts, starts with the image in B1C (fig. 2).<sup>1075</sup> Next to a depiction of the solar bark, it indicates that killing Apophis has been assigned to the four sons of Horus (Doc. 57). The image shows them attacking the serpent with lances and arrows. This would be an early conception of the struggle against Apophis.<sup>1076</sup> It is tempting to see here an early reference to the passage of the sun god through the vertebrae of Apophis by cutting it, which is known from sources from the New Kingdom and later.<sup>1077</sup> The closest parallel is in the seventh hour of the Amduat, where the massacre of Apophis took place. The vignette accompanying the spell shows the solar bark on a sledge that the sun-folk drag, who is identified as its crew. B1C still preserves the representation of this part.<sup>1078</sup> Doc. 58 probably describes the image of B1C since it briefly describes the attack of the bowmen and the spearmen to the body of the huge serpent. The bark, the sledge, and the borders surrounding its compartment are all of fiery nature. This gives additional protection to the sun god and his bark. This also indicates the kind of

<sup>1071</sup> CT VII, 416a. Cf. *dwn mꜣ.t* “He who stretches the rope.” Hornung, *TꜣA II*, 367.

<sup>1072</sup> CT VII, 274c.

<sup>1073</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 167.

<sup>1074</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 580.

<sup>1075</sup> CT VII, pl. I, no. 97.

<sup>1076</sup> Gutbub, *Hommages Sauneron I*, 419; Zandee, in: *ZÄS* 90, 151f; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 166; Backes, *Zweiwegebuch*, 420; Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 224 f., pl. 19.

<sup>1077</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 307 f.

<sup>1078</sup> Lesko, in: *JAOS* 91, 41; id., *Book of Two Ways*, 127.

protection the solar bark is receiving against the threats of Apophis.<sup>1079</sup> We have already encountered the reference to the fire surrounding Re protecting his bark from the storms of Apophis in Doc. 59. The existence of spearmen and archers occurs in the middle register of the tenth hour of the Amduat. The text clearly states that these figures always accompany the sun god and enter the action, especially when crossing to the eastern horizon. The function of those twelve gods is to protect the sun god against his enemies in general and Apophis in particular.<sup>1080</sup> It is clear from the text that, in the end, Apophis is not destroyed, but he was disbanded (*sbw*) as in CT VII, 457k. So, these fighters should always be ready for his reappearance, with the idea of the invisibility of Apophis coming from the prevailing darkness, which can only be perceived by his roar, already mentioned in the section concerning Thoth (CT VII, 376a).

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<sup>1079</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 557.

<sup>1080</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 730 f.

### 3. The crew of the solar bark in the Amduat

#### Introduction

The solar bark is the mode of transport for the sun god in the netherworld.<sup>1081</sup> It plays a central role in actions associated with the solar journey, is featured in the middle register of all hours of the night in the Book of the Amduat, accompanied by a crew of gods striving to secure the protection, regeneration, and rebirth of the sun god.<sup>1082</sup> The Amduat regularly lists eight deities in human form as the solar bark crew, but this number of deities can increase or decrease in specific hours. The typical crew consists of Wepwawet, Sia, Nebetwia, *Imf-Re*, Horhekenu, Ka-Maat, Nehes, Hu, and Kherepwia. In the second hour, Isis and Nephthys are added in the form of two serpents (fig. 14, 15). In the seventh hour, Nebetwia “Mistress of the Bark,” and Wepwawet “Opener of the ways,” are replaced by Isis and *Hk3.w-smsw* the “Eldest Magician” (fig. 62, 63), as the sun god requires the help of sorcerer deities in this hour to ward off the attack by Apophis. In the eleventh hour, a sun disc called *psd.t dw3.t* “Shining One of the Netherworld” occupies the solar bark and guides the sun god towards the end of the netherworld (fig. 84, 85), and the crew of the twelfth hour has a scarab at the prow (fig. 89). In the fourth and fifth hours, the bark’s body is converted into a serpent (fig. 43, 49), which acts as a helmsman and guides the sun god by spitting flames (Doc. 85).<sup>1083</sup>

#### 3.1 The first hour: entry to the west

After entering the western gate of the horizon, the sun god does not immediately enter the actual underworld but first crosses through an intermediate realm before reaching the underworld. This intermediate realm is the area of the first hour of the night.<sup>1084</sup> The inhabitants of this first area stand on the two banks of the underworld’s stream upon which the bark glides, acclaim the sun god, and receive his instructions.<sup>1085</sup> The Amduat depicts the solar bark in the respective middle registers of the areas for the twelve hours and shows it travelling there in a straight line from the west to the eastern horizon. However, the sun god consequently first visits the upper register, then that of the middle, and finally that of the lower register. His speech to the first-hour inhabitants indicates that these divinities’ positions are around the solar bark.<sup>1086</sup> This communication aims to remind those inhabitants that their function is to protect the sun god’s corpse, illuminate the darkness, and help him reach the eastern horizon.<sup>1087</sup>

##### 3.1.1 Twelfth hour goddesses in the upper register of the first hour

The upper register closes with the twelve hours of the night, personified as goddesses without attributes (fig. 8). The text describes them as “the goddesses who guide the great god” (Doc. 74). The same passage in the sarcophagus of Usermaatre provides a different lexicographical description for

<sup>1081</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 11.

<sup>1082</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 20-22; Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 51; Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 18.

<sup>1083</sup> The standard shape of the bark is that of a normal papyrus bark in the front and at the stern, with the solar mat only seen in the first hour, see 1.3.

<sup>1084</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 40.

<sup>1085</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 40.

<sup>1086</sup> Barta, in: GM 100, 7-14.

<sup>1087</sup> For the purpose of the sun god’s dialogue, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 208.

the hour goddesses (Doc. 75). Although the Late Period version differs from the goddesses' description in the New Kingdom versions, its meaning is parallel to that of the earliest text. The verb *mꜣꜥ* has the added nuance “to lead properly,” which means it is not synonymous with *šꜣm*, as Manassa has suggested.<sup>1088</sup> Thus, the presence of the verb *mꜣꜥ* in the Late Period sarcophagi is further influenced by the two Maat goddesses in the middle register of the first hour (Doc. 76).<sup>1089</sup> While two Maat-goddesses haul the solar bark in the middle register, the Late Period sarcophagi text seems, like the New Kingdom versions, to refer to the twelve goddesses' activity regarding the procession of the nightly journey. The Egyptians might have seen little distinction between the two functions (leading and guiding) since the goddess Maat's name probably derives from the verb *mꜣꜥ*, “to lead.”<sup>1090</sup>

The names of the twelve goddesses indicate that they are personifications of the hours of the Amduat, the goddesses responsible for guiding the sun god in their own space and time dominion.<sup>1091</sup> For example, the name of the first goddess of this group is identical to the name of the first hour, which is “She Who Smashes the Foreheads (and Hearts)<sup>1092</sup> of the Enemies of Re.” She accompanies Re from the beginning to the end of the area of this hour, guides him through this gateway, and ensures the destruction of the enemies of the sun god.<sup>1093</sup>

The text gives the name of the relevant goddess in the introduction to the area of each hour, although, at first glance, her representation does not appear to have a fixed place in each hour.<sup>1094</sup> The text confirms that all the hour goddesses constantly accompany the sun god during the entire course of the nocturnal journey (Doc. 75). Their names allude to their hours' nature and corresponding functions concerning the sun's course. Thus, every hour goddess accompanies the sun god in order to guide him in her respective area (Doc. 77).<sup>1095</sup>

Two scenes from the Amduat support the interpretation that the hour goddesses accompany the sun god throughout the entire journey. In the lower register of the seventh hour, “Horus of the Duat” can be seen seated on a throne, with the sun disk on his head. Directly before him are twelve star gods and twelve hour goddesses (fig. 66, 67). There, the twelfth hour goddesses protect Re, fight on his behalf, and guide him to the eastern horizon (Doc. 110). Furthermore, in the middle register of the twelfth hour, the solar bark is towed by twelve gods and thirteen goddesses. The presence of thirteen goddesses also refers to the hour goddesses, their tasks, and their functions.<sup>1096</sup> In summary, the twelfth hour goddesses who embody the complete journey of the Amduat are similar to the presence of Khepri in the second half of the first hour's middle register, foretelling the emergence of the scarab

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<sup>1088</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 200, cf. Assmann, *Ma'at*, 163.

<sup>1089</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 200.

<sup>1090</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 200, no. 42 and references cited therein.

<sup>1091</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 200, cf. Hornung, *TꜣA I*, 123-126.

<sup>1092</sup> Only in Thutmosis III and (User?).

<sup>1093</sup> Hornung, *TꜣA I*, 172-173. The function of each goddess will be explained in detail in the part dedicated to her hour.

<sup>1094</sup> Hoffmann, in: *ZÄS* 123, 37.

<sup>1095</sup> Cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 145.

<sup>1096</sup> For more details, see 3.12.1-4.

at the eastern horizon. Hornung thinks that the hour goddesses are summarized in the figure of Hathor in the solar bark, this being another aspect of the multi-faceted goddess (Doc. 43).<sup>1097</sup>

### 3.1.2 Two barks in the double middle register of the first hour

Each sub-register starts with a representation of a sailboat. The bark in the upper register carries *juw*-*R<sup>c</sup>*, the “Flesh of Re,” and his crew (fig. 9),<sup>1098</sup> while in the lower register, another bark floats. The first hour’s dual barks follow the tradition of the division of solar movements between the night bark and the day bark.<sup>1099</sup> Such a practice appears in the PT, and the convoy of two barks is depicted in some Old Kingdom private tombs.<sup>1100</sup> The bark of Khepri (*wj3 Hpr*),<sup>1101</sup> as it is called in the texts, shows the scarab beetle in the middle, adored by two kneeling figures of *Wsjr* “Osiris” (fig. 6).<sup>1102</sup> This unique attestation of the two barks raises an important question: is it the bark of Re in his manifestation of Khepri, or does it belong to Osiris? The first declaration of the night bark’s destination was during the conjunction of the sun’s *Ba* with its corpse when the sun god spoke of this event: *jj.n=j 3 r m33 h3.t=j sjp=j ssm.w=j r dw3.t* “I have come here to see my corpse and inspect my image, which is in the netherworld.”<sup>1103</sup> *Litany of Re* 771 determines this encounter as a mutual journey of Re and Osiris: *R<sup>c</sup> pw htp m Wsjr ts-phr*, “It is Re who rests in Osiris, and vice versa.”<sup>1104</sup> Moreover, the scene of the united Re-Osiris in the tomb of Nefertari shows Osiris as a mummified ram-headed god.<sup>1105</sup> Thus, the presence of the two barks in the first hour indicates a mutual journey of Re and Osiris.

Hornung interprets that Osiris’s accompanying Re means that the subterranean embodiment of the sun worships its rejuvenated one. He bases his assumption on a scene that shows the enthroned sun god being adored by two figures making gestures of prayer, and each with the sign of a *beetle* above his head (fig. 10).<sup>1106</sup> The scarab, into which the sun god transforms in the morning, apparently accompanies him throughout the whole journey in the underworld.<sup>1107</sup>

Wiebach-Koepke tackles this issue in her treatment of the phenomenology of the two barks simultaneous’ presence, because Khepri should not appear, according to the typical pattern of the solar cycle, in the west. She comes to the conclusion that Khepri can be found in almost every hour of the Amduat, which would confirm Hornung’s conjecture, but the unique synchronous representation of

<sup>1097</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 20-21, cf. Allam, *Hathorkult*, 113 ff. It is noteworthy that the two barks of Re and Khepri were mentioned in the event of Doc. 43.

<sup>1098</sup> See Hornung, *TZA* I, 129-130.

<sup>1099</sup> For this event, see Grapow and Schäfer, in: ZÄS 73, 97-102, Taf. X; Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, 1-3, pl. 1; Roulin, *LdN* I, 351.

<sup>1100</sup> Altenmüller, in: SAK 32, 12, 30.

<sup>1101</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 21 (1); Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 52.

<sup>1102</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 65; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 158. For more information on reading the name *Wsjr* as *ws.t-jr.t*, see Fecht, *Wortakzent*, § 108; Altenmüller, in: *FS Rolf Gundlach*, 9-10, cf. Budka, in: *Kemet* 2, 10.

<sup>1103</sup> Hornung, *TZA* I, 332-333.

<sup>1104</sup> For the conjunction and opposition of the *Ba* and the corpse in netherworld, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 190-195.

<sup>1105</sup> Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, 60.

<sup>1106</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 11, scene 2.

<sup>1107</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 25 f.

the first hour nevertheless has value which goes beyond Hornung's theory.<sup>1108</sup> She has no suggestions to offer here. However, in her other book, *Sonnenlauf*, she adds that the night bark *mskt.t* appears in the upper half of the middle register, and the text mentions it during the event of its being hauled by the two Maats (Doc. 76), therefore, the bark of Khepri must then be the day bark. Also, the two Osiris figures worshipping the scarab in his bark likely do not belong to the daytime.<sup>1109</sup>

Conversely, Manassa suggests that the Osiris figures adoring the scarab praise the hypostasis of Osiris himself. Although Osiris does not frequently manifest as a scarab, many parallels to the image in the first hour of Amduat appear in the Third Intermediate Period, where two baboons praise a scarab enclosed by a sun disk. The image is labeled as *dw3 ntr 3 Wsjr hnty-jmnt.t sty.t* "Adoring the great god, Osiris, foremost of the west and the underworld" (fig. 11).<sup>1110</sup> The identical layout of the scenes and other instances where Osiris appears as a scarab suggest that the scarab in the first hour of Amduat also represents Osiris.<sup>1111</sup>

The scarab is a hypostasis of Osiris, just as it is of Re, who can transform himself into the netherworldly baboon to praise himself as he traverses the underworld.<sup>1112</sup> Furthermore, as a master of the Duat, Osiris may accompany Re on his journey into the eastern gateway. However, this theory is uncertain for many reasons. Firstly, in front of the *mskt.t*-Bark of the upper register, Osiris appears as the "Lord of the West" in his usual form with a mummified body and the Upper Egyptian white crown.<sup>1113</sup> In front of the primary bark, there are four human-headed stelae in the same register representing the sun god's four manifestations (Re, Atum, Khepri, and Osiris as the night sun).<sup>1114</sup> The existence of Osiris alongside the sun's three hypostases emphasizes the netherworld form of the sun god and creates a celestial pair of the day (Re and Khepri) and one of the night (Atum and Osiris).<sup>1115</sup> This refers to Osiris's pre-existence in the netherworld and is not an indication of his entry into this realm with Re.

Also, the events in the lower register of the twelfth hour explain the fate of Osiris with him remaining behind in the underground realm of the Duat while the sun god navigates his bark into the eastern horizon.<sup>1116</sup> Thus, the residence of Osiris is the netherworld, and he does not leave to reach the eastern horizon. Therefore, it is not possible for him to enter the Duat with the sun god from the western gate.

Minas-Nerpel clarifies that the presence of two manifestations of the sun in the second bark would be too complicated. The scarab of the first hour of the night represents the ability of permanent regeneration, less so than the morning form of the sun. Minas-Nerpel supports her assumption by

<sup>1108</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 186 f.

<sup>1109</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 64.

<sup>1110</sup> Stadler, in: ZÄS 128, 79, Taf. XVIII.

<sup>1111</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 203. For relevant sources on scarab manifestations representing Osiris, see Stadler, in: ZÄS 128, 71-83.

<sup>1112</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 86-88.



<sup>1113</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, no. 54.

<sup>1114</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 157.

<sup>1115</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 160.

<sup>1116</sup> See Re and Osiris and the imperative of separation in 3.12.7.



referring to the name of Khepri. The name is written phonetically  without the determinative of a beetle,<sup>1117</sup> except for in the list of Thutmosis III, where the bark of Khepri is written  (fig. 12).<sup>1118</sup> Nevertheless, the sun god's nocturnal form and his rejuvenated morning form are brought together, stressing the final objective of his nocturnal path through the Duat, which ends with his rebirth in the morning, and emphasizing that the aim of the journey will be achieved.<sup>1119</sup> Furthermore, those two figures of Osiris in the second bark are not supposed to worship Khepri in the form of Osiris, as in Manassa's theory, and they should not worship anything but a personification of the ability to be reborn, as Minas-Nerpel suggests.

Furthermore, the second bark of the first hour likely belongs to Khepri as mentioned in the concluding text of the same hour, in which the text refers to Re as the one who traverses the hour to rest in the bark of Khepri (Doc. 77).<sup>1120</sup> A similar text is Pyr. § 366b-c: *j.p3j=f m 3pd hnn=f m hpr m ns.t šw.t jmy.t wj3=k R<sup>c</sup>*, “He flies like a bird, alight as a beetle in the empty throne amid your bark, Re.” According to this text, the deceased king occupies the bark of the sun god as Khepri. The entire spell shows the process of ascending to the sky after death.<sup>1121</sup> However, the PT, unlike the Amduat, deal with the presence of Khepri in the solar bark as a designation of the sun god as he comes into being.<sup>1122</sup> It confirms the idea of Re/the deceased reaching the destination as a manifestation of Khepri. Finally, the second and third hours show that Re passes through the underworld in several barks with his many-faceted character (see, e.g., the fourth bark of the middle register of the second hour, where Khepri rests at the prow of the bark (fig. 24, 25). This matter may explain the presence of Khepri's bark in the west. Also, Khepri may be the shining sun god who determines the sun's appearance in the night sky, which may relate to the lunar appearance by night.

Furthermore, Khepri occupies the prow of the solar bark in the twelfth hour (fig. 89). The text shows that the sun god appears on his bark in his manifestation of Khepri (Doc. 131). This addition of Khepri at the prow makes him one of the solar bark's crew and the sun god's permanent companion. In summary, the Amduat brings together the two aspects of the sun god, *jmf* who represents “the old sun” and Khepri, “the newborn sun in almost every hour of the night. I.e., what is expressed in the presence of the two barks in the first hour relating to the day and night cycle is “a concept of periodicity and perpetuity characterizing the Egyptian concept of cosmic time as eternal movement circling within itself.”<sup>1123</sup>

### 3.1.3 Maat hauls the solar bark

Although no deities are shown hauling anything in the first hour, the *st3* “hauling” of the solar bark can be assumed here, as Doc. 76 shows. Preceding the primary bark, a procession of deities is visible, starting with two representations of Maat (fig. 9), the personified order of the world which extends

<sup>1117</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 136-137.

<sup>1118</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 159.

<sup>1119</sup> See also Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 45.

<sup>1120</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 52; Hornung, *TZA I*, 164-165.

<sup>1121</sup> Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 52.

<sup>1122</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 63, no. 1.

<sup>1123</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 72.

beyond death and guides the sun god through the netherworld. Her attribute is an ostrich feather on her head, and the duplicated form signifies totality, as in the “Hall of Double Maat,” where the judgement of the dead takes place.<sup>1124</sup> Their presence here in the Duat indicates that the deceased remains safe within the frame of the world of creation. In the decoration of the royal tombs since Horemheb, she is shown approaching the dead king in the entrance to his coffin chamber, later at the beginning of the tomb. There, too, she appears in a doubled form, signs of her omnipresence in this world and the hereafter.<sup>1125</sup> Moreover, the Maat goddesses who lead Re along the paths of the netherworld are simultaneously the two feathers adorning the solar crown, the two eyes illumining the dark ways ahead,<sup>1126</sup> or even the two barks in which the sun god travels.<sup>1127</sup> Like the other divinities in the first hour of the Amduat, the presence of the two goddesses hints at Re’s eventual triumph in the eastern horizon.<sup>1128</sup> They embark on the solar vessels and lead the sun god in the region of the first hour until he proceeds to the fields of Wernes (Doc. 76). They are also the two daughters who tow the sun god through the netherworld’s dark roads (Doc. 77).<sup>1129</sup> In the concluding text of the third hour, the annotation reads: “Your two Maat-goddesses guide you on the way of darkness” (Doc. 83). According to the text, the two Maat goddesses belong to the sun god’s crew and his closest entourage.<sup>1130</sup> Their presence within the first hour precludes their loyally accompanying Re during his entire nightly journey through the Amduat.<sup>1131</sup> Furthermore, this scene is accurately mentioned in a description of the solar cycle from the pronaos of Edfu: “The two Maat’s receive the tow rope, the jackals haul Re, put (him) upside down while carrying the bark to illuminate the Imhet; the westerners rejoice when they taste the illuminations.”<sup>1132</sup>

### 3.2 Second Hour: in the fields of the gods, beginning of the Duat

The sun god and his crew have reached the gate of the second hour. They enter the truly fertile region of Wernes, where the waterways of Nun surround the entire area.<sup>1133</sup> The barks represent the distribution of land plots and the provisioning of the netherworld inhabitants,<sup>1134</sup> for which the grain god and the two ears of corn in the second bark are a good example. Particularly interesting is the mention of two barks (*wj3-t3* and *t3-twbj*) directly at the beginning of the second hour, both of which are identified with the sun god (see below).<sup>1135</sup> Here, the text confirms that the second hour’s region is the beginning of the Duat, where the sun god enters the “Bark of the Earth” and receives the prow

<sup>1124</sup> Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, 63-67; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 25.

<sup>1125</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 24.

<sup>1126</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 193-94.

<sup>1127</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 169-85.

<sup>1128</sup> Assmann, *Ma’at*, 174-99; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 202.

<sup>1129</sup> The “two daughters” reappear in the upper register of the twelfth hour, where they participate in raising the sun god and receiving him in the eastern horizon (Doc. 130).

<sup>1130</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 24. For the roles of Maat in the solar cycle, see Assmann, *Ma’at*, 178-195.

<sup>1131</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 202.

<sup>1132</sup> Chassinat, *Edfou III*, 207, 7-8; Barguet, in: RdE 29, 14-20, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, 86. For Maat and her other functions with the sun god, see 1.4.2.9.

<sup>1133</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 41; id., *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 46; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 52.

<sup>1134</sup> Cf. Binder, in: BACE 6, 13.

<sup>1135</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 45, nos. 18, 19; Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 178.

rope of the Tawebi-Bark (Doc. 78). The text states that the barks bear Osiris's body, a kind of encouragement for the netherworld inhabitants to feel safe as Re himself protects the body of Osiris. Then, the sun god mentions the benefit of knowledge and that everyone who knows this will be able to open the earth and sail in the barks of the gods (Doc. 79).

### 3.2.1 Five barks in the middle register of the second hour

In the second and third hours, the solar bark is accompanied by other barks that are not depicted again in the later hours. In front of, but in reality, following the main bark, are four other barks carrying deities and symbolic signs.<sup>1136</sup> The barks represent the freedom of movement in the area and the ample provisioning for the deities of the netherworld.<sup>1137</sup> In the second hour, the sun god gets four major wishes fulfilled that are of great importance to the inhabitants of the netherworld: to have power, to share in the blessings of the gods (plowing and reaping), to be provided with food and water, and to participate in the continuity of life. These four wishes are illustrated by the four barks we see depicted before the solar bark (fig. 13), though they are, of course, in the sun god's entourage.<sup>1138</sup>

#### 3.2.1.1 The main solar bark

The register starts again with the bark of Re showing, in addition to the usual crew, Isis and Nephthys as serpents at the prow.<sup>1139</sup> Isis and Nephthys are thought of as (fire-breathing) serpents in the Amduat. They are depicted twice as serpents, the first instance is here, and the second is in the middle register of the eleventh hour (fig. 87). Isis' function as the serpent of the sun god is known from earlier sources.<sup>1140</sup> This aspect refers to her engagement in the battle against Apophis. However, in the Amduat's seventh hour, Isis is depicted fully anthropomorphically subduing the sun's enemy (fig. 59, 61-64). In a hymn from her temple at Philae, Isis destroys the enemy, acting as the sun god's fiery uraeus.<sup>1141</sup> The prow and the stern end in papyrus umbels. The matting from the first hour has disappeared (fig. 14). With the exception of User, all versions represent Horhekenu with raised hands. Thutmose III (fig. 15) and Amenhotep II (fig. 16) omit most names, and Tutankhamun has only the sun god's inscription.<sup>1142</sup> According to Hegenbarth-Reichardt, the meaning of following barks in the middle register of the second hour can only be clarified in connection with the texts of the entire second hour. She observes that the last two barks are closely connected to the sun god.<sup>1143</sup>

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<sup>1136</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 58.

<sup>1137</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 13.

<sup>1138</sup> Schweizer, *Seelenführer*, 63.

<sup>1139</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 19 ff.; id., *TZA I*, 201-202; Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 169, no. 1. In the New Kingdom and Late Period, the ropes attached to the front stern sometimes take the form of serpents. Hassan, *Giza VI*, 1, 112, fig. 38a.

<sup>1140</sup> For this aspect of Isis in the Middle and New Kingdom, see Münster, *Isis*, 106-109.

<sup>1141</sup> Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis*, 73. For Isis, the fire-serpent goddess, who defeats both Apophis and Seth, see *ibid.*, 74-75.

<sup>1142</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 50.



<sup>1143</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 169. The king appears with one of the barks in the tomb of Ramesses IX, in the second hour, middle register, see Abitz, in: Reeves, ed., *After Tut'ankhamun*, 170.



identified as *dp Wsjr*, the “head of Osiris,” and the crocodile itself is the guardian of the image/flesh of Osiris (Doc. 111).<sup>1155</sup> Here, the name of the crocodile indicates its role of guiding: *šsm.w-jmy.w=f* “One Who Guides Those Who Are in It.”<sup>1156</sup>

### 3.2.1.4 The fourth bark

In Thutmose III, Seti I, and Ramesses VI (User is destroyed), the name of the bark is *rmn(j)w wrns*, “carried by Wernes,”<sup>1157</sup> and in Thutmose III catalog, it may be called *jrj-Ḥpr*, “which belongs to Khepri.”<sup>1158</sup> In the early versions (Thutmose III, Amenhotep II), the stern ends in the head of a god with two long feathers, while the bow has no special features (fig. 23). In Amenhotep II, the upper parts of the two goddesses’ bodies are missing (fig. 24). Since Seti I, the head of a god with a high feather crown forms the prow and the bark’s stern (fig. 25). In this bark, a large symbol of the goddess Hathor is flanked by two goddesses, probably Isis and Nephthys,<sup>1159</sup> all three of which symbolize caring for Khepri, the manifestation of the sun god shown at the prow,<sup>1160</sup> but there are no name labels for these figures.<sup>1161</sup>

Khepri is mentioned several times in the closing text of the second hour, and a scarab beetle appears only once in this hour at the prow of the third additional bark (fig. 23, 24).<sup>1162</sup> In the final text of the hour, Khepri is identified with the sun god:<sup>1163</sup> “Come indeed, Re, that you [live]<sup>1164</sup> in your name, ‘living one,’ Khepri, Foremost of the Duat.”<sup>1165</sup> In almost all cases, Khepri is written with the logogram , in Ramesses IX, , “the originator,” it is used as a participle, but since Khepri is described as the “Foremost of the Duat” during the events of this hour, it is most logical to understand him as a manifestation of Re.<sup>1166</sup> Hathor represents the abundance of life, and Khepri is the image of continuity and regeneration. With its creative power of rebirth, the scarab is very suitable to be a companion for Hathor.<sup>1167</sup>

For the fourth bark, Barta assumes that the presentation of Khepri at the prow of the penultimate bark is a manifestation of the sun god.<sup>1168</sup> He even includes the middle register’s text in his explanation

<sup>1155</sup> In the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk, the crocodile may adopt the same function as the corpse of Osiris through which the sun is reborn, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 310, no. 146.

<sup>1156</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 203; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 26, 431. The name of the Bark is *wj3-hpty.w-ntr.w* “Bark that the Gods Row.”

<sup>1157</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 203; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 26, 434-436.

<sup>1158</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 204. This reading and assignment are not certain, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 26, no. 2.

<sup>1159</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 46.

<sup>1160</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 13.

<sup>1161</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 51.

<sup>1162</sup> Cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 220.

<sup>1163</sup> The Amduat shows the scarab in the twelfth hour - either before the oval end of the underworld (883.) or as a member of the crew in the solar bark (856.), see Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 51.

<sup>1164</sup> The verb *nh* is omitted in all versions and added by Hornung, and the epithet “living one” is fitting for the sun god with his steady regeneration, a quality for which Khepri is well known, see Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 57, 7; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 160. For the sun god as the “living one”, cf. *Wb I*, 201, 5.

<sup>1165</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 222, cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 49.



<sup>1166</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 161.

<sup>1167</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun God’s Journey*, 51-52.

<sup>1168</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 75.

and speaks of a connection of Osiris with the sun god when it mentions that the barks sailing in Wernes carry Osiris.<sup>1169</sup> However, he does not mention a direct relationship between the text of the middle register and the represented barks. However, according to his interpretation, the sun god is closely related to the bark of Khepri.<sup>1170</sup> One would attribute this bark to the sun god, although its name was once assigned to the fifth bark's moon sickle (see 3.3.1.5).

### 3.2.1.5 The fifth bark

In the early versions, the bark's stern has a god's head, without a feather crown (fig. 26), which again adorns the prow and the stern from Seti I (fig. 27). In the representation of this bark in Thutmosis III catalog, one finds the name of Khepri atop the bark (fig. 28). The spelling of the name of Khepri is .<sup>1171</sup> This could either be a designation of the bark as *jr(j)-Ḥp(rr)*, "which belongs to Khepri," or mean the scarab itself, referred to as Khepri. According to Hegenbarth-Reichardt, the reading of the name from left to right is reasonable as an alternative reading.<sup>1172</sup> Wiebach-Koepke interprets that the latter assumption is impossible since the catalogue inscriptions' reading direction goes from right to left. Moreover, the reed  would not have been written in reverse.<sup>1173</sup> Hornung refers to this name once as a name for the fourth bark<sup>1174</sup> and another time as representing the moon in the fifth bark.<sup>1175</sup> But in his commentary to the translation, he writes: "This fourth bark is certainly to be associated with *jrj-ḥp(rr)*,"<sup>1176</sup> although in some other copies, it is called *rmn.w-wrns* (see 3.2.1.4).

Wiebach-Koepke suggests that despite the depiction of a scarab on the bow of the fourth bark, the more probable alternative would be to connect the moon symbol with the designation of *jr(j) Ḥp(r)*.<sup>1177</sup> At this point, it becomes clear that the additional depiction of the fifth bark in the catalog of Thutmosis III and the complete representations of the five barks have caused some confusion. Hegenbarth, introduces an interesting interpretation, based on the concluding text of the second hour of the fourth and fifth barks as the right and left eye of the sun god, respectively, and therefore as sun and moon barks (see 3.2.1.6).

### 3.2.1.6 Symbolism of the fourth and fifth barks

The fourth and fifth barks have a common feature: they both carry symbolic objects (a Hathor sistrum and the moon as a sickle and disk), which accompany deities. Also, the barks are very similar in shape (see above). Thutmosis III catalog is unique in transferring Khepri from the penultimate bark to the last, who is depicted there as the only crew member of the fifth bark (fig. 28). This was why Hornung

<sup>1169</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 52.

<sup>1170</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 177.

<sup>1171</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 204.

<sup>1172</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 173, no. 3.

<sup>1173</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 48, no. 1.

<sup>1174</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, 32 (4e).

<sup>1175</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 204 (168).

<sup>1176</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 51.

<sup>1177</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 48, no. 2.

assigned the name *jrj Hpr* once to the fourth bark and another time to the moon in the fifth bark. Therefore, it can be assumed that a closer relationship links both barks.<sup>1178</sup>

The fifth bark carries a kneeling god called *rmnw m3̄.t*, “Who Carries Maat,”<sup>1179</sup> supporting a large ostrich feather Ꞗ (the symbol of Maat) and the symbols of the moon, sickle, and disk.<sup>1180</sup> He is most likely Thoth, who is associated with the moon,<sup>1181</sup> and he is also closely connected with Maat.<sup>1182</sup> The moon plays a role in the Netherworld Books, as he is supposed to represent the sun in the sky during the night, as a “representative” of the sun god.<sup>1183</sup> But through its regular dwindling and increasing, it has become a powerful symbol of regeneration and renewal for the Egyptians, a hopeful image for the dead, who want to “rejuvenate themselves as the moon does,” so that they do not miss the nightly journey.<sup>1184</sup>

The connection of Thoth and Re in regard to sailing the solar bark can be detected in older texts. In the Book of Two Ways (CT VII, 367a-368a): *dj jn.tw n=k N Dḥwtj N tn wn dw3̄.t R̄c st̄s N tn dp=k skdj N tn m wj3̄=k jr N tn w3̄.t=k m p.t* “Let N be brought to you, O Thoth. This N is the one who opens the Duat. O Re, This N raises your head that N may sail in your bark and that this N may make your way in the sky.”<sup>1185</sup> In CT VII, 372d, the text describes Thoth: *jnd-ḥr=k jmy šms.w R̄c* “Hail to you, Thoth, who are in the entourage of Re.”<sup>1186</sup>

Nevertheless, what is the connection between Thoth and Maat here? Maat is the *Udjat*-eye, which is offered to the sun god by Thoth as a symbol of integrity.<sup>1187</sup> In CT (Sp. 1089-1094), the text speaks of the “road of Thoth” that leads to the “house of Maat.”<sup>1188</sup> The text situates the ritualist among the offering-bearing retinue of Thoth, who is in the entourage of Re aboard the solar bark.<sup>1189</sup> He is carrying Maat to offer it to the sun god, described as the “one who crosses the lake.”<sup>1190</sup> This Maat offering is linked to bringing the bright *Udjat*-eye.<sup>1191</sup> These events in the moon’s mansion undoubtedly refer to the lunar connotation of the solar eye and the ferry crossing the night sky as the moon. Here, the main aim of carrying Maat is to get access to the sun god in his shrine on the bark and to become one of the Thoth’s entourage, who is already a member of the sun god’s crew.<sup>1192</sup> Barguet suggests that the solar bark of CT (Sp.) 1089 is in a hall in the mansion of the moon, which is synonymous with the “house of Maat.”<sup>1193</sup> Sherbiny interprets that the house of Maat and the house of Thoth are the same

<sup>1178</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 174.

<sup>1179</sup> Hornung, *TZA* I, 204.

<sup>1180</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 13-14. For the moon in general, see Derchain, *Mythes et dieux lunaires*, 17-68. For the moon disk and sickle, see Altmann-Wendling, *Mondsymbologie* II, 699-706.

<sup>1181</sup> Altmann-Wendling, *Mondsymbologie* II, 713.

<sup>1182</sup> Assmann, *Ma’at*, 178.

<sup>1183</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 47.

<sup>1184</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 47. Cf. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 65.

<sup>1185</sup> Backes, *Zweigegebuch*, 89.

<sup>1186</sup> Backes, *Zweigegebuch*, 88.

<sup>1187</sup> Assmann, *Ma’at*, 178.

<sup>1188</sup> See 2.3.2, p. 90.

<sup>1189</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 377.

<sup>1190</sup> CT VII, 375c (Sp. 1094).

<sup>1191</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 377.

<sup>1192</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 378.

<sup>1193</sup> Barguet, in: RdE 21, 12.

places, and the events that occur in the mansion of the moon take place around the night bark.<sup>1194</sup> In CT (Sp.) 1094, the deceased ascends to the solar bark and becomes a solar bark crew member as a follower of Thoth. In CT (Sp.)1089, he expects to navigate the night bark and restore the sun god's injured eye. He also hopes to assume lunar qualities that will allow him to cross the night as the moon and set sail in the bark traversing the night sky.<sup>1195</sup> Furthermore, in the middle register of the fourth hour, Thoth hands the *Udjat*-eye over to a falcon-headed god, presumably to protect it from danger and the power of darkness, which permanently threatens it (fig. 41).<sup>1196</sup>

Due to the text's bad condition,<sup>1197</sup> it is assumed that the barks mentioned in the text (Doc. 79) refer to the four barks before the main solar bark, since the text of a register usually refers to the representations seen there.<sup>1198</sup> In the text of the middle register, particular attention was given to the sun god's barks, since the plural seems unusual here, especially as the sun god is in his bark, which is normally described as *wj3=f*, *wj3 n R<sup>c</sup>*, etc.<sup>1199</sup>

In this context, the peculiarity of the closing texts, in general, is that they only appear in the first three hours of the *Amduat*. The very comprehensive text offers some revealing passages found in the sun god's speech to the netherworld's gods, which provides some enlightening information on the nature of these barks.<sup>1200</sup> The sun god himself speaks of his barks, the farmers in *Wernes*, and those who will protect him against Apophis. At this point, the gods of those barks return (*hmj r*) to their images during the sun god's movement.<sup>1201</sup> Since they have received the sun god's vitality, it is now their task to revive the fields. They also must defend the sun god's body and protect him from his enemy, Apophis. But beyond that, there are more interesting hints that could help to clarify the meaning of the barks: the sun god goes forward in the following of his two eyes (Doc. 81).<sup>1202</sup>

The idea of the sun god's two eyes is certainly fundamental to Re's statement at the end of his speech, in which he says that he goes behind his *3h.t*-eye and proceeds behind his left eye. Hornung considers that the *3h.t*-eye could be the "effective eye" of the sun god.<sup>1203</sup> *Wb* also indicates that the *3h.t* relates to the goddess Hathor.<sup>1204</sup> The idea of Hathor as the (right) eye of Re already existed in the New

<sup>1194</sup> Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 422.

<sup>1195</sup> See Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 391.

<sup>1196</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 16; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 126.

<sup>1197</sup> In the *Amduat*, the middle register of the second hour is a problematic area, as the New Kingdom versions present a corrupt and incomplete text as do the later versions of the book; see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 216.


<sup>1198</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 176.

<sup>1199</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 179. This mention of *wj3.w=f* only occurs in the Ramesses VI version; see Hornung, *TzA I*, 266.

<sup>1200</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 179-180.

<sup>1201</sup> Hornung assumes that the *Ba*-souls unite with the bodies and that they can follow the sun god as he moves on to the area of the next hour, but the bodies of the dead must remain in place, with only their wailing accompanying the advancing god; see Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 61.

<sup>1202</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 180-181.

<sup>1203</sup> Hornung, *Umb*, 80. This may be seen in connection with the information in *Wb*, in which <j>*3hw*, the "shining eye" (*Wb I*, 13, 8) and  *3h.t*-eye (*Wb I*, 17, 1) appear, the latter of which is described as referring to the "eyes of the god" in general, not to the sun god's eyes. Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 182.

<sup>1204</sup> *Wb I*, 16, 15; Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 182.



Kingdom.<sup>1205</sup> In the Pyr. § 705, Hathor is described as the “eye of Re,”<sup>1206</sup> and she is equated with Re.<sup>1207</sup> Assmann points out that Hathor was described in a hymn as the “right eye of Re,” in which he goes to rest and she reaches out her arms to receive him.<sup>1208</sup> Here, it is now assumed that the *ḥ.t*-eye of the concluding text refers to the sun god’s right eye, which is identified with the goddess Hathor.<sup>1209</sup> As for the left eye of the sun god (*ḥ.t*), one generally assumes it to be the moon.<sup>1210</sup> Hornung assumes that the “left eye,” which goes forth from *m<sup>c</sup>nn.wy*, “the double-coiled serpent,” in the upper register of the tenth hour,<sup>1211</sup> may refer to the moon symbol in the last bark of the middle register. Since the “left” eye of the sun is generally associated with the night.<sup>1212</sup> So, if there is a connection between the left eye and the text here and the moon bark from the middle register, it also applies for the *ḥ.t*-eye as the right eye of Re, which is equated with Hathor, and her sistrum within it (the moon bark).<sup>1213</sup> Thus, the order of mentioning the two eyes corresponds to the arrangement of the barks in the middle register, and the statement of the sun god that he is behind his two eyes would make sense. It should also be pointed out that the sun god speaks of his barks. Perhaps this statement refers to the last two barks of the middle register.<sup>1214</sup>

According to these points, these barks are the barks of the sun god. The first bark appears as the bark of the grain gods and refers to the food and offerings that the sun god gives to the netherworld’s inhabitants. The crocodile in the second bark is not an enemy of the sun god in this context. Hence, there is a possibility to link it with Osiris and the regeneration of the sun god. Therefore, his bark could be regarded as belonging to Re.<sup>1215</sup> The penultimate bark was once considered the bark of Re and once, the bark of Hathor, the right eye of Re. The sun god further emphasizes that he was behind both his eyes, the right eye, which is equated with Hathor, and his left eye, the moon eye, which is also related to the moon’s presence in the fifth bark.<sup>1216</sup> Furthermore, the sun god refers to the barks mentioned there as “his barks” (see above). Thus, the four additional barks represent an accurate description of the sun god’s needs in the area of this hour. The occupants and symbols in the barks refer to personifications of the solar crew who assist the sun god in this phase of the nocturnal journey.

### 3.2.2 The crew defeats Apophis

The main battle of defeating Apophis occurs in the middle register of the seventh hour; the remarks describing how Apophis is bound and destroyed are mentioned throughout the composition. For

<sup>1205</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 182.

<sup>1206</sup> In this spell, the king describes himself by stating that “he is the eye of the sun god which is on the horns of Hathor.” Pyr. § 705.

<sup>1207</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 182.

<sup>1208</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 51, no. 65.

<sup>1209</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 182.

<sup>1210</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 182.

<sup>1211</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 706. For the eyes of Re, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 14 f., 75, 176, 203 f., 207, and passim.

<sup>1212</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 60, no. 60.

<sup>1213</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 182.

<sup>1214</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 183. For remarks on the interpretations by Hegenbarth, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 48, no. 2.

<sup>1215</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 184.

<sup>1216</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 184 ff.; id., *Raum der Zeit*, 188.

example, the region of the second hour is a fertile place where there are no cursed beings, but it remains necessary to repel the brutal forces that will try to obstruct the cosmic order.<sup>1217</sup> Accordingly, destroying Apophis occurs twice in the second hour, one at the hands (*št3-ꜥ*) of the sun god's crew (Doc. 80), and the other one by the netherworld deities who actively protect him and join his crew (Doc. 81).<sup>1218</sup> Elsewhere in the Netherworld Books, deities described as “mysterious of arm” protect the sun god and carry his mysterious image. This positive trait *št3-ꜥ* appears in the concluding text, where the arm of the solar bark's crew is also hidden when they annihilate Apophis.<sup>1219</sup>

### 3.3 Third hour, the field of riverbank dwellers, waterway of Osiris

As mentioned above, the sun god and his crew do not only use the main bark. Here, there is still a body of water upon which the solar bark and three more barks in his entourage sail until they reach the sandy realm of Rosetau in the fourth hour.<sup>1220</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Four barks in the middle register of the third hour

##### 3.3.1.1 The main solar bark

In the middle register of this hour, the solar bark shows the usual crew.<sup>1221</sup> In User, the crew is complete, and the owner of the tomb stands in front of Kherepwia, who controls the stern's rudder (fig. 29). The other versions from the New Kingdom are incomplete in representing the solar bark and its accompanying inscriptions. Thutmosis III omits the shrine with the sun god and the two gods behind it (fig. 30). Amenhotep II places only five gods without heads in the bark (fig. 31), almost like Amenhotep III, which only shows the legs of Kherepwia.<sup>1222</sup> The solar bark sails with its crew in the version in the tomb of Seti I, but without two of the gods behind the shrine and with all crew names missing except *Imf-Re*. The late versions (since Seti I) depict Kherepwia as a hawk-headed god (fig. 32).

##### 3.3.1.2 The additional barks

The three other barks carry various images of the sun god.<sup>1223</sup> They accompany him on his journey, but they stay in the area of this hour and do not enter the sand realm of Sokar (Doc. 82). There are two rowers in every bark, a protective serpent who stands on his tail, and a different manifestation of the sun god.<sup>1224</sup> In all other barks, the two gods with steering oars provide freedom of movement and streamlined sailing, and the serpent represents protection and warding off enemies.<sup>1225</sup> The text of the

<sup>1217</sup> Schweizer, *Seelenführer*, 73.

<sup>1218</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 75.

<sup>1219</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld I*, 34, 220.

<sup>1220</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 14.

<sup>1221</sup> Hornung, *T3A I*, 296-297; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 40, 666-674. User added himself as the last member of the crew (behind Hu), *ꜥꜣꜣ jmy-r3 nw.t Wsr* “Governor User.” Kherepwia is missing in this hour. Name of the crew in ThIIIK: *ꜣꜣꜣ ntr.w jmy.w=f* “Gods who are in it.”

<sup>1222</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 68.

<sup>1223</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 49.


<sup>1224</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 14.

<sup>1225</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 49.

middle register describes the function of the additional barks in this locale. As in the second hour's main bark (Doc. 79), the sun god carries Osiris with him in the solar bark. Osiris's presence in the barks of the second and third hours allude to him being considered one of the crew members. The sun god wants to ensure that he will rise by having the body of Osiris nearby and become triumphant in the netherworld.<sup>1226</sup> Furthermore, this hour's closing text emphasizes allowing the sun god's *Ba*-soul to ascend to the sky while his corpse remains in the netherworld; the *Ba*-soul and the corpse of Osiris are said to have the same fate.<sup>1227</sup> Thus, it indicates the importance of his being onboard to praise the sun god outside of his body. However, Re, the life-giving, light-bringing god, is the one who ages in his bark and therefore needs regeneration, which he can only achieve himself in the process of his conjunction with Osiris.<sup>1228</sup>

The sun god's speech emphasizes guiding the additional barks in the domain of this region. In contrast to the main bark, the other barks of the third hour are localized. The barks are referred to as *wj3.w š3.w* "the mysterious barks," which escort the sun god in the region of the third hour and turn back as soon as the area has been passed through<sup>1229</sup> because the waterway is then interrupted by the sand kingdom of Sokar (Doc. 82).

### 3.3.1.2.1 The first bark

The additional barks of this hour always have a five-person crew (without the serpents).<sup>1230</sup> The first additional bark is called *wj3 n p3h.t*, "the bark of Pakhet."<sup>1231</sup> In the earlier translation by Piankoff-Rambova,<sup>1232</sup> they translate it as "flying wood." However, Hornung doubts this translation as the word Pakhet is preceded by *wj3 n* in Thutmose III catalog, and this name is already known from the CT II,106g as . Like other lion-headed goddesses, Pakhet is equal to Weret-hekau, the crown goddess, and connected to the sun's eye. Thereby, she joins the subterranean entourage of the sun god.<sup>1233</sup> She can also take the form of the fire-spitting serpent who protects the sun god.<sup>1234</sup>

This bark contains a mummified figure called *jmy-t3* "One Who Belongs to the Earth;" since the sun god has the same name in the first hour, this may also be a manifestation of his.<sup>1235</sup> Two more figures of the sun god are presented: *šf.j* "The Ram-Headed One," and a god with a Was-sceptre in his front hand indicating his name. Among them is a serpent called "The One Who Burns With His eye" standing on its tail.<sup>1236</sup> In the tomb of Petamenophis, it is called *stj jr.t=f hfty.w=f*, "Whose Eye Burns

<sup>1226</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 321-321.

<sup>1227</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 333-334. See also the *Ba* of Osiris that entered the solar bark in the last scene of the Book of the Caverns, cf. Smith, *Following Osiris*, 321.

<sup>1228</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 30-31.

<sup>1229</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 52.

<sup>1230</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 65.

<sup>1231</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 297-298.

<sup>1232</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 250.

<sup>1233</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 68-69 and references cited therein. Cf. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 52.

<sup>1234</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 134.

<sup>1235</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 69; Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 52. See also *LGG I*, 254-255.

<sup>1236</sup> See also, Binder, in: *BACE 6*, 14.

Its Enemies,” which makes his function even clearer.<sup>1237</sup> Two gods with steering oars are at the prow and the stern. They are *bnj.w* “He of the Rowing” and another anonymous god. In Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II, and User, the stern of the bark is not drawn, and the prow ends in the head of a lioness (fig. 34). In Seti I, both the prow and the stern end with a head of a lioness (fig. 33).<sup>1238</sup>

### 3.3.1.2.2 The second bark

The second bark’s prow and stern are shaped like baboon heads (fig. 35). The bark is named *wj3 ht* “Baboon Bark.” The primary role of baboons is to acclaim Re at the eastern horizon.<sup>1239</sup> Here, in the third hour, the baboons indicate that the solar cycle is constantly in flux<sup>1240</sup> and that the sun will appear triumphantly on the eastern horizon.<sup>1241</sup> They praise the sun god in the night bark,<sup>1242</sup> and Re can transform himself into a baboon to traverse the netherworld.<sup>1243</sup> Thus, the baboons’ presence here indicates that they are present with the sun god on the eastern horizon and throughout his nightly journey. Presumably, the baboon heads of this bark are meant to resemble the double-headed serpent bark from the fourth hour, which serves as a guide for the sun god (Doc. 85); here, they represent the function of praise.

The crew consists of six deities with various attributes: two oarsmen and three figures of the sun god.<sup>1244</sup> In all versions, the second deity is “the radiant one.” There are two standing deities (both are anonymous): a mummy corresponds to *jmy-t3* from the bark of Pakhet, and a god with the sign for life in his hand corresponds to *nb w3s* in the second bark.<sup>1245</sup> In Ramesses VI, he becomes a headless god (fig. 36). Among them is the serpent *stj-ḥr* “Scorching Face” stands on its tail. The two rowing gods are: *ds m ḥr=f* “He Who Cuts with His Face” and *bnj.w n wrd=f* “One Who Rows without Weariness.”

### 3.3.1.2.3 The third bark

While two of the additional barks appear in different shapes, the third hour’s bark is a reproduction of the typical form of the solar bark.<sup>1246</sup> The bark carries a crew of six entities:<sup>1247</sup> two oarsmen: *nbj-ḥr* “Fiery of Face” and another anonymous god, the serpent *tk3-ḥr* “Burning of Face,” and three hawk-headed deities. The falcon-headed god *ḥc.w Hr ssm.w Hr* “Helper and Follower of Horus”<sup>1248</sup>

<sup>1237</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 69.

<sup>1238</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 68.

<sup>1239</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 198.

<sup>1240</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 198, no. 30, cf. Ernst, SAK 28, 58-65.

<sup>1241</sup> Cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 198.

<sup>1242</sup> Assmann, *Basa*, 76-77.

<sup>1243</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 204. See *ibid.*, 87, no. 107.

<sup>1244</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 298-299; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 41, 689-694.

<sup>1245</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 70.

<sup>1246</sup> Cf. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 52.

<sup>1247</sup> Hornung, *TZA I*, 300; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 41, 699-703.

<sup>1248</sup> Uncertain reading for the name of this god. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 42, n.1. May be *ḥc.w Hr* is the name of the falcon headed god (243.), and *ssm.w-Hr* is for the serpent on which 243 stands. Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 70; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 42, n. 1. See also Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 162.

preceding the stern's oarsman stands on a serpent and holds the Was-sceptre and the Ankh. In front of him, another two mummiform falcon-headed goddesses face each other and both are named *bjk.t* "Female Falcon" (fig. 37). In this case, the hawk aspect of the sun god is generally addressed.<sup>1249</sup> Also, the presence of Osiris in the barks (see 3.3.1.2) and the company of the falcon-headed entities recalls the existence of Horus in this bark. It is known that the *Ba* of Horus visits the corpse of the father, which is considered an allusion to the birth of Horus from the corpse of Osiris. This *Ba* is simultaneously Re himself uniting with his corpse and Horus visiting his deceased father.<sup>1250</sup>

### 3.3.2 Hu, Sia, and Osiris

The presence of Osiris dominates the third hour. In many ways, the text of the middle register and the concluding text refer to Osiris and his connection to the sun god.<sup>1251</sup> In the middle register, Re carries Osiris with him in his barks. Once the sun god enters his domain, he gives his instructions to the *Ba*-souls in the following of Osiris and the ruler of the dead himself, to whom he attributes two powers of creation (Doc. 84). Hu and Sia accompany the sun god during the journey through the twelve hours of the Amduat.<sup>1252</sup> Thus, Hu and Sia's presence illustrates the need for a closely related motif because the sun god must have the powers of "authoritative utterance" and "perception" as well in order to provide the real substance of life. They also represent all means of knowledge, thought, and channels of communication of the sun god and all those who participate in the solar cycle.<sup>1253</sup> In BD 175, Re says to Osiris: "this beautiful thing I did for you has never been done (before)," and Osiris replies: "I did it by Hu (authoritative utterance) which is in my mouth."<sup>1254</sup>

Because they have the same fate, the sun god provides Osiris with two essential crew members that give him the divine utterance and insight. Thus, Hu and Sia's support of Osiris is, in fact, support for the sun god, because the revival of Osiris by providing him with the required abilities is what also enables the sun god to rejuvenate,<sup>1255</sup> complete his nocturnal journey, and reappear in the eastern horizon.<sup>1256</sup> On the other hand, Re protects the *Bas* surrounding Osiris by giving him Hu and Sia as the dead enter the netherworld. Every night, they experience a union with their own *bas*, which are prevalent in Osiris's following. Thus, connecting one's own fate with that of Osiris guarantees an infinite continuation of one's existence.<sup>1257</sup>

<sup>1249</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 50.

<sup>1250</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 97.

<sup>1251</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 76.

<sup>1252</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 52.

<sup>1253</sup> Cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 28, 177.

<sup>1254</sup> *Tb* 175, 38-41; Gardiner, in: PSBA 38, 43 f.; Neville, in: PSBA 26, 81 ff.; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 12 f.; Faulkner, in: JEA 22, 131 f.

<sup>1255</sup> The union between Re and Osiris is the central event in the regeneration process in the netherworld, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 4.

<sup>1256</sup> In the lower register of the ninth hour of the Book of the Night, Sia tells the blessed dead, those whose *Akhs* can enter the netherworld, and the drowned to join the entourage of Osiris and assist in his nightly vigil, see Roulin, *LdN* II, 123-134, cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 161-163.

<sup>1257</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 31.

### 3.3.3 The jackals haul the solar bark

Jackals are the privileged few that haul the solar bark during its nightly journey.<sup>1258</sup> Their function is to drag the solar bark through the underworld, represented in the Book of the Night and bark scenes in the solar chapels, but they are curiously rare in the Netherworld Books.<sup>1259</sup> Before Dyn. XXI, men or anthropomorphic gods tow the bark, but jackals sometimes replace these human figures.<sup>1260</sup> The description in the concluding text of the third hour shows a detail of the jackal's functions regarding the solar bark (Doc. 83). Furthermore, Anubis, the jackal-headed god, is mentioned as “one who hauls” in the fourth hour's middle register.<sup>1261</sup>

According to Manassa:<sup>1262</sup> “A Late Period addition to the Amduat text stands in marked contrast to the orthography of *R3-st3w*, which is spelled  $\overline{\text{r}} \text{m} \overline{\text{w}}$ , with the jackal hieroglyph. Jackal and jackal heads are determinatives of *st3* already in the New Kingdom, but the phonetic use of the jackal is not common before the Persian Period.”

A sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum shows a pair of jackals, assisted by Anubis, hauling the solar bark, and the tow rope is a uraeus-serpent (fig. 38).<sup>1263</sup> In another sarcophagus from the Nectanebid Period (CG 29306), the sun god entrusts the jackals with this task. Another indication of the jackal's functions concerning the solar journey comes from the tomb of Inherkhau, where the jackals, like the sun god himself, belong both to heaven and the earth. That means they hold the function of towing the sun god in the day and night cycle (Doc. 83).<sup>1264</sup>

The jackals haul the solar bark from the moment Re descends into the night bark until it appears below the western mountain. In the Book of Gates, version of Seti I, this western mountain is located in the first division of the night. Although no jackals accompany the solar bark, a jackal-headed standard is set up on one end of the mountain.<sup>1265</sup> The Harris Magical Papyrus states that the jackals receive the sun god's body during the night and haul his bark within the mysterious mountain.<sup>1266</sup>

We have already seen that the Imperishable Stars row the solar bark through the night (Docs. 9, 13, 49, 127-129). From a text in the Berlin Museum, the jackals assist the Imperishable Stars in rowing the solar bark.<sup>1267</sup> There, the jackals are supposed to tow the bark at the beginning of the night journey.<sup>1268</sup> In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the jackals haul the solar bark in the last hour of the day and the last hour of the night.<sup>1269</sup> In the same tomb, the Imperishable Stars assist the jackals in hauling the solar bark: *b3.w-mḥ.tyw jḥm.w-sk šsp nfr.t n.t wj3 sw3 w3.wt n.t ʿ3pp* “The *Bas* of the north, the

<sup>1258</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 76, no. 13.

<sup>1259</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 87.

<sup>1260</sup> Dawson, in: JEA 31, 105, fn. 2. More parallels can be found in Heerma van Voss, in: JEA 41, 127.

<sup>1261</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 371.

<sup>1262</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 119.

<sup>1263</sup> The tow rope is a uraeus-serpent in Pyr. § 303c. See also the papyrus of Her-Ouben (fig. 65).

<sup>1264</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 246-247.

<sup>1265</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 115.

<sup>1266</sup> Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, 39, 20-21; Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 37, V 4-5.

<sup>1267</sup> Schäfer and Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften* II, 132-133.

<sup>1268</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 115.

<sup>1269</sup> Piankoff, *Le livre du Jour et de la Nuit*, pl. IV, VIII. For more scenes of the jackals and the solar barks, see Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 112-117.

Imperishable Stars, who take hold of the rope of the bark and pass by the roads of Apophis.”<sup>1270</sup> Lanzone published a unique example in which the bark is towed by two jackals and two Seth animals, a reference to Seth in his role of protecting the solar bark (fig. 39).<sup>1271</sup> Another function of the jackals appears in a text which probably originated in the Middle Kingdom and first occurs in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri on the east wall of the solar chapel.<sup>1272</sup> A passage in the text reveals the role of the jackals in protecting the solar bark as follows: “His jackals help him to overcome his enemy when he reaches the sandbank [of Apophis.]”<sup>1273</sup> But why are the jackals not even depicted in the hour in which they are mentioned? The lack of space and the visual considerations dictate the representations of the groups, both in the bark and on land. The composition of the Amduat was designed to fit into a limited space, i.e., the walls of the royal burial chambers.<sup>1274</sup> A depiction of the jackals, which are supposed to haul the solar bark, would add more details to the middle register of the third hour, which is already occupied by other elements, the three additional barks. Furthermore, omitting the jackals here would offer more space for a geographically harmonious scene.<sup>1275</sup> In fact, omitting elements on artistic grounds is not uncommon in the Amduat. This is particularly true of the fifth hour, in which the Nun’s water (the navigation path of the solar bark) is left out. Although the region there is a dry area, the existence of the undepicted water is unquestionably proven by the text.<sup>1276</sup>

### 3.3.4 Hathor, the eye of the sun god, assists in the nightly journey

Hathor occupies the solar bark in every hour of the night in her manifestation of *nb.t wjḥ*, “Mistress of the Bark.” In the seventh hour of the Amduat, Isis replaces Hathor in the solar bark and performs her magic spells against Apophis. In this hour, Isis steps into the role of the “eye of Re” as the annihilator of the sun god’s enemies.<sup>1277</sup>

In the third hour’s upper register, three deities carry the sun god’s eye (fig. 40). The figures bearing the pupils of the sun’s eye are named *jnj.tj*, “He Who Brings (198.),” *jnj.t*, “She Who Brings (199.),” and *jnj jr.t štp<.w> ntr.w*, “Who Brings the Eye and Satisfies the Gods (203.)”<sup>1278</sup> By analyzing the relationship between the gods and the sun’s eye, Hathor appears as an active member who participates in protecting and raising the eye and reveals her role in the third hour.<sup>1279</sup> The text of the upper register describes the function of the goddesses of the eye in the west, which is to make the Nun-inundation flow. Similarly, Hathor is the eye of Re, who returns to Egypt and brings with her the life-giving

<sup>1270</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramses VI*, 403. The Unwearying Stars are connected with the jackals, which may form a constellation or a specific part of the sky, see Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, 121.

<sup>1271</sup> Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia Egizja* II, pl. CCCLXXXII. See also the second papyrus of Her-Ouben, in which the jackals are assisted by four serpents, see Piankoff, in: ASAE 49, pl. VIII.

<sup>1272</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 24-25.

<sup>1273</sup> Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 21 with notes 27-28.

<sup>1274</sup> Hofmann, in: ZÄS 123, 38.

<sup>1275</sup> Cf. Hofmann, in: ZÄS 123, 38.

<sup>1276</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 400-403.

<sup>1277</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 252. Münster, *Isis*, 78-79, 109-110, 198. See also Isis, who protects the divine eye in the upper register of the sixth hour (fig. 56).

<sup>1278</sup> Hornung, *TZA* I, 284, 286.

<sup>1279</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 251.

inundation.<sup>1280</sup> Thus, in the third hour, the pupil-bearing gods personify the goddess of the sun's eye, who helps the sun god's journey succeed throughout the netherworld.<sup>1281</sup> According to Manassa, "The rejuvenating power of the inundation and Hathor's pugnacious nature help Re sail through the hours of the night and overcome his ultimate foe, Apophis."<sup>1282</sup>

### 3.4 Fourth hour, the mysterious paths of Rosetau

Here, the solar bark reaches an entirely different landscape. The line for the stream of the netherworld, which was previously clear, is now broken up into a black sandy desert full of serpents with a path zigzagging through it, which leads steadily downward.<sup>1283</sup> In the fourth hour, the sun god descends into a deep, dark realm, where his light is not sufficient to illuminate the darkness or to see the creatures around him.<sup>1284</sup>

Even before the sun god reaches the depths of the underworld and unites with his body,<sup>1285</sup> his diminished light must renew itself in the darkness in order to be able to awaken Osiris and the inhabitants of the netherworld to a new life.<sup>1286</sup> A scene from the middle register shows the ibis-headed god Thoth lifting the sun's eye up to a falcon-headed god (fig. 41).<sup>1287</sup> This eye may represent Hathor's pictorial summary as the goddess of the sun's eye (see 3.3.4) or Maat (see 3.1.3). Each goddess protects her father and guides him in the underworld. Furthermore, the names of these manifestations of Horus and Thoth refer to their function in the scene, and the falcon-headed god is called *ḥw-ꜥ* "He of Extended Arm" while the ibis-headed god is *wꜥsw* "He Who Lifts."

#### 3.4.1 The crew of the solar bark

The crew has been changed since to the third hour.<sup>1288</sup> Here, the rudder is unnecessary in the sand and is omitted together with the helmsman Kherepwia. Before the solar bark, four gods tow a rope connected to the serpent bark's prow. Their names indicate their function: *štḥw.j* "He of the Mysterious (rope)," *jrj nfr.t* "He Who Belongs to the Tow-rope," *ḥry wꜥr.t*<sup>1289</sup> "He Above the Rope," and *dwn mꜥc.t*<sup>1290</sup> "He Who Stretches the Rope."<sup>1291</sup>

<sup>1280</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 252.

<sup>1281</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 252.

<sup>1282</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 252.

<sup>1283</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 46

<sup>1284</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 16.

<sup>1285</sup> See the events of the sixth hour.

<sup>1286</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 77; Hornung, *Die Nachfahrt*, 61.

<sup>1287</sup> See Binder, in: BACE 6, 16. In the CT, Thoth is said to be in the Mansion of the Moon, where the Eye of Horus is in his hands, cf. CT VII, 380a-b.

<sup>1288</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA II*, 365-366; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 58, 983-990.

<sup>1289</sup> Another designation of the towrope comes up in the New Kingdom in addition to our passage here, a document from Chapel G in the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos mentions "pulling the towrope of the solar bark" where the word *wꜥnr.t* "a bark's mat" is written (Iskander, *The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos II*, 300-301). *Wb I*, 252, 3-4; Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 86, 302. Cf. *LGG V*, 360.

<sup>1290</sup> *Dwn mꜥc.t*, the meaning of this term is unknown to the *Wb*, but in *ibid.*, II, 23, 7, *mꜥc* is a verb connected to hauling the bark in the CT. Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 86, 303. In User, the vizier User stands as fifth member in this crew of haulers.

<sup>1291</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA II*, 366-367; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 58, 991-994.



### 3.4.2 The body of the bark is a member of the crew

In the middle register, the solar bark has been transformed into a serpent bark with the prow and stern ending in serpent heads, for only the serpent can successfully traverse this dangerous region of the snake-demons.<sup>1292</sup> The fire they spew is the only light to guide the sun god.<sup>1293</sup> The text speaks of the serpents penetrating their way into the darkness with their fire. In this intense darkness, the sun god must call upon them to let his voice be heard (Doc. 85). The bark's name, *dm w3.wt* "Piercer of the Road,"<sup>1294</sup> indicates its function. The Was-sceptre held by the sun god now takes the form of a serpent (fig. 42).<sup>1295</sup>

Here, the sun god is restricted in his movement because of the ultimate darkness and the twisted paths.<sup>1296</sup> Consequently, the sun god uses the fire of his serpent-bark to go forth throughout this region. All other serpents in the area of this hour would have to be imagined as being dots of light illuminating the sun god's way.<sup>1297</sup>

### 3.4.3 The crew hauling the solar bark

In this realm, the stream of life runs dry, and there is not enough water to carry the solar bark over the sandbanks. Without the supportive presence of the four deities who haul it (fig. 43), and without their rope, it would be difficult to pull the bark. It would be a dangerous moment in the solar journey if the sun were to stand still. Here, the sun god certainly needs the help of this crew.<sup>1298</sup>

So, what is the importance of the tow rope/crew hauling the bark in this hour? The motif of the rope is particularly emphasized twice in this hour: in the name of this region,  $\overline{\text{r3-st3w}}$  "Rosetau," of which the literal meaning is "act of towing," and in the four gods preceding the bark and towing it, each of whom has a name referring to the tow rope.<sup>1299</sup> Hauling the solar bark with a towing rope also occurs in some of the following hours (see the fifth, eighth, and twelfth hours).<sup>1300</sup> It symbolizes the connections between the sun god and his entourage. However, the fact that it starts in this hour, with the increasing difficulties and risks, shows that a new kind of support is emerging now before the sun god's actual transformation in the sixth hour. This connection will not cease; instead, it will continue until the sun god is finally born at sunrise the next morning.<sup>1301</sup>

In addition to User's presence among the solar bark's crew, he also appears among the crew hauling it in the fourth hour,<sup>1302</sup> which indicates that this group of gods is as important as the main crew.

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<sup>1292</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 86.

<sup>1293</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 16.

<sup>1294</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 365.

<sup>1295</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 124.

<sup>1296</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 193.

<sup>1297</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 16.

<sup>1298</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 78.

<sup>1299</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 173.

<sup>1300</sup> In the Book of Gates, four gods haul the solar bark in every hour, with the exception of the first.

<sup>1301</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 83.

<sup>1302</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 367.

### 3.4.4 Another bark in the lower register of the fourth hour

In the first scene of the lower register, a papyrus bark with a human-headed prow and stern can be seen, containing a giant serpent with an Ankh sign before its mouth (fig. 44). The text there describes the pattern of the serpent's movements, guarding the secret paths of Imhet, and the transformation of the solar bark is addressed again. This *Nau*-serpent acts like all the other creatures present in this place. He lives off the sound of the human heads of his bark (Doc. 86). The depiction of this serpent upon this bark is adopted again to confirm the solar journey's advancement.<sup>1303</sup> *n<sup>c</sup>w* is used for serpents in general. It seems to derive from the serpent's movement as it glides on the ground, and the root is the verb *n<sup>c</sup>j*, used for journeying by boat.<sup>1304</sup> The name of the serpent is *n<sup>c</sup>w ḥd.w* "Nau-Serpent Who Illuminates." In the twelfth hour of the Amduat, *n<sup>c</sup>w* is the serpent's name whose tail is used to haul the solar bark.<sup>1305</sup> When the sun emerges from the *Nau*-serpent, he is born as Khepri in the east. Furthermore, Isis is mentioned by her name "Nat-serpent" as the "mistress of life" and the one who "guides" the solar bark into the sunshine (Doc. 35). The name *n<sup>c</sup>.t* refers to the crown serpent. It can take on this function because it is luminous, shines in the dark, and destroys the enemies on the paths of the netherworld.<sup>1306</sup> In every new phase of the nightly journey, the sun god wants to reaffirm the concept of rebirth, as he emphasized it in the first hour when Khepri appeared in a different bark. Here, he also wants to emphasize his inevitable victory, especially as we see it in the last scene of the fourth hour: the winged sun disk, the morning epithet of the sun god accompanied by Maat (fig. 45), the hauler of the solar bark in the first hour; the text also speaks of the birth of Khepri.<sup>1307</sup>

### 3.5 Fifth hour, in the cavern of Sokar

The cavern of Sokar continues in much greater depth.<sup>1308</sup> The sandy path does not continue across the entire area of the hour but mainly around the cavern of Sokar in the lower register.<sup>1309</sup> This hour does not have a clear division of registers but a very pronounced center in which all three registers meet.<sup>1310</sup> Central features characterize the fifth hour: the pyramidal structure topped by the head of Isis that guards the egg of Sokar, the combination of the different epithets of the sun god, Re, Khepri, and Osiris, and Khepri who appears in the depths of the underworld to help haul the solar bark. His emerging from a burial enclosure protected by Isis and Nephthys creates a strong connection between the scarab and both Re and Osiris (fig. 47).<sup>1311</sup>

<sup>1303</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 65 f.

<sup>1304</sup> Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 492; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 65, no. 6. In the PT, the deceased king is the *Nau*-serpent and the Bull of the Ennead (Pyr. § 511a). It resembles a newborn calf (Pyr. § 225a). In the CT, the deceased is likened to the serpent in order to attain power and protection (e.g., CT II, 26d, 51d, 53f; V, 36f). In the Book of the Caverns, the heads and the hearts of the sun god's enemies belong to the *Nau*-serpent, see LGG III, 530c, 531a-b, cf. Leitz, in: Or 65, 393. See also *n<sup>c</sup>wty* as the "traversing one" in Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 56.

<sup>1305</sup> See also p. 161.

<sup>1306</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 107.

<sup>1307</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 385.

<sup>1308</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 102.

<sup>1309</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 108; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 162.

<sup>1310</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 46-47.

<sup>1311</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 130.

### 3.5.1 The fifth hour goddess aboard the solar bark

Except for the first hour, which is considered the gate of the western horizon, all the names of the hours contain the function of *sšm ntr pn ʕ3* “guiding this great god.” But for the first time, according to the introduction of the fifth hour,<sup>1312</sup> the name of the hour refers to her position in the solar bark, defined as her bark, together with her function of guiding. The name of the goddess is not related to the subject of the hour. It refers to the general function of the goddesses of the hours as they accompany the sun god in his bark in the corresponding hour’s area. In Doc. 87, Thutmosis III personifies himself as the sun god and the leader of the solar bark whom the fifth-hour guides in the realm of the sky and in the netherworld.

### 3.5.2 Crew of the Nun’s water navigates the bark

If the area of the fourth hour is a sand realm without water, then in this hour, only the lower register of the cavern of Sokar has a stream of water, which is equated with Nun here and in other hours (such as the tenth hour). In the middle register, the path of the solar bark is explicitly named “Nun<sup>1313</sup> in the netherworld (Doc. 96),” but at the same time, in the second scene of the upper register, there are four deities with various attributes (fig. 46). The text refers to them as helpers of the *mhy.w* “floating ones,” drifting in Nun’s water. They are in charge of guarding the water and the riverbanks, cause the flooding of those in the Nun and allowing the bark to pass (Doc. 88). Although no water is shown there, their presence is the first incarnation of the “apotheosis by drowning”<sup>1314</sup> depicted in the tenth hour’s lower register (fig. 78, 79).<sup>1315</sup> Their names refer to their presence in the water of the netherworld:<sup>1316</sup> *jrj mw mhj.w* “He Who Belongs to the Water of the Drowned,” *s3<.w> jdb.w* “Protector of the Riverbanks,” *ʕnh jb* “Living of Heart,” and *p3wt nnt* “Primeval One of the Nether Sky.” They also emphasize the importance of flood water in the nightly regeneration of the sun god.<sup>1317</sup> Although the region is a dry area and the water is not depicted there, this crew secures the presence of water on this side of the riverbank, thus providing the flood, cultivating the land, and allowing the solar bark to proceed.

The sun god demands this crew of gods to let him traverse Nun’s water, which is indeed the water of the netherworld upon which the bark journeys. They also bring the people in the water safely to the shore (Doc. 88). In the process, the term “land” is used for “bury,” and every dead person is given a safe “landing” in the netherworld. Thus, they do the same for the sun god and his entourage. We will encounter this goal of landing/burying in the next scene in the burial enclosure from which Khepri looks out and grabs the rope of the bark in the middle register.<sup>1318</sup>

<sup>1312</sup> See also the name of the goddess (35.) among the twelve goddesses of the hours in the upper register of the first hour. Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 8 (1-10); id., *T3A* I, 123-126.

<sup>1313</sup> For Nun as a realm of the dead in the PT, see Zandee, *Death*, 94.

<sup>1314</sup> For more details on “Apotheosis by drowning,” see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 172 and references cited therein.

<sup>1315</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 146.

<sup>1316</sup> Hornung, *T3A* II, 403; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 70, 1160-1164.

<sup>1317</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* I, 122-123.

<sup>1318</sup> See Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 69.

Hornung suggests that the lack of space prevents the depiction of water and the people drifting in it.<sup>1319</sup> However, his interpretation seems questionable since a strip of water is depicted directly below the lower register surrounding the cavern of Sokar (fig. 47). This is the only water seen in the fifth hour, which implies that the registers in the Amduat may depict deities next to one another, so that the gods in the upper register actually belong to the Nun's water surrounding the cavern of Sokar, rather than far above it.<sup>1320</sup> It is well known that each register in the Amduat mainly describes the representations depicted in it, but it could also refer to another event in the other registers. The water stream is divided into two parts in the early version, with a line of hieroglyphs between them (fig. 47). Ramesses VI depicts the water stream as a thin line without separations, and the text is moved to the space above the egg of Sokar (fig. 48).

### 3.5.3 Khepri helps those hauling the solar bark

The central scene is the “chest” or the “enclosure burial,” out of which Khepri emerges, grasping the rope that pulls the solar bark along the middle register.<sup>1321</sup> In this desert region, the sun god travels by means of a crew hauling the bark (Doc. 89). A crew of gods and goddesses supported by Khepri haul the bark over this dangerous peak (fig. 47).<sup>1322</sup>

The text above the solar bark describes what happens in the upper register and across the middle one. Khepri touches the tow rope so he can reach out his hand to Re, who is supposed to come to him, and straighten these twisted paths for Re-Horakhty. At this crucial moment, the crew addresses the sun god that he is the one who brings the towing rope, and they help to deliver it to Khepri (Doc. 90). So, without the aid of Khepri, the solar bark cannot move through the fifth hour, in which Khepri is described as a helper of Re and is therefore subordinate to him.<sup>1323</sup> This scarab, who peeks out of the burial house, does not stay in place. As the sun god's manifestation, it is necessary for this mode of transport. He is involved in the sunrise, and so he steps out of the dark burial place.<sup>1324</sup>

Furthermore, struggles arise during the solar bark's journey along a narrow path that opens up between the scarab from the chest and Isis's head, which perches above the pyramidal mound of the lower register (fig. 48, see also Doc. 93, 94).<sup>1325</sup> At this dangerous peak of Isis, as Khepri receives the rope from the towing deities with his forelegs, he conducts or straightens the tow rope (*m<sup>3c</sup> nfr.t*). In this way, Khepri is strongly connected with all towing deities and through them, with the sun god himself (Doc. 93).<sup>1326</sup>

<sup>1319</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 69.

<sup>1320</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* I, 122-123.

<sup>1321</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 17. For more information on this enclosure burial, see *Wb* II, 492, 4; Kees, in: ZÄS 87, 131 f.; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 96-97; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* I, 123. For the iconographic innovation of this burial in the Late Period, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* I, 123; II, pl. 93; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 165, Abb. 46. For this burial enclosure as a visualization of the entire Amduat and the nightly journey, see Binder, in: BACE 6, 17.

<sup>1322</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 47.

<sup>1323</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 166.

<sup>1324</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 147. For the images and functions of Khepri in the Amduat and Book of Gates, see id., *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration*, 42-65.

<sup>1325</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 73.

<sup>1326</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod's journey*, 102.

### 3.5.4 The crew of the solar bark in the land of Sokar

The typical crew is aboard the serpentine solar bark named *‘nḥ<.w>-bꜣ.w*, “Living of *Ba*-souls,” which is being towed by seven anonymous male gods standing directly before bark.<sup>1327</sup> The rudders are still missing, but the helmsman Kherepwia is again present to steer the bark. Thutmose III’s catalog omits the names of the crew and adds *Hkꜣ.w-smsw* the “Eldest Magician” to the crew of the sun god (see 3.7.2).<sup>1328</sup> This presence does not seem random, especially when we see Isis and Nephthys playing an important role to help in proceeding the solar bark in the lower register of the same hour (see 3.5.6). The solar bark continues along its path as a serpent vessel with the prow and stern ending in snake heads. Moreover, the disk on the sun god’s ram head is protected with the uraeus serpent (fig. 49). In User, the prow is shown spitting fire (fig. 50), so the heads illuminate the solar bark’s way with their fire breath as in the fourth hour. This crew of gods haul the solar bark (Doc. 91) and bring the tow rope and give it to Khepri, who paves the way for the solar bark (see Doc. 90). Then, another crew of seven goddesses haul the solar bark after passing by the mound of Isis (fig. 47). This crew receives the end of the tow rope in order to lead the bark onwards. They stress that the sun god comes to the netherworld and to destroy the enemies.<sup>1329</sup> These seven goddesses facilitate Re’s path in his animated bark. They confirm that he will ascend to the sky like a great *Ba*-soul, chief of powers, and that his enemies have been beaten down (Doc. 95). The text then clarifies that this act of hauling the bark aims to let the sun god rest in his bark in the Nun of the netherworld (Doc. 96). Another hint at the ocean Nun is represented by the netherworld’s stream water in which the bark sails (see 3.5.2).

### 3.5.5 Isis and Nephthys outside the fifth hour’s bark

As mentioned above, the bark’s crew members go on land to perform multiple functions of the sun god during the hours of the night. They also carry out some responsibilities attributed to Osiris because they are required for the sun god’s regeneration. In the fifth hour’s upper register, two birds on each side of the Khepri enclosure (fig. 48) symbolize Isis and Nephthys’s<sup>1330</sup> mourning at Osiris’s grave, before they awaken him to a new life as they do in Pyr. § 1255d.<sup>1331</sup> This is similar to the sky goddess Nut, bending over the earth and touching the western and eastern horizons with her hands and feet, protecting the sun god throughout his journey during the daytime. Here, Isis and Nephthys seem to shield Re during his nightly journey<sup>1332</sup> and his emergence as Khepri in the morning.<sup>1333</sup>

Also, in the middle register, the sun god stops atop this cavern. He declares that Isis belongs to Sokar’s image (Doc. 92). He belongs to the god’s corpse so that he can protect it and bring about the regeneration of Osiris-Sokar, and hence his resurrection, through his speech. At the same time, Sokar is also identified with Osiris, namely, “the flesh or the corpse” of the sun god, whose corpse is

<sup>1327</sup> See Hornung, *TꜣA II*, 420-421; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 76, 1272-1286.

<sup>1328</sup> Hornung, *TꜣA II*, 420.

<sup>1329</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 18.

<sup>1330</sup> For Isis and Nephthys as birds, see Sainte-Fare Garnot, in: RdE 8, 72 f.

<sup>1331</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 97; Binder, in: BACE 6, 17.

<sup>1332</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun god’s Journey*, 104.

<sup>1333</sup> See Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 70.

embodied by Osiris, who rejuvenates in the egg of Sokar.<sup>1334</sup> The voice heard from Sokar's oval (a thundering sound)<sup>1335</sup> expresses the jubilation over renewing Sokar's body.<sup>1336</sup> Therefore, Isis acts as a protector of the unity of Re-Sokar-Osiris, which leads to the sun god's rebirth.

Finally, the last scene of the middle register shows four deities holding various staffs. They are the lords of victuals in the west, responsible for providing the blessed dead with all of life's essentials.<sup>1337</sup>

They are followed by the goddess  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ ,  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  "Isis, goddess of the west,"<sup>1338</sup> who is associated with Hathor.<sup>1339</sup>

Münster equates Isis with the "Goddess of the West" and rejects the translation by Hornung.<sup>1340</sup>

However, this remains an isolated incident and cannot be used as an assumption. Presumably, this is one of the abbreviations frequently used in the Amduat, and the full name is  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  or  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ .<sup>1341</sup> Isis here secures peace in the west by giving it to the last group of divinities in the middle register, which symbolizes a peaceful proceeding of the solar bark into the next field (Doc. 97). Furthermore, in the upper register of the sixth hour, Isis is referred to as  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$  "Isis of the Imhet." This place name designates the netherworld and creates a connection back to the fifth hour, which is labeled as Imhet.<sup>1342</sup>

### 3.5.6 Isis and Nehes/Seth on the pathway of the solar bark

The lower register is a kind of cross-section through the land of Sokar under the pathway of the solar bark. A sand path surrounds it, which is probably the continuation of the path from the fourth hour.<sup>1343</sup>

It is said of the paths of this region that they are "filled with fire from the mouth of Isis," therefore one must imagine her as a fire-breathing serpent,<sup>1344</sup> as we have already seen in the second hour of the night.<sup>1345</sup> In this dreaded realm, only Isis can enter to be with her brother Sokar. Isis has multiple roles in the fifth hour of the night: protecting Re/Osiris's shelter, illuminating the depths of the netherworld, and enabling the sun god to proceed in his journey. Isis's head on the cavern of Sokar grants the sun god the magical powers of the goddess. Isis participates in the solar-Osirian rebirth, which occurs in the interior of Sokar's oval (see 3.5.5).<sup>1346</sup> Also, at the beginning of the lower register, the cavern of Sokar is called the "gate of the west," which indicates that the west and the goddess of

<sup>1334</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 176.

<sup>1335</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 444-445.

<sup>1336</sup> Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 82.

<sup>1337</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 430-431.

<sup>1338</sup> Hornung, *Unb*, 111.

<sup>1339</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 74.

<sup>1340</sup> Münster, *Isis*, 104, no. 1166.

<sup>1341</sup> Refai, *Die Göttin des Westens*, 29, no. 276.

<sup>1342</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 82, 11.

<sup>1343</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 103.

<sup>1344</sup> In the Amduat, Isis is represented twice as a serpent with Nephthys: in the solar bark of the second hour (50.) and in the middle register of the eleventh hour (798.). Behind the last gate in the Book of Gates, both goddesses appear as serpents, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 103 f.

<sup>1345</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 71.

<sup>1346</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 128.

the west play a major role in this hour.<sup>1347</sup> Furthermore, Isis's ability to breathe fire in the fifth hour presents her as an aggressive goddess and presumably foreshadows her role in the annihilation of Apophis in the seventh hour (Doc. 98).<sup>1348</sup>

But what does Nehes do here? Nehes could be a manifestation of the god Seth.<sup>1349</sup> Seth appears in the title of the first hour,<sup>1350</sup> and the *ms.t-Nhs* "sceptre of Nehes" in the lower register of the tenth hour bears the head of Seth (fig. 80). Here, the path is filled with flames and is inaccessible to the sun god's enemies. In the late sarcophagi, it also contains the abomination of Nehes (*bw.t Nhs*).<sup>1351</sup> However, Nehes appears in negative adverse context, his abominable character may be directed against the enemies of Re. It is known that Seth fights for the sun god against his arch-enemy Apophis in Egyptian texts and iconography.<sup>1352</sup> In Medinet Habu, in the upper register of the solar chapel (room 18),<sup>1353</sup> Ramesses III offers incense and libation to the solar bark with its crew containing Seth stabbing the serpent (fig. 51).

Note that the solar bark appears, in that scene, with a crew approximating that of the Amduat, including Nehes. In the Amduat itself, Seth's positive role is maintained under the name of Nehes among the crew of the bark in every hour of the night (see also 1.4.2.12). The presence of Seth and Nehes in the same bark suggests that Nehes represents a hypostasis of solar wakefulness.<sup>1354</sup> Since Nehes is an epithet of Seth, the protector of the solar bark and the destroyer of Apophis, Seth would be the perfect choice to handle the situation in the lower register of the fifth hour (the sound of noise and the thundering storm) during the regeneration of the sun.<sup>1355</sup> Horus' and Seth's conflict connects Seth's role as storm god with Re's protection;<sup>1356</sup> once Re assigns Seth to defend his bark, he creates thunder in the sky.<sup>1357</sup> According to Isis and Seth's nature, their presence alludes to their role in the battle against Apophis in the seventh hour.

### 3.6 Sixth hour, watery depths

Half of the sun god's nocturnal journey is now completed.<sup>1358</sup> The solar bark reaches the depths of the primeval waters.<sup>1359</sup> After the desert's dryness, this region is again full of fertile fields flooded by the abundance of Nun's water and the divine offerings.<sup>1360</sup> The three registers are surrounded by strips

<sup>1347</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 175.

<sup>1348</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 129.

<sup>1349</sup> Schott, in: MDAIK 14, 187; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 22, 103. Cf. the gangs *sm3y.w* of Nehes in Dendera (Daumas, in: BIFAO 56, 42).

<sup>1350</sup> Hornung, *T3A I*, 110.

<sup>1351</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 127, pl. 105. See also LGG IV, 269.

<sup>1352</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 133, no. 11.

<sup>1353</sup> LGG IV, 268.

<sup>1354</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 133, no. 11.

<sup>1355</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 127. Noisy activities are frequently associated with Seth, see Ward, in: JNES 37, 23-34. See also the mention of Nehes as the guardian in the mansions of Sokar in Doc. 51.

<sup>1356</sup> For Seth as a storm god, see Zandee, in: ZÄS 90, 151-152. For the connection between Horus, Seth, and Nehes, see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 530-531.

<sup>1357</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 127, no. 292.

<sup>1358</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 123.

<sup>1359</sup> Quirke, *The Cult of Ra*, 49.

<sup>1360</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 18.

of sand, and the bark sails on a line representing water. The sun god has now reached the deepest hour of the night, which is revealed by the name of the hour: “arrival, which points the way to the right.”<sup>1361</sup> The focus of the sixth hour of the Amduat is on the solar bark’s destination: the corpse in the middle register (Doc. 101). This destination raises an important question: is the sun god visiting the Osirian corpse, or is it a union between the sun’s nocturnal and diurnal forms?

### 3.6.1 Isis participates in the offerings and protects the divine eye

The upper register, as usual, deals with the material needs of the deceased.<sup>1362</sup> The offering deities appear in a half-sitting position (no thrones beneath them), indicating their rebirth and rising from their sleep of death (fig. 53). The text belonging to those gods stresses that the sun god is the source of their sustenance.<sup>1363</sup> The first is crowned with a loaf of bread and a jar of beer and is followed by *ʒs.t-jmhy.t* “Isis of the Imhet,” the second goddess with the red crown, who has a connection to the fifth hour, which was designated as Imhet (see 3.5.6). As the text mentions, the offerings can be distributed as victuals from this Ennead to the gods of the netherworld for implementing the sun god’s commands (Doc. 99). Presumably, the sun god and his crew are concerned with these offerings and supplies, since the bark carries a cargo of food, drink, and clothing. The bark carries these provisions for the refreshment and use of the passengers who travel therein.<sup>1364</sup> These supplies, which are renewed every night, are intended to benefit the deceased king, for whom this text was recorded. Nevertheless, the royal tomb owners occasionally appear offering in the solar bark, but only in the late Ramesside period.<sup>1365</sup> Thus, Isis may supervise the offerings presented to the sun god and his crew in the solar bark, distributing them to the netherworld’s inhabitants. It is noteworthy that Isis is also associated with Tait, the goddess of weaving and clothing (see below).

One of the dominant themes of this hour of the night, is a recumbent lion facing to the left named *K3-hmbm.t* “Bull of Roaring,” referring to Re and Osiris’s union.<sup>1366</sup> According to Westendorf, the lying lion could symbolize the sun god’s rebirth from a cat’s body.<sup>1367</sup> Above the lion, two *Udjat*-eyes flank a *tjt*-sign, while behind them, the half-sitting goddess *ʒs.t-Tʒj.t* “Isis-Tait” is shown.<sup>1368</sup> She mimics the first group of gods’ behaviour in the upper register and is oriented in the opposite direction than what is usual for the solar bark (fig. 54).<sup>1369</sup> According to the text, the “Bull of Roaring”<sup>1370</sup> rejoices when Re dwells on the divine eye. The bull points to the “Kamutef” quality of the sun god, and the

<sup>1361</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 459.

<sup>1362</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 87.

<sup>1363</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 182.

<sup>1364</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 118-119.

<sup>1365</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 88.

<sup>1366</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 81. For more information on the bull with the roaring voice *K3-hmbm.t* and *ʒ-hmbm.t*, see de Wit, *Lion*, 85, 250. The notion of the “roaring voice” may refer to the regeneration process of the sun god which is very similar to the roar in the regeneration scene on the burial mound of Sokar, which is also called the “thunder voice.” Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 199.

<sup>1367</sup> Westendorf, *Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, 112 f. and passim.

<sup>1368</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 187.

<sup>1369</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 88.

<sup>1370</sup> For more details on this lion, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 228-229.



presence of Isis refers to her role as the mother goddess who protects the divine eye.<sup>1371</sup> Moreover, she supervises the solar-Osirian unity process, as *ḥtp R<sup>c</sup> ḥr ntr.t=f* “Re rests upon his eye” (Doc. 100) describes the name of Osiris as *s.t-jr.t* “seat of the eye.”<sup>1372</sup> This scene may also foreshadow the union between Re and Osiris in the middle register of this hour. Here, Isis is syncretized with Tait, the goddess of weaving who also provides the deceased’s clothing. She eventually became a goddess of death, and in the Amduat, she appears alone as Tait in the seventh hour.<sup>1373</sup>

### 3.6.2 The destination of the solar bark

The solar bark in the middle register has regained its standard appearance as seen in the third hour (fig. 32), with the usual crew.<sup>1374</sup> In Thutmose III catalog, there is an exceptional documentation of two representations of the solar bark. One is in the middle register (fig. 57a) and the second one is in the lower register (fig. 57b).<sup>1375</sup> The two barks’ presence may refer to the two destinations of the solar bark in this hour. The first one is the burial place in which Osiris’s corpse is buried (Doc. 101), and the other is the solar-Osirian body in the middle register (Doc. 102).

In the middle register, we encounter the central event of this hour, in which the solar bark reaches the primeval waters of Nun and their primordial darkness,<sup>1376</sup> and where the solar-Osirian unity represents the central theme of this hour. The mummiform gods of the underworld are followed by the “solar Osirian corpse” and surrounded and protected by a multi-headed snake (*ꜥš-ḥr.w*, 458.).<sup>1377</sup> This corpse is not a mummy but rather a normal body. Its scarab head and the hand at his mouth (the gesture of a child) visualize the objective of the sun’s journey, to be rejuvenated into a new life (fig. 58).<sup>1378</sup> Furthermore, the middle register’s text states that “the sun god rows through this field to the place of the corpse of Osiris.”<sup>1379</sup> Thus, the question arises, is it the corpse of Osiris or the corpse of the sun god? According to Hornung,<sup>1380</sup> followed by Barta,<sup>1381</sup> Wiebach-Koepke,<sup>1382</sup> and Smith,<sup>1383</sup> this corpse is the corpse of Khepri.

In Hornung and the others’ translations, the text reads: “This is the corpse of Khepri as his own flesh.”<sup>1384</sup> Because her philological argument seems plausible, I, however, followed the interpretation

<sup>1371</sup> See also Hathor protecting the divine eye in the third hour in 3.3.4.

<sup>1372</sup> Barta, in: MDAIK 34, 9 ff.; Westendorf, in: *FS H. Altenmüller*, 472.

<sup>1373</sup> RÄRG, 764; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 114; id., *Die Nachtfahrt*, 88; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 188, no. 95; Cf. LGG I, 67.

<sup>1374</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 192; see the introduction of the first hour.

<sup>1375</sup> Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 40.

<sup>1376</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod’s Journey*, 120.

<sup>1377</sup> *ꜥš-ḥrw* already exists in the Book of Two Ways: CT VII 517a identifies the deceased with him, and in 476h, the *ḥw.t* of *ꜥš-ḥrw* is mentioned. There is no hint of a serpent figure, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 119.

<sup>1378</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 18.

<sup>1379</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 106 (3-4); id., *TzA* II, 486.

<sup>1380</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 124.

<sup>1381</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 81.

<sup>1382</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 216.

<sup>1383</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 315.

<sup>1384</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 110 (9); id., *TzA* II, 502.

of Gestermann here, who translates this passage as follows:<sup>1385</sup> “Dies ist der Leichnam dessen, der aus seinem eigenen Fleisch entsteht (Doc. 102).” Hornung sees  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  as a spelling for Khepri, but Gestermann assumes that, if the god Khepri were indeed meant, then a corresponding determinative would be expected. Also, the beetle with the phonetic value *ḥpr* would be followed by the reed leaf *j* and the sitting deity, which is also used in the Amduat for Khepri. Only then would the reading of Hornung be possible. Nevertheless, the assumption of Gestermann does not seem adequate and does not confirm to whom this body belongs.<sup>1386</sup> Smith suggests that this is an encounter between Re and his body, and Osiris does not participate in this union.<sup>1387</sup> He builds his argument on the separate depictions of Osiris in the same hour and the texts of this hour which do not state that Osiris travels with Re in his bark to the eastern horizon, and he ignores that the text states that the bark sails in the direction of Osiris’s body. He also mentioned that “the twelfth and final hour of the Amduat makes it very clear that there is no permanent fusion of Re and Osiris.”<sup>1388</sup> However, this does not prove that there is no union between Re and Osiris. In fact, more than one piece of evidence that this body belongs to Osiris appears in the text. Firstly, the image of this body cannot go to any other place in the netherworld, a behaviour which is contrary to the mobile nature of the sun god. Secondly, the name of the supine deity is *Jwḥ*, and this vague designation means that the name was not specified as Re or Osiris, but refers to both of them. Here, one would assume that it is the body of Osiris, and the scarab as its head is one of the forms of the Solar-Osirian unity.<sup>1389</sup> Thus, the destination of the bark is undoubtedly the corpse of Osiris. This union with the body of Osiris is the first phase of regeneration, while the second regeneration occurs at the end of the journey through the serpent *ꜥnb-ntꜥ.w*, into which the sun god and his crew enter (Doc. 131, 164).<sup>1390</sup> Furthermore, the text in the middle register definitively defines the region they sail through as the region of Osiris’s corpse. It assigns the three burials in the upper register to Osiris (Doc. 101).<sup>1391</sup> Therefore, if we assume that the solar bark’s destination is his own body, then this indicates that two different journeys occur simultaneously, which creates a kind of contradiction that cannot be accepted. Hence, the sun god and his crew row the bark in Osiris’s locale in order for him to be born in the form of Khepri.

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<sup>1385</sup> Gestermann shows a comparable representation of Geb with a scarab in Westendorf, *Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, pl. 40, Abb. 83.

<sup>1386</sup> In the second hour, Khepri is written only with the logogram  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ , and in the middle register of the fifth hour (seventh scene), Khepri is also referred to using only the logogram, which clearly shows that the logogram can also be considered a full-fledged spelling of the god’s name, see Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 106. For more details about the forms of Khepri’s name, see Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 169, 186-187.

<sup>1387</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 315.

<sup>1388</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 315.

<sup>1389</sup> On the nocturnal union of Re and Osiris, see Smith, *Following Osiris*, 306-337, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 101-105.

<sup>1390</sup> See also Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 13.

<sup>1391</sup> For a discussion on the burials of the upper register, see Gestermann, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 102-104. A critique of her analysis has been made by Westendorf, in: GM 200, 97-104.

### 3.7 Seventh hour, the cavern of Osiris, and the felling of Apophis

The sun god reaches the Duat's absolute depth in the sixth hour, but in the seventh hour, on his ascension back to the eastern horizon, Re struggles against his arch-enemy Apophis (Doc. 104).<sup>1392</sup> The light of the sunrise is in danger, and the sun's journey and the continued existence of the cosmos are at stake.<sup>1393</sup> The battle of the sun god against Apophis is addressed in the Amduat in several places. Still, only the seventh hour's middle register depicts the detailed scenes and inscriptions of this combat.<sup>1394</sup> In the seventh hour, the solar bark sails in a damp, earthy area called the "Mysterious Cavern." There, the sun god lingers on a "path of the west," which is now without water and there is no possibility of hauling the bark.<sup>1395</sup>

#### 3.7.1 Crew of the seventh hour

The number of members in the solar bark<sup>1396</sup> crew remains the same, but Isis and the Eldest Magician occupy the front stern instead of Nebetwia and Wepwawet.<sup>1397</sup> Because of his confrontation with Apophis, the sun god must protect himself against absolute evil. This protection appears in the form of the serpent Mehen encircling him, from now until the twelfth hour of the night (e.g., fig. 59).<sup>1398</sup> The introductory text mentions that the sun god takes precautions and prepares himself for the unavoidable battle. He enters this domain enveloped by the Mehen Serpent as a protection shield against his enemy (Doc. 103).<sup>1399</sup> In the fourth and fifth hours, we saw the solar bark transformed into a serpent; a transformation symbolizes a new perception and insight for the sun god's protection in this desert land.<sup>1400</sup> In the first six hours of the night, Re travels within a shrine on the solar bark, while in the last six, the encircling serpent Mehen replaces the shrine.<sup>1401</sup> Here, the Mehen Serpent becomes a permanent escort of the sun god and a symbol of resurrection and regenerative energy. He guides the passage of the sun god in his journey through the netherworld. Primarily, though, he envelopes Re with his many coils and protects him from all outside evil.<sup>1402</sup>

The notion of the god's birth from a serpent is expressed in multiple ways in the Amduat. For instance, in the fifth hour, Sokar is born from the back of a three-headed winged serpent during the course of the sun god's regeneration. In the eleventh hour, Atum comes forth from the back of a winged serpent, and in the twelfth hour, the crew of the solar bark hauls Re through the body of a great serpent named

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<sup>1392</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 293. For the origin of Apophis as an epithet of evil, as well as for his name, his birth, and his rebellion against the sun god, see Assmann, *Ma'at*, 94-95; Frandsen, in: GM 179, 9-11; Morenz, in: JNES 63, 201-205; Quack, in: SAK 34, 378-379; Ritner, in: *FS Janet H. Johnson*, 281 ff.

<sup>1393</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 19.

<sup>1394</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 66.

<sup>1395</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 526-528.

<sup>1396</sup> Name of the bark: *wj3 R<sup>c</sup> ntr.w jmy.w=f* "Bark of Re and the Gods Who Are in It." Hornung, *TZA II*, 547.

<sup>1397</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 547-548.

<sup>1398</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 113.

<sup>1399</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 47.

<sup>1400</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod's Journey*, 139.

<sup>1401</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 301.

<sup>1402</sup> Piccione, in: JARCE 27, 43.

ꜥnh-ntr.w, which is very likely to be associated with Mehen. According to that text, Re enters through the tail of the serpent and exits via the mouth in the form of Khepri.<sup>1403</sup>

Since the sun god's enemies are also the enemies of Osiris, in the upper register, we see Osiris (490.), sitting on a throne, holding a Was and an Ankh and crowned with a double feather in his function as the judge of the dead.<sup>1404</sup> Here, for the first time, he is protectively encircled by the serpent Mehen (491.) like Re. In front of him, three kneeling enemies (492.-494.) are bound and already beheaded (fig. 60). There seems to be a close connection between this scene and the sun god's threat by Apophis in the middle register.<sup>1405</sup> Furthermore, Osiris is referred to as the "flesh of Osiris," which presents an exact parallel to the "flesh of Re," the manifestation of the nocturnal sun god in his bark.<sup>1406</sup> The function of Mehen in this hour of the night is not limited to being the guardian of Re in the solar bark, as he also surrounds the "flesh" of Osiris and spits fire at his enemies.<sup>1407</sup> Also, the tradition of Isis and the Mehen Serpent goes back to the CT: in CT 760,<sup>1408</sup> Isis uses her words to create Mehen. She brought it into being in the presence of the sun god to protect her son Horus, who is in the prow of the solar bark,<sup>1409</sup> therefore, it seems likely that Isis is the creator of Mehen through her magic spells, and it is she who places him on the solar bark. This protection is granted by Mehen and the crew/entourage who stands in the solar bark. In CT 1128, this fiery entourage, which includes Isis, protects the sun god in his solar vessel (Doc. 59).<sup>1410</sup>

### 3.7.2 Isis and the Eldest Magician fighting Apophis

Apophis is not attested in the PT, and his origin may date back to the times of the First Intermediate Period.<sup>1411</sup> The neutralization of Apophis is widely documented in Egyptian iconography and texts: CT,<sup>1412</sup> BD, sun-hymns, and the New Kingdom Netherworld Books.<sup>1413</sup> The oldest illustration appears earlier, in a scene in the Book of Two Ways, where harpoons and arrows strike the serpent in front of the solar bark (Doc. 58). Although this primeval being<sup>1414</sup> is omnipresent, wherever the sun appears, it must be expelled repeatedly in the sky and the underworld. The Amduat depicts the events of his destruction only in the seventh hour, but his name is mentioned almost every hour of the book.<sup>1415</sup> *Hk3.w* "Magic," is the most lethal weapon for defeating Apophis, and the annotations of the seventh hour appear to imitate the magical spells spoken during rituals on earth (Doc. 105). Furthermore, the

<sup>1403</sup> Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 380-381, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 106, 130, 175, 188-189.

<sup>1404</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 83, cf. Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 47.

<sup>1405</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod's Journey*, 135.

<sup>1406</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 83.

<sup>1407</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 131.

<sup>1408</sup> See also part A of CT 1098.

<sup>1409</sup> CT VI, 390a-h.

<sup>1410</sup> Cf. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 389. Cf. part A of CT 1098, in which Mehen, Isis, Horus, Horsemu, and the entourage form rings of fire around the solar bark and protect it (CT VII, 381c-382c).

<sup>1411</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 111, cf. id., *Tal der Könige*, 165. For the origin of Apophis, see Kemboly, *Question of Evil*, 245 f., 345-356; Ritner, in: *Fs Janet H. Johnson*, 281-290.

<sup>1412</sup> CT 414 is entirely dedicated to driving Apophis away from the bark of Re (Doc. 42).

<sup>1413</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 19.

<sup>1414</sup> Apophis may be Re's umbilical cord, cf. Quack, in: SAK 34, 377-369. See also 3.7.4.

<sup>1415</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 112.

sun god adopts another form in the seventh hour, providing a further reason for Isis's and the Eldest Magician's placement on the solar bark's front stern.<sup>1416</sup> The battle with Apophis occurs directly after the unification of the sun god with the corpse of Osiris. Therefore, Osiris is included in the event; as a funeral judge, he triumphs in the upper register over all his enemies. At the same time, beneath him, Apophis is warded off by the sun god and his crew.<sup>1417</sup> Furthermore, the seventh-hour region is called the "Cavern of Osiris,"<sup>1418</sup> and its gate is the "Gate of Osiris," which makes Isis a reasonable choice as a protectress of the solar bark and the ideal goddess for the battle against Re's most powerful enemy. The release of Isis' magic powers against Apophis in the seventh hour also recalls the presence of her head atop the pyramidion structure in the fifth hour.<sup>1419</sup>

In the beginning, the text states that the sun god tries to avoid this slaughter by taking another path far away from Apophis using the magic of Isis and the Eldest Magician (Doc. 105). But it seems that there is no escape as the serpent fills the entire sandbank with his coils (Doc. 106), and his voice reveals his location to Re and the accompanying deities (Doc. 107).<sup>1420</sup> The frequent use of alliteration in the texts describing Apophis's destruction is not coincidental. The repetition of sounds reflects the effective power of the magical utterances of Isis and the Eldest Magician.<sup>1421</sup>

Then, the sun god proceeds along his path, which is without water, and tries to sail his bark without the possibility of towing it (see above). He sails by means of the magical power of Isis, the Eldest Magician, and his own effective spells (*3ḫ.w-dpy-r3*). He causes the slaughter of Apophis at the cavern of Osiris (Doc. 104). If we assume that Isis's magic succeeds in diverting the path of the solar bark away from his enemy, then it becomes clear that the bark does not go over the enemy's sandbank, and the sun god does not meet his enemy directly. This means that the "cavern of Osiris" is not on this sandbank, even though the entire area of the seventh hour of the night is described as it.<sup>1422</sup> Thus, the text corresponds to the image, as we find it in the early versions of the book, of the solar bark separated from the rest of the middle register (the sandbank on which he lays after swallowing up the waterway of the solar bark) by a double line (fig. 59). Here, the defeat of Apophis takes place in a location described as the "Cavern of Osiris." In other sources, it is the "Lake of the Two Knives," "Sandbank of Two Knives Lake," "Sandbank of Apophis," or simply "The Sandbank."<sup>1423</sup>

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<sup>1416</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 294. Isis' role as the destroyer of Apophis continues until the Ptolemaic Period; for example, in a hymn to Isis at Philae: "O beloved of Re who is in his bark, repelling Apophis with the effectiveness of your utterance ...", see Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis*, 119.

<sup>1417</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 112.

<sup>1418</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 83.

<sup>1419</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 300 f.

<sup>1420</sup> Apophis appears only in the context of a threat to the sun god: for Osiris, he does not represent a threat. On the contrary, in the Book of Gates, ninth hour, 60th scene, a fire-breathing serpent appears, probably Wamemty (who is equated with Apophis) and burns the enemies of Osiris with his flames of embers, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 174.

<sup>1421</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 312.

<sup>1422</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 178.

<sup>1423</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 77. On the nature, topography, and aspects of the Lake of Fire in ancient Egyptian literature, see Abbas, *The Lake of Knives*, 1-24. For the role of Apophis as an enemy of Re who threatens the solar bark, see Kemboly, *Question of Evil*, 247-276 with a review by Troy in: *JEA* 98, 323-326.

All versions write *ḥr st̄s.w* (Doc. 105), and Thutmose III writes *ḥr st̄ḥ.w*, which refers to the sky; this deviant concept occurring in the text may have been influenced by the notion of the residence of Apophis being in the sky. Backes comments on this act of “lifting,” assuming that it means, according to *st̄ḥ.w*, that the solar bark is lifted over the earth in the absence of a waterway. Since this “lifting” occurs without someone physically carrying it but happens by magic, we could imagine the bark to hover.<sup>1424</sup> On the other hand, *st̄ḥ.w* could be a location, as already considered by Hornung.<sup>1425</sup> From this point on, the *st̄ḥ.w*-area is not the sky but represents the desert land that must be crossed instead of the waterway. It is notable that this land occupies a large part of the cavern of Sokar (in the fourth and fifth hours), where they ask the sun god for an alternative way of navigation (there seen with the serpent instead of the bark), and it represents the area which Apophis inhabits and where he swallows the water of the sandbank.

The text intensively chronicles this combat by describing Apophis and his square sandbank of 193,600 cubits, which he fills with his body’s coils (Doc. 106). Apophis obstructs Re and his crew by engulfing the water and bringing the solar bark to his sandbank.<sup>1426</sup> The bark moves through this muddy fairway only by magical power.<sup>1427</sup> Furthermore, Apophis tries to seize the sun god’s eye, “the shining disk,” so Re swallows it in order to pass the evil serpent (Doc. 107).<sup>1428</sup> The object Re swallows, “the eye,” is spelled with a circular sign  $\odot$  or  $\circ$ , which may be read *jr.t* or *jtn*. In either case, Re protects the source of light in his nightly journey, his radiant eye-disk.<sup>1429</sup>

Isis and the Eldest Magician, at the prow of the solar bark, can efficiently help ward off the enemy due to their magical power.<sup>1430</sup> *Hk̄ḥ.w-smsw*, the “Eldest Magician,” in whom we may recognize a form of Seth, has been chosen to face Apophis and thereby repel the ultimate chaos and cosmic catastrophe.<sup>1431</sup> In the CT,<sup>1432</sup> Seth joins the sun god as a powerful helper and destroys his enemies (Doc. 58, 59), and he is the only member of the crew who can stand up to Apophis (Doc. 26). This function as a helper of the sun god shows Seth/Horus’s duality, which appears very early in Egyptian history. In the Amduat, this is represented by the deity *ḥr.wy=fy*, “His Two Faces,” who appears in the upper register of the second hour.<sup>1433</sup> A passage from Pap. Bremner-Rhind confirms that Horus and Seth appear in this role of warding off Apophis: “The spear of Horus goes forth against you, the lance

<sup>1424</sup> Backes, in: GM 252, 28.

<sup>1425</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 132, 2; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 114, no. 1. For the translation of *st̄s.w* as “defeat of the enemy,” see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 300.

<sup>1426</sup> Kemboly, *Question of Evil*, 260.

<sup>1427</sup> Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 66.

<sup>1428</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 20.

<sup>1429</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 304. Cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 133, 5; id., *Die Nachtfahrt*, 114. For Apophis swallowing the eye of Re, see Piankoff, in: ASAE 55, 153, Taf. VI; id., *La création du disque solaire*, 68; Borghouts, in: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* II, 703-716.

<sup>1430</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod’s Journey*, 140-41.

<sup>1431</sup> Although the paradoxical situation, in which Seth, since he is identified with Apophis, actually fights himself, results only in the consequence of logical thinking, the myth understands how to separate the aspects neatly and assigns the powers to the role as required by the situation, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 131.

<sup>1432</sup> Sethe suggested that the “Despicable of Character” (*ḥbd*) addressed in PT 255 (for this rendering of *ḥbd*, see Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 48) is probably a reference to Seth in his role on the solar bark, cf. Sethe, *Komm.* I, 350.

<sup>1433</sup> Te Velde, *Seth*, 69-70.

of Seth is thrust into your brow.”<sup>1434</sup> Furthermore, in Hibis (Hypostyle N, west wall), Seth, great of power (ꜥ3 *ph.ty*) is represented stabbing Apophis with his spear, and he is depicted with a falcon head and wings.<sup>1435</sup>

In BD 108, the serpent Apophis has engulfed the water of the netherworld, which brings the solar bark to a standstill, and the text describes how the crew is overwhelmed by the dreadful glance of the serpent residing there.<sup>1436</sup> Seth stands at the prow of the bark, hurls a metal spear at him, and speaks his words full of magical power and declares that his magic power has been granted to him against the serpent enemy.<sup>1437</sup> Furthermore, when the sun god crosses the sky in the daytime, he again encounters Apophis.<sup>1438</sup> The Book of the Day places the struggle against his arch-enemy in the sixth hour (the hour “that rises for Seth”) and references are made in the seventh and eighth hour to the heavenly conflict.<sup>1439</sup> In the sixth hour of the Book of the Day, Seth puts his hand on Apophis while Isis weighs him down with her incantations.<sup>1440</sup> Furthermore, the vignettes from the time of midday also represent the solar bark above Apophis, cut into pieces with knives.<sup>1441</sup>

The name of the goddess of the seventh hour (37.) is “She Who Repels the Gangs of Seth,” which describes Seth as an enemy of the sun god. However, the name in the seventh hour’s introductory text omits Seth’s name and describes it as: *ḥsf.t ḥjw ḥsk.t nḥ3-ḥr* “Repelling the Evil One and Beheading the Horrible of Face.”<sup>1442</sup> So, the question arises whether or not Seth should be regarded as a member of the solar crew and a supporter of the sun god.<sup>1443</sup> Hornung assumes that the names of the hours and also that the names of Seth and Apophis are interchangeable.<sup>1444</sup> Wiebach-Koepke also addresses this problem and assumes that Seth should be regarded as a “helper of Re,” who leads the sun god to a different constellation along the path of the solar bark in the sixth hour towards the body of Osiris.<sup>1445</sup> Accordingly, the text displays two different concepts regarding the solar myth. The first is the daily cycle of the sun with the main enemy being Apophis. The second is the annual cycle described, for example, in the great Horus myth at Edfu, whose central enemy is Seth and his gang.<sup>1446</sup>

The name *Ḥk3.w-smsw* could be seen as a designation of Thoth like *wr-ḥk3.w*, “Great of Magic.”<sup>1447</sup> In Pap. Berlin 3055: “Maat landed inside your shrine; Thoth, the Great Magician, made your magical

<sup>1434</sup> Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, 90, cf. Pap. Bremner-Rhind 30, 5.

<sup>1435</sup> Davies, *Hibis III*, pl. 43, 77.

<sup>1436</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 114.

<sup>1437</sup> Borghouts, in: JEA 59, 14; Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 85 f. Although Seth occasionally uses magic, it is principally his spear that brings down the enemy. See 2.3.6; Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 76.

<sup>1438</sup> Zandee, *Amunshymnus I*, 143-164 provides a collection of passages dealing with the battle against Apophis.

<sup>1439</sup> Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 74.

<sup>1440</sup> Piankoff, *Le Livre du jour et de la nuit*, 16; Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 202, 480, cf. Pap. Bremner-Rhind 23, 19; 30, 9; 31, 17.

<sup>1441</sup> Frequently on coffins, for example, in de Buck, *De Zegepraal*, Afb. 18, in which the ram-headed Khepri occupies the solar bark with the solar child on the front stern.

<sup>1442</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA II*, 526-527.

<sup>1443</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 222-223.

<sup>1444</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 15 f.

<sup>1445</sup> Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 174-175.

<sup>1446</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 223. Cf. Kurth, *Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus*, 196 ff.; Stadler, *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion*, 40, 57, 59 f., 62, 170.

<sup>1447</sup> See LGG II, 454b-c. (I would like to thank Prof. Martin Stadler for bringing this idea to my attention).

protection, and he slaughters the submissive villain for you (?).<sup>1448</sup> The text connects Maat with Re's bark's shrine, and the following passage describes Thoth's magical destruction of the enemies. In CT 313, Thoth places the enemies of Osiris beneath the bindings of Selket.<sup>1449</sup> Selket is the one who fetters the serpent Apophis in front of the seventh-hour solar bark (see 3.7.3). Moreover, Thoth and Sekhmet are associated with the protection of Re's eye.<sup>1450</sup> Thoth is the protection of the sun god, who places his *Ba* in the day bark.<sup>1451</sup> In a passage from a New Kingdom solar hymn, in which a man participates in aiding Re to repel his enemies, the man says that he sees Horus as the rudder man holds Thoth and Maat in his arms.<sup>1452</sup>

In the battle of the solar bark's crew against Apophis, Thoth first participates by using his magic spells. Then, as a god of war, Thoth also approaches the enemy with his lance and stabs him.<sup>1453</sup> In BD 134, Thoth follows Horus, who also killed the deceased's enemies and the attackers of the bark of Re, in a fighting stance.<sup>1454</sup> In Leiden Stela V 70, it is stated that "Thoth stands firmly at the prow of your bark and punishes all your enemies."<sup>1455</sup> Furthermore, Thoth is *nb ꜥꜣ.ty*, the "Lord of Strength," and *wꜣ-ꜥꜣꜣ.w*, "Great of Magic," in the bark of millions.<sup>1456</sup> Thoth is probably the "Eldest of the gods, who stands at the head of the *mꜣkt.t*-bark."<sup>1457</sup> Gods praise him by saying: "You open the way to the destination of the bark.<sup>1458</sup> You act against that enemy by cutting off his head, breaking his *Ba*, and dragging his corpse to the flame. You are the god who organizes his slaughter."<sup>1459</sup> Thus, Thoth can take the place of Seth and take his role in fighting Apophis. This is because of his achievements in the *Myth of the Solar Eye*.<sup>1460</sup> It is noteworthy that the link between saving the solar eye and fighting Apophis is attested since the CT.<sup>1461</sup> Furthermore, as noted above, Isis can take Maat's role at the prow of the solar bark (Doc. 54, 55). Since Maat and Thoth are strongly connected in the nightly journey (Doc. 52), the *ꜥꜣꜣ.w-smsw* could be interpreted as a manifestation of Thoth in the seventh hour of the Amduat.

Also, Heka may represent the "Eldest Magician." He appears in the CT fighting against the enemy of Re (Doc. 60). Te Velde makes some remarks about Heka as a "magician" and being the *Ba* and the son of Re. He also mentions his role in destroying Apophis, and even his epithet "Eldest," which is

<sup>1448</sup> Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin*, 145, cf. Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus* I, pl. 24

<sup>1449</sup> CT IV, 90g-h.

<sup>1450</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 346. On Thoth in the Myth of the Solar Eye and his role in bringing the sun god's daughter back to Egypt, see e.g., Lewczuk, in: GM 69, 57 ff.

<sup>1451</sup> See Pap. Berlin 3008, col IV in Faulkner, in *Mélanges Maspero* I, pl III.

<sup>1452</sup> Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 18.

<sup>1453</sup> Otto, in: *Orientalia* 7, 78.

<sup>1454</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 157. For Thoth as a war god, see *ibid.*, 328 ff.

<sup>1455</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 301.

<sup>1456</sup> BD 182. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 223.

<sup>1457</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 173-174, cf. Stadler, in Collombert, Coulon, eds., *Questionner le Sphinx*.

<sup>1458</sup> See also Doc. 73, in which Thoth opens the paths in the name of Wepwawet.

<sup>1459</sup> Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 174, no. 377.

<sup>1460</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 308.

<sup>1461</sup> See, for example, CT 1094. Also, in BD 99b, a connection can be seen between the bark and Thoth's achievement of bringing back the dangerous goddess, the sun's eye, see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 246. See also Thoth as a baboon offering the *Udjat*-eye to the squatting sun god in the bark of Khepri in BD 130, cf. Milde, *Neferenpet*, 76-77, pl. 11.



given to him elsewhere.<sup>1462</sup> Based on an inscription in Edfu, he thinks that the name “seems to have been explained by the Egyptians as the *hjj* of the *k3* ‘he who dedicates or initiates the *Ka* to life upon earth.’”<sup>1463</sup>

Furthermore, the New Kingdom versions only use the verb *stnm*, “turn away/distract from the way,” (Doc. 105) to describe the Eldest Magician’s actions. Manassa follows Te Velde and takes the addition of the verb *huj* on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata as an indication that the activities refer to Heka as *huj-k3.w*.<sup>1464</sup> However, the assumption of Te Velde is not particularly convincing in this respect. He considers that his explanation for the name is a pseudo-etymology and not a real one. Furthermore, he rules out Thoth and Seth from this role because they “hardly represent anything more than an aspect of the sun god.”<sup>1465</sup> He does not bring any further explanations. Hence, Seth, Thoth, and Heka can carry out this function in the name of the “Eldest Magician,” and the principle deities prove to be manifestations or aspects used for a certain function.

### 3.7.3 Facing the solar bark, events of the slaughter

In the middle register, in front of the solar bark but safely separated from it by a wall (since Seti I, this wall is omitted, fig. 61), lurks the serpent demon Apophis. Knives pierce the coils of his body, and two deities, one at his neck and one at his tail, hold him down, bound for the slaughter.<sup>1466</sup> To the right, we see four goddesses, knives in hand (fig. 62), whose names reveal the wrathful side of femininity and the individual stages of the annihilation of Apophis: “She Who Binds Together,” “She Who Cuts,” “She Who Punishes,” and “She Who Annihilates.” Therefore, the four goddesses are crew members as they help in binding the serpent. Thus, the danger is avoided, and the sun can continue its journey unhindered.<sup>1467</sup> The four chests with human-headed lids<sup>1468</sup> are the protected tombs of Atum, Khepri, Re, and Osiris. This is taken as an indication that the defeat of Apophis takes place very close to the divine corpse of the sixth hour (fig. 62).<sup>1469</sup>

This is how the scene appears traditionally in the New Kingdom versions with quite few variants. Later, the Theban tomb of Pediamenopet (end of the Twenty-fifth or beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty) offers an astonishing variant. This time, Isis no longer recites magic formulas against Apophis but brandishes an oversized knife with both hands and is shown about to slit the serpent’s throat (fig. 66). The scene is no longer confined to the mere recitation of curses but now takes a more violent form.<sup>1470</sup> In the sarcophagus of Ankhhor (JE 48447),<sup>1471</sup> another interesting variation appears

<sup>1462</sup> Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 178-182. For a refutation of the reading of Seth as *Hk3.w-smsw*, see Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 18-20.

<sup>1463</sup> Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 182

<sup>1464</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 300-301.

<sup>1465</sup> Te Velde, in: JEOL 21, 177.

<sup>1466</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 114.

<sup>1467</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun God’s Journey*, 137 f.

<sup>1468</sup> The heads already indicate that these are manifestations of the sun god because the tomb chapels enclose parts or images (*s3m.w*) of the sun god, see Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 174.

<sup>1469</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 21.

<sup>1470</sup> On at least eight sarcophagi dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty or the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, the goddess Isis directs the knife or the harpoon into the body or the head of Apophis. Régen, in: CENiM 13, 248, fig. 10-17.

<sup>1471</sup> See also the sarcophagus of Painmou (CG 29305).

in the seventh hour, where Apophis is not only fettered, but water is poured from a vessel over his body (fig. 64).

“Punishing Apophis with water is a fitting recompense for swallowing the water upon which the solar bark sails. The pouring of water also mimics the intended result of the punishment of Apophis, forcing him to regurgitate the liquid he has swallowed.”<sup>1472</sup> In fact, in addition to the obstruction, harpooning, decapitation, and cutting already documented in the annihilation rituals of Pap. Bremner-Rhind, the act of spitting on Apophis<sup>1473</sup> could also be illustrated in the Amduat in the form of pouring water.<sup>1474</sup> Moreover, the Eldest Magician, Isis’ assistant in the neutralization of Apophis, here stimulates Isis to imitate his traditional attitude of stabbing the giant serpent with his spear (fig. 51, 65). More generally, the beheading of Apophis by Isis in the late variants of the Amduat recalls the scene of the vignette of BD 17, where Re himself, in the form of a Heliopolitan cat armed with a knife, slices the head of his enemy.<sup>1475</sup>

It is no coincidence that the seventh hour of the Amduat appears as a turning point in the Book of the Amduat. Indeed, in the previous hour, the bark had descended to the deepest part of the Duat. After defeating Apophis during the seventh hour, it is now able to start its ascent to the eastern horizon from whence it will emerge, marking the beginning of a new day. This return to the open air is, in the end, a new birth. Therefore, it is clear that in both cases, for both Horus and Re, the knife of Isis appears as the instrument of deliverance.<sup>1476</sup>

By swallowing the solar bark’s waters, Apophis also deprives the dead of the vital water and threatens their immortality. Therefore, all living and all dead are called upon to help overcome this danger.<sup>1477</sup> The ancient Egyptians may have connected the “magical spells” performed by Isis and the Eldest Magician in the seventh hour with the text recorded in the papyrus copies of the Ritual of Felling Apophis.<sup>1478</sup> The annotation of the middle register of the seventh hour, *hsf Nh3-hr* “repelling of Horrible of Face,” is like *shr 3pp* “subjugation of Apophis” in the “Book of Felling Apophis,” in which Apophis becomes paralyzed and dazed through the magical utterances of Isis and Seth.<sup>1479</sup> Pap. Bremner-Rhind shows that the spell is part of the Amun temple’s daily ritual<sup>1480</sup> and affirms the texts’ usefulness both on earth and in the netherworld.<sup>1481</sup> Furthermore, the one who performs them is one who is in the bark of Re in the sky and on the earth, the matter which prevents Apophis from engulfing

<sup>1472</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 143. See also Hornung and Brodbeck, *LÄ I*, cols. 350-52; Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 78 ff.

<sup>1473</sup> In the sacrilege of Seth against Shu, Shu retaliates for the theft of his harpoon by Seth and remove Seth/Apophis’s organs while Isis and Nephthys spit on him, see *Urk.* VI, 131, 15-18; Altmann, *Die Kultfrevl des Seth*, 130. For spitting on Apophis as a defensive method, see Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 85-88; Zibelius, in: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, 404-406.

<sup>1474</sup> Pap. Bremner-Rhind, 47, 17-49, 17; Fiedler, *Spprüche gegen Seth*, 212-215; Régen, in: CENiM 13, 254.

<sup>1475</sup> E.g., Valbelle, *Les artistes*, 52-53.

<sup>1476</sup> Régen, in: CENiM 13, 254.

<sup>1477</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 114.

<sup>1478</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 132.

<sup>1479</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 132, 7.

<sup>1480</sup> Pap. Bremner-Rhind, 22, 1, cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 312.

<sup>1481</sup> Wente, in: JNES 41, 165-166; On the rituals of annihilating Apophis in the temples, see Régen, in: CENiM 13, 255.

his water (Doc. 107). Briefly, the sun god fights Apophis deep in the underworld, while priests recite the same spells on earth to aid in that most important of cosmic battles.<sup>1482</sup>

The goddess who is shown tightening the lasso over the head of the giant serpent restrains Apophis (Doc. 107). He spits out the water he has swallowed, and it flows over the dry sandbank. Selket,<sup>1483</sup> who appears here in human form with the name Sereq-hetyt (516.), binds the giant serpent (fig. 61, 62),<sup>1484</sup> a role she possesses as early as the CT and in other religious compositions, such as the Book of Gates, for example, in CT 752:<sup>1485</sup> *ju=j ḥmw.kw m r3-ᶜ ḥrp Srk.t-ḥtt jḥ ḥty=j ʿ3pp* “I am an expert in the art of the (priest) who pertains to ‘who makes throats breathe,’ so that I might repulse Apophis.” In the Book of Felling Apophis, Selket assumes the role Isis has here, even using the same vocabulary as in the Amduat: “Selket enchants (*ḥk3*) you; therefore, she deflects (*stnm*) you.”<sup>1486</sup> In the eleventh hour of the Book of Gates, Selket stretches herself over a rope that chains Apophis.<sup>1487</sup> Then, by his tail, he is lassoed again by the “Chief of His Knives.” The text also confirms the benefit one’s knowing these magical spells so that the water will not dry up and the giant serpent cannot drink it (Doc. 107). The version of the Amduat in Pediamenopet develops from west to east facing the Osirian cenotaph, guarded at each corner by two statues of protective deities extending their arms against the surface of the cenotaph. This behaviour is similar to that of the goddesses protecting the canopic chest of Tutankhamun flanking the south face of the cenotaph of Osiris; the statue of Isis adjoins the south-east corner with a protective posture while Selket occupies the north-west corner.<sup>1488</sup>

### 3.7.4 The Imperishable Stars navigate the solar bark

In the seventh hour of the Amduat, the lower register begins with the hawk-headed Horus, seated on a throne and holding a Was and an Ankh, with the sun disk on his head. Twelve gods with stars on their heads face him (fig. 66). Besides the star gods, twelve goddesses standing and facing the opposite direction are crowned with stars (fig. 67). In the PT, *Ḥr dw3.ty* “Horus of the Duat,” has command of the *jḥm.w-sk* “the Imperishable Stars,”<sup>1489</sup> providing an early parallel to the “Horus of the Duat,” who directs the stellar deities in the seventh hour of Amduat.<sup>1490</sup> He controls the rising of the stars and establishes the proper position of the hours (Doc. 108). The personified deities are not merely the hours of daytime, but they are invoked as “stellar” divinities that act for Re and travel before him across the sky at night.<sup>1491</sup> They guide the sun god within the netherworld until he rises in the eastern

<sup>1482</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 311 f. On this rite as supporting the sun’s course, see Assmann, *Ma’at*, 187 ff. On this rite as performed in the temple, see Kockelmann and Rickert, *Von Meroe bis Indien*, passim. On the temple ritual and the mortuary contexts, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 468-475.

<sup>1483</sup> Selket also has the epithets *nb.t r3* “Mistress of the serpent” and *nb.t k3s-ḥk3* “Lady of the magic fetter”, cf. *LGG* VIII, 653.

<sup>1484</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 303, no. 108; Régen, in: *CENiM* 13, 250.

<sup>1485</sup> CT VI, 381, h-i.

<sup>1486</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 303, no. 109. Selket and Isis-Hededeht, are often invoked in spells to ward off snakes, see Klasens, *A Magical Statue*, h-10.

<sup>1487</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* I, 358.

<sup>1488</sup> Régen, in: *CENiM* 13, 251 f.

<sup>1489</sup> See 1.4.2.18, 2.2.3.

<sup>1490</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 308.

<sup>1491</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 126.

horizon (Doc. 109), and their stars are the means by which they accomplish this task.<sup>1492</sup> The goddesses actively protect Re, fight on his behalf, and guide him along the mysterious paths of this region (Doc. 110). Doc. 109, which states that the stars precede the sun god and follow him, recalls the concept found in the PT that the solar bark is drawn by the Imperishable and the Indefatigable Stars (Doc. 13).<sup>1493</sup>

The names of the star gods point to some of their functions. They represent the sun god and his crew's need for provisions, his rising, and protection.<sup>1494</sup> It is well known that the stars have a close connection to the hours because the stars can be used to determine the hours at night. Here, the goddesses' names<sup>1495</sup> do not match the hours' names from the first hour<sup>1496</sup> in any way. Thus, the hours' goddesses may appear in different "manifestations" and under different "names" connected to their functions and duties related to their hours.<sup>1497</sup>

The star gods' and hour goddesses' role in the seventh hour of the Amduat complements the destruction of Apophis in the middle register because by creating suitable positions for the hours, "Horus of the Duat" prevents the cosmic disorder.<sup>1498</sup> On the lid of a Late Period sarcophagus, in a text relating to the "Ritual of Felling Apophis," the hour divinities recite spells that destroy Apophis, including one on how the goddesses in the seventh hour "fight on behalf of the one who is within the horizon," and involving the deities in the lower register with the slaughter of Apophis in the middle register.<sup>1499</sup>

In the lower register of the eleventh hour in the Book of Gates, twelve deities are depicted carrying rudders. The text describes them as "Gods, the Imperishable Stars" and then continues: *ḥꜥ=sn n Rꜥ šsp=sn mjwḥ.w=sn n ḳrr.t tn wnw.t.j* "They stand up for Re, and they possess their tiller in this cavern of the one of the hour."<sup>1500</sup> This may refer to the function of the Imperishable Stars as the crew of the day bark. In the same register, twelve goddesses hold a rope to the right and have stars on their heads. The text refers to them as: *wnw.wt stꜥ.jw wn<n>=sn m šbr pn šsp=sn nfr.t n.t wjꜥ r stꜥ Rꜥ m Nw.t* "The hour goddesses who drag.' They are in this manner, receiving this towrope of the bark in order to haul Re from Nut."<sup>1501</sup> Although the Unwearying Stars are not mentioned, it may be referring to the night bark's crew.<sup>1502</sup>

According to the cosmogony of Neith in Esna, the sinuous Apophis is none other than the umbilical cord *np* of Re.<sup>1503</sup> Here, in the case of the seventh hour, Apophis's cord retains the sun god and his crew (illustrated by the sandbank of Apophis, who blocks the way of the bark) in the depths of the

<sup>1492</sup> Cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 403.

<sup>1493</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 127.

<sup>1494</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 564, 568-570.

<sup>1495</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 575-577.

<sup>1496</sup> See Hornung, *TZA I*, 123-126.

<sup>1497</sup> See Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 217.

<sup>1498</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 308.

<sup>1499</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 308-309; 420-421 (Cairo CG 29316).

<sup>1500</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, 368-369; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, 324-325.

<sup>1501</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, 369-370; Zeidler, *Pfortenbuchstudien*, 326-327.

<sup>1502</sup> Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, 123.

<sup>1503</sup> Quack, in: SAK 34, 377-379.

netherworld and thus prevents the stars from moving freely to go out in the day. Once Apophis is slaughtered, i.e., after the umbilical cord is cut, the sun is free and can then resume its course.<sup>1504</sup>

### 3.7.5 The crew of the solar bark protects the sun god's eye

The lower register closes with a crocodile on a sandbank from which a human head of Osiris emerges (fig. 67).<sup>1505</sup> He exists as the protector of this section of the underworld.<sup>1506</sup> The head that appears above the sandbank is labeled as *dp Wsjr*, “the head of Osiris.” The text of this scene also references *jr.t Wsjr*, “the eye of Osiris,” which is not depicted in the scene. The crocodile in the seventh hour of the Amduat serves as the guardian of Osiris's flesh, whose limbs are rescued from the water.<sup>1507</sup> When the crocodile hears the solar crew's voices, the eye emerges from his vertebrae, and the head appears from his sandbank, then he swallows his images after the solar bark passes by him. He devours the *Ba* of anyone ignorant of him, as “he who knows it is one whose *Ba*-soul the crocodile cannot swallow” (Doc. 111). Here, Osiris is again identified as one of the aspects of the sun god.<sup>1508</sup>

The crocodile may guard and protect the seventh hour's images by helping in the slaughter of Apophis.<sup>1509</sup> In a text from Esna, the sun god assumes the image of a crocodile when he annihilates the serpent Wamemty.<sup>1510</sup> Furthermore, the crocodile who carries a mummy in the Book of Fayum is not a version of the crocodile who protects the mummified corpse, but rather the sun god in his crocodile form combined with the image of Osiris.<sup>1511</sup> The evidence from the Amduat, particularly in the Nineteenth Dynasty versions, suggests that the crocodile and the head emerging from his vertebrae in the third bark of the second hour represent the sun god in his form of Osiris (fig. 23). According to Manassa, the “eye” that emerges from the vertebrae of the crocodile may refer to the action of the crocodile Penwenty in the Creation of the Solar Disk scenes from the burial chambers of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX.<sup>1512</sup> There, a disk, and a ram head, called the “eye of Re,” emerge from the crocodile's belly.<sup>1513</sup> Thus, the scene here may be a reference to protecting the sun's eye, which is only possible by hearing the voices of the solar bark's crew.

<sup>1504</sup> Régen, in: CENiM 13, 253.

<sup>1505</sup> The name of the crocodile is *‘bš jmy dw3.t* “Crocodile Within the Netherworld.” On this name, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 139.

<sup>1506</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 310.

<sup>1507</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 48, cf. Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 241.

<sup>1508</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 83. For the crocodile as a protector of the sun god, see Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, 315-318. See also Sobek as a defender against Re's enemies in Kockelmann, *Der Herr der Seen*, 192-195, and Sobek as a helper of Osiris in *ibid.*, 197 ff.

<sup>1509</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 311.

<sup>1510</sup> Kurth, in: *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 137, 142. See also Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 311. Wamemty guards the oval of Sokar in the fifth hour of the Amduat, see Hornung, *TzA* II, 449.

<sup>1511</sup> Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, 113-114. See also Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 310, no. 146.

<sup>1512</sup> In the same tombs, the ram head of the sun god (*dp R<sup>c</sup>*) also emerges from the body of the same crocodile, see Hornung, *Zwei ramesidische Königsgräber*, 66.

<sup>1513</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 310.

### 3.8 Eighth hour, cavern dwellers

The most difficult part of Re's journey is over. The solar bark has safely overcome the most dangerous moment of the night because of Isis and Seth's efficient magical powers.<sup>1514</sup> The eighth and ninth hours have the leitmotif of the cloth-hieroglyph  $\text{𓄏}$  in the upper and lower registers. Providing clothing is momentous in the netherworld as only the enemies are naked.<sup>1515</sup> The upper and lower registers of the eighth hour are divided into five caverns, sealed by six red doors that open at the command of the sun god passing between them; again, the doors are called knives.<sup>1516</sup> Here, for the first time since the first hour of the night, the upper and lower registers are arranged symmetrically.<sup>1517</sup>

When the sun god passes, the caves are illuminated, images become visible, and the corpses remain in the sand.<sup>1518</sup> The annotations of the upper and lower registers repeatedly emphasize the sandy nature of the eighth hour.<sup>1519</sup> The text indicates that these are only the gods' images since their bodies are concealed beneath the sand.<sup>1520</sup> In this respect, the eighth hour is similar to the "desert of Sokar" in the fourth and fifth hours.<sup>1521</sup> Thereby, when the sun god approaches in his bark, at his word, the locked doors spring open and open the way for his rays. The caverns are made brighter, and now the "images" of the creatures that inhabit them become visible.<sup>1522</sup>

All the caves have names that refer to the entirety of the caves, tombs, and burial chambers in the netherworld, and the figures in them represent all the beings and gods.<sup>1523</sup> Each of the ten caverns in the upper and lower registers is characterized by a particular sound that is heard when the sun god passes.<sup>1524</sup>

#### 3.8.1 The crew of the solar bark

Between the caves, the sun god's bark passes through the middle register. Isis and the "Eldest Magician" have disappeared from the solar bark after they have fulfilled their duty to the sun god. The bark shows its usual crew again,<sup>1525</sup> but the Mehen Serpent, who continues to curl around Re in his

<sup>1514</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 152.

<sup>1515</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 48, cf. Binder: in: BACE 6, 21.

<sup>1516</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 249.

<sup>1517</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 48, cf. Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 152.

<sup>1518</sup> Binder: in: BACE 6, 22.

<sup>1519</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 589, 592, 595, 598, 602, 627, 630, 633, 637, 641. These caverns are tombs. Therefore, the area of this hour is called *db3.t-ntr.w=s*, "sarcophagus of its gods," since the *šm.w* images are associated with the event of the gods visibly appearing upon their sand (*ntr.w š3.w hry.w šy=sn*). Hiddenness is a common attribute of corpses in the netherworld, and the term *š3* "mystery" is often a euphemism for physical remains (for evidence of this identification, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 324-325). The collocation of the solar form "Hidden of Corpse" with the eighth hour of the Amduat is particularly apt. Each of the deities in the caverns of the eighth hour appear in their *šm*-form, while their corpses remain hidden beneath the sand, as the text for the middle register states: "The images of their bodies remain over their corpses which are under their sand," see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 156; Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 84; Hornung, *TZA II*, 608.

<sup>1520</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 252.

<sup>1521</sup> Eschweiler, *Bildzauber*, 193.

<sup>1522</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 138.

<sup>1523</sup> Binder: in: BACE 6, 21.

<sup>1524</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 262. For the meanings of each sound in the ten caverns of the eighth hour, see *ibid.*, 262, 263; *id.*, Manassa, in: *FS J. Assmann*, 109-135.

<sup>1525</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 609-610.

bark, remains (Doc. 112).<sup>1526</sup> The text above the solar bark has three parallels in the texts of this hour.<sup>1527</sup> All the beings of the eighth hour are depicted on the cloth-sign; the only exceptions are the crew of the solar bark and the towing team before it (fig. 68).<sup>1528</sup>

Since the eighth hour's realm is sandy, the solar bark sails through the middle register with the aid of a crew of eight anthropoid gods hauling it, corresponding to the number of the hour (fig. 68).<sup>1529</sup> In User, the vizier goes before them in his official garb and helps them to haul the bark (fig. 69). The gods remain anonymous in all versions, but the text describes them as *ntr.w dw3.ty.w st3.jw Rc* "gods of the netherworld who haul Re."<sup>1530</sup> The function of those hauling the bark is to tow Re along the paths of this region. Because they are in his crew, they inform the sun god, the overseer of hauling, when he has come to his images and to those in the tombs which are in the netherworld. Then, after occupying his forms and illuminating the darkness, he receives the exaltation from the cavern dwellers (Doc. 113).<sup>1531</sup>

### 3.8.2 The *šms*-signs belonging to the crew of the solar bark

The bark is followed by nine *šms*-signs (fig. 70), symbolizing the sun god's judicial authority.<sup>1532</sup> The primary function of the *šms*-signs is, no doubt, to represent the relation between the leader and his entourage. The sign, therefore, occasionally appears among the standards accompanying the king. As a symbol of power and protection, the solar bark also carries this sign on board.<sup>1533</sup> Even though the anticipated event of the sun god's rebirth is getting ever closer, Re's enemies are still present, both here and in the hours to come. For instance, in the eighth hour, the nine *šms*-signs stand directly in front of those towing the solar bark to indicate their presence in the company of the sun god in the past eight hours and the next hour as his entourage.<sup>1534</sup> According to the accompanying text, each of them carries a knife to fight off Re's enemies.<sup>1535</sup> They are the mysterious images of Tatenen who represent the jurisdiction of the sun god and his crew.<sup>1536</sup> They exist in the place where Horus hid the gods.<sup>1537</sup> The small human head, which sits as if impaled over the knives at the upper end, indicates that these devices appear as separate entities, which is why the cloth-hieroglyphs, the leitmotif of the

<sup>1526</sup> For Mehen, see 3.7.1. See also Piccione, in: JARCE 27, 43-52; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 51 f.; Helck, *Mehen*, in: LÄ IV, 3; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 454-455. Cf. LGG III, 383 f., and references cited therein.

<sup>1527</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 582-584, 585, 606.

<sup>1528</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 137.

<sup>1529</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 260.

<sup>1530</sup> Hornung, *TZA II*, 610.

<sup>1531</sup> The term "cavern-dwellers" is used for the most secret gods buried since the earliest phase of creation, see Quirke, *The cult of Re*, 50.

<sup>1532</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 85. For the names of the *šms*-signs, see Hornung, *TZA II*, 618-619.

<sup>1533</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 146.

<sup>1534</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 48. Note that the ninth hour has the same leitmotif of the eighth hour (see 3.9).

<sup>1535</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod's Journey*, 157.

<sup>1536</sup> Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, 25. See also the four crowned rams at the end of the middle register. These rams are also the *šm.w št3 n T3-tnn*, "the mysterious forms of Tatenen."

<sup>1537</sup> On the relationship between Horus and the *šms* signs, see 1.3.4.4.

hour, stand before them.<sup>1538</sup> The text also speaks of their emerging by the sun god's word, and then the *šms*-signs swallow them after the god passes by them (Doc. 114).

This insinuates their presence within the solar bark crew and, thus, that they had been accompanying the sun god throughout the entire journey.<sup>1539</sup> The *šms*-signs with heads and cloth-signs also appear surrounding the solar bark on the back of a Ptolemaic mummy cartonnage belonging to Kep-ha-ese, where Isis and Nephthys haul the bark as human-headed uraei. Inside the bark, Hu and Sia raise up a scarab pushing the sun disk (fig. 71).<sup>1540</sup> This may be an allusion to the present *šms*-signs functioning as defensive weapons and the clothing as one of the solar bark's freights.<sup>1541</sup>

### 3.9 Ninth hour, the solar crew (rowing in the flood water)

In the ninth hour, the leitmotif is still the provision of clothes. There is no eternal life without provisions and no provisions without the solar journey.<sup>1542</sup> The name of the ninth hour's portal, *s3w 3gb* "Guardian of the Flood," well suits the oar-wielding crew in the middle register (fig. 72) and foreshadows the depiction of the drowned that occupies the lower register of the tenth hour (fig. 78, 79).<sup>1543</sup> Once again, the area of this hour is called the "Mysterious Cavern of the West" (Doc. 115).

#### 3.9.1 The crew of the solar bark

The solar bark has the usual form (fig. 72) and crew.<sup>1544</sup> The sun god traverses the gate that opens for him and his crew, reaches the realm of the new hour, and stops to give his instructions.<sup>1545</sup> The sun god, his crew on board, and his rowers go to rest in the domain of this hour. They occupy his bark, alongside his image of the Mehen Serpent (Doc. 116). This journey can only proceed through one's knowing the names of this crew. Again, the one who knows their names upon the earth and in the west is the contented one in the netherworld,<sup>1546</sup> and his name will be declared as "justified" within the council of Re (Doc. 115).

Twelve oarsmen directly precede the solar bark, their paddles in their hands, and stand in front of the bark (fig. 72); this number is reduced to nine in Ramesses VI (fig. 73), and they distributed amongst all three registers in Thutmosis III (fig. 74). Though the rowers are depicted as calm, the text describes them as the "crew of Re" and speaks of their untiring activity of rowing Re in the flood water and getting him to the portal of the eastern horizon. Twelve oarsmen, one for each hour of the night, are responsible for praising the sun god and causing his *Ba*-soul to appear (Doc. 117). Their names show what is essential at this stage and refer to their crucial functions that they must carry out without

<sup>1538</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 141.

<sup>1539</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 141.

<sup>1540</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 258, n. 251; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages*, 38-41.

<sup>1541</sup> For the solar bark's freight, see 1.3.2.

<sup>1542</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 48; Binder: in: BACE 6, 22.

<sup>1543</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 268.

<sup>1544</sup> Sadek, *Contribution*, 238-239; Hornung, *TZA III*, 670.

<sup>1545</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 645-646.

<sup>1546</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 148.



hesitation or fear, for only with their assistance can the sun god safely advance towards the moment of his birth in the twelfth hour.<sup>1547</sup>

The names of the oarsmen refer to their function;<sup>1548</sup> the first is simply called the “Rower,” followed by *jb̄m<.w>-sk=f* “He Who Does Not Know His Perishing,” and *jb̄m<.w>-wrd=f* “He Who Does Not Know His Exhaustion,” as representatives of the two groups of stars that have formed the crew of the solar bark since the PT (see 1.4.2.18). The next three names that follow are also epithets that signify their dedication to sailing the solar bark: *jb̄m<.w>-h̄my=f* “He Who Knows no Retreat,” *jb̄m<.w>-hb̄<y>=f* “He Who Knows no Hindrance,” and *jb̄m<.w>-h̄ms=f* “He Who Knows no Decay.”<sup>1549</sup> In the ninth hour, the registers are littered with many groups of twelve deities; two groups in the upper register, two in the lower register, and the twelve rowers who precede the solar bark in the middle register. This phenomenon is yet another means of emphasizing the clear structure and the cyclical dynamic of the sun god and his crew’s transformation.<sup>1550</sup> Again, the three registers’ depictions emphasize the solar-Osirian unity. The upper and lower registers’ crews are responsible for praising Osiris, and the paddle-wielding crew’s function is to praise the sun god. The group of grain gods in the lower register is the guarantor for the supply of sustenance. These elements represent the main factors for continuing the sun’s journey and the completion of the process of rebirth at the eastern horizon.

The names of the rowers also indicate that they may be hypostases of the sun god himself.<sup>1551</sup> Two of the rowers bear names that allude to this manifestation. The first one is *n̄tr n̄tr.w*, which can be translated as “Most Divine,” or “God of the Gods,” and the second one is *h̄tp.w-wj̄ḏ*, “He Who Rests (in) the Bark.” Both are indeed references to Re himself.<sup>1552</sup> The second deity, “He Who Does not Know His Exhaustion,” is known from the Book of Gates as a name of the sun god.<sup>1553</sup> The last one, “He of the Boat,” is an adjective-nisbe, applicable to all god of this group. So, it can be said that Re goes forth in the netherworld with his own manifested abilities coming from himself, which are supposed to become the rowers of his bark.<sup>1554</sup>

According to Manassa, the oar-wielding deities cause the *Ba*-soul of Re to appear in its visible form, the sun disk, through their speech and not through physical activity.<sup>1555</sup> Although the text mentions their role in praising the sun god through their mysterious words, the text explicitly states that they take their positions in the floodwaters around the sun’s bark. They also provide the waters in which the bark sails, which implies an activity of movement that they carry out and that the action is not limited to their words.

<sup>1547</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod’s Journey*, 160.

<sup>1548</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 674-677; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 146, 2537-2548.

<sup>1549</sup> See Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 287. The verb *h̄ms* appears only in this text of the Amduat, and it falls within the action verbs. See Meeks, *A. Lexi*. I, 77.3080 with reference to Andreu and Cauville, in: *RdE* 29, 10. Cf. *LGG* V, 733-734.

<sup>1550</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod’s Journey*, 162.

<sup>1551</sup> Sadek, *Contribution*, 241.

<sup>1552</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 148.

<sup>1553</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 157.

<sup>1554</sup> Sadek, *Contribution*, 241.

<sup>1555</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 271 f.

In anticipation of the activity to come, the solar bark's crew holds their oars at the ready. The accompanying text speaks of their life-giving role, for their rowing is a source of life.<sup>1556</sup> Those who dwell on the riverbanks drink the refreshing water that splashes up from the oars' strokes as the bark passes by.<sup>1557</sup> In the text of the solar bark of the tenth hour, in which the leitmotif of rowing continues, we even read that "the gods who are in this place rest in the water in which their oars are located. They breathe through the sound of splashing of this divine crew (Doc. 119)."

### 3.10 Tenth hour, the deep waters of Nun

The name for the area of the tenth hour is *md3.t mw ms<.w>jrw.w* "with deep water and high banks." Again, it is a "secret cave of the west," so there is a local and thematic connection to the area of the ninth hour.<sup>1558</sup> Again, as in the sixth hour, the body of water is deep and filled with primeval water.<sup>1559</sup> The threat the sun's journey coming to a standstill is now over; however, three groups of four figures with arrows, spears, and bows serve as the armed crew of Re, who are in his entourage to punish his enemies (Doc. 120). The solar bark is accompanied by another bark, which rises with the main bark at the eastern horizon (see below). The central theme of the upper register is the protection of the sunlight. Again, Khepri is depicted holding an image of the Duat.<sup>1560</sup> A large body of water represents Nun's primeval ocean, in which float the drowned who dominate the lower register.<sup>1561</sup>

#### 3.10.1 Khepri, bearer of the nightly journey

Khepri is missing in the ninth hour but reappears in the tenth. The tenth hour's introduction speaks of the "mysterious cavern of the west, in which Khepri rests with Re."<sup>1562</sup> He accompanies the nocturnal sun god through the entire underworld in order to be present in the morning at sunrise.<sup>1563</sup> The text directly points to the imminent sunrise with the birth of Khepri (Doc. 118). In the upper register, the constant Khepri is depicted lifting an oval, the image of the underworld,<sup>1564</sup> which houses him at night (fig. 75).<sup>1565</sup> The name of the scarab beetle is "Living Khepri."<sup>1566</sup> Its forelegs hold the so-called *nw.t* oval filled with dots, a symbol we encountered in the fifth hour (fig. 47).<sup>1567</sup> This scene foreshadows the conclusion of the sun's nocturnal journey, and the oval represents the entire

<sup>1556</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 147.

<sup>1557</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun God's Journey*, 160.

<sup>1558</sup> Hegenbart-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 179.

<sup>1559</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 159.

<sup>1560</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 24.

<sup>1561</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 224.

<sup>1562</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 700-701.

<sup>1563</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 176.

<sup>1564</sup> Grapow, *Bildlichen*, 98; Schäfer, in: ZÄS 68, 2; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 177; Binder, in: BACE 6, 24.

<sup>1565</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 164.

<sup>1566</sup> On the "Living Khepri," see Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 163; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 178-179. For more information on the *nb*-beetle, see Keimer, in: ASAE 31, 174-182; Anthes, in: JNES 18, 211-212.

<sup>1567</sup> The *nw.t*-oval appears several times in the Amduat. The chamber of Sokar in the fifth hour is called *nw.t*. In the upper register of the tenth hour, a scarab lifts up a small *nw.t* oval, which is directly compared to the events at the twelfth hour in the eastern horizon. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 132, no. 317. For the term *nw.t* "oval," see also Piankoff, in: ASAE 49, 140; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 175-176.

netherworld, the rounded edge of which appears at the end of the twelfth hour.<sup>1568</sup> So, does this scene allude to the end of the night when Khepri slips out of the underworld? A reference to his rebirth after the twelve hours of the night is at least mentioned in the text.<sup>1569</sup> Here, as in the case of the oval at the deep cavern of Sokar, it symbolizes the renewal and rebirth of the sun god, thus linking the middle of the night with the conclusion of the solar journey through the underworld.<sup>1570</sup> Furthermore, Khepri (see the barks of the first and twelfth hour) goes on land as a crew member to arrange the sun god's coming rebirth by rolling the entire Duat as he moves the sun disk across the sky in the same manner.<sup>1571</sup>

### 3.10.2 The solar bark, the rowers, and the armed crew

The solar bark in the middle register and its crew remains unchanged.<sup>1572</sup> The text above the solar bark in the tenth hour of the Amduat suggests a certain unity in the ninth hour. A mention of “rowers” and details concerning splashing oars appear in the tenth hour, which depicts no oar-wielding deities; instead, the attendants of the bark in the tenth hour carry spears, arrows, and bows.<sup>1573</sup> The text also points to those who are in the water and emphasizes that the dead in this area breathe by the sound of rowing of the solar bark's crew (Doc. 119).



In the middle register, directly before the bark of the hawk-headed serpent, a series of twelve gods represent Re's bodyguards (one for every hour), protecting him against all his enemies (fig. 77).<sup>1574</sup> The first group, solar disk-headed deities, carry arrows; the second group, fully anthropoid, carry spears; the third group, also fully anthropoid, carry bows.<sup>1575</sup> They are the armed crew who fend off the Horrible of Face in the dark realm. This crew of soldiers guards the sun god on the way to the eastern horizon, so the sun god makes their weapons speedy, sharp, and acute to punish his enemies. They remain in his entourage until he repels Apophis, then they praise his flesh in the day bark (Doc. 120). Though they were missing in the seventh hour, and Apophis was successfully defeated there, he must now be repelled one more time.<sup>1576</sup> The sun god travels in the darkness of the primeval waters of Nun.<sup>1577</sup> In the complete absence of light, the enemies' punishment occurs; therefore, the armed crew's function is to shield the sun god and destroy the cursed serpent who could be in the utter darkness of the water. They also protect the act of recreation, especially since the dark could be a place of rebirth and resurrection.<sup>1578</sup>

<sup>1568</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 343-344.

<sup>1569</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 178.

<sup>1570</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 344.

<sup>1571</sup> See Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 113. For the relationship between the beetle ball, the solar disk, and the Duat, see Schäfer, in: *ZÄS* 68, 1, no. 5; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 105, Cooney, in: *JNES* 12, 17.

<sup>1572</sup> Sadek, *Contribution*, 255; Hornung, *TZA* III, 719-721. Only in ThIIIK, Mehen's name is written as   *Mḥn n Rḫ* “Mehen-Serpent of Re.”

<sup>1573</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 347.

<sup>1574</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 313.

<sup>1575</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 223.

<sup>1576</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun god's Journey*, 167.

<sup>1577</sup> See Binder, in: *BACE* 6, 23.

<sup>1578</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 62 with notes 346, 347. For the rejuvenation process including contact with the water of Nun, see Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 149-150.

The names of the three groups describe the weapons they carry and define them as a crew of bodyguards who attack, punish,<sup>1579</sup> and cause pain to the enemies of the sun god.<sup>1580</sup> The text shows that they belong to the sun god's constant crew, and therefore, they are not bound to a specific hour of the night.<sup>1581</sup> The hour goddess of the tenth hour is called the "Raging One Who Beheads the Crooked-hearted One," and there is no doubt that the person in question here is Apophis, the banished enemy who the armed crew of the solar bark fight in the middle register. Here, too, the name of the hour of the night expresses the notion of destroying enemies.<sup>1582</sup>

Between the solar bark and the bodyguards of Re, there is a falcon-headed serpent named the "Living One in the Earth" lying in a divine bark with a papyrus bundle prow and stern and moving on the water without hindrance (fig. 77). It accompanies Re during his ascension to the *ꜥrry.t*-gateway of the eastern horizon.<sup>1583</sup> The scene symbolizes the regained mobility and vigor of everyone and everything in the company of the sun god. The serpent's legs and the bark provide the mobility, and the designation *bnty p.t*, "Foremost of the Sky" suggests that they accompany the sun god to the heavens.<sup>1584</sup>

### 3.10.3 The "Floating Ones" navigate the solar bark again

Drifting in the lower register's water are twelve swimmers in groups of four, shown in different positions, including supine and prone (fig. 78).<sup>1585</sup> In Ramesses VI, they have the same position of recumbency. There is no stream of water, but each figure has the hieroglyphs for water beneath his leg (fig. 79).<sup>1586</sup> From the text, we can tell that they are those who have attained "apotheosis by drowning."<sup>1587</sup> The scene intends to affirm that these deceased individuals are among the blessed dead because of their unusual fate. The mythological model for death by drowning is Osiris,<sup>1588</sup> who was slain by Seth and cast into the Nile's waters.<sup>1589</sup> They reach Nun's waters, which represent the vitalizing primeval substance out of which the sun rises and out of which the creator god rose for the first time.<sup>1590</sup> Various other textual sources indicate that death by drowning leads to a blessed state in the afterlife.<sup>1591</sup>

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<sup>1579</sup> In BD 39, which is directed against Apophis, Atum, Geb and Hathor say to the soldiers of Re: "Lift your faces, soldiers of Re, ward off for me <the Noxious one> from the council. May you secure those who are on their thrones in the midst of the bark of Khepri. Take your ways, your shields held before you, take your weapons." Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 46, 10-12.

<sup>1580</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 730-731.

<sup>1581</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 168, no. 3.

<sup>1582</sup> Hegenbart-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 224.

<sup>1583</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 723-724.

<sup>1584</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 166.

<sup>1585</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 224.

<sup>1586</sup> See a completely different depiction of the drowned in Seti I. Hornung and Burton, *Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I*, fig. 84-86.

<sup>1587</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 172-173, cf. id., *Buch von den Pforten II*, 217-219; Delia, in: JARCE 29, 186-187 with note 39. For more details about fear of water and death in the Nile, see Quack, *Tod im Nil*, 385-433.

<sup>1588</sup> For more details on the Osiris myth and death by drowning, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 120-121.

<sup>1589</sup> See Vernus, in: SEAP 9, 19-34.

<sup>1590</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 49; Binder, in: BACE 6, 23.

<sup>1591</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 350.

The bridge by which the floating ones/drowned enter the underworld is the water of Nun. It is at the same time the waterway of the solar bark. The portrayal of the floating ones actually belongs to the middle register, as in the Book of Gates, where the noise made by the rowers' team enables the drowned to breathe,<sup>1592</sup> but this register is reserved for the bodyguards of the sun god.<sup>1593</sup> The same event occurs in the fifth hour when the floating ones who row the solar bark are depicted in the upper register very far from Nun's primeval waters in the lower register (see fig. 47). Here, the falcon-headed Horus with the sun disk leans on a staff in front of the waters, filled with three groups of people.<sup>1594</sup> Doc. 121 describes them as the "Floating Ones," the "Capsized Ones," and the "Overturned Ones." It contains Horus's speech to all drifting groups, which is very similar to the text from the fifth hour, and refers to them as: "the ones who row through the waters of Nun" (Doc. 88). As Nun's waters are the fairway of the solar bark, and the previous annotation assigns them the function of rowing, they are the ones who have the task of expediting the navigation of the solar bark. The strong breath and the power in their arms and legs enable them to cross the water properly and without hindrance. Moreover, they are twelve drowned individuals, which corresponds to the number of hours of the night. Also, Horus describes them as: *nttn nn <n> jmy.w Nwn mhw.w m-ht jt=j* "you are those who are within Nun, the drowned who are in the following of my father."<sup>1595</sup> Since the fate of drowning is connected to that of Osiris; Horus proclaims their companionship to his father and the sun god during the twelve hours of the night. Wüthrich interprets that the watery environment of the drowned is a contrast to the fiery slaughtering of the damned in the eleventh hour's lower register,<sup>1596</sup> although Horus oversees the events in both scenes.<sup>1597</sup> However, Horus's presence when supervising the two different sets of people is complementary rather than contrasting, since the Nun's water is also a place for the damned (see above 3.10.2).

### 3.10.4 The sceptre of Nehes illuminates the way for Re

The tenth hour closes with four goddesses with serpents on their foreheads, facing right. A sceptre crowned with the head of the god Seth follows them (fig. 80). They occupy the dark path of this region. The fire that the serpents spew illuminates the way for the sun god until he finds the eastern horizon (Doc. 122). Their names indicate their rigorous nature.<sup>1598</sup> The shepherd's staff of Nehes crowned with the head of Seth, with whom the register ends, walks with them to the eastern gateway.<sup>1599</sup> Here, Nehes appears as a hypostasis of Seth, who protects the solar bark against Re's enemies (see above 3.5.6).

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<sup>1592</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 214 ff.

<sup>1593</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 350.

<sup>1594</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 23.

<sup>1595</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 737-738.

<sup>1596</sup> See a description for this scene in Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 232.

<sup>1597</sup> Wüthrich, in Bickel, eds., *Basel Egyptology Prize*, 422-423.

<sup>1598</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 742.

<sup>1599</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 163.

### 3.11 Eleventh hour, the renewal of time

After the sun god sails in the depth of Nun's water, in the eleventh hour, time itself is renewed, enabling the resurrection of the sun god and all the blessed dead.<sup>1600</sup> The three registers are filled with anticipation of the solar deity's rebirth, his companions in the morning, and notions of punishing his enemies.<sup>1601</sup>

#### 3.11.1 The eleventh hour, mistress of the bark

Through the movement of the solar bark, the aspect of time comes to the fore, mainly since the spatial progress corresponds to the passing of time, which the hours represent, especially during the journey in the Amduat. As the initiator of this process, the sun god creates time while traveling in the realm of each hour. The eleventh hour's name is in keeping with the concept of the hourly goddesses, as the name starts with the name *sb3y.t* "Starry One."<sup>1602</sup> She is the "Mistress of the Bark," who repels Re's enemy when he appears (Doc. 123). However, the destruction of Apophis is discussed nowhere in the entire hour, and the vanquishing of the enemies of Osiris and the sun god takes up the entire lower register.

The personified goddess of the eleventh hour appears in the upper register seated upon the serpent *šd-wnw.t*, "He Who Rescues the Hours," with ten or eleven stars below him (fig. 81).<sup>1603</sup> This idea of the *šd-wnw.t* is expanded in the Book of Gates. In the second register of the fourth hour, twelve goddesses stand on two ramps between which is a multi-coiled serpent. The accompanying text describes how the serpent and the goddesses exorcise (*h̄tm*) time and recreate it.<sup>1604</sup> The word *h̄tm* can mean either "supply" or "destroy." Also, the verb *šd* can have two different meanings, either of which is appropriate to the context; the serpent either rescues the hours (like *h̄tm* "to supply") or takes them away (like *h̄tm* "to destroy"), and the ascending posture of the serpent's body is fitting for both actions.<sup>1605</sup> Here, time is represented as the serpent's body which swallows the individual hours and out of which they are born again (Doc. 124).

According to the introductory text, the goddess personifying the *d.t*-eternity is the one who swallows the hours' *s̄m*-images and presents them at the birth of Khepri.<sup>1606</sup> However, in the scene's text (Doc. 124), it is the serpent *šd-wnw.t*. Since there may be a pun on *d.t*-body and *d.t*-eternity here, a connection to the *d.t*-serpent (as the body par excellence!) might also exist on this level. Therefore, all

<sup>1600</sup> See Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 42-43.

<sup>1601</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 49.

<sup>1602</sup> Hegenbart-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 224.

<sup>1603</sup> On a mythological papyrus kept in Kansas City, the scene of the eleventh-hour goddess appears with an interesting addition: the serpent upon which the goddess sits, is supported by a serpent-headed goddess named Hepetethor, a rare goddess who is mostly associated with the Judgement Hall of Osiris, see Heerma van Voss, in Luft, ed., *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, 265-266, pl. XVIII.

<sup>1604</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, 118; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 274. For the "destruction" of time in the netherworld, see Hornung, *Zeitliches Jenseits*, 269-307.

<sup>1605</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 354.

<sup>1606</sup> Similarly, Nut as the cosmic sow "swallows her children" only to give birth to them again. In magical texts, swallowing can have a destructive effect or is often used to absorb the power of another object, see Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 102 ff.; Billing, *Nut*, 18-21. Thus, this taking and swallowing would be understood as a kind of protection, see footnote 533 in the catalog of sources.

the three components of *d.t*—eternity-body-serpent—form a unit, and the goddess and the serpent are thought to be closely related, as they both participate in devouring the hours as one single being.<sup>1607</sup> Furthermore, the connection between the name of the hour as the “Starry One” and the goddess of time in the upper register is obvious and refers to her escorting the sun god, renewing time, and giving birth each day anew. The serpent *šd-wnw.t* must protect the hours surrounding him to set the course of the sunrise, which must be done at the right time. Thus, the serpent represents the spatial vehicle in which the sun god traverses, while the goddess oversees the hours, symbolizing the domains of time. These hourly stars represent the hour goddesses who accompany the sun god and guide him in their respective temporal areas. Besides, the first three deities of the upper register (fig. 81), the first crowned god with the sun disk, the god Atum wearing the sun disk on his head, and the time serpent, have a certain relation to the journey of the sun god.<sup>1608</sup> They work together to manage the hours and prevent any deficiency that might occur during the nocturnal journey.

### 3.11.2 Twelve gods follow Re to the sky

Twelve gods with various attributes follow Re. The first deity has two human heads and the second a ram head, holding a Was and an Ankh. The third raises his arms in adoration. The next five gods have no arms depicted; the fourth has two serpents instead of his head.<sup>1609</sup> The last four deities are again provided with arms but without attributes (fig. 82). In some sources, some members of the crew are without clothes (fig. 83). The iconography of this crew is very ambiguous and may be an allusion to the sun god himself who is now described as *ššt3 n ntr pn 3*, “mysterious of this great god.” These deities find their closest parallels in another crew of twelve entities who occupy the middle register in the sixth hour of the Book of Gates (middle register, scene 38).<sup>1610</sup> The text describes them as follows: “those hidden of the arm, who carry the mystery.”<sup>1611</sup>

The annotation for the twelve gods describes them as the transporters of the mystery of the sun god to the sacred place or the hidden chamber, defined as the *bw dsr*<sup>1612</sup> and *3.t jmn.t*.<sup>1613</sup> Then they go forth with him to the sky.<sup>1614</sup> Therefore, they can be considered constant companions of the sun god. They breathe through his air, feed on the offerings of his bark, drink from the primeval waters, and their *Ba*-souls are in the entourage of the solar deity (Doc. 125).<sup>1615</sup> The group’s names indicate the powers of their arms and abilities that they use to place the sun god in the realm of the Duat every day and maintain the steadiness of the solar cycle.<sup>1616</sup> The text refers to them as *št3-3* “those mysterious of

<sup>1607</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 211.

<sup>1608</sup> The two heads of this god are perhaps connected with the double character of the Egyptian conception of time. See Rickert in: Färber and Gautschy, eds., *Zeit in den Kulturen des Altertums*, 80.

<sup>1609</sup> Ten of these gods are naked in the tomb of Seti I, see Hornung and Burton, *Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I*, fig. 88, 89.

<sup>1610</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten II*, 224-226.

<sup>1611</sup> See Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 289.

<sup>1612</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 756.

<sup>1613</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 758. For the underworldly significance of the *3.t*-chamber, see Jasnow and Zauzich, *Book of Thoth*, 36-37.

<sup>1614</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 356.

<sup>1615</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 175.

<sup>1616</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 759-760.

arm.”<sup>1617</sup> This aspect of *š3-ꜥ* appears in the concluding text of the second hour (Doc. 80), where the arms of the solar bark’s crew are also hidden when they destroy Apophis.

### 3.11.3 Towards the eastern horizon

#### 3.11.3.1 She who shines the netherworld leads the solar bark

The solar bark in the middle register has, in addition to its usual crew,<sup>1618</sup> a female solar disk<sup>1619</sup> surrounded by a serpent at the prow (fig. 84).<sup>1620</sup> In Ramesses VI, only three members of the crew are in the bark. Wepwawet and Nebetwia occupy the prow, and the one who is at the stern is anonymous (fig. 85). This goddess may serve as the female counterpart of the male sun god in the upper register. The “male” exists in the upper register wearing the white and red crowns with a solar disk between the two heads (fig. 81). This crouching sun at the prow of the solar bark represents the state of readiness that the sun god needs to reach the eastern horizon.<sup>1621</sup> At this point, the sun god’s crew rows him towards the eastern horizon, and the role of the “Shining One” is to guide the sun god on the dark paths of the netherworld and to illuminate those who are in his following (Doc. 126).<sup>1622</sup>

#### 3.11.3.2 Twelve gods bearing Mehen

Now comes the rejuvenating serpent, in which, at the end of the night, the renewal of the sun and all life takes place.<sup>1623</sup> Twelve gods in front of the bark, one for every hour, carry a large coiled serpent on their heads.<sup>1624</sup> Each god bears two coils of the serpent and has his hands held before him, supporting the serpent’s body as it extends in the spaces between each god (fig. 86).<sup>1625</sup> The sun god calls them by their names and gives them orders about what they have to do. They carry the giant Mehen Serpent and set it on its way to the eastern gateway of the horizon. The sun god encourages them from his bark, gives firmness to their arms, steadfastness to their legs, and wideness to their strides so that they can successfully proceed. They remain in Re’s company, then they return to their places after the sun god passes through the darkness and rests in the sky.<sup>1626</sup> They set the Mehen Serpent on his course along way to the eastern horizon (Doc. 127). Their names allude to their abilities

<sup>1617</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 755.

<sup>1618</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 767-768.

<sup>1619</sup> The concept of the female disk appears in the CT VI, 50-52. For the female solar disk, see von Lieven, in: SAK 29, 277-282; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 219-223, see Rat-tawy as the female sun disk of the two lands, in: Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, 204-212.

<sup>1620</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 338. In addition to this representation, the sun god appears as a solar disk breaking the oval in the final picture of the twelfth hour. Also, the solar disks are depicted in the tenth hour of the Amduat as the right and the left eye of the sun god (696., 699.). All the solar disks of the Amduat remain anonymous except for the one of the eleventh hour, cf. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 54-55.

<sup>1621</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 172.

<sup>1622</sup> In ThIIIK: *psd.t jmy.t dw3.t* “Shining One of the Netherworld.”

<sup>1623</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 172 f.

<sup>1624</sup> References to giant serpents are collected in Vittmann, “*Riesen*” und *riesenhafte Wesen*, 55-61.

<sup>1625</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 230. This scene appears in the papyrus of *Ba-ken-mut*; there, the tail of the serpent goes into the solar bark, while it hangs down in front of the bow in all versions, see Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, pl. 20, scene 3.



<sup>1626</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 173-174.



used to assist the sun god in his bark, like lifting, grasping, and pulling.<sup>1627</sup> The names are like: *ḥj<.w>* “He Who Lifts,” *ḥm<m>.w* “He Who Grips,”<sup>1628</sup> *šp.w* “He Who Receives,” *jmḥ?* “The Pleasant One,”<sup>1629</sup> *šdj.w* “He Who Takes.”

Many events come together to provide a unified theme for the last three hours. First, the eastern horizon is the destination of this crew of gods and the Mehen Serpent, and their current location is described as the *ḥrry.t*-portal of the eastern horizon. This location refers to the tenth hour, when the annotations<sup>1630</sup> name this same destination for the serpent, “Living One of the Earth” (see above). Furthermore, the text for the gods hauling the solar bark in the twelfth hour describes the serpent *ḥnḥ ntr.w* “Life of the Gods,” as *šm šṯ* “mysterious image” (Doc. 131). Mehen has the same appellation in this scene in the eleventh hour. The evidence from the Amduat suggests that the crew of bearers in the eleventh hour carries the Mehen Serpent into the twelfth hour, when the same serpent, now called *ḥnḥ-ntr.w*, becomes the protected location of the sun’s rebirth as Re travels backwards through its body.<sup>1631</sup> The set of twelve deities may represent the hours of the night, which indicates that this crew of gods accompanies the sun god during his birth in the eastern horizon and throughout his nightly journey. The first phrase in the next scene (3.11.4 = Doc. 128), “these are the images concealed by Horus,” can also be found in the text accompanying the twelve gods on Manassa’s Type II sarcophagi. According to Manassa, “this suggests that this phrase may instead be a description of the Mehen Serpent.”<sup>1632</sup> Another possible interpretation could be that this phrase describes the twelve gods carrying the Mehen.

### 3.11.4 Isis, Nephthys, and Neith guard the eastern gate

Directly before the twelve gods, two serpents, facing right, carry the Red and White Crowns on their backs.<sup>1633</sup> The first, (798.)  *ššmw ʒs.t*, “Image of Isis,” has a red crown with a small human head appearing from the flat portion of the crown. The second serpent, (799.)  *ššmw Nb.t-ḥw.t*, “Image of Nephthys,” has a white crown with two small human heads on either side of the rounded top of the crown.<sup>1634</sup> Prof. Martin Stadler has brought another interpretation of the depictions of the two goddesses to my attention. He assumes that *ššmw ʒs.t* would be equivalent to “(this is an ) image of Isis,” analogous to *ššmw Nb.t-ḥw.t*.<sup>1635</sup> Of the last four goddesses, two are wearing the Red Crown, two the White Crown. They are all manifestations of the goddess Neith, standing at the gate of Sais,

<sup>1627</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 773-775.

<sup>1628</sup> *ḥm* appeared in the Book of the two ways among five spirits who guard the paths in the area of the “Gate of darkness.” CT VII, 499f.; *LGG* I, 17.

<sup>1629</sup> In CT IV 302h-p (Sp. 674), *jmḥ.w* is the one who let the deceased come to the west with the potter *nḥp*. The text also mentions that the two great and mighty gods (may be Re and Osiris) descend as serpents and the deceased descends on their coils, then they rise up as falcons.

<sup>1630</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 723-724.

<sup>1631</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 358.

<sup>1632</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 358.

<sup>1633</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 342.

<sup>1634</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 231.

<sup>1635</sup> See also *ššmw Šw* (3.12.5) and *ššmw jwf* (3.12.7).

where Neith was venerated (fig. 87).<sup>1636</sup> Here, Isis and Nephthys appear again in their uraeus-forms, guarding the solar bark's path (see above 3.2.1.1). Hence, they perform the same function, once onboard after entering the Duat and once on land directly before leaving the underworld.

On the *w3.t dsr.t S3y* “unapproachable road of Sais,” the sun god reaches the “second gate of the netherworld” (the first was in the west). Here, in the eleventh hour, Sais is one of the many names of the eastern gate, which is the destination of the solar journey. Now Isis and Nephthys guard it as uraeus-serpents.<sup>1637</sup> Their secret heads appear when the sun god speaks to them, and then they swallow these images again. (Doc. 128). But what is the relation between the eleventh hour of Amduat and the city of Sais? In the Book of Traversing Eternity,<sup>1638</sup> Sais is mentioned prominently alongside Memphis and Heliopolis, directly following the events of descending into the underworld.<sup>1639</sup> The navigation to Sais relates to Osiris' coronation and the judgement of his enemies, which is pronounced by Neith.<sup>1640</sup> Thus, the presence of Isis, Nephthys, and the four epithets of Neith explains the depiction of the damned being punished in the lower register and fits the geographical designation of the middle register.<sup>1641</sup> Doubtlessly, Isis and Nephthys oversee the destruction of the enemies directly before moving to the final division and facilitating the journey to the eastern horizon where the regeneration occurs.

If we accept that the first phrase is attributed to this scene in Hornung's edition of the text, and Horus conceals Isis and Nephthys's images, his presence may allude to the notion of Seth's punishment on the roads of Sais.<sup>1642</sup> It is known that Seth takes his place at the first portal of the first hour,<sup>1643</sup> presumably with hostile intentions.<sup>1644</sup> Re must repel Apophis, and Osiris must prevent the evil deeds of Seth. The sun god's task is to keep the cosmic cycle going, while Osiris aims to overcome death.<sup>1645</sup>

### 3.12 Twelfth hour, end of the darkness and images of creation

The area of the twelfth hour is named *phwj kkw sm3.w*, “End of the Unified Darkness,” and leads directly to the eastern horizon,<sup>1646</sup> which is closed with a gate, but like most gates in the Amduat, it is not depicted. The rowing crew of the sun god must destroy Apophis for the last time, but the central themes of this hour are the processes that aim to let the sun god and his followers be reborn, which

<sup>1636</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 343.

<sup>1637</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 174.

<sup>1638</sup> For Sais in the Book of Traversing Eternity, see Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 113, 117, 129, 279, 291 sq; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 117, 132-133, 148, 174, 203, passim.

<sup>1639</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 428.

<sup>1640</sup> Willems, *Chests of Life*, 148-150. For the Egyptian cities as counterparts of the netherworld, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 429-430.

<sup>1641</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 428.

<sup>1642</sup> See Willems, *Chests of Life*, 149-150.

<sup>1643</sup> Hornung, *T3A I*, 110.

<sup>1644</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 5 (23).

<sup>1645</sup> See Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 97.

<sup>1646</sup> “End of the unified darkness” is the name of the cavern of the twelfth hour. The Amduat reuses the exact name of the western gate in the introduction of the book as a name for the eastern horizon (see Hornung, *T3A I*, 103). This synonymy indicates the end of the darkness and limiting it inevitably occurs once the sun god enters the netherworld, see Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 185, 1.

is the goal of the Amduat's underworld journey.<sup>1647</sup> The name of this hour announces the end of the nocturnal journey: "Beholding the Perfection of Re."<sup>1648</sup> Again, we see how many different images are entangled in one unit: the scarab crawls out to enter the horizon,<sup>1649</sup> Osiris rests in the lower register, and the rejuvenation inside the giant serpent occurs (see below).<sup>1650</sup> Here, the sun god has been completely renewed and is born again to continue his journey above ground and to illuminate the earth.<sup>1651</sup> The sunrise is not a simple, mundane event. Every new morning is a reinstatement of the creation of the universe.<sup>1652</sup>

Three images of creation appear in the introduction of the concluding hour. The first image occurs inside the giant serpent (see below). The second is the act of being reborn from Nut. As in the eleventh hour, this cavern is called the "Mysterious Cavern of the Duat." The cavern at which this god goes forth from the Nun and rests at Nut's body.<sup>1653</sup> The third image of creation occurs in darkness in conjunction with the primeval deities of the Ogdoad. Without the primeval waters' motive power, infinity, darkness, and invisibility, the sun would be unable to rise each morning.<sup>1654</sup> The eight oarsmen who follow the Ogdoad in the lower register of the twelfth hour are also said to "elevate the great disk in the eastern horizon daily" (Doc. 134). Perhaps these eight gods are another manifestation of the Ogdoad.<sup>1655</sup>

### 3.12.1 Twelve goddesses in the upper register join the solar crew

The upper register starts with twelve goddesses who have fire-spewing serpents at their shoulders (fig. 88). They escort the sun god over the "mysterious sandbank of the sky," where his enemy threatens him once more. They traverse the sky with him and take their place in the day bark, then they return to their positions.<sup>1656</sup> Their serpents' flames destroy Apophis, while the light from the fire releases the deceased, presumably from their mummy wrappings (Doc. 129).<sup>1657</sup> The names of the goddesses sometimes refer to their serpents. Like, "Mistress of Cobras." The penultimate goddess is called "She Who Comes Forth from the Front of Re," thus directly representing his forehead serpent. Their names are direct references to the sun's rebirth, the power they have, and their function of opening the roads.<sup>1658</sup> The last goddess is named: *nb.t jr.w<t> m wj3 n nbh* "Lady of the Uraeus-Serpent in the Bark of Millions." The name of this goddess confirms the presence of the entire group within the

<sup>1647</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 88-90.

<sup>1648</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 797.

<sup>1649</sup> For the scarab as a symbol of creation (*Generatio spontanea*), see Stadler, in: Jasnow, eds., *Illuminating Osiris*, 353-357.

<sup>1650</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 50.

<sup>1651</sup> Stadler, *Elysische Gefilde*, 25.

<sup>1652</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 25.

<sup>1653</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 796-797.

<sup>1654</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 370-371.

<sup>1655</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 371, no. 403. On the Ogdoad's role in the sun god's rebirth and destroying his enemies, see *ibid.*, 371, and excerpts cited therein.

<sup>1656</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 189; *id.*, *TZA III*, 803-806.

<sup>1657</sup> See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 363. The serpents' flames may also be light sources that guide the sun god in this utter darkness.

<sup>1658</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 807-808.

solar bark. They are supported by the rowing team in the lower register, which guides the sun safely towards the sky (see 3.12.6).<sup>1659</sup>

The fact that they are a group of twelve and guide the sun god puts them in close relation with the twelve hour goddesses of the first hour, whose primary function is to guide the sun god. This could mean that the goddesses of the twelfth hour, as a form of the hour goddesses, are part of the solar bark's crew, especially as the last one (833.) is called "Lady of the Uraeus-Serpent in the Bark of Millions," that is, the solar bark.<sup>1660</sup> The twelve goddesses of the twelfth hour of the Amduat with fire-spitting uraei on their shoulders are elements in the scene of the triumph of light directly before entering the eastern horizon. They do not correspond to the four figures seated upon twin-uraei at the end of the eleventh hour's upper register, who cannot move in the complete darkness.<sup>1661</sup> Likewise, this task connects them with the "goddesses who brighten the darkness of the netherworld," who appeared as twelve fire-breathing serpents in the lower register of the first hour (fig. 6). They embody the positive aspect of the many serpents that accompany Re on his journey, protectively surround him and help him through their "fire" to overcome the darkness.<sup>1662</sup>

The twelfth hour is the final, critical stage of the sun god's rebirth. His life must be secured here and in the sky, to protect himself and the other deities from the threat of the dark realm.<sup>1663</sup> Thus, the importance of the serpent goddesses lies beyond the twelfth hour of the night as they stay in the entourage of the sun god until he moves to the day bark. They destroy Apophis for him in the sky.<sup>1664</sup>

### 3.12.2 The two daughters receive the sun god at the eastern horizon

The scene of the "turquoise" gods in the upper register has an interesting annotation and a reference to the sun god's rebirth: "The two daughters lifting the sun god." This feminine duality is very significant in the nightly journey of the Amduat. They guard the entryway into the netherworld in the west and raise the visible forms of the sun god in the east. The solar journey in the Amduat is framed by pairs of goddesses who assist Re in all of his tasks throughout the entire journey, including rising from the eastern horizon.<sup>1665</sup> As the sun god arrives at the horizon and occupies his place in the east, two goddesses hold the sun god and raise him in his inspected form (Doc. 130). These two anonymous goddesses may refer to any female pairs in the Amduat, such as Isis and Nephthys, who appeared as two serpents in the second and eleventh hours (see above 3.11.4). They also could be Isis or Hathor, who is on a mission to protect the sun god and lift him up to the day bark (Doc. 35).<sup>1666</sup> Moreover, the visible form of Re in the eastern horizon is the sun disk, and the two daughters may embody the two horizons through which the sun god travels.<sup>1667</sup>

<sup>1659</sup> Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 50.

<sup>1660</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 37 f.

<sup>1661</sup> Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 305, no. 140.

<sup>1662</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 190.

<sup>1663</sup> Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 37.

<sup>1664</sup> According to the Book of Day, the punishment of Apophis takes place in the middle of the day. See Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramesses VI*, fig. 131 (upper half).

<sup>1665</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 367.

<sup>1666</sup> There, Hathor is the "serpent-guide" and "lady of brightness." Isis is the "daughter of Nut," who raises Re.

<sup>1667</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 367. Compare the scene of the sun on the arms of Isis and Nephthys on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, see Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 537, fig. 7.2.

They also could be the two Maats, who also appear as Re's two daughters.<sup>1668</sup> The Maat goddesses who appear in the first hour leading Re along the paths of the netherworld (Doc. 76) are simultaneously the two eyes illuminating the dark paths, or even the two barks in which the sun god travels (see 3.2.1.6).<sup>1669</sup> The two Maat goddesses' presence within the first hour of Amduat foreshadows their steady attendance with Re during his entire nightly journey through the netherworld.<sup>1670</sup> They participate in the reception of the sun god at the eastern horizon. Like the baboons in the western horizon, the two Maat goddesses who haul the solar bark in the first hour are intended to evoke their complementary functions at the eastern horizon.<sup>1671</sup>

This also raises the question of whether the *wšb.t n.t mꜣꜥ.ty* "Broad-hall of the Dual Maat," where the judgement of the dead takes place, is a metaphor for the netherworld. Bleeker studied the Two Maats in the iconography of the Book of the Dead, and he concludes that they symbolize the concept of Maat in this world and the netherworld.<sup>1672</sup> Seeber studied the aspect of the Two Maats, and he assumes that the Maat in the solar cycle does not represent the "reduplication" of Maat but the "division (Aufteilung)" into two parts, in this world and the netherworld.<sup>1673</sup> Furthermore, the two Maats may refer to a certain stage in the solar journey, the Judgement Hall of Osiris, or the "Hall of the Two Maats."<sup>1674</sup> The conclusion of Djedthothiu fankh's speech in the tomb of Petosiris, where he addresses the baboons from the first hour of the Amduat, further strengthens the connection between the Amduat and the "Hall of the Two Maats."<sup>1675</sup> In conclusion, the Amduat is a place of judgement where Maat determines the absolute justice; as the Amduat explains in its title *rb wꜣš.jw ḥtm.jw* "to know the honored and the damned."<sup>1676</sup>

### 3.12.3 The crew of the solar bark and the process of rebirth

The solar bark is hauled forward, containing the same crew it has had since the seventh hour.<sup>1677</sup> The only difference is the addition of "Khepri" in the form of a scarab, horizontally oriented,<sup>1678</sup> at the prow, showing the coming transformation of the sun god. The disk on his ram head is again protected by the uraeus serpent (fig. 89).<sup>1679</sup> The representation of Khepri in the solar bark is quite varied in the

<sup>1668</sup> For Maat as the companion of Re during the diurnal and nocturnal segments of his course, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 67-72; Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 89-90; Zandee, *Amunshymnus I*, 138-141.

<sup>1669</sup> Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 180-185.

<sup>1670</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 202.

<sup>1671</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 210.

<sup>1672</sup> Bleeker, *Egyptische godin Ma-a-t*, 61, cf. Yoyotte, *Le Jugement des Morts*, 61 ff.

<sup>1673</sup> Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, 142-146, especially p. 141. Recently, Smith has found out that the Dual Maats are connected with Re rather than with Osiris in the PT and CT (Smith, *Following Osiris*, 260 with note 641). On the concept of *mꜣꜥ.ty* in the PT and CT, cf. Higo, in: BibOr 76, 444-456.

<sup>1674</sup> Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts*, 63-67.

<sup>1675</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 202 with note 51, 114-115.

<sup>1676</sup> Hornung, *TꜣA I*, 106.

<sup>1677</sup> Hornung, *TꜣA III*, 819-820. Behind the scarab on the prow of the bark in the pap. INV. R93 (collection of Sir Charles Nicholson, University of Sydney) are the "Opener of Ways," the "Eldest Magician," and a third anonymous god. As we know, *Hkꜣ.w-smꜣw* replaces Wepwawet in the seventh hour where, together with Isis, his task is destroying Apophis, see Binder, in: Sowada and Ockinga, *Art in the Nicholson Museum*, 48, pl. 8.

<sup>1678</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 236.

<sup>1679</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 366.

New Kingdom and later periods. He can appear as a winged scarab supporting the solar disk,<sup>1680</sup> or he can be depicted with a human body but with a winged scarab in place of a head (fig. 3). He is also shown as a seated anthropoid god, but with his head replaced with a wingless scarab (BD 17). The later one displays a very traditional form of the solar bark showing the ancient emblems, namely the hanging mat at the prow and the *šms* sign. Khepri may also be represented with a completely human form within a shrine with his head surmounted by a scarab (BD 110).<sup>1681</sup>

All of the images of creation, the transformation of the sun, and the route of rejuvenation pass through the giant serpent whose full name is the “*Ka* of the One Who Gives Life to the Gods,” that we saw in the eleventh hour on the heads of the bearing gods behind the solar bark.<sup>1682</sup> Now, this Mehen Serpent appears again in front of the bark (fig. 90, 91).<sup>1683</sup> In the giant serpent’s text, the sun god addresses him in his name of *n<sup>c</sup>w* to aid in the god’s birth.<sup>1684</sup> The sun god wants to emerge from the serpent’s body easily, so he wants to have the ability of smooth movement associated with the *n<sup>c</sup>w*-serpent (see 3.4.4). The text of the twelfth hour clarifies this process in the phrase: *n<sup>cc</sup>=f n msw.t n<sup>tr</sup>* “to be smooth in the birth of the god.” The text also indicates a mutual benefit between the serpent and the venerated ones, as he lives off their shouts, and his *Ka*-power enables the gods to live.<sup>1685</sup> In the lower register of the fourth hour, the serpent *n<sup>c</sup>w ḥd.w* occupies the solar bark, represents the divine crew of the sun god, and acts as the one who protects the netherworld (Doc. 86). Assumably, the sun god requests his crew to do the same functions that they did in the early hours of the night, for instance, Isis and Nephthys in the second and eleventh hours, the Two Maats in the first and twelfth hours, the *n<sup>c</sup>w*-serpent in the fourth and twelfth hour, and Khepri in the first and last hours. The sun god and his divine crew sail through the serpent’s body, entering through the tail and coming out of the mouth. The “reversed” direction from tail to mouth indicates the inversion of time necessary for the general rejuvenation.<sup>1686</sup> This transformation process occurs not only to the sun god but also to all the members of the solar bark’s crew, as if they represent the sun god himself, or they are his characteristics that he uses in the netherworld (Doc. 131). Therefore, the process of transformation must include them to properly complete the solar cycle.

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<sup>1680</sup> Chassinat, *Edfou* III, pl. XLVII.

<sup>1681</sup> Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 117, Abb. 7; 119, Abb. 10; Hassan, *Giza* VI, 1, 123-124.

<sup>1682</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 89.

<sup>1683</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 186.

<sup>1684</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 827. For the *n<sup>c</sup>w*-serpent and the eastern horizon, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 322-323. See also a connection between the rejuvenation serpent of the Amduat’s twelfth hour and Khepri in a text from Edfu. Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 224; note the critique in Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 209.

<sup>1685</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 827-828.

<sup>1686</sup> See Hornung, *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 50. The Underworld Books are, contrary to the usual convention, written backwards. The solar bark sometimes sails back, see Stadler, *Elysische Gefilde*, 25-26. On the inversion of time in the twelfth hour of the Amduat, see Hornung, *Zeitliches Jenseits*, 289-290. This state of “transforming” is also recognized in the names of gods and goddesses hauling the solar bark (Hornung, *TZA* III, 825-826, 832-833), see Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 368. The Egyptian conception of time or eternity had two aspects: the durative immortality *d.t* and the iterative immortality *nhh*, which according to Jan Assmann, is reversible, i.e., is reversible in its course. See also the eleventh hour as a time’s devouring serpent in 3.11.1.

### 3.12.4 The crew hauling the solar bark

The text speaks of the action of pulling the bark through the serpent. Like the sun god, the towing crew enter the serpent as elders and come out as youths. They are in the following of Re, and their rebirth occurs after the sun god's rebirth in the eastern horizon.<sup>1687</sup> They shout on earth and pronounce the name of the sun god (Doc. 132). The gods who have yet to enter the serpent have names like the "Old One," "Who is Weak From Age," and "One of the Grey (Hair)," etc. This is indicative of their state before the rejuvenation, where they are still old and weary.<sup>1688</sup>

Having passed the serpent, thirteen goddesses, looking back to the solar bark (as the twelve gods did),<sup>1689</sup> hold the solar bark's tow rope (fig. 91). Although their names include "Mistress of Youthfulness," "She Who Beholds the Perfection of Re," "She Who Brings Her God," and the like,<sup>1690</sup> the text does not mention their entry into the giant serpent or their emerging from it. They wait on the other side to grasp the rope of the bark of Re when he comes out of the serpent's spine. Their names indicate that these goddesses have already gone through the mysterious process of the "serpent of birth." They haul the solar bark and guide the sun god to the paths of the east. The thirteen goddesses' role is to control the weather conditions and regulate the bark's course across the sky (Doc. 133).<sup>1691</sup>

The names of the last three goddesses are "She Who Rests in Her Horizon," "She Who Brings Her God," and "She Who Shields the East," alluding to their conveying the sun god to the eastern horizon, where the morning ascension takes place. Judging by the name of the last goddess and her position in the events' sequence, she is closely associated with the eastern horizon.<sup>1692</sup> The rope by which the bark is towed ends in a small coil at the twelfth hour's rounded edge. Above those last three goddesses is Khepri, which appears to advance towards the red sun disk. Within the horizon, atop the last border of the Duat, is a human head and two extended arms with a sun disk below the head (fig. 90).

Although the number of the goddesses is thirteen, their names indicate their connection to the hour goddesses. Since the name of the goddess (871.) "She Who Beholds the Perfection of Re" matches the name of the twelfth hour,<sup>1693</sup> and the two following goddesses (872., 873.) have very similar names ("She Who Sees Khepri" and "She Who Sees the Corpse of Her God"), which refer to the hypostasis of Re-Khepri and Osiris (as the corpse of the sun god). Thus, these three goddesses could also be manifestations of the twelve hour goddess<sup>1694</sup> because Re and Khepri occupy the solar bark together in the area of this hour. In the Book of day and night, the last hour of the night and the first hour of the day have names almost identical to the goddess of the twelfth hour in the Amduat.<sup>1695</sup> This

<sup>1687</sup> See Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 187; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 369.

<sup>1688</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 825-826.

<sup>1689</sup> In the full versions, there are twelve gods and thirteen goddesses involved in this section. The number decreases in the later versions, see Binder, in Sowada and Ockinga, *Art in the Nicholson Museum*, 48; Sadek, *Contribution*, pl. "XII division" after p. 346. In Amenhotep II, the thirteen goddesses are facing forward, but in the other versions, they face back to the bark like the twelve gods (fig. 91).

<sup>1690</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 832-833.

<sup>1691</sup> Binder, in Sowada and Ockinga, *Art in the Nicholson Museum*, 48.

<sup>1692</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 832-833; Binder, in Sowada and Ockinga, *Art in the Nicholson Museum*, 49.

<sup>1693</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 796-797.

<sup>1694</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 219.

<sup>1695</sup> Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 74, 91.

indicates that this goddess is responsible for the transitional situation and has the privilege of looking at the newborn sun.<sup>1696</sup>

However, since the number of goddesses is unusual within the Amduat, and the number “13” is not chosen arbitrarily, the question arises why these thirteen goddesses have appeared in the area of this hour. As the birth of Khepri indicates the end of the night and the beginning of the day, a kind of transitional situation must be assumed. In this sense, twelve of the goddesses could embody the nightly hours of the Duat, and the thirteenth could be interpreted as the first hour of the new day, which now takes over the accompaniment and protection of the sun god in the eastern horizon.<sup>1697</sup> The thirteenth goddess’s name, “She Who Shields the East,” confirms this particular meaning.

But what makes this birth possible? The answer is simple: the serpent god. Just before the final renewal, all those in the solar bark must once more plunge into the murky depths, not knowing whether there will be an escape from this darkness. The solar bark and all it carries must enter the serpent god, along with all its crew members (the rowers in the ninth hour and the bodyguards in the tenth hour).<sup>1698</sup> “But, did the sun god and his crew struggle against all these obstacles to no avail? The answer is no, because entering the darkness within the serpent summarizes the entire nocturnal journey of the Amduat and receiving the *Ka*-force from its body keeps the sun moving and rejuvenating and reflects the underlying meaning of life that persists, no matter what happens.”<sup>1699</sup> Thus, the last three hours have different serpent deities, which have a regenerating function, either by devouring the hours or swallowing the entire solar bark crew to rejuvenate them all.

### 3.12.5 Shu receives the solar bark

The rope of the solar bark is hauled by twelve gods in the back and thirteen goddesses in the front. This high number of people towing serves to ensure that the solar bark is safely brought out of the serpent’s mouth.<sup>1700</sup> They bring the bark right into the open arms of Shu, who lifts the sun god into the eastern horizon.<sup>1701</sup> The scarab already appears at the bow of the solar bark and now breaks through the oval end of the underworld (fig. 90). After his rebirth, the sun god begins the ascension to the day bark. Not only does the crew of the solar bark help him with this process, but also the god Shu,<sup>1702</sup> who seals off the underworld as soon as the sun god has passed (Doc. 131), so that the two areas remain neatly separated and hostile forces are held back.<sup>1703</sup> As the god who was depicted at the end of the second-middle register of the first hour is named *dbꜥ-tꜥ*, “He who seals the earth,” (82.) the importance of preventing the sun god’s enemies from entering the other realm is again stressed.<sup>1704</sup>

<sup>1696</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 224.

<sup>1697</sup> Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 220.

<sup>1698</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun God’s Journey*, 192-193.

<sup>1699</sup> Schweizer, *The Sun God’s Journey*, 193.

<sup>1700</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 186; id., *Altägyptische Jenseitsbücher*, 50.

<sup>1701</sup> In all version, the open arms on the rounded end are labeled *šmw Šw* “(this is an) image of Shu,” except for in Thutmosis III catalog, where it reads *Šw* “Shu,” see Hornung, *TzA III*, 834.



<sup>1702</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 89-90.

<sup>1703</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 26.

<sup>1704</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 82; Schweizer, *The Sun God’s Journey*, 32.



The Book of Gates goes a step further and makes the god who raises the solar bark (there, it is Nun) its final depiction.<sup>1705</sup> Nun and the serpent have been sources of life and rebirth since the PT. In Pyr. § 132c (PT 211), the king is conceived and given birth to in Nun, whereas Pyr. § 2288d (PT 758) locates this process in the nose and nostril of the serpent within whose coil he (the deceased king) has slept.<sup>1706</sup>

The birth of Khepri is the emergence of the scarab beetle from the solar disk on the eastern horizon. In the twelfth hour of the Amduat, this event is not depicted directly, but instead, a scarab rides on the prow of the solar bark, while another one hovers near the head of Shu at the rounded end of the netherworld. The collocation of two *ms*-signs  and two *hpr*-scarabs  in the twelfth hour<sup>1707</sup> may allude to the twin modes of birth and creation embodied by these terms.<sup>1708</sup> “All potential manifestations or forms of the solar god are born in the eastern horizon as Khepri, the ultimate symbol of the sun’s transformative powers.”<sup>1709</sup> The third goddess (872.) in the group of the thirteen goddesses towing the bark bears the name “She Who Sees Khepri.”<sup>1710</sup> Khepri appears in the same way in the Book of the “Creation of the Solar Disk.” Also, *ms*-forms and *hpr*-signs appear in the final hours of the night in the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns.<sup>1711</sup>


### 3.12.6 The crew of the solar bark populates the lower register of the twelfth hour

In the lower register, a fire-breathing serpent standing on its tail (893.), “He Who Burns With His Eye,” separates two groups of four gods (889.-892., 894.-897.) carrying paddles,<sup>1712</sup> once again representing the crew of the solar bark.<sup>1713</sup> All of the oarsmen are fully anthropoid male deities, except for the deities (891.) and (892.), who have a crocodile head and a two bird heads, respectively (fig. 92).<sup>1714</sup> Although they carry oars and no weapons, this crew’s task is to repel Apophis, who has been driven away for the last time before sunrise.<sup>1715</sup> They also perform the rise of the sun disk in the east of the horizon. The text stresses the struggle of the serpent to destroy the enemies of Re at sunrise. Then, the entire group makes its way to the heavens behind the sun god (Doc. 134). Their names contain many references to active qualities that make them ideal fighters in the portal of the eastern horizon.<sup>1716</sup>

<sup>1705</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 189; Stadler, *Elysische Gefilde*, 25; For a comparison of the final scenes in the Books of the Netherworld, see Schäfer, in: ZÄS 71, 15-38 and Sethe, *Lauf der Sonne*, 259-284 with critics for Sethe and Schäfer by Hornung, in: MDAIK 37, 217-226.

<sup>1706</sup> Billing, *Nut*, 34.

<sup>1707</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 810.

<sup>1708</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 365. The cryptographic writings, however, create an added layer of meaning; the repetition of the scarabs allows for each one to be read *hpr*; for example,  can be interpreted as *hpr-hprw* “Manifesting of manifestations,” see Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 182; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 374.

<sup>1709</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 365; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 184.

<sup>1710</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 832-833.

<sup>1711</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 365.

<sup>1712</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 374.

<sup>1713</sup> Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 191.

<sup>1714</sup> Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 240.

<sup>1715</sup> Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 374.

<sup>1716</sup> Hornung, *TZA III*, 840-841.

### 3.12.7 Re and Osiris and the necessity of separation

The rising of the sun means new life and creation, and creation means separation. Re separates himself from Osiris,<sup>1717</sup> who must remain in the depths of the netherworld and endure its dim light. The mummy of Osiris reclines at the rounded end of the twelfth hour and is called *šmw jwf* (“this is an image of flesh”).<sup>1718</sup> Ten gods raise their arms in adoration of the mummy (fig. 93), probably to indicate that it is not a rigid mummy that has been left behind, but a vibrant body.<sup>1719</sup> This reclining mummy is the supporter of Shu, who in turn bears Nut.<sup>1720</sup> The resulting creation of space enables the *ꜥgb-wr*, “great flood,” to flow forth from the land and from the mummy itself.<sup>1721</sup> *ꜥgb-wr* is here in the Amduat, the *Ba*-soul of the sun god. The sun’s disk, going forth into the eastern horizon, is also referred to as the “great flood,” the waters into which the sun swims at the beginning of the dawn (see also Doc. 13).<sup>1722</sup> Here, Shu’s arms, which are part of the reclining Osiris, allow the *Ba*-soul of Re (*ꜥgb-wr*) to emerge and receive the disk.<sup>1723</sup> In the concluding scene of the Book of Gates, Nun lifts the solar bark, whose crew includes Shu, while Nut receives the solar disk. Similarly, in the twelfth hour of the Amduat, Shu and Nut appear in cosmic roles in association with the primordial water, in their manifestation of *ꜥgb-wr*.<sup>1724</sup> Furthermore, in the Book of Gates, Osiris curls back around himself to support Nut, who delivers the sun disk to Khepri in the bark of Re.<sup>1725</sup>

This separation is inevitable, but these gods who offer praise to Osiris know that all life will eventually return to him, and they comfort him with their sincere wish for the continued life in the depths of the earth.<sup>1726</sup> The texts for this hour state that it is Re who emerges in his bark in the eastern horizon to sail through the sky.<sup>1727</sup> Or rather, in his two epithets of Re and Khepri, the sun god passes by him to bestow him with life and breathe.<sup>1728</sup> The middle register of the Book of Caverns’ final scene shows the solar bark being towed by a group of divinities. Osiris addresses the sun god as the lord of life, asking him to look at him, call his *Ba* into his following, and Re agrees to his request. A *Ba* bird standing at the prow of Re’s bark is identified as Osiris, and the accompanying text explains that the

<sup>1717</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 26. This image is interpreted as a mummy of the deceased (this is clear in Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, No. 29, with a cone above its head) whose *Ba*-soul accompanies the god in the sky, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 193. See also, for example, the reclining mummy of Tjaihorpata within his sarcophagus (CG 29306), see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* II, pl. 270 B.

<sup>1718</sup> For some notes on the corpse of Osiris, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 384, no. 54 and the references cited therein.

<sup>1719</sup> Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 191.

<sup>1720</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* III, 848-849.

<sup>1721</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 373.

<sup>1722</sup> Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 410; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 193; Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 90. On this identification between the sun god and the “great flood” in the PT and CT, see Pyr. § 1173a; CT VII, 463c (Sp. 1130); Volten, in: MDAIK 16, 364. The “great flood” is also considered the putrefaction of the corpse of Osiris, see Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 241, no. 133.

<sup>1723</sup> Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 411.

<sup>1724</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 373. For the extensive Shu-theology in the CT and later religious compositions, the “supporting” role of Shu in particular, and the arms of creator deities, Tatenen, Shu, Nun, etc., lifting up the solar disk, see *ibid.*, 373, no. 411.

<sup>1725</sup> Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 290.

<sup>1726</sup> Schweizer, *The Sungod’s Journey*, 186.

<sup>1727</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* III, 795, 809-810, 813-814, 818-819, and 834-835.

<sup>1728</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* III, 843.

god's *Ba* enters the solar bark while his corpse remains upon his throne.<sup>1729</sup> Furthermore, in the third hour, the sun god addresses Osiris and his followers and says that he will travel to the sky while his corpse remains in the netherworld (belongs to the earth),<sup>1730</sup> and the *Ba*-soul and corpse of Osiris are said to have the same fate.<sup>1731</sup> This may indicate that the body of Osiris remains in the subterranean realm, and his *Ba* travels with Re to the sky. This is also an allusion to the presence of Osiris in the solar bark during the hours of the night (see 3.2.1.3). The epithets of Osiris are: "Foremost in the Unified Darkness," "Foremost in His Darkness," "Foremost of the Westerners," and "Foremost in the Netherworld,"<sup>1732</sup> which provide unequivocal evidence that his body remains behind in the underground realm of the dead, while the sun god goes forth into the daylight.<sup>1733</sup>

In a speech to the inhabitants of the netherworld at the end of the first hour, Re says that he will cause Osiris to breathe, and they, in turn, invite him to enter the place where Osiris is.<sup>1734</sup> The introduction of the third hour says that Re governs those who are in the following of Osiris.<sup>1735</sup> In another text from the same hour, the sun god is said to command Osiris himself.<sup>1736</sup> At the conclusion of that hour, Osiris praises Re in the underworld and is said to be in his following.<sup>1737</sup> All of these remarks indicate Re's pre-eminence over Osiris. Based on the previous excerpts, Niwiński treats Re and Osiris as two separate divinities. He argues that a permanent synthesis of those two gods was envisaged, as a result of which it was no longer Re but a new "great god" incorporating both Re and Osiris who was thought to leave the underworld each dawn.<sup>1738</sup>

However, the suggestion of Niwiński does not seem reasonable, especially because no god appears on the eastern horizon but Khepri, the typical morning form of the sun god, and the text of the twelfth hour clearly mentions that the *ꜥgb-wr*, "great flood," the manifestation of Re (see above), goes forth from the image of Osiris' body. The "image of the flesh" (the nocturnal form of the sun god) is the image that Horus hid in the unified darkness.<sup>1739</sup> Therefore, the sun god leaves it in the darkness, whereas his *Ba*-soul can follow the sun to the light. Moreover, one may say that the descent into Osiris's realm of the dead signifies Re's commitment to the Duat's inhabitants to give life to the lord of this world and those in his following.<sup>1740</sup>

Thus, ends the Amduat. The sun is rejuvenated, and light has risen again. Light and life have revitalized Osiris,<sup>1741</sup> whose corpse also shelters the sun god during the night in order for it to be born in the

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<sup>1729</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 321; Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch* II, 461-473.

<sup>1730</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 315-316.

<sup>1731</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 334; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 134.

<sup>1732</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* III, 842-845.

<sup>1733</sup> Smith, *Following Osiris*, 315; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 37.

<sup>1734</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 155, 160.

<sup>1735</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 271-273.

<sup>1736</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 293.

<sup>1737</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* I, 321-324.

<sup>1738</sup> Niwiński, in: JEOL 30, 90-91; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 314-315, cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 216.

<sup>1739</sup> Hornung, *TꜥA* III, 848-849. See Doc. 114, in which Horus is the creator of the *šm*-images of the deities whose corpses are hidden beneath the sand. Also, in Doc. 128, the images of Isis and Nephthys are concealed by Horus.

<sup>1740</sup> For more details on Re's preeminence over Osiris, see Smith, *Following Osiris*, 323-324.

<sup>1741</sup> Binder, in: BACE 6, 26.

morning.<sup>1742</sup> The twelfth hour of the Amduat presents an explicit and clear notion of achieving the movement of the sun god into the eastern horizon with highlighted correspondences between the three registers. Re rises from the underworld only to preserve the cyclical process of death and rebirth, in which each sunrise, expressed in the twelfth hour of the Amduat as “going forth from Nun, being lifted by Shu, and resting in Nut,” is only the herald to another sunset.<sup>1743</sup>

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<sup>1742</sup> Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher*, 89.

<sup>1743</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 175.

#### 4. Summary

In Chapter 2, we traced the sun's journey in the solar cycle, where the sky was seen as the surface of the cosmic ocean, and therefore the sun's diurnal journey through the sky required a bark, known as the day bark. At the same time, the sun god sails by night, in the night bark, through a region beneath the sky or beneath the earth, where the gates, demons, and tenebrous paths exist (see 1.1, 1.2). According to the PT and CT, the sun god continues his journey, supported by a crew of deities to help him re-emerge in the eastern horizon at dawn and start the cycle again. Indeed, the earlier compositions did not fully execute this journey through the sky and the underworld; however, the roles and functions of the crews in the two journeys are very significant and indispensable. Both of the two sources affirm that the deceased will join the crew of Re's bark and help convey the sun god as he traverses the day and the night.

Furthermore, the deceased joins the solar bark crew because he can go through the gates without hindrance, as Re is the ruler of that region. Therefore, his proceeding along the paths of the underworld cannot be impeded. As he is then one of them, the bark's crew displays their joy at the sight of the deceased when he joins them in the bark (Doc. 19). Thus, they accept him as a rightful passenger during the nocturnal journey. Also, the Amduat emphasizes that knowing the names of the crew members assists the sun god, meaning that one who knows them will flourish in the netherworld and that it is beneficial for those who recite the ritual on earth (Doc. 115).

In the PT and CT, the number of entities in the solar bark's crew is not directly clarified. One spell from the Book of Two Ways states that the number is unknown (Doc. 57), while another spell from the same book claims that the number is six, with the sun god himself counted as one of them (Doc. 59). The selected excerpts from the early sources clarify the roles of the members of the solar bark's crew in the solar cycle. The word *jz.t*, "crew" is mentioned only two times in the PT, once in PT 407 (= Doc. 9) and another time in conjunction with the Unwearying Stars and the Imperishable Stars (PT 569). The tasks and duties of the solar crew were mostly assigned to them as a group, expressed by terms like *hnn wj3 Rc*, "Sailor Who Rows the Bark of Re" (Doc. 4), *jz.t hnw Rc*, "Crew Who Rows Re" (Doc. 9), *jz.t Rc*, "Crew of Re" (Doc. 22), and *šn.wt*, "Entourage" (Doc. 55, 59, 60). In the sky, the crew conducts and guides the sun around the horizon (Doc. 9). After preparing the ferryboats, the crew navigates the bark without having any weariness (Doc. 23). They are responsible for the day and night barks' effectiveness and prevent any damage or wreckage that might be done to them (Doc. 28). The bark crew gives the sun god eternal life (Doc. 25, 62), and thus the sun god provides all creatures on earth who are dependent on the continuation of the sun's journey through heaven and the underworld with this infinite life. The crew of the sun god is not limited to the deities who occupy Re's vessel. Presumably, there are two crews, one that goes with him on the bark, and the other one that guards the land (Doc. 46). In a constellation of events, Apophis causes unrest and instability in the solar voyage (Doc. 26); however, the crew defeats Apophis and proceeds to praise the sun god (Doc. 69).

In the Amduat, although Isis and the Eldest Magician have a significant influence in overthrowing the sun's enemy, the sun's crew physically annihilate him with their strong arms (Doc. 80). In the seventh

hour, the crew's voice gives life to the lower register's crocodile, which participates in the sun's rebirth (see 3.7.5). The solar crew's primary function is to row Re in each nightly division (see, e.g., Doc. 119). Also, the solar crew's functions and duties can be assigned to a specific crew member. In the earlier sources, Isis and Nephthys oversee the movement between the night bark and the day bark (Doc. 1). Similarly, the New Kingdom's Book of the Night shows Isis standing at the night bark's prow, and Nephthys standing in the corresponding place on the day bark. They extend their hands to lift a solar disk, which flies between the two barks (see 1.4.2.10). The two goddesses haul the two ropes of the solar bark as it traverses the winding waterways of the lower sky (Doc. 16). The body parts of Isis, Nephthys, and many other deities are identified with the bark's components (Doc. 40). This identification enables the solar bark to proceed in the field of rushes freely and safely.<sup>1744</sup> Isis's presence in the solar bark is one of the roles she took over from the goddess Maat (Doc. 54) and Hathor (see 3.3.4). Isis is the *Nat*-serpent who gives life in the paths of the sunshine, uses her magic to raise Re to the day bark (Doc. 35), and places Horus at the prow of the god's bark (Doc. 38).

In the Amduat, Isis and Nephthys also protect Re when they appear as two serpents occupying the prow of the second hour's solar bark (see 3.2.1.1). As kites, Isis and Nephthys protect Osiris's enclosure burial from which Khepri emerges in the Amduat's fifth hour. Isis's head above the cavern of Sokar provides the solar bark's crew with the vast protection, illumination, and magical powers of the goddess. Her protection plays a crucial role in the solar-Osirian unity within Sokar's cavern (3.5.5). Her existence in the fifth hour may indeed foreshadow her role in the battle with Apophis in the seventh hour. The magical powers of Isis help Re to overcome his ultimate foe, Apophis. She stands at the prow of the bark and works her spells against the giant serpent (see 3.7.2). The two sisters reappear as serpents with crowns on their backs in the eleventh hour to guard the god's path to the eastern horizon (see 3.11.4).

Moreover, the "two daughters" who receive the sun god in his shining forms may allude to any pairs of female deities in the Amduat (see 3.1.2.2). Isis and Nephthys are most likely the two daughters who embrace the sun disk at the eastern horizon. Isis and Nephthys frequently appear in all the Netherworld Books' major compositions in various roles, including rejuvenating the god and his followers, providing protection, and participating in the union of Re and Osiris.

Another notable female goddess has a crucial role in the solar journey: Maat. Since the PT, Maat occupies the prow of the solar bark. In the CT, the deceased send Maat around the horizon to be in the presence of the sun god (Doc. 52). In the same composition, Isis steps into the role of Maat as the leader of the journey across the sky. In the Amduat, Maat straightens the twisted paths of the underworld (see 3.1.1). The two Maats haul the sun god's bark in the first hour. The presence of the two Maats within the nightly hours reveals the goddess's multi-functional role (see 3.1.3). Her place in the fifth solar bark of the second hour connects her with Thoth and the duty of "bringing the sun's eye" (see 3.2.1.6). She oversees the microcosmical birth of Khepri in the lower register of the fourth hour (see 3.4.4). Furthermore, the two Maats may appear again in the guise of Re's two daughters in

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<sup>1744</sup> CT V, 181 (Sp. 404).

the twelfth hour (see 3.12.2). Thus, the goddess Maat's presence in the solar journey is an allusion to the cosmic cycle's correct functioning and success and continuance of life.

The deceased's journey into the afterlife always leads to a place where he sits among the gods. Hathor is the goddess who dispenses this kind of transition to the deceased (Doc. 8). She appears in the role of the deceased's provisioner. The text involves many deities in this process, such as Hu, Baah, Neper, Sek, and Hathor. The spell also mentions the sun god, making him the most important of these deities whom the deceased wants to gather around (Doc. 27). The deceased serves Re and Hathor equally in the sky and on the earth (Doc. 45). Hathor sails in the ferryboat of the sky (Doc. 37) and is present in nearly every hour of the night on the solar bark. In one excerpt from the CT, Hathor is also on the bark of Khepri. She appears with her terrifying character in order to protect the sun god's roads (Doc. 43). In the Amduat, Nebetwia, who stands at the prow of the solar bark during the twelve hours of the night, is a hypostasis of Hathor. The fourth bark contains a large symbol of Hathor (a human face with cow ears and a sistrum-like crown) flanked by two goddesses in the second hour's middle register. Hathor's symbol plays an essential role in the regeneration of the sun god (see 3.2.1.4).

Furthermore, three goddesses in the third hour bear the two pupils of the sun god. Their names allude to the mission of retrieving the goddess of the sun's eye, who is presumably Hathor. This illustrative image indicates Hathor's role as goddess of the sun's eye, who protects the sun god in the underworld (see 3.3.4). Isis, Maat, and Hathor interchangeably occupy the solar bark's prow. The three goddesses are distinguishable by the role of protecting the solar bark and leading it.

The sun god's need of creative forces, like authoritative utterance, command, perception and the need for provisions, make the sun god use the qualities of his permanent assistants, Hu and Sia. Hu and Sia came into existence from the blood droops spilled onto the earth from the sun god's cut phallus. In the PT, Sia stood at Re's right hand and carried the god's book, i.e., Hu may stand at his left hand (Doc. 3). In the Coffin Texts, Hu and Sia are said to be with their "father" Atum every day (Doc. 36). Thus, they are the constant companions of the sun god. Hu appears as the deceased king's companion, who places him between the stars (Doc. 2). The PT repeatedly assert that the deceased king assumes the role of Hu and Sia, showing that the king maintains his place beside Re and has power over the netherworld's forces (e.g., Doc. 5, 6). The deceased's taking his position and his protection in the solar cycle came to be associated with incorporating the deceased into Hu and Re (Doc. 30, 50). He associates himself with Hu as the first creation of the sun god (Doc. 32, 34).

Furthermore, he moves around Shu, who revolves "around the circuit of Hu and Sia," a possible reference to the sun's orbit (Doc. 33). One corollary of this is that he enters the night bark, where Mehen, Hu, and Sia are, which sails on the netherworld's dark paths (Doc. 48). In the Book of Two Ways, Hu and Sia occupy a prominent position in Re's bark (Doc. 59). Together with Heka, Hu actively contributes to protecting the sun god from the dangers of the underworld. They participate in the destruction of Apophis when Re crosses over to his horizon (Doc. 60). Hu is the provisioner of "food and drinks" in the fields of the god (e.g., Doc. 14, 21, 37), and he is the opener of the ways, who can make utterances on the dark paths (Doc. 61).

Sia, in the shrine of Re's bark, also protects the deceased from the punitive actions of the *jb.ty.w*, "trappers" (Doc. 44). Thus, Sia is the keeper of the dead limbs in the sun god's presence (Doc. 71).

Therefore, Sia is one of the sources of knowledge. The deceased must obtain his abilities to secure his place among the entourage of Re and experience solar mysteries (Doc. 29, 52).<sup>1745</sup> The introduction text of the Amduat uses the word *rh*-knowledge frequently. This repeated emphasis on the importance of *rh.w*, “knowledge,” is expressed by placing Sia, as a source of divine perception, among the crew of the solar bark in the twelve hours of the Amduat. Furthermore, Hu and Sia are not only companions of the sun god in the Amduat but also possess powers that protect Osiris from his enemies, leading the *Ba* of the sun god to his corpse. Accordingly, Sia and Hu are the creative principles of speech that the sun god uses to proceed with his journey and keep the divine order.

The sun god’s entourage includes one of the most important deities that participate in the solar journey, Wepwawet. Wepwawet is represented as a jackal standing on a standard carried in the royal processions to “open the way” for the king. Similarly, many spells in the PT, CT, and BD record Wepwawet helping the dead ascend in order to be together with the sun god and opening a path for them through the dangerous roads of the netherworld (see, e.g., Doc. 7, 11, 12, 49, 72). In other contexts, Wepwawet participates in the nourishment of the deceased in the god’s fields (Doc. 27), and the “standard of Wepwawet” is one of the names of the solar bark (Doc. 40). In the Book of the Dead, Wepwawet is one of seven gods who guard the twenty-first gate on the road to the throne of Osiris (2.3.2). In the Amduat, Wepwawet stands at the prow of the solar bark in all hours of the night, except for the second and the seventh hours, presumably to open the roads of the netherworldly regions and lead the bark’s defense against the sun’s enemies.<sup>1746</sup> Thus, Wepwawet’s role is that of guide that opens the doors of dangerous journeys in life or after death.

One of the most important deities in the crew of Re is Seth. From the PT onwards, Seth is accused of murdering Osiris. Thus, he is considered a personification of death and hostility. However, in the solar theology, he plays a very contrasting positive role and fights at the sun god’s side. He stands at the prow of the solar bark and hurts the sun’s enemy with his immense power (harpooning the serpent of chaos and eradicating it with magic).

Moreover, a passage in the PT may refer to Seth’s role in the solar bark (see 3.7.2). The CT attest to what can be considered a reference to Seth’s role in destroying the serpent by binding it. The spell’s context also portrays the deceased as Seth, who uses his magic to defeat the enemy (Doc. 26). In the Book of Two Ways, Seth’s name was mentioned among the crew members at the solar vessel’s prow (Doc. 59). The appearance of Nehes among the Amduat’s bark crew members maintains Seth’s positive role vis-a-vis the sun god.<sup>1747</sup> Nehes protects the path of the solar bark (see 3.5.6) and illuminates Re’s way with his sceptre (see 3.10.4). Seth may appear as the “Eldest Magician” who overthrows Apophis in the seventh hour of the Amduat. This role can also be played by the “Eldest Magician,” who fights Apophis by commands he gives to a group of bowmen and spearmen (Doc. 58). There, the “Eldest Magician” uses his magical power and immediately follows it up with an order to the divine soldiers to physically attack the enemy. This same function is equally fitting for Seth, who uses the two types of power, the magical utterances and the power of spearing. Accordingly, by

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<sup>1745</sup> For the conception of solar knowledge, see Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 22-53.

<sup>1746</sup> See Wepwawet assume the role of the enemy’s punisher in 1.4.2.4.

<sup>1747</sup> For Nehes as a manifestation of Seth, see above (3.5.6).



defeating the serpent of chaos, Seth prevents the solar cycle from being harmed and secures a safe passage along the underworld's treacherous routes.

The sun god's need for the sun's eye to be saved and for someone to bring Maat to him is not doubtful. Thoth plays an essential role in the solar journey. In the PT, the deceased king flies up to the heavens in the cloths of Thoth (Doc. 12).<sup>1748</sup> In the Book of Two Ways, in the mansion of Thoth, the ritualist carries the solar eye/the eye of Maat to the solar bark on which Thoth and his entourage are present (see 2.3.2). It has been noted that the mansion of Thoth is the location of the events that revolve around Re's night bark. In the Book of the Dead, the deceased, assuming the role of Thoth, fetches the tow rope of the solar bark and readies the ferryboat for the journey (Doc. 73). From the Middle Kingdom onwards, Thoth appears aboard the solar bark as an active crew member (see e.g., Doc. 52). Thoth's positive role of returning the eye is reinforced in the Amduat's fourth hour – an ibis-headed god along with a falcon-headed god lift the divine eye, identified there as the “Eye of Sokar” (see 3.4). The last bark in the second hour carries a kneeling god supporting an ostrich feather (the symbol of Maat) and another standing deity bearing the moon's crescent and disk (Thoth's symbols). The presence of Thoth's and Maat's signs in the god's bark results in enabling the latter to ferry cross the sky (see 3.2.1.6). The existence of Thoth on the Amduat's bark is proved in the name of Ka-Maat, who travels with the sun god through the twelve hours of the night (see 1.4.2.13). In the seventh hour, Thoth may represent a hypostasis for the “Eldest Magician,” who is considered the principal protection against the inevitable dangers of the sun's enemy (see 3.7.2).

One of the most protective deities in the solar bark is the Mehen Serpent. In the CT, Isis brings Mehen to her son Horus at the solar bark's prow. This event takes place in the presence of the sun god whom Horus aims to imitate. Horus gets protection from Mehen and the crew, of whom he becomes a member. There, Mehen, Isis, and the entourage form nine protective concentric rings around the solar bark (see 2.3.3, 3.7.1). CT 758-760 tells how the Mehen Serpent exists in the “roads of fire/rings” encircling and protecting the sun god. Later, in the Amduat and the other New Kingdom Netherworld Books, Mehen is depicted as a serpent encircling the shrine of Re's bark, protecting the sun god from evil snakes, especially from the underworld serpent Apophis. The appearance of Mehen in the Amduat occurs synchronously with the arrival of Isis at the prow of the seventh hour's bark. From this hour onwards, the Serpent Mehen replaces the shrine (see 3.7.1).

Furthermore, the serpent barks in the fourth and fifth hours may allude to the Mehen Serpent replacing the solar bark's shrine (see 3.4.2). The annotations of the eighth hour confirm that the sun god has placed Mehen on the course of his nightly journey (Doc. 112). In the eleventh hour, a crew of deities carries the Mehen Serpent in front of the solar bark. It has been argued that this Mehen Serpent is *ḥnb-ntr.w*, the serpent of the twelfth hour in which Re travels backwards through its body to rejuvenate himself and his crew (3.11.3.2).

Another crew member who plays a prominent role in the solar journey is Horus. The functions of Horus start in the phase of ascension when he helps the deceased to sit among the stars of the Duat (Doc. 11). Also, in the PT (see 2.2.2), Horus of the Duat has command of the “Imperishable Stars,”

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<sup>1748</sup> On Thoth's wings in Pyr. § 1235b.

providing an early parallel to the Horus of the Duat who manages the stellar deities in the seventh hour of Amduat (3.7.4). Horus and other gods participate in lifting the deceased to Re's realm in the ascension from earth to heaven. Their attendants, the *Ba*-souls of Heliopolis, create a stairway for the king so that he can ascend to the sky (Doc. 12). The PT place Horus among the crew members who convey the sun god's bark to the east (Doc. 17). In Doc. 38, Isis puts Horus at the solar bark's prow. To secure his protection and to cross the sky by night, the deceased identifies with the Eye of Horus (Doc. 30, 49). Two parts of the solar bark are respectively named the "fingers of Horus" and the "eyes of Horus" (Doc. 40). In the Book of Two Ways, Horus is a member of the "entourage of fire" that forms the solar bark's crew where their role is to protect the sun god's bark and drive away Apophis (Doc. 59, 2.3.6). In the Book of the Dead, the deceased associates himself with Horus and Seth (Doc. 64). There, Horus, together with Seth, takes the deceased king to the Duat, where he embarks on the journey with the sun god.

In the Amduat, Horus and Osiris's presence is observed in the third hour's barks (3.3.1.2.3). We learned that they represent the *Ba* and the corpse, which have different fates in the netherworld. The *Ba* moves to the heavens, and the corpse stays in the underworld, and the resurrection of Osiris symbolizes the renewal and rebirth of the sun god. There, Horus represents the solar *Ba*, which visits the Osirian corpse to be rejuvenated. Frequently in the Amduat, the attendants of Horus assist in sailing the solar bark, protecting the sun god, and guiding him in the netherworld, for instance, the hour goddesses and the star gods in the seventh hour (see 3.7.4) and the floating ones in the tenth hour rowing in Nun's waters (see 3.10.3). In the first scene, Horus of the Duat controls the entire event. In Horus' address to these hour goddesses, they are described as "those who fight on behalf of the one within the horizon." In the Nun's water, he oversees the drowned groups who assist in the navigation of the solar bark. Another important function of Horus is to hide and protect the divine crew's images and the netherworld's inhabitants. Horus conceals the *šms*-images that destroy the sun's enemies on the path of the solar bark (see 3.8.2). He also hides Isis and Nephthys's images, which guard the paths eastern horizon (see 3.11.4). In the twelfth hour, Horus hides the "image of the flesh from which the sun god emerges to the sunshine" (see 3.12.7). The closest indication to the presence of Horus in the Amduat's bark may be the depiction of the hawk-headed deities, Horhekenu (see 1.4.2.6) and Kherepwia (see 1.4.2.7). Thus, the presence of Horus benefits the ascension of the deceased individual and ensures the proper succession of the solar cycle.

Accordingly, it can be assumed that the solar bark crew is not limited to the deities who occupy Re's vessel in the solar journey. They exist on the land, assisting the sun god in passing through the dangerous portals, roads, and caverns of the netherworld. In the Amduat, in particular, the crew members go on the land of the registers to perform a function or a duty that would help the solar bark to proceed. Also, in the solar journey, the sun god's progress is ensured by the main crew of the solar bark and their attendants, or what can we describe as the "additional crew." The first of this group is Khepri, who plays an essential role in the daily and nightly journeys from the PT onwards. In a passage in PT 704, the deceased flows up and lands on the thrones of Khepri at the prow of the bark of Nut (i.e., the solar bark). He acquires the sky and splits open its basin on the paths of Khepri (Doc. 6). In the CT, the sun god's dual barks are the barks of Khepri (Doc. 25, see also Doc. 43). Re emerges from

Nun in the name of Khepri (Doc. 32). In the Book of the Dead, Khepri is Re himself amid his bark (Doc. 63).

The transformation into Khepri and the ascension to the horizon apparently occur after passing through the nightly hours. However, in the Amduat, Khepri appears in a second bark in the lower half of the first hour's middle register. This appearance can be an allusion to the sunrise at dawn and the sun god's appearance in his night bark by night. Also, it provides further evidence of the tradition of the sun being transported in the night bark and the day bark. Furthermore, in the first hour's middle register, four stelae are labeled *wḏ R<sup>c</sup>*, *wḏ Ḥprj*, *wḏ Jtm*, and *wḏ Wsjr* (see 3.1.2). The addition of Khepri emphasizes the netherworldly rebirth of the sun god. Khepri appears as a scarab at the prow of the fourth bark sailing in the middle register of the second hour (see 3.2.1.4). Khepri emerges from a secret chest to aid in towing the solar bark over the pyramid guarding the mansion of Sokar in the middle register of the fifth hour (see 3.5.3). He also participates in straightening the path of the solar bark (see 3.5.4). In the tenth hour, the ever-present Khepri pushes the Duat's oval (*nu.t*), an image that shows the Amduat as a regenerative realm for the sun (see 3.10.1). In the twelfth hour, Khepri occupies the solar bark's prow as the one who leads the entire crew to the portal of the eastern horizon (see 3.12.3). The remarkable appearance of Khepri in the first hour, second hour, fourth hour, fifth hour, as well as the tenth hour, and again in the twelfth hour, is a prominent feature. The morning manifestation of the sun god thus occurs in almost every phase of the Amduat's journey. All of these appearances foreshadow the rising of the sun during his diurnal transformation at the eastern horizon. Another deity who receives a role as one of the essential assistants in the solar journey is Nut. As the sun god's mother, she is supposed to give birth to the sun god every morning.<sup>1749</sup> Thus, as early as the PT, the deceased king wants to join his mother Nut and finds her way up to her arms. In the CT, Re himself is raised up after reconstructing his corpse, which occurs in his bark before he ascends to Nut (see CT VII, 253-254). In the texts of raising the deceased king, Nut takes the king's arm and allows him to gain access to the sun god on the horizon. She leads him on the roads of the *Akhet*, wherein Re is waiting for him (Doc. 10, 12). Because the solar bark exists in her body (see Doc. 27 above), the deceased needs to rely on Nut's body to take him to the sky. Nut also participates in transforming the deceased into an *Akb*, the funerary rituals' principal aim, through the "great flood" which resides in her body (Doc. 13). This great flood is represented in the union of Re, Osiris, and Nut in the lower register of the Amduat's twelfth hour (3.12.7). Nut personifies the space in which the deceased must reside in order to be "*Akb*-efied" or rejuvenated.<sup>1750</sup>

CT 404 = Doc. 40 is a catalogue of the different parts of the bark. While these parts are named after gods or body parts of the gods, the "act of sailing" or the bark's navigation is called "Nut." This explains that the goddesses' body is the sphere in which the solar bark travels. In the last hour of the Amduat, the sun god goes forth from Nun and rests in Nut's body (see 3.12). Similarly, in the

<sup>1749</sup> See Piankoff, in: JEA 20, 57.

<sup>1750</sup> Cf. Billing, *Nut*, 106. For the concept of the *Akb* in the netherworld, see the discussion in Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 221-223. See also the "Being *Akb*" and the light power of the sun in Englund, *Akb*, 191; Jensen-Winkeln, in: SAK 23,

concluding scene to the Book of Gates, Nun and Nut receive the solar bark, which contains the rejuvenated sun (Khepri and the solar disk).

Furthermore, the tenth hour's oval-shaped underworld (*nw.t-oval*) may embody the goddess Nut's womb, which can also be represented as an oval (3.10.1). Also, the introduction to the Amduat's twelfth hour describes Re's birth from Nut's thighs in his scarab manifestation of Khepri,<sup>1751</sup> i.e., the sun enters into Nut and is born from her each morning. Therefore, Nut is not merely a protective goddess that embraces the deceased or the sun god, but also the shelter for the sun's bark in which Re travels over the inert form of her body in order to reawaken himself and all beings.

Like Nut, Shu is also invoked to participate in raising the sun god. Since the PT, Shu is asked to raise the king, co-operating with various gods who open the roads, protect the deceased, and offer him a helping hand (Doc. 12, see also e.g., Pyr. §§ 275e-f, 519c, 2053a-b). When the earth's gates are opened, Shu opens the sky's doorways for the king (Pyr. § 604a-d). In the CT, Shu accompanies the deceased on the paths of the netherworld (Doc. 33) and takes part in elevating the forepart of the deceased when he holds the sky; Nut's forepart is also mentioned in the text (Doc. 38). In the concluding text of the Amduat's first hour, a hypostasis of the god Shu (*sfg-jrw*,<sup>1752</sup> "concealed" and "revealed" of forms") appears, indicating Shu's role as the god who raises the solar disk through the eastern horizon at the end of the solar journey. In the first hour, Sefegiru imitates Shu's original act of creation through breathing.<sup>1753</sup> This interpretation is confirmed in the twelfth hour's closing scene when Shu is depicted at the rounded terminus receiving Khepri and protecting the visible sun disk. There, the sun god rests upon the secret image of Shu, who separates the sky from the land of the utter darkness (see 3.12.5). Shu and Nut assist in the sun's rebirth in association with Nun. In the Book of Gates, Nun lifts up the solar bark, whose crew includes Shu, while Nut receives the solar disk. Thus, Shu is almost like Nut and provides a place between the two worlds in which the sun is born each day.

Since the earth is the gate of the Duat (see 1.4.2.17), it should be noted that Geb, the god of the earth, has been invoked to join the solar bark crew. He performs the role of opening the earth's door for the deceased (Doc. 21, 64) and takes part in supervising the annihilation of the sun's enemies, along with Atum and Hathor (see 3.10.2). He does not appear in the Amduat's bark; however, the solar bark is identified with that of the earth in the second hour (see 3.2). He occupies the solar bark in some of the New Kingdom's Netherworld Books (see also 1.4.2.17).

Thus, as noted above, the members of the Ennead of Heliopolis play an essential role in the solar journey. A reference to their presence together in the solar bark is mentioned in the CT (Doc. 46). Although they do not appear in the Amduat's bark, they stand together in the fifth hour of the Amduat as Khepri, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus of the Duat. The text tells that they have functions and tasks to carry out for the sun god, but it does not specify the nature of the tasks.<sup>1754</sup>

<sup>1751</sup> Hornung, *TZA* III, 794-795.

<sup>1752</sup> Verhoeven, *Sefegiru*, in LÄ V, col. 822-823; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 82-86.

<sup>1753</sup> Cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 207-208.

<sup>1754</sup> Hornung, *TZA* II, 394-395.

With regard to the studied resources, the stars are included in the solar bark's crew. The PT and CT describe the deceased/the sun god as sailing in the solar bark, steered by the crew of the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars (see 1.4.2.18). The placement of the stars in the solar bark finds further support in the Amduat by their role as the stars that regulate the twelve hours of nocturnal journey, fight the sun's enemy, and lead the sun god to the eastern horizon (see 3.7.4). Also, among the oarsmen of the ninth hour, two members of the group are named *jb̄m<.w>-sk=f* "He Who Does Not Know His Perishing," and *jb̄m<.w>-wr̄d=f* "He Who Does Not Know His Exhaustion" (3.9.1). This may allude to the Imperishable Stars and the Unwearying Stars among the sun god's permanent crew.

In the solar cycle, another group of deities helps the primary crew pilot the sun bark and regulate the sun god's journey. Among those additional assistants are the serpents. However, while most of the snakes are considered the sun god's enemies as they like the darkness and live in holes,<sup>1755</sup> they also defend him against his enemies, protect him inside his shrine, and even participate in the god's rebirth. In one passage of spell 332 (Doc. 35), Isis is equated with the *Nat*-serpent as "Mistress of the Bark," who guides it on the path of sunshine. This *Nau*-serpent appears in a papyrus bark in the fourth hour's lower register to illuminate the course of the sun god and refers to his coming inevitable rebirth (see 3.4.4, 3.12.3).

In the Amduat's first hour, twelve uraeus serpents breathing fire are arranged in four columns and three rows (fig. 6). They may provide an earlier parallel to the twelve goddesses with fire-spewing serpents at their shoulders in the twelfth hour. They destroy Apophis and accompany the sun god to the day bark (see 3.12.1). In the second hour, Isis and Nephthys appear as serpents at the prow (see 3.2.2.1). Later, they also appear as images of two serpents to guard the roads of the netherworld (see 3.11.4). In the additional bark of the third hour, the crew of each bark includes two protective serpents standing on their tails (see 3.3.1.2). In the fourth and fifth hours, the bleak desert regions full of serpents, the solar bark transforms into a large serpent whose prow and stern end with fire-spewing serpent heads. In almost every hour of the night, serpents crawl on the land of the registers or occupy the solar bark. The most useful one is Mehen, the serpent par excellence in the Amduat, who protects Re within his shrine as he traverses the dark roads from the seventh to the last hour of the night (see 3.7.1). This Mehen, who is carried on the path to the eastern horizon, becomes the *ḥnb̄ n̄tr.w*-Serpent, which forms the passage to the sun's rebirth (see 3.11.3.2).

Each hour's unique nature in the Amduat, the needs of the netherworld inhabitants, and the diversity regarding the topography and landscape cause Re to request the assistance of various gods. The Amduat is divided into twelve hours, which are represented as goddesses. These hour goddesses are confined to their location to guide the sun god through her particular area. From the beginning of the first hour, twelve standing goddesses appear in the upper register. They are hypostases of Hathor/Nebetwia, who stands at the prow of the solar bark during the twelve hours of the night (see 3.1.1). In the seventh hour, Horus of the Duat addresses the hour gods and goddesses assimilated as "Hour-Stars," divinities that act on behalf of the sun god. These function of these two crews of gods is to continue the destruction of Apophis and to successfully lead Re to the eastern horizon (see 3.7.4).

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<sup>1755</sup> See Ismail, *King's Assistants*, 23-48.

In the fifth hour, the name of the hour goddess, “She Who Guides in the Midst of Her Bark” (Doc. 87), presents a direct reference to the attendance of the hour goddesses in the solar bark (see 3.5.1). Similarly, the eleventh hour of the Amduat is the “Starry One” and the “Mistress of the Bark” (see 3.11.1).

In the second hour’s fertile region, the god Neper stands in the second bark to supervise Re’s provisions for the inhabitants of the netherworld. The crocodile in the third bark of the same hour (see 3.2.1.3) may be an allusion to protecting the flesh of Osiris and the sun god’s rebirth (see 3.7.5). In the third hour, the lion-headed bark (the first additional bark) of Pakhet accompanies the main solar bark. There, Pakhet may participate in her role of protecting the sun’s eye (see 3.3.1.2.1). Likewise, the baboon-headed bark (the second additional bark) provides an escort for the solar bark (see 3.3.1.2.2). In the first hour, the baboons open the doors of the western gate to the sun god.<sup>1756</sup>

Although the baboons’ primary role is to receive Re at sunrise, their appearance in the western horizon foreshadows the triumphant arrival of Re in the east and represents the solar journey’s continuity.

Another kind of aid appears in the Amduat, in which sets of gods and goddesses haul the solar bark’s tow rope in particular hours. Their task is to propel the solar bark in exceptional circumstances. For instance, in the fourth and fifth hours, the bleak desert regions, a crew of gods haul the solar bark over the desiccated surface of each hour (see 3.4.3, 3.5.4). In the twelfth hour, two towing crews have a function related to the rebirth of the sun god. The first crew enters the rejuvenating serpent, and the other crew waits on the other side to receive the newborn sun god (see 3.12.4). The towing crew also appears in the eighth hour because it also resembles the sandy realm of Sokar (see 3.8). Furthermore, jackals appear as towers of the solar bark in the third hour’s concluding text, although they were omitted from all depictions of the composition (see 3.3.3).

Another two crews appear in the ninth and tenth hour. They are yet again proof of the importance of both sailing and having weapons in the Amduat’s journey. In the ninth hour, twelve rowers carrying paddles, one for each hour of the night, stand in front of the bark. The text speaks of their resting with the sun’s crew in the bark and their task of rowing the sun god to the horizon (3.9.1). In the tenth hour, a crew of twelve figures, also one for each hour, with spears and bows represent bodyguards who are said to accompany Re and fight for him by day and night (see 3.10.2). The same imagery is known in the CT as drawings of two men in front of the solar bark. They oppose Apophis while holding spears and bows to pierce and shoot the giant serpent (fig. 2).

In his nocturnal journey, the sun god requires assistance from various entities, including from “the floating ones” in the fifth and tenth hour who drift in the water of Nun, who he needs to navigate the bark (see 3.5.2, 3.10.3). In the eighth hour, the solar bark is followed by nine *šms*-signs. They accompany the sun god on his journey to take part in fighting his enemies (see 3.8.2). The sceptre of Nehes also illuminates the dark path in the tenth hour (3.10.4). The crew transports the sun god’s image to the sky (see 3.11.2), and the other crew carries the Mehen Serpent upon their heads and follows Re to the eastern horizon (see 3.11.3.2).

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<sup>1756</sup> Hornung, *TZA* I, 114.

The summary above shows that the sun god's crew is not limited to the gods on board the solar bark. Many deities are depicted upon the solar bark, but some other deities must also be on board to help Re in some of his missions during the nightly hours, none of which are depicted on the bark. Among them are, for example, Seth, Thoth, Hathor, Maat, Horus, and the Imperishable and Indefatigable Stars. Some of them appear on the land to do vital tasks in a particular area or at a certain time. The sun god himself remains in the solar bark with multiple manifestations of him appearing on the land.<sup>1757</sup> Thus, the study provides no less than the opportunity to follow the solar bark's crew, both those on board and those not, illustrates the functions and responsibilities of the main and additional crews in the nocturnal journey of Re, and investigates the reason for their presence in particular hours of the night.

Furthermore, the Amduat seems to be a scientific commentary (description of the underworld's inhabitants, events, and topography), and does not directly interfere the deceased king into the events. PT, CT, and even BD are ritual texts and have a different purpose and intention: PT for a heavenly afterlife with the sun god and CT are spells recited against underworldly dangers. However, the Amduat of the New Kingdom contains various and countless similarities concerning the functions and tasks fulfilled by the crew of the solar bark in the nocturnal journey of the sun god. Thus, the crew of the solar bark in the Amduat (those on board and those not) are the same crew who navigates the bark and assist the sun god before the first appearance of the Amduat.

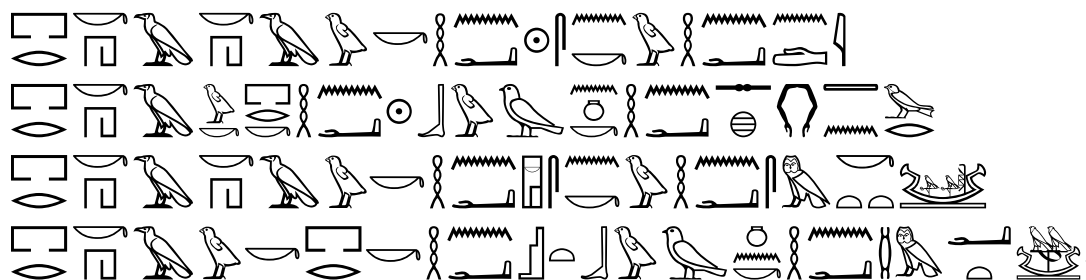
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<sup>1757</sup> See Hoffmann, in: ZÄS 123, 38.

## Part 2 – Catalog of Documents

### Doc. 1: PT 222 (Pyr. § 209a-210c) – version W

Sethe, *Komm. I*, 146 f.; Hassan, *Giza VI*, part 1, 96; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts II*, 83; Münster, *Isis*, 80, n. 930; Piankoff, *Unas*, 71, pl. 53 f.; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 50; Spiegel, *Auferstehungsritual*, 216; Mathieu et J. Leclant, *La pyramide de Pépy Ier*, 46, pl. IIB; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 43; id. *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 198.



*prj=k h3<w>=k h3w=k ḥn<sup>c</sup> R<sup>c</sup>*

You go up and you descend when you are going down with Re,

*snkw ḥn<sup>c</sup> Ndj*


You will sink into darkness with Nedi.<sup>2</sup>



*prj=k h3w=k prj=k ḥn<sup>c</sup> R<sup>c</sup>*

You go up and you descend, you will ascend with Re

*wbn=k ḥn<sup>c</sup> Zḥn-wr<sup>3</sup>*

and shine with the great Float-user.

<sup>1</sup> The drawings of the determinatives for *m<sup>skt.t</sup>* and *m<sup>c</sup>nd.t* barks are not typical for the original text since they are not in JSesh, and I tried to simulate the original one . The bark consists of two small cabins and four emblems. The front stern is decorated with a hanging curtain, ornamented by four pegs at the top and with a fringe at the bottom like a bundle of sticks. The bark is of the *Hr-šms* type (see 1.3.4.4).

<sup>2</sup> Edel states that the verb starts with the prefix *n* which is sometimes replaced by the letter *w*. This indicates that the letter *n* is not part of the root of the verb *ndj*; it is *wdj* which is abbreviated to  var.  *dj* which means “to lay, appoint.” However, it seems that the name *Ndj* is derived from the verb *ndj*. It is a 3ae-inf. Verb which means “to throw down.” Edel, *Grammatik II*, § 427, 187; § 458, 205. Arguably the second meaning is perfectly consistent with the sinking movement into darkness, see the next footnote.

<sup>3</sup> On reed-floats (*zḥn*) as the best means of crossing the underworld realm, cf. Breasted, *Religion*, 109, n. 1. Sethe translates *zḥn-wr* as “grosses Schwimmer-Floss,” but to Faulkner, it is the user of the float rather than the float itself who is invoked here and in Pyr. § 201b, as well as in Pyr. § 455a. This implies that we should recognize the nisbe form *zḥn<y>* “he of the float” in these two cases. Sethe, *Komm. I*, 117; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 51, n. 22. Sethe suggests that *Ndj* and *Zḥn-wr* may here be the names of some methods of “communication” or “travel” of the sun god. In this case *Ndj* and *Zḥn-wr* would seem to be some kind of vessel parallel to the day and night solar barks mentioned in the next lines. He also states that they point to the sun god Re at the time of sunrise and sunset. The first epithet is represented by the sun god, *Zḥn-wr*, referring to the time of the appearance of the sun god, the sunrise on the horizon, and the second epithet is represented by the sun god, *Ndj*, referring to the time of the sunset of the sun god and the coming darkness. Piankoff indicates that the name *Ndj* is an epithet of Re with the meaning of “overthrown” as it refers to the setting of the sun. It is a metaphor for the sun’s falling into darkness at the time of sunset. This was the moment of the end of the journey of the sun god in all its intensity, his transformation into Atum, and orientation toward the west. Sethe, *Komm. I*, 125; Hassan, *Giza VI*, part 1, 96, n. 2; Piankoff, *Unas*, 69; Amer, in: JARCE 50, 62. Therefore, it can be said that *Ndj* and *Zḥn-wr* are two significant names of the sun god, referring to his nature movements (respectively sinking into darkness and shining in the morning light) in the nocturnal and diurnal journeys.



*prj=k h3<w>=k h3w=k<sup>4</sup> hn<sup>c</sup> Nb.t-ḥw.t* You go up and you descend when you are going down  
with Nephthys,  
*snkw hn<sup>c</sup> mskt.t* You will sink into darkness with the night bark.<sup>5</sup>  
*prj=k h3w=k prj=k hn<sup>c</sup> 3s.t* You go up and you descend when you go up with Isis  
*wbn=k hn<sup>c</sup> m<sup>c</sup>nd.t* and shine with the day bark.<sup>6</sup>

## Doc. 2: PT 245 (Pyr. § 251a-d) - version W

Sethe, *Komm.* I, 234-236a; Breasted, *Religion*, 142, n. 2; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 125; Junker, *Pyramidenzeit*, 132 f.; Zandee, *Death*, 198; Faulkner, in: JNES 25, 160; Piankoff, *Unas*, 55, pl. 37; Žabkar, *The Ba Concept*, 82, n. 181; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 58; Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 154; Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte*, 42 f.; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 44; id. *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 249, 320.



*wpj=k s.t=k m p.t m-<sup>c</sup>b sb3.w* Open up your place in the sky among the stars  
*n.w p.t* of the sky,  
*n twt js sb3 w<sup>c</sup>.tj rmn.wty Ḥw<sup>7</sup>* for you are the Lone Star, the companion of Hu;  
*m33=k ḥr-dp Wsjr* you look down upon Osiris.  
*wd=f mdw n 3ḥ.w twt ḥ<sup>c</sup>.tj ḥr.t<j> r=f* When he governs the *Akb*-spirits, for you stand far  
from him.  
*n tw jm=sn n wnn=k jm=sn* You are not among them, and you shall not be  
among them.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Unas' PT contain 15 examples of the *sdm=f* marked by the ending *-w*. These marked forms usually occur either in clause-initial uses or as the object of a preposition. All appear to express actions that are either gnomic or progressive. It expresses action, with no inherent tense or mood. Allen, *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 198-199. This verb *h3w*, used to express the downward passage of the night bark, fits well with the idea of the sun's sinking down in the evening, and also with the descent of the deceased into the earth. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 96.

<sup>5</sup> We can also see that Nephthys is responsible for the night bark in PT 216 (Pyr. § 150a) where the text reads: "Someone comes to you, Nephthys; someone comes to you, night bark." In PT 518 (Pyr. § 1194a), we see the day bark is personified as Isis. See also Benedite, *Philae*, pl. L, where Isis receives the day bark in her hands, and Nephthys similarly receives the night bark.

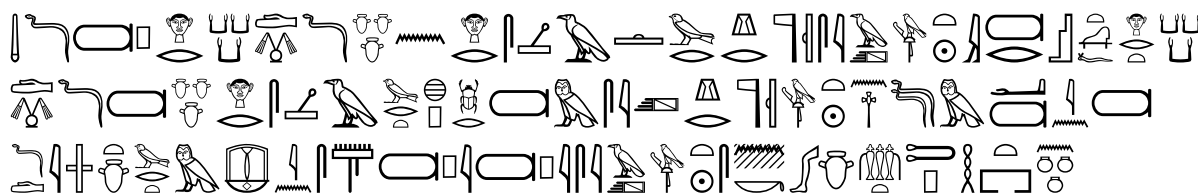
<sup>6</sup> The "setting" or "descending" with Re and *Ndj* in line 210a corresponds with the same notion concerning Nephthys and the *mskt.t* Bark, also seen in the expression *snkw*. Also compare line 209b-c for "rising" with Re and *shn-wr*, which corresponds with Isis and the *m<sup>c</sup>nd.t* Bark in line 210b-c, with the expression *wbn=k*. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 96, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Here, I followed Sethe, Mercer, Faulkner, Piankoff and Hassan who translate the word *Ḥw* as the god who accompanies Re in his nightly journey, but in 2005 Allen considered this to be a proclitic article meaning "may" or "would that," and he translated the whole phrase as: "For you are the Lone Star at Nut's shoulder, may you look upon Osiris's head." In 2015, Allen gave another translation: "for you are the Lone star at the shoulder." He completely ignored the word *Ḥw*. He later reused the translation from 2005 in his last version of Unas in 2017. Allen, *AEPT*, 40; id., *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 44; id., *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 249, 320.

<sup>8</sup> The spirits whom Osiris rules over.

**Doc. 3: PT 250 (Pyr. § 267a-268d) – version W**

Erman, in: ZÄS 32, 11 f.; Breasted, *Religion*, 121, n. 1; Sethe, *Komm.* I, 270 f.; Boylan, *Tbot*, 59 f.; Gabra, *Conseils*, 56, n. 2; Gardiner, in: PSBA 38, 45; Junker, *Götterlehre*, 44; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 9; Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 41; Piankoff, *Unas*, 29, pl. 13; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 61; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 183, n. 3; Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 178 f.; Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, 65; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 46; id. *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 326.



*dd-mdw N p<j> ḥry k3.w dmd<.w> jb.w*<sup>9</sup>

Words spoken: N is the one who is over the *Ka*-spirits, who unites hearts

*n ḥry s3 wr*

for the great chief of wisdom, the Great One

*ḥry md3.t-ntr Sj3 wnm.t*<sup>10</sup> *R*<sup>c</sup>

who bears the god's book,<sup>11</sup> Sia who is at the right hand of Re.

*jj N r s.t=f ḥry.t k3.w*

N comes to his throne which is over the *Ka*-spirits,

*dmd N jb.w ḥry s3 wr.t*

N unites the hearts<sup>12</sup> of the one who in charge of the great thing.

*ḥpr N m Sj3 ḥry md3.t-ntr*

N becomes Sia who bears the god's book, who is at the right hand of Re,<sup>13</sup>

*wnm.t R*<sup>c</sup>

and who is protected by N's hand.

*ndd m<sup>c</sup> N*

It is N who says what is in the heart of the great one in the Festival of Red Linen.<sup>14</sup>

*jn N dd jmy.t jb wr.t*

*m ḥb jns*

*N pj N pj Sj3 wnm.t R*<sup>c</sup>

N, even N is Sia who is at the right hand of Re,

<sup>9</sup> For the expression *dmd jb.w* see Piankoff, *Le Coeur*, 123.

<sup>10</sup> *Wnm.t*, "scorching/devouring flame." *Wb* I, 321, 21-22. For a discussion about the meaning of *wnm.t* and the identification of Sia with the sun god, see Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 183-84.

<sup>11</sup> The god's book, which contains the sacred ancient literature and was written by a special scribe, may be a high priest. Sethe, *Komm.* I, 273; *Wb* II, 188; Faulkner, *CD*, 123. Cf. BD 174d in Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 182.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the king unites the hearts of those who are in heaven, as well as those still on earth under his rule. Sethe, *Komm.* I, 272 f.; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts II*, 124 f.

<sup>13</sup> In CT 533, "The deceased is a lector, a writer of fair words attached to Sia, overseer of the tribunal of him who guards the great lady; scribe of what is on record regarding the offerings; one who is with Sia." Therefore, the deceased wants to be the counselor of the sun god. Cf. Breasted, *Religion*, 120; Faulkner, *AEPT II*, 155. Sethe remarks that we may assume that Hu took the place of the left hand of the sun god. Sethe, *Komm.* I, 273.

<sup>14</sup> The Festival of Red Linen during which the daughter of the sun god, who could be Nut, Isis, Hathor, Mut, Sekhmet, Wadjet or Mehit is associated with the colour red (the symbol of the sun) and holds the title *nb.t jns* "Mistress of the Red Robe or Mistress of Glow." *Wb* I, 100, 6-14; *Urk.* V, 40, 17; 43, 10; Gardiner, *Onomastica I*, 65; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts II*, 125; Alliot, in: RdE 10, 1-7; *LGG IV*, 19.

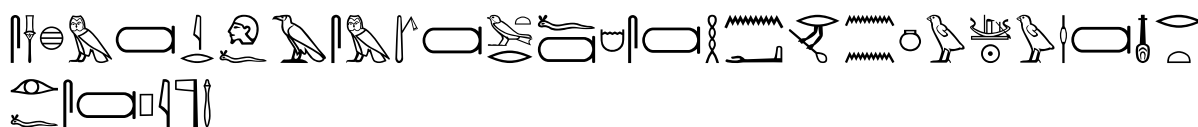
*snk-jb*<sup>15</sup> *hnty tꜥh.t nn.w*

A haughty one who is over the cavern of Nun.<sup>16</sup>

**Doc. 4: PT 252 (Pyr. § 274a-c) – version W**

Sethe, *Komm.* I, 288 f.; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 285 f.; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* I, 77; Piankoff, *Unas*, 30, pl. 13; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 62; Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, 182; Allen, *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 326.

This text was widely used in ordinary funeral services in later times,<sup>17</sup> and the entire speech, in which the deceased king “modestly” identifies himself with Re is addressed to the gods of the Duat. This matter is very clear in Pyr. § 953a-c.<sup>18</sup> Here, the king takes his place between the sailors of Re, apparently as a helmsman.<sup>19</sup>



*sh̄m N jr dp=f*

N has power on his head,<sup>20</sup>

*3ms N twr=f N*

N's sceptre<sup>21</sup> is supporting<sup>22</sup> N.

*hmsj N hn<sup>c</sup> hnn.w<sup>23</sup> w3 R<sup>c</sup>*

N sits with the rowers of the bark of Re.

*wd N nfr.t jrj=f s*

N commands what is good and he<sup>24</sup> does it

*N pj ntr<sup>c</sup> 3*

(because) N is the great god.

<sup>15</sup> *Snk-jb* is considered to be a bad quality in the local magnate; but it might be considered appropriate in a king. Faulkner, *AEPT*, 61, n. 6. In the Book of the Dead, a passage reads: “I am Sia at the right hand of Re who makes *snk* the heart of him who stands before the *tꜥh.t* of Nu.” The meaning of *snk* is darkness, and the darkness is the residence of demons who are coming with *snky hr.w* “dark faces” on *w3.t snk.t* “dark paths,” from whom one hopes to be snatched away to heaven. *Urk.* VII, 10, 14; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 183; *LGG* VI, 398. Cf. Zandee, *Death*, 88 f. Also, dark may imply the setting and disappearance of the sun through the horizon. Roberson, *Book of the Earth*, 319, n. 102.

<sup>16</sup> The location of Nun in the Egyptian conception of the universe is clear. Nun was not merely the “heavenly ocean” as was formerly believed but was akin to the later Greek word “Ocean,” which encircles the whole universe. This conception can be proven in this text, as Nun is considered as a deep cavern or gulf which lies beyond our world. Sethe, *Lauf der Sonne*, 255 f.; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 162.

<sup>17</sup> Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 126; Kees, *Totenglauben*, 368.

<sup>18</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 286.

<sup>19</sup> Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 127.

<sup>20</sup> *Sh̄m N r dp=f*. This notion may refer to the crown on the king's head.

<sup>21</sup> He brandishes and moves the sceptre in a threatening manner. The king honours the gods, but they are called upon to beware his power and to be subject to him, since he himself is the supreme god. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 285, n. 5; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 62, n. 1. In one of his evil deeds, Seth destroys the *3ms*-sceptre of the king who identifies himself as the successor of Horus. Altmann, *Kultfrel des Seth*, 150. Cf. Pyr. §§ 1166, 1373; Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, 179 ff.

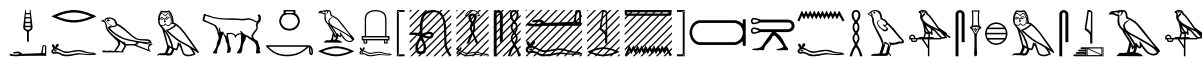
<sup>22</sup> Faulkner and Grieshammer interpret that he is Thothis who shows respect to the king as a guardian of the bark of Re. Faulkner, *AEPT*, 62, n. 4; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 78, n. 445. But *=f* refers to the *Ams*-sceptre, thus their interpretation cannot be true.

<sup>23</sup> See *Wb* III, 384, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Re.

**Doc. 5: PT 255 (Pyr. § 300a-c) - version W**

Sethe, *Komm.* I, 346 f.; Lexa, *La Magie* II, 7; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 124 f.; Sander-Hansen, *Bildung der Modi*, 17, § 34, 19, § 41; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 10; Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 41; Piankoff, *Unas*, 33 f., pl. 16; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 66; Spiegel, *Auferstehungsritual*, 367-372; Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 52; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 60 f.; Allen, *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 330.



ᶜḥ<sup>c</sup> rf wr m-ḥnw k3r=f

[w3ḥ=f sᶜḥ=f jr t3] n N

jtj.n=f Ḥw šḥm <m><sup>26</sup> Šj3

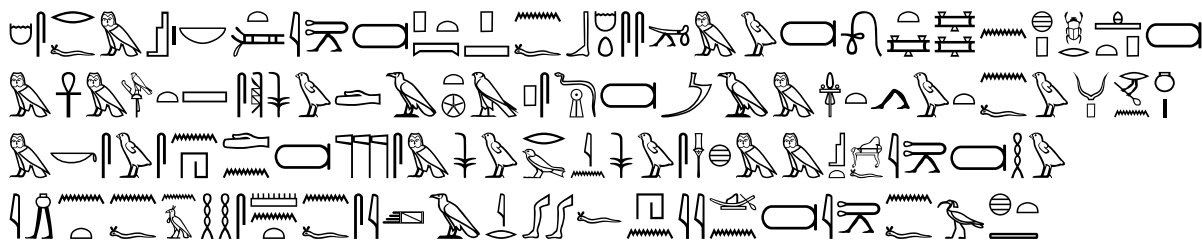
The Great One indeed stands within his shrine<sup>25</sup>

and [he lays his dignity on the ground] for N,

after he has seized Hu and having power <through>  
Sia.

**Doc. 6: PT 257 (Pyr. § 305a-307c) - version W**

Sethe, *Komm.* I, 360 f.; van der Leeuw; *Godsvoorstellingen*, 37, n. 1; Boylan, *Thot*, 59 f.; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 10; Piankoff, *Unas*, 35, pl. 18; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 67; Spiegel, *Auferstehungsritual*, 228; Altenmüller, *Begräbnisritual*, 53; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 60 f.; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 116; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 49; id., *A Grammar of the Pyramid Texts I: Unas*, 333.



ḥmsj r=f m s.t nb tm

jtj N p.t pšn=f bj3=s

ššmw N w3.wt n Ḥpr

ḥtp N m ᶜḥḥ m jmn.t šms sw dw3.tj<.w>

psd N m3j m j3b.t

jwt n=f wpj ḥnn.w m ksw

snhd.n N ntr.w sms.w r wr<sup>28</sup>

(N) sits on the seat of the Lord of All.

N acquires the sky and splits open its basin;<sup>27</sup>

N leads the paths of Khepri.

When N sets in the west, those of the Duat follow  
him;

when N shines anew in the east,

he who parts the contestant will come to him  
bowing.

N has made the gods quiver, being senior to the  
Great One,

<sup>25</sup> This is the shrine-cabin of the solar barks . Sethe, *Komm.* I, 307; *Urk.* V, 27, 17; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 124, n. 4.

<sup>26</sup> The version of Teti has: *šḥm N pn m Šj3* “and this N has power through Sia.”

<sup>27</sup> Or the visible canopy of the sky. Faulkner, *AEPT*, 67, n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Wr*, the Great One is the sun god or the old sky-god. *Wr* is identified with Re. Sethe, *Komm.* I, 354; Junker, *Götterlehre*, 34 f.



*prj=f r=f jr p.t*  
*mm sn.w=f ntr.w*

and indeed, he will ascend to the sky  
 among his brothers the gods.

### Doc. 9: PT 407 (Pyr. § 710a-711c) - version T

Sethe, *Komm.* III, 304 f.; Breasted, *Religion*, 138 f.; van der Leeuw; *Godsvoorstellingen*, 57; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 107; Sander-Hansen, *Bildung der Modi*, 25, § 68; Jéquier, *Les religions*, 55, 106; Mercer, *The pyramid Texts* I, 138; Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung*, 24; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 133; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 97.



*dd-mdw w<sup>c</sup>b sw N šsp=f n=f*

Words spoken: N purifies himself; he assumes his pure throne, which is in the sky,

*s.t=f w<sup>c</sup>b.t jmy.t p.t*

*j.mn N j.mn sw.t N nfr.wt*<sup>36</sup>

N will remain, and the beautiful thrones of N will remain.

*šsp n=f N s.t=f w<sup>c</sup>b.t jmy.t ḥ3.t wj3 R<sup>c</sup>*

N receives for himself his pure seat which is at the prow of the bark of Re.

*jn ḥm jr.w-jz.t ḥnnj.w R<sup>c</sup> ntsn ḥnj=sn N*

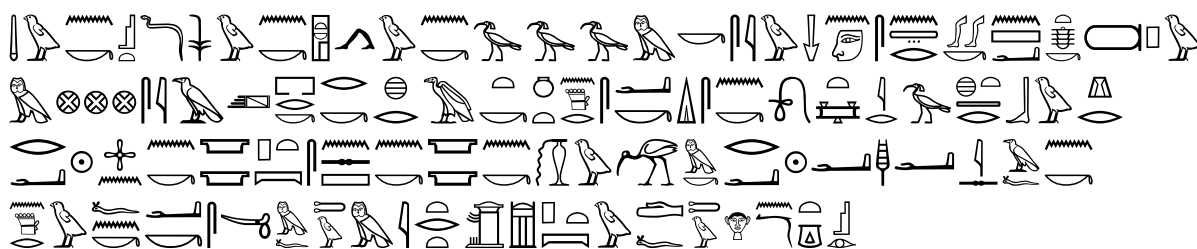
It is the crew who rows Re, they are the ones who row N.

*jn*<sup>37</sup> *ḥm jr.w-jz.t pḥrj.w*<sup>38</sup> *R<sup>c</sup> ḥ3 3ḥ.t*

It is the crew who guides Re across the horizon.

### Doc. 10: PT 422 (Pyr. § 755a-757c) - version P

Sethe, *Komm.* III, 394; Breasted, *Religion*, 163; van der Leeuw; *Godsvoorstellingen*, 28; Kees, in: ZÄS 57, 124, n. 3; Roeder, *Urkunden*, 194; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 10; Jéquier, *Les religions*, 106; Frankfurt, *Kingship*, 113; Griffiths, *Origins of Osiris*, 51; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 139; Wolf-Brinkmann, *Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 50; Mathieu et J. Leclant, *La pyramide de Pépy Ier*, pl. I; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 105.



<sup>36</sup> Consistently, we see the adjective *nfr* associated with *w<sup>c</sup>b*, which refers to regeneration by purification in the primordial ocean. Pyr. §§ 750, 1153, 1191, 1692. Jéquier, *Les religions*, 52; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 138, 178, 191, 250.

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of the word *jn* in this text, see Faulkner, in: JEA 21, 189, n. 3; Fecht, *Wortakzent*, 19.

<sup>38</sup> *Pšr*, *pḥr*, or *pḥrj.w R<sup>c</sup>* as “those who are leading Re.” The identification of this term with the *nḥb.w* stars which are located in the east of the sky is mentioned in Pyr. § 132b (PT 211), where the deceased king announces that he belongs to those who are before the morning star, to those who are in the suite of Re. Those Imperishable and Unwearying Stars are acting like the crews of the solar barks. In Pyr. § 1372a. (PT 554), the text reads: “You belong to those who surround Re, who are around the morning star.” *Wb* I, 544; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 107, n. 1; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 40, 214. Cf. Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 134; Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, 106.

*mdw n=k 3s.t dsu<sup>39</sup> n=k Nb.t-ḥw.t*  
*jw n=k 3ḥ.w m ksw sn=sn*  
*t3 r rd.wy=k<y>*  
*n ṣ.t=k<sup>40</sup> N pw m*  
*nw.w.t Sj3*  
*prj=k rk ḥr mw.t=k Nw.t ndr=s ʿ=k*  
*dj=s n=k w3.t jr 3ḥ.t r*  
*bw ḥry Rʿ*  
*wn n=k ʿ3w.y p.t*  
*snz<sup>42</sup> n=k ʿ3w.y kbḥ.w*  
*gmj=k Rʿ ʿḥʿ js3=f<sup>43</sup> n=k*  
*ndr.w=f n=k ʿ=k ssm=f tw m*  
*jtr.ty p.t*  
*wdj=f tw ḥr ns.t Wsjr*


Isis speaks to you, Nephthys calls to you,  
 The *Akb*-spirits come to you bowing and they kiss  
 the earth at your feet  
 because of the dread of you, o king, in the  
 towns of Sia.<sup>41</sup>  
 Ascend to your mother Nut; she will take your hand,  
 and give you a road to the horizon, to the place  
 where Re is.  
 the door-leaves of the sky are open to you and the  
 door-leaves of purification are thrown open to you,  
 and you will find Re standing as he waits for you;  
 He will take your hand for you and guide you to  
 the two sanctuaries of the sky,  
 He will set you on the throne of Osiris.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Just as the spirits come to respect and honour the deceased, so do Isis and Nephthys as they do in the lamentation of Osiris. The words *mdw* and *dsu* often appear with the burial rituals and with the trip to Buto. Pyr. §§ 726a, 794c, 876c, 1750c; *Wb* V, 609, 3; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 361, 377 f.; Sainte-Fare Garnot, in: RdE 8, 75 f.

<sup>40</sup> To become a spirit and to face his enemies, the deceased king uses his *ṣ.t* as a dreaded weapon. In Pyr. § 763a-d, the text reads: “O king, may your *Ba*-soul stand among the spirits, for it is fear (*snd*) of you which is in their hearts (*ḥ3.tj.w*). Sethe, *Komm.* III, 403; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 139; Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, 164.

<sup>41</sup> The towns of Sia may be the region of Khemenu (the cult center of Thoth). In BD 116, they are Thoth, Sia and Atum in the city of Khemenu. This chapter is a variant of BD 114, specifying relations to celestial cycles. The illustrations of this spell show the *b3.w* of three deities, usually depicted as ibis-headed gods. In the late Pap. Turin, the deceased stands before the ibis-headed Thoth, the anthropomorphic Sia and the double-crowned Atum. In Pap. Ryerson, Sia has the head of a lion. Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 200-01; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 235-36. Furthermore, the cities of Sia could be the provinces of Upper Egypt which Sia rules. On a statue of Senwosert I (JE 31139 bis = CG 414), Hu and Sia appear in the place of Horus and Seth. They are shown as Nile-gods binding the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt to the hieroglyph of  $\perp$  “unity.” Hu represents Lower Egypt, and Sia represents Upper Egypt. However, a text from the temple of Dendera reads: “Hu is the commander of the army of Upper Egypt, and Sia is the commander of the army of Lower Egypt.” Sethe, *Komm.* III, 403; Gautier et Jéquier, *Licht*, 34, fig. 31; Gardiner, in: PSBA 38, 52, 88, pl. V, fig. 1; Mariette, *Dendera*, II, pl. 33 C; Cauville, *Dendera* II, 158-159.

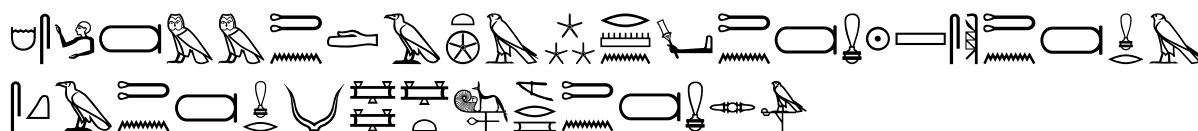
<sup>42</sup> The form of this verb is that of a perfect passive. The causative *snz* is created from the root *zn* by metathesis (as the causative of *zn* would be *szn*, not *snz*), and *kbḥw* seems to be a part of heaven, specifically “the purified place in heaven,” or identical with heaven. *Wb* III, 454, 1-13, IV, 247, 5; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* II, 378.

<sup>43</sup> The word *js3* contains the unknown sign  in the version of Pepi. Therefore, I was unable to simulate the original text.

<sup>44</sup> The throne of Osiris could be found in the solar bark. In Pyr. § 1255a-1256a, Isis and Nephthys are described as using the solar bark in their search for the body of Osiris. There, the night bark’s “lord” and helmsman is Osiris. The text reads: “The night bark’s djed-pillar is released for its lord; the night bark’s pillar is released for the one who steers it. Isis comes, Nephthys comes, one of them from the west, one of them from the east, ... they found Osiris after his brother Seth threw him in Nedit.” Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 169. See also, Pyr. § 1981a-1982b where we find out that the two barks were given to Osiris by Atum and that they had been made for him especially by the Double Ennead.

**Doc. 11: PT 476 (Pyr. § 953a-c) - version M**

Sethe, *Komm.* IV, 235; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 286; Faulkner, in: JNES 25, 154; id., *AEPT*, 164; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 134.



<i>ḥmsj N mm=tn dw3.ty.w</i>	N sits among you, you, stars of the Duat;
<i>rmn=tn N mj R<sup>c</sup> šms=tn N pn mj Ḥr</i>	may you support N like Re and follow this N like Horus;
<i>šk3j=tn N mj Wp-w3.wt</i>	may you raise N up high like Wepwawet and love N
<i>mrj=tn N mj Mnw</i>	like Min.

**Doc. 12: PT 505 (Pyr. § 1089a-1090e) - version P (with reconstructions from M)**

Sethe, *Komm.* IV, 362 f.; Münster, *Isis*, 55; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 347; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 180, 181; Wolf-Brinkmann, *Deutung des Begriffes 'b3'*, 75; Mathieu et J. Leclant, *La pyramide de Pépy Ier*, 171, pl. XVIII; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 161.



<i>dd-mdw prj.n N m P ḥr b3.w P</i>	Words spoken: N has come out from Pe-Buto with the <i>Ba</i> -souls of Pe.
<i>št N m š<sup>t45</sup> n Ḥr</i>	N is adorned with the girdle of Horus. <sup>46</sup>
<i>ḥbs N m ḥbs n Dḥwtj</i>	N is clothed with the garment of Thoth. <sup>47</sup>
<i>3.s.t dp-<sup>c</sup>.wy=f&lt;y&gt; Nb.t-ḥw.t m-ḥt=f</i>	Isis is before him and Nephthys is behind him.
<i>Wp-w3.wt wpj=f n=f w3.t</i>	Wepwawet opens a way for him,
<i>Šw šj=f sw</i>	Shu lifts him up. <sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Faulkner translates *št* as “gird,” but according to TLA, *št* is, as a verb, “to clothe” and, as a noun, it is “vestment, garment.” So, “girdle” would be a far-fetched interpretation; cf. Faulkner, *AEPT*, 204, n. 12. Cf. *Wb* IV, 558, 3, 4; Stadler, *Das Soknopaiosritual*, 143-145.

<sup>46</sup> In Pyr. §§ 1373, 2190, the text reads: “The city of Buto arises for Horus, and he purifies himself there. Horus comes purified that he may protect his father.”

<sup>47</sup> Horus and Thoth, and in parallel texts Anubis, are the ones present at the embalming site. They are the ones who clean and enwrap the deceased king. As for Isis and Nephthys, they occupy a designated place in this process: “before the deceased, which is at his feet, behind the deceased, which is at his head.” In the PT, the presence of Isis and Nephthys with the deceased whose face is that of a jackal and his flesh is that of Atum, was needed to keep and protect his soul *b3* and his power *šbm*. Pyr. § 2098a-b; CT IV 374b-375a; Münster, *Isis*, 55 f.

<sup>48</sup> Note the role of Shu as a lifter of the solar bark in the twelfth hour of the Amduat (Doc. 131).



*b3.w Jwnw sk̄r=sn n=f rd.wy*

The *Ba*-souls of Heliopolis set up a stairway<sup>49</sup> for him.

*jr dmd m hr*

to reach above,

*Nw.t dj=s ˆ.wy=s<y> jr=f*

Nut<sup>50</sup> puts her arms on him.

### Doc. 13: PT 513 (Pyr. § 1171a-1174a) - version P

Sethe, *Komm.* V, 67 f.; Breasted, *Religion*, 136; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 52, 280 f.; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* I, 196; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 189; Barta, in: *ZÄS* 107, 2, n. 19; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 160.



*wˆb db3 ns.t=k m wj3 Rˆ*

Be pure; occupy your seat<sup>51</sup> in the bark of Re,

*hnj=k hr.t sˆ=k j.w3.w*

row over the sky and climb up to the distant ones.

*hnj=k hnˆ jhm.w skw*

row with the Imperishable Stars,

*skdj=k hnˆ jhm.w wrd*

navigate with the Unwearying Stars,

*šsp=k jnw.t mskt.t*

receive the cargo of the night bark.<sup>52</sup>

*hpr=k m 3h jmy dw3.t*

You shall become the *Akb*-spirit who is in the Duat

*ˆnh=k m ˆnh pw ndm*

and live in that pleasant life

*ˆnhw nb 3h.t jm=f*

in which the lord of the horizon lives,<sup>53</sup>

*3gbj-wr jmy Nw.t*

the great flood<sup>54</sup> in Nut.

*jn m tˆ5 jrj n=k nn*

“Who has done this for you?”

*jn ntr.w šms.w Jtm*

say the gods who follow Atum.

*jn wr pf jrj n=f nw*

The Great One is the one who has done this for him,

<sup>49</sup> When the king joins the *Bas* of Pe-Buto at the time his death, the *Bas* of Heliopolis construct a stairway for him to help him ascend to the sky. Elsewhere, the *Bas* of Nekhen and the *Bas* of Buto support the king with a ladder of their arms, allowing him to ascend to the sky and climb up on it. He may sit between the two great gods, a designation commonly applied to Isis and Nephthys in their role at a funeral or during the whole course of the solar cycle, as they are responsible for the day and night barks, and he may sit among the stars of the sky. Pyr. §§ 478a-479a, 1253; Breasted, *Religion*, 110, n. 13; Žabkar, *The Ba Concept*, 35; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 94, 199.

<sup>50</sup> This gesture of Nut putting her arms on the deceased to protect him and receive him in the sky is the same one she made for Osiris. Pyr. §§ 1090d-f, 1344a; Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs*, 232, n. 2.

<sup>51</sup> On the pure place on the solar bark, see Doc. 9.

<sup>52</sup> For the cargo of the solar bark, see 1.3.2.

<sup>53</sup> From the foregoing text we can see that the Duat is a mysterious region in the eastern part of the sky, a desirable paradise which could be reached by means of the solar bark and with the help of the Imperishable and Unwearying Stars (see the stars as a guide of the sun god in the Amduat in Doc. 109, 110).

<sup>54</sup> For the cosmic roles of the “Great Flood” in the twelfth hour of the Amduat, see 3.12.7.

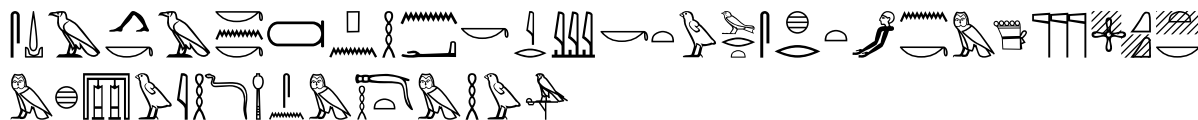
<sup>55</sup> On this *tj*, see Edel, *Grammatik* II, § 842.

*mḥ.t<y> ḥn.t ḥn.t Nw.t*

the one to the north of the waterway that Nut supervises.

**Doc. 14: PT 519 (Pyr. § 1217a-c) – version P**

Sethe, *Komm.* V, 93 f.; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 193; Bayoumi, *Autour*, 63; Mathieu et J. Leclant, *La pyramide de Pépy Ier*, 167, pl. XVI; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 166.



*sd3j.k3=k n=k N pn ḥn<sup>c</sup>=k*

You shall ferry this N with you,

*jr sb.t=k tw wr.t sḥr.t n=k*

to your great field which has been cultivated for you

*m-dr ntr.w*

with the help(?)<sup>56</sup> of the gods,

*wnm.t=k<sup>57</sup> m ḥ3.w j.ḥd=sn m<sup>58</sup>*

and what you eat at night when they are bright in

*mḥ.t m Ḥw*

the fullness of Hu.

**Doc. 15: PT 530 (Pyr. § 1253b-e) – version P**

Sethe, *Komm.* V, 154 f.; Bayoumi, *Autour*, 50; Sander-Hansen, *Bildung der Modi*, 29, § 79; Grapow, *Bildlichen*, 127, n. 6; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 199; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 169.

Despite the lack of direct evidence, it is virtually certain that the deceased king himself is addressing the ladder.<sup>59</sup> He will gain his place among the stars with the help of the ladder which forms a part of the belief about the stars that enables the deceased king to ascend to the sky, join the solar bark's crew, and take part in the sun god's journey (see e.g., Doc. 13).



*dj=t<sup>c</sup> jr N pn*

May you give your arm towards this N,

*ḥmsj<sup>60</sup> N pn jm.wtj<sup>61</sup> ntr.wy 3.w<y>*

May this N sit between the two great gods,

<sup>56</sup> Allen translates it as “the god’s limit.” Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 166.

<sup>57</sup> For a discussion about the word *wnm*, its forms, and determinatives in the PT, see Wiesmann, in: ZÄS 57, 73; Drioton, in: ASAE 49, 64, n. 1.

<sup>58</sup> According to Faulkner; “Reading *wnm.t=k m ḥ3.w j.ḥd=sn* as the subject and *m mḥ.t m Ḥw* as the adverbial predicate with the *m* of prediction; the suffix in *j.ḥd=sn* refers to the gods as stars. *j.ḥd=s t3* of M and N is clearly a corruption and makes no sense as it stands.” Faulkner, *AEPT*, 194, n. 12. Here, Hu is a personification of food, rather than the authoritative utterance. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 18, n. 12.

<sup>59</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, 199, n. 1.

<sup>60</sup> The determinative of *ḥmsj* in Pepi’s version is not the complete A3 sign (𓀓). It only shows the lower part of the man figure. The other versions use the determinative D77 (𓀓).

<sup>61</sup> For this transliteration, see TLA.

*ḥnt sw.t N pn šsp.t*<sup>62</sup> *ḥ=f* that this N's seats may be pre-eminent,<sup>63</sup> that his hand  
*jr šb.t ḥtp* may be taken at the field of offerings,  
*ḥmsj=f mm sb3.w jmy.w p.t* that he may sit among the stars which are in the sky.

**Doc. 16: PT 548 (Pyr. § 1345c-1347b) – version P**



Sethe, *Komm.* V, 274 f.; Breasted, *Religion*, 105, 122; Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 9, 111, 181; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 211; Mathieu et J. Leclant, *La pyramide de Pépy Ier*, 182, pl. XXI; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 176.






*ḥ3<w>=f m wj3 mj R<sup>c</sup>* He boards the bark like Re  
*ḥr jdb.w n mr-n-ḥ3j* at the banks of the winding waterway,<sup>64</sup>  
*ḥnw N pn m ḥnbw* This N rows in the bark of lightning.  
*jtj=f ḥp.t jm jr šb.t nnw.ty*<sup>65</sup> He navigates therein to the field of the two Lower  
 Skies,  
*r ḥnt t3 pw n šb.t j3r.w* to this south<sup>66</sup> of the Field of Rushes.  
*šzpp ḥ=f jn R<sup>c</sup> tzj dp=f jn Jtm* His hand is taken by Re, his head is lifted by Atum,<sup>67</sup>  
*šzpp ḥ3.t.t=f*<sup>68</sup> *jn 3s.t* (as much as) its prow rope will be received by Isis,

<sup>62</sup>The *šdm.tj=f* is used in a probable optative or jussive sense in a number of passages in the PT. In this case, it is a passive counterpart to the active subjunctive. Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 544.






<sup>63</sup>The pre-eminent thrones of the deceased are located directly behind the great god (Re). Pyr. § 270a-b.

<sup>64</sup>The winding waterway  was a celestial body of water which is often featured in the PT, particularly in those utterances dealing with the solar journey and the entry of the deceased into heaven. A fairly common destination of the solar journey was the Field of Rushes, as seen in Pyr. § 2173d where the Unwearying and Imperishable stars row the deceased king and proceed by boat to the *šb.wt ḥ3ḥ3* . The CT help us to understand the topography of these fields. In CT V, 153a-c (Sp. 398), the winding waterway is situated between the fields of emmer and barley and the fields of reeds. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 169 (fig. 41), 170. Cf. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 6 ff. On crossing the winding waterway in the Book of Two Ways, see Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 599-600. On the location of the winding waterway, see Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 14-66.

<sup>65</sup>Sethe notes that  is derived from the old . He tries to clarify the relationship between the nature of *šb.t* and *nw.t* and considers the possibility of equating the two places. In any case, the determinative  is not used for *šb.t*-fields. It could be the *ḥ3* canal in the western sky which flows in a field called *ḥ3ḥ3*. Sethe, *Komm.* V, 275; Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte*, 47, cf. Bayoumi, *Autour*, 21; Weill, *Le Champ*, 124.

<sup>66</sup>The waterway of this field must have stretched far to the north and south along the eastern horizon. Breasted, *Religion*, 105, n. 3.

<sup>67</sup>Also note Atum in his function of holding the hand of the king to the northern region of the sky to be one of the Imperishable Stars. Pyr. § 997a-c.

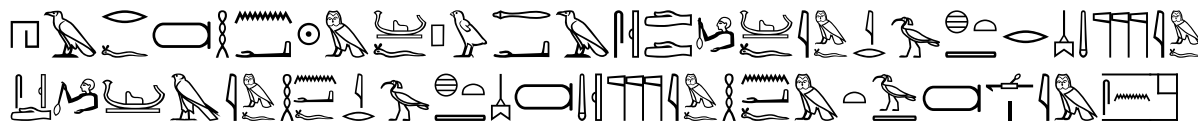
<sup>68</sup>According to Allen, the translation of *šzpp ḥ3.t.t=f* is “the prow-line arm is received,” but this is not very convincing. One suggestion could be that the  is a det. for the word *šzpp* resorting to the Hieratic , which represents the three signs , , and . The translation here appears to be an analogy by juxtaposition. Two bodily parts represent the divine impact on the deceased, and two parts of the bark represent Isis and Nephthys as divine assistants

*zpjw*<sup>69</sup> *ph.wt=f*<sup>70</sup> *jn Nb.t-hw.t*

(as much as) Its stern rope will be lifted by Nephthys.

**Doc. 17: PT 682 (Pyr. 2045a-2046c) – version N**

Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 108; Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* I, 301; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 293; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 284.



*h3 rf N hn<sup>c</sup> R<sup>c</sup> m wj3=f pw<sup>c</sup> 3*

N embarks with Re in this great bark of his,

*skdd=f jm=f jr 3h.t r*

he navigates in it to the horizon in order to

*wd<sup>c</sup> mdw<sup>71</sup> ntr.w jm=f*

rule (judge) the gods in it,<sup>72</sup>

*skdj Hr jm=f hn<sup>c</sup>=f jr 3h.t*

and Horus navigates in it to the horizon with him,

*wd<sup>c</sup> N mdw ntr.w jm=f hn<sup>c</sup>=f*

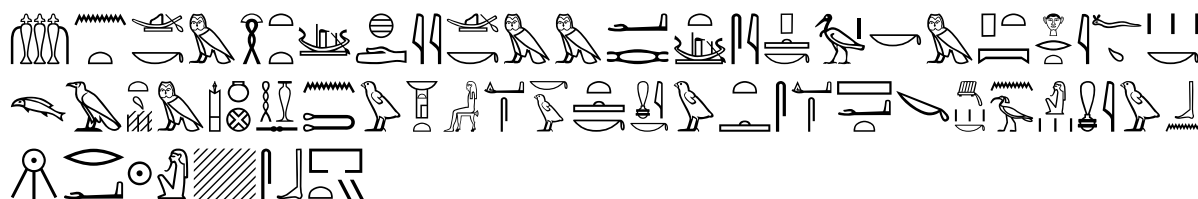
N rules the gods in it with him

*m 3h.t N w<sup>c</sup> jm=sn*

in the horizon, for N is one of them.

**Doc. 18: CT I, 184g-185f (Sp. 44) – version B12C**

Žabkar, *The BA Concept*, 109; Piankoff and J. Clère, in: *JEA* 20, 157 f.; Faulkner, *AECT* I, 36; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 131, 214; Münster, *Isis*, 46, n. 599; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 92; Barguet, *TdS*, 185 f.; Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 209-210.



*bntj=k m <m>skt.t<sup>73</sup>*

May you sail southward in the night bark and

*bdy=k m m<sup>c</sup>nd.t*

northward in the day bark;

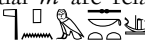
and members of the bark's crew. So, the first two =f refer to the deceased, and the second two refer to the bark. Allen, *PT (new concordance)*, § 1347a-b. On *h3.t* as the prow rope of the bark, see Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 174, 98.

<sup>69</sup> *Zp* as a verb is only attested here. This verb may be connected to the nautical term *ph.wt*.

<sup>70</sup> According to TLA, “Ankertau des Schiffes,” i.e., “anchor, rode.”

<sup>71</sup> *Wd<sup>c</sup>* and *wd<sup>c</sup>-mdw*, two forms of a verb dealing with judgement in the realm of the dead. CT II, 140b; Lacau, *Le système hiéroglyphique*, 79; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 149.

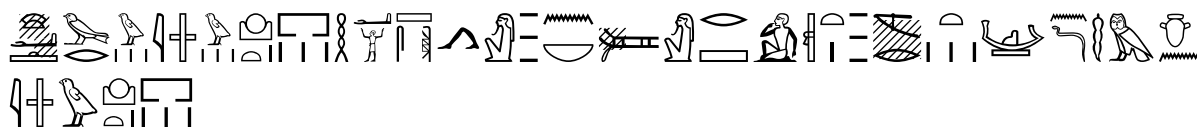
<sup>72</sup> Referring to the night bark. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* III, 913.

<sup>73</sup> Spellings of *m<sup>c</sup>skt.t* without the initial *m* are relatively common from the Middle Kingdom and later. For the homophonous preposition, compare,  *ntr pn m <m>skt.t* “this god in the night bark,” from the first hour of the Amduat. Hornung, *TZA* I, 126; Roberson, *Awakening of Osiris*, 91. For the other occurrences in the CT, see van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 184-185. In Demotic, *skt.t* = *Sgty* and *m<sup>c</sup>nd.t* = *mty*. Cf. *Wb* II, 150, 10-16; IV, 315, 10. *Sgty* is the common spelling of *m<sup>c</sup>skt.t* in Demotic language, which from the late period onwards can be translated as “day bark” and no longer as “night bark” as for the earlier epochs of Egyptian history. Stadler, in: Collombert, Coulon, eds., *Questionner le Sphinx*, 689.

*sjp=k<sup>74</sup> b3=k m p.t hr.t*                      may you recognize your *Ba*-soul in the upper sky,  
*juwf=k h3.t=k m Jwnw*                      while your flesh, your corpse,<sup>75</sup> is in Heliopolis,<sup>76</sup>  
*hsj.n tw Nb.t-hw.t rdj=s*                      Nephthys has favored you, may she grant  
*kw.t=k<sup>77</sup> mj kw.t=s rdj=s šc.t=k*                      what you say is like what she says, may she give the  
    slaughtering/dread<sup>78</sup> of you  
*n 3h.w mj wbn R<sup>c</sup> [m] sb.ty*                      to the spirits as when Re rises from the double  
    gate.<sup>79</sup>

**Doc. 19: CT I, 194f-195b (Sp. 45) – version B10C<sup>b</sup>**

Žabkar, *The BA Concept*, 107; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 39; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 239; Bargout, *TdS*, 187-188; Assmann, *Totenliturgien I*, 238.



*h<sup>c</sup>j wr.w jmy.w 3h.t<sup>80</sup>*                      The great ones who are in the horizon appear,  
*h<sup>c</sup>j šms.w n nb tm*                      the followers of the Lord of All rejoice,<sup>81</sup>

<sup>74</sup> On the meaning of the verb *sjp*, “inspect,” “revise,” see *Wb IV*, 35, 12.

<sup>75</sup> The body *juwf* is free of any burdens which would attempt to impede it, and it is unlike the body *h3.t* which is in the first world before death, dense with human organs and heavy in weight, which exhausts the strength of its owner. The co-ordination of *h3.t* and *juwf* in this context makes little sense. The prototypical location of the corpse is somewhat complex, and in several cases in which a location of the corpse is mentioned, it is explicitly contrasted to the location of the *b3*. It is the wish of the deceased for the *Ba* to reach the body every evening, rest upon it, and leave it in the morning (according to the solar paradigm). CT IV, 57 (Sp. 304); Žabkar, *The BA Concept*, 106-114; id., in: JNES 22, 61; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 37, n. 22; Barta, *Das Gespräch*, 70; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 52, n. 67; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 342 f.

<sup>76</sup> Here, the deceased is equated with Re and then with Osiris. This is followed by the wish to exist as a *Ba* in heaven with the corpse *juwf=k h3.t=k* in Heliopolis (CT I, 185a-b). According to CT VI, 376e-f (Sp. 746) and CT VII, 19h-j (Sp. 819), the body of Re is in Heliopolis. The passages mentioned are listed in Bickel, in A. Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 52 f. as possible references to the notion of the union of Re and Osiris in the CT. Backes, *Zweibegebuch*, 247, n. 580.

<sup>77</sup> *Kw.t* is a shout of acclamation or call. Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 670.

<sup>78</sup> Terms of fear are found in a prepositional relationship with other beings; it is typically being given “to” or placed “in” someone, without reference to specific body parts. For a discussion on the agent of fear, the possessor, terms and the affected being in the CT, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 410-11. Cf. Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 604.

<sup>79</sup> Var. in B10Cc “in the east of the sky.”

<sup>80</sup> The sign  $\square$  represents the prototypical ground plan of a small one-room house and is in fact typically used to (logographically) write the word *pr* “house.” It is also used as a generic sign to determine words conceptually belonging to the category of “buildings” or “habitat,” such as  $\square$ . The latter is perceived as a metaphorical dwelling place of the sun. This also applies to the case in which a kind of house/building is the word determined by this sign (e. g. *jt*  $\square$  “tomb”). Zago, in: ZÄS 145, 213. On *3h.t* as “horizon” or “land of light,” see *Wb I*, 17.12-23.

<sup>81</sup> For the followers of Re, see CT I, 194g; II, 222a, 363b, 388c; III, 58h, 127a, 129b; IV, 144n; VI, 79c, 84b, 273i, 381p; VII, 372d, 286a, 422a.

*rš*<sup>82</sup> *js.t mr.wt wj3*

the crew<sup>83</sup> and servants of the bark are glad,

*ndm-jb*<sup>84</sup> *n jmy.w 3h.t*

and those who are in the horizon are happy.

**Doc. 20: CT I, 210g-212a (Sp. 47, 48) – version B10C<sup>b</sup> (with reconstructions from B12C)**

Thausing, in: MDAIK 8, 63; Yoyotte, *Le Jugement des Morts*, 40; Münster, *Isis*, 33, 39 f.; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 49; Faulkner, *AECT* I, 43-44; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 177; Barguet, *TdS*, 189-190.



(Sp. 47) *šsp=k šhm m <m>skt.t*

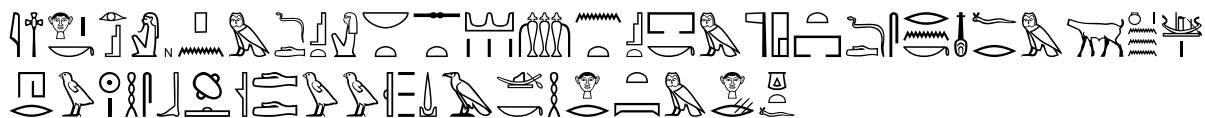
May you receive a sceptre in the night bark,

*sr<.w> n=k w3.wt*<sup>85</sup> *nb tm*

It is for you that the roads of the Lord of All are shown.<sup>86</sup>

*h3 Wsjr N pn tsj tw n ʿnh d.t*

Ho Osiris N,<sup>87</sup> raise yourself to live forever!



(Sp. 48) *jnd hr=k*<sup>88</sup> *Wsjr N pn*

Hail to you, this Osiris N!

*m dd 3s.t nb.t smy.t*

is what Isis lady of the desert, says,

*hnt s.t=k m hw.t-ntr*<sup>89</sup>

“Be pre-eminent in the sacred booth,”

*dd=s rn=k nfr m-hnw wj3*

because she speaks your good name within the bark

*brw hsb kddw.w*<sup>90</sup>

on the day of reckoning characters.

<sup>82</sup> On *rš* as a verb, see van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 288.

<sup>83</sup> Certainly, the two crews of the night and day barks.

<sup>84</sup> *Ndm-jb* is the quality associated with the vindication of the deceased in the court and the presentation of offerings. The sweetness of the *jb* can also relate to victory over enemies. In a few more cases, this expression is used to describe the reunion of the deceased with his family and the construction of his mansion in the realm of the dead. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 101.

<sup>85</sup> *Sr w3.wt* “the roads are shown or announced.” In CT VII, 252a-b (sp. 1029), the expression is replaced to *dsr w3.wt*, “to make the roads free.” It describes how Nut will free the roads for Re on behalf of the great one, for the deceased for whom the roads are announced has just taken hold of the sceptre in the night bark. This can only mean that the journey through the night is still in an initial phase. For a discussion of the word *sr*, see Yoyotte, in: RdE 9, 136; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 218.

<sup>86</sup> For the translation of this phrase, see Cannuyer, *La giraffe*, 255. The parallels for this text reveal that it is the announcement of the journey and that it is about to begin. Most texts situate the event that occurred in the time preceding dawn, so the journey must be identical with the departure of the rising sun from the underworld. Hoffmeier, *Sacred*, 74 f.; Assmann, in: *Fs Lichtheim* I, 19; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 195; 196, n. 1067. Cf. Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 11; Backes, *Zweigegebuch*, 55.

<sup>87</sup> Or “Osiris of N.” see Smith, in: RdE, 63, 187-196, and references to earlier treatments therein.

<sup>88</sup> For *jnd hr=k* not as a greeting for the deceased, see Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 262.

<sup>89</sup> *Sh-ntr* in B10C<sup>c</sup>.

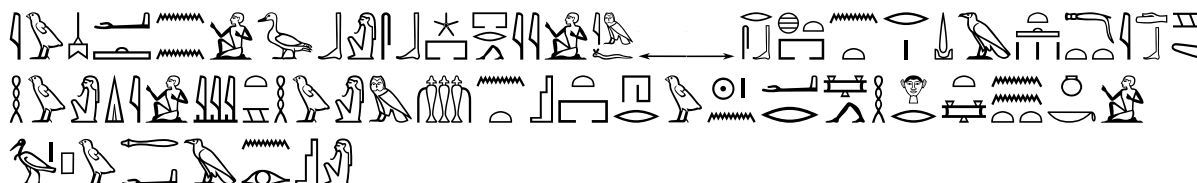
<sup>90</sup> The spellings of *kdw.w* with a double *d* in BIY may well be genuine variants, cf. *kd* and *kdd* “sleep.” Faulkner, *AECT* I, 40, n. 7.

*d3j=k hr.t m hry ns.t=f*<sup>91</sup>

May you cross the sky as one who is on his throne.

**Doc. 21: CT II, 75a-77a; 85a-86a (Sp. 96) – version B3L, M3C (with reconstructions from B1C<sup>a</sup>)**

Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 11; Žabkar, *The BA Concept*, 95, 105; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 94, 95; Barguet, *TdS*, 234-5; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 312, n. 1880.



*ju wd<sup>c</sup>.n n=j Gbb sb3*

Geb<sup>92</sup> has opened the door for me,

*pry=j jm=f*

that I may go out from it

*r sbh.t n.t r3-d3.wt<sup>93</sup> mht.t jdb Hw*

to the portal of *r3-d3.wt* north of the bank of Hu.<sup>94</sup>

*dj=j sh.t Hw<sup>95</sup> m hnt s.t<=j>*

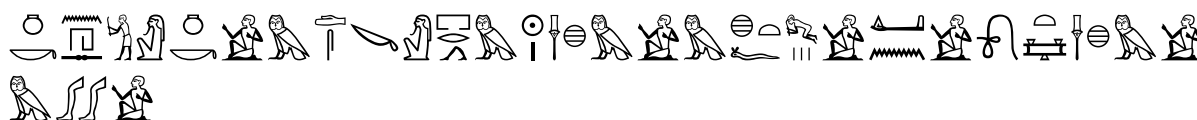
I placed the Field of Hu in front of <my> seat.

*brw n <sup>c</sup>r hr.t*

on the day of ascending [to] the sky<sup>96</sup>

*n-n.tt jnk b3 pw <sup>c</sup>3 n Wsjr*

because I am the great *Ba* of Osiris.



*jnk<sup>97</sup> Nhs*

I am Nehes (who is wakeful),<sup>98</sup>

*jnk mds<sup>99</sup> prj m R<sup>c</sup>*

I am the sharp one/the knife who came forth from Re

<sup>91</sup> The epithet *hr ns.t=f* refers to the seat in the solar bark, which was attributed to him by the justification in the court of the dead. Assmann, *Totenliturgien I*, 263.

<sup>92</sup> The earth allows the traveler to pass, so that he can occupy his place in the desert or in the west. CT II, 157m (Sp. 143), 175o-q (Sp.143), 264a-b (Sp.153); III, 56b (Sp. 173); VII, 103h (Sp.892).

<sup>93</sup> *R-d3.wt* is probably a corruption; no such placename is known, M3C omits the reference to the portal and reads: “in order to cross *r-d3.t* to the north of the Bank of Hu,” which has the appearance of an ancient emendation of an obscure passage. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 95, n. 3. In the TLA, it is a substantive without any translation. Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 269 has no explanation for the word.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. CT III, 32b-c (Sp. 169); VI, 57h-58a (Sp. 484).

<sup>95</sup> In B1C<sup>b</sup>, it is Re-Hu.

<sup>96</sup> The meaning of this clause is quite obscure. For the Field of Hu, B1L has “Field of Re-Hu,” M3C and M28C have “Field of Twenty” for <sup>c</sup>r “mount up,” M3C has *f<sup>b</sup>* and M28C has *hd*. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 95, n. 4.

<sup>97</sup> Usually, the word *jnk* is used to describe the deceased’s ascension to the sky, in the domain of Re, and to assure the deceased all benefits of life under the rays of the sun *pr.t m brw*. Žabkar, *The Ba Concept*, 126 f.

<sup>98</sup> Faulkner, *AECT I*, 96, n. 17.

<sup>99</sup> Perhaps *mds* refers to Nehes, as a son of the sun god, going back to the same text of Thoth in Pyr. § 1999c, which alludes to the unnatural birth of Thoth from Seth, *m ds* (or *mds*) *prj m Stš* “the sharp one who came from Seth.” Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 147 f. with references cited therein, 386, 424.

*šbm=j m bfty.w=j* and I who has power over my enemies;<sup>100</sup>  
*dj<.w> n=j w3.t* a way has been given to me,  
*šbm=j m rd.wy=j* I have power over my legs.

**Doc. 22: CT II, 139c- 140b (Sp. 118) - version S1C (with reconstructions from parallels)**

De Wit, *Le Sens du Lion*, 138, 182; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 110; Kees, *Totenglauben*, 189; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 101, 107; Barguet, *TdS*, 583; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 313, n. 1890.



*jnk jj m Rw.tj* I am he who has come as the Double Lion  
*prj=j m <m>skt.t* (so that) I may descend into the night bark  
*b3y=j m <m>nd.t* and I may ascend into the day bark,  
*wḏḏ=j mdw m js.t<sup>101</sup> R<sup>c</sup>* that I may judge among the crew of Re<sup>102</sup>  
*m nw n mšrw.w* in these evenings.




**Doc. 23: CT II, 198a-b (Sp. 146) - version B3L**

Altenmüller, *Apotropäia I*, 111; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 123; Barguet, *TdS*, 265.



*sm3.k3=t<w><sup>103</sup> mḥn.wt* One shall prepare the ferryboats,<sup>104</sup>  
*škdj.k3=<tw> wj3 pw n R<sup>c</sup> jn js.t jptw* this bark of Re shall be navigated by this crew of Re

<sup>100</sup> In this passage, the reference is not a judicial examination of a person's life, but rather a litigation in which the deceased is opposed by enemies. Horus or Osiris are often mentioned as the successful litigant whom the deceased hopes to emulate. Griffith, *The Conflict*, 76. In this text it is Nehes who plays this role.

<sup>101</sup> According to Willems, the Egyptians have a kind of similarity between the tomb into which the deceased descended when he is buried and the underworld, into which the sun descend. It may also be of some significance that coffins A1C and G1T have a slightly different version of the passage, in which the deceased in his role of sun god "pronounces judgement in the crew of Re." Instead of *js.t* "crew," these sources write  (A1C) and  (G1T). Are these spellings of the word *js*, tomb? Although this indication can hardly be taken as conclusive evidence, it cannot be excluded that some pun was being made between the words for "crew" and "tomb." Therefore, the descending of the deceased into the tomb was understood to be similar to the mythical situation of the dead sun god who pronounces judgement in the presence of his crew while descending into the underworld. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 194. On the origin of the word *js* , see Régen, in: BIFAO 106, 245-314.

<sup>102</sup> The translation of Barguet reads: "I set the justice in the night bark among the crew of Re." See parallels in CT I, 391b (Sp. 75); II, 140b (Sp. 118); 264c (Sp. 153); III, 57b (Sp. 173); V, 291 (Sp. 438); VII, 103m (Sp. 892).

<sup>103</sup> On *t* from *tw* as an indefinite pronoun, see *Wb V*, 245, 2.

<sup>104</sup> See also Pyr. § 1376; CT II, 191b.



*nty jhm.w wrd.w*<sup>105</sup>

who knows no weariness.

**Doc. 24: CT II, 254p-t (Sp. 150) – version B9C**

Faulkner, *AECT I*, 130; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 176; Barguet, *TdS*, 265.



*wnm<=sn> šhtm=sn*<sup>106</sup> *b3.w=sn dpy.w t3* <They> eat and devour their *Ba*-souls which are on earth.

*st wj m wj3 n R<sup>c</sup> nbh* while I am in the bark of Re forever.

*sdm=j dd.t.n m.t*<sup>107</sup> *3s.t r=j* I hear what (my) mother Isis has said to me,

*jnk nbnw R<sup>c</sup> sm3*<sup>108</sup> *R<sup>c</sup>* for I am the child of Re, the scalp of Re.

*jnk bj3 jmy r3 n nbh* I am the marvellous one who is at the gate of eternity.

**Doc. 25: CT II, 263c-265a (Sp. 153) – version B9C = BD 3**

Faulkner, *AECT I*, 132; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 415 f.; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 32, 101, 107; Barguet, *TdS*, 222.



*s<sup>c</sup>r wj Hnbnw*<sup>109</sup> *jr wj3.wy Hprj* The *Hnbnw*-bark raises me up to the two barks of Khepri.

*wn=f r3 t3*<sup>110</sup> It opens the gate of the earth,<sup>111</sup>

*sn=f n=j 3.w jmy.w j3hw* It throws open for me the doors which are in the sunshine,

*wd-mdw.t nft*<sup>112</sup> *js.t R<sup>c</sup> m mšrw* and commands are given to the crew of Re in the evening

<sup>105</sup> B1C only: *jhm.w-sk jhm.w-wrd* “The Imperishable Stars and Unwearying Stars.” The translation of Faulkner as “who know no destruction or weariness” does not seem plausible as the two words are determined with the god’s sign. See Faulkner, *AECT I*, 124, n. 10.

<sup>106</sup> A lot of actions directed against the deceased who keeps the demons off with the words: “Do not eat me.” Other demons *wnm*, and *htm*, “eat and destroy” the *Bas*. Because of the use of a verb like *htm* and the fact that essential parts of the person are eaten up (his *Bas* and his shadow), it appears that devouring also causes the absolute destruction of the deceased. Here, the deceased wants the *Ba*-souls of those unknown beings to be destroyed. Zandee, *Death*, 217.

<sup>107</sup> is a Middle Kingdom form of *mw.t*. *Wb II*, 168, 8.

<sup>108</sup> Faulkner reads *sm3* as a nisbe from of *sm3* “side/companion,” but one could reject this translation because *sm3*<y> as a nisbe is written differently. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 130, n. 12, cf. Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 492.

<sup>109</sup> The *Hnbnw*-bark in B9C, B2Bo, and B5C is determined with the seated god sign.

<sup>110</sup> For parallel phrases, see Zandee, *Death*, 116; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 122 f.

<sup>111</sup> Perhaps the *Hnbnw*-bark is the day bark which opens the earth and the two barks of Khepri are the dual barks which appear in the first hour of the Amduat.

<sup>112</sup> The *.t* is clearly a mistake of version B9C, other versions have the correct “dative” *n*.

$\epsilon nb=j m-bt mwt mj$  that I may live after death just as  
 $\epsilon nb R^c r^c nb$  Re lives every day.<sup>113</sup>

**Doc. 26: CT II, 378c-381d (Sp. 160) – version S2P**

Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 121; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 138; Zandee, in: *ZÄS* 99, 59, n. 251; Barguet, *TdS*, 577; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 441, n. <sup>bw</sup>.



$jjw=j r\dot{b}.k<w>j rn n \dot{h}\beta.w pn$  I know the name of this serpent  
 $dpy \dot{d}w Wbn=f rn=f$  which is upon the mountain, its name is Wehenef.  
 $jr r=f m tr n m\dot{s}rw pn^c \dot{h}r=f$  Now at eventide he will turn  
 $jr.t=f r R^c$  his eye against Re,  
 $\dot{h}pr.\dot{h}r \epsilon^c \dot{h}^c w m js.t^{114}$  and a stoppage will occur in the crew  
 $sgw.t^{115} \epsilon^3.t m-\dot{h}nw skdw.t$  and a great astonishment in the voyage,  
 $k^c \dot{h}.\dot{h}r sw Swt\dot{s} m-\dot{d}r=f$  and Seth will bend him in his realm.<sup>116</sup>  
 $jj \dot{d}d=f m \dot{h}k\dot{z}.w$  Spell which he<sup>117</sup> utters as magic:  
 $\epsilon^c \dot{h}^c=j m-\dot{d}r=k^{118}$  I rise up against you,  
 $m\dot{z}^c skdw.t$  and the voyage is directed aright.

<sup>113</sup> In Doc. 24, the deceased announces his free access to the day and night barks, pointing out that he pronounces judgement in the crew of Re in the evening. Usually, the speaker is the sun god in one of his forms, or Ruti, see CT II, 175k-176u (Sp. 143). The information here in this passage adds the desire of the deceased to be the sun god himself, while his *Akb* is Ruti. The parallels also mention that the deceased (or his *Akb*) travels certain roads, often specifying that he does so in the barks of the sun god. CT II, 175k-176d (Sp. 143); 26le-263c (Sp. 153). Cf. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 193.

<sup>114</sup> This action  $\epsilon^c \dot{h}^c w$  “stoppage” occurs during the disaster of Horus when Isis is asked to pray in the heavens, for as long as her son Horus is on his side. Klasens, *Magical statue*, 91; Sethe, in: *ZÄS* 59, 84.

<sup>115</sup> Synonyms of  $sgw.t$  in *Wb* IV, 320, 9; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 171; Edel, in: *ZÄS* 81, 16.

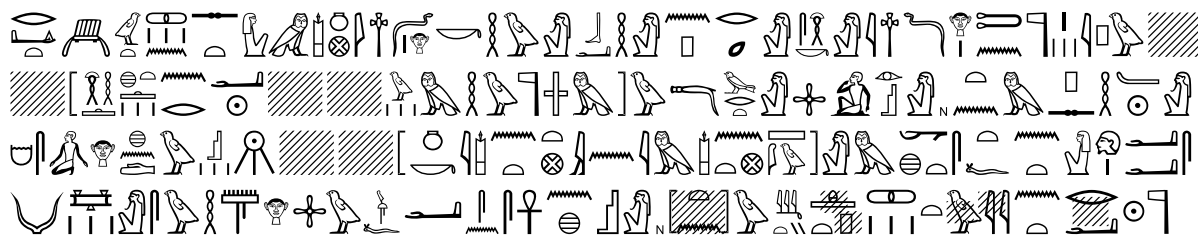
<sup>116</sup> *M-dr* means “in the area.” *Wb* V, 586, 9-10; Edel, *Grammatik* II, § 812. According to Faulkner, the reading  $m-\dot{d}r.t=f$  of B2P seems superior to  $m-\dot{d}r=f$  of S2p-B9C. Therefore, his translation was: “Seth will bend him with his hand.” Faulkner, *AECT I*, 139, n. 7.

<sup>117</sup> Presumably, the deceased acts as Seth, the defender of the solar bark. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 139, n. 8. See also Doc. 58, 59.

<sup>118</sup> Here, it would be plausible to translate  $m-\dot{d}r$  as a compound preposition which is common in all texts. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 139, n. 9.

**Doc. 27: CT III, 63a-64e (Sp. 177) – version B4C (with reconstructions from M57C and PT 496)**

Faulkner, *AECT* I, 151; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 93, 129; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 66 f.; Barguet, *TdS*, 382; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 73.<sup>119</sup>



<i>rdj.t 3w.wt n s.t m Jwnw</i>	Giving gifts to a woman in Heliopolis.
<i>jnd hr=k Hw B<sup>c</sup>h Npr Sk&lt;j&gt;</i>	Hail to you, Hu, Bah, Neper, Sek!
<i>jnd hr=tn ntr.w jpw [w3h&lt;.w&gt; ht n R<sup>c</sup></i>	Hail to you, those gods who make oblations to Re.
<i>jmy.w m] Hw jmy.w Mh&lt;.t&gt;-wr.t</i>	[who are with] Hu, who are in the Mehet-weret.
<i>wnm Wsjr N tn m psh R<sup>c</sup></i>	This Osiris N eats from what Re bites,
<i>hmsj&lt;=j&gt; hr hnd.w j3h.w</i>	I sit on the thrones of the sunshine! <sup>120</sup>
<i>[jnk Jwn.t.t jj.n=j m Jwn.t</i>	[I am the Denderitan woman, <sup>121</sup> I have come from Denderah.
<i>Šw] m-ht=s Tfn.t dp-<sup>c</sup>.wy=s</i>	Shu] behind her, Tefnut before her,
<i>Wp-w3.wt [hr] swb hr wnmw=f</i>	Wepwawet is [on] the loincloth, he is on his right.
<i>rdj=sn s<sup>c</sup>nh Wsjr N tn m<sup>122</sup></i>	They caused this Osiris N to be nourished in
<i>sh.t htp.wt n.t R<sup>c</sup></i>	the field of offerings of Re.

**Doc. 28: CT III, 77e-k (Sp. 182) - version S10C<sup>b</sup>**

Faulkner, *AECT* I, 153; Barguet, *TdS*, 344.



<i>n s3 hmw.w dp.t ntr</i>	The steering oar of the god's bark is not broken,
<i>n gmgm.w hry-<sup>c</sup>=f</i>	Its tiller is not snapped,

<sup>119</sup> See Pyr. § 1066a-b; Sethe, *Komm.* IV, 338 ff.; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 176; Allen, *New Concordance*, PT 496.

<sup>120</sup> They are the thrones of Khepri, which the deceased is trying to assume. In Pyr. § 2206e-f, the text reads: "He lies high and alighted on the throne of Khepri in the prow of his bark which is in Nut." They are mentioned in CT V, 294a, 298a, 302c; VI, 225h. A discussion about *hnd.w j3h.w* can be found in Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 166; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 73.

<sup>121</sup> Hathor. Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 149, n. 61. Compare the "Dandarawiyya," who belongs to Denderah, in Arabic.

<sup>122</sup> Emending  from M57C into . Faulkner, *AECT* I, 151, n. 2.



*rh.n=j rh.t.n Sj3 bs.t*<sup>130</sup> *wr*  
*m33.w hr=s*

I know what Sia knows,<sup>131</sup> in which the greatest  
of the seers is initiated.

**Doc. 30: CT III, 342b-k (Sp. 248) – version S1C**

Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 42; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 193; Barguet, *TdS*, 529-30.



*rh.k<w>j tn rh.k<w>j rn.w=tn*  
*ssm=j tn h3 R<sup>c</sup> ts-phr*<sup>132</sup>  
*s.t=f s.t=j mk.t=f mk.t=j*  
*h<sup>c</sup>.k<w>j m jr.t Hr wnm=j ntr.w*  
*sm3=j s<sup>c</sup>nh=j snh=j wh<sup>c</sup>=j*  
*wdj=j sdb dr=j sdb*  
*jnk R<sup>c</sup> jnk Hw*

I know you and I know your names,  
I conduct you behind Re and vice versa;  
his place is my place, his protection is my protection,  
I have appeared in the eye of Horus; I eat the gods.  
I kill him whom I made to live, I bind him whom I  
loosened,  
I implant obstacles and remove obstacles,  
I am Re, I am Hu.

**Doc. 31: CT III, 359e-360e (Sp. 255) – version S1C<sup>a</sup>**

Thausing, in: *Fs Viktor Christian*, 108-10; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 196; Barguet, *TdS*, 455.



*mw=j hr=j h<sup>c</sup>=j m R<sup>c</sup>*

My water is upon me, I appear as Re;

<sup>130</sup> According to *Wb*, the word *bsj* or *bs.t* means: “to usher in, to enter.” In the vast majority of sources, the verb *bsj* appears to be determined by the “pair of legs in motion” surmounted by the “fish.” However, it sometimes occurs with only one or another of these determinatives. Contrary to what many translations suggest, Kruchten interprets that *bs<j>* is never a mere synonym for *k*, “to enter,” or any other verb for going in or out a place. While the latter applies to a linear movement of the subject in a single space, *bs<j>* indeed corresponds to the crossing of a true cosmic limit, the border between the mortal and the divine, between the terrestrial and celestial or between the profane and the sacred. In this text, the meaning of *bs.t* is “initiation.” The word is used of the investiture of the Pharaoh, and the initiation to the secrets of the cult of the underworld, especially of Osiris. *Wb I*, 473, 1-18; I 474, 5-18; Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 45; Kruchten, *Prêtres de Karnak*, 202 ff. For more functions and connotations of the verb, see *ibid.*, 147-201. On the transition from *jbz* to *bsj*, see Edel, *Grammatik I*, § 426.

<sup>131</sup> This text has many parallels, such as CT III, 311e (Sp. 237); 326f (Sp. 241), and one could compare CT III, 326f: *ju=j rh.kwj jr.t n Sj3* “I know what Sia has made (or done).” Our text replaces *jrj* with *rh* which is more understandable, as Sia is primarily a hypostasis of Re, and especially embodies capacities, not actions, unless *jr.t* the “making” were to refer to the book which he sometimes carries (= Doc. 3). Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 182 f.; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 190. Cf. Gardiner, in: PSBA 39, 138-139.

<sup>132</sup> On *ts-phr*, see Westendorf, in: *Ägyptologische Studien*, 383-402.

*mw r<sup>c</sup>.wy=j b<sup>c</sup>j=j m Hr* water is on my hands, I appear as Horus,  
*k3j=j m Nwb.ty snk=j m 3s.t* I am exalted as Seth. I have suckled from Isis,  
*3tj.n wj Nb.t-ḥw.t m š n s3b* Nephthys has nursed me in the Jackal Lake.<sup>133</sup>

**Doc. 32: CT IV, 62c-j (Sp. 307) – version BH4C (with reconstructions from L1Li and BD 85)**

Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 42; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 226; Kees, *Totenglauben*, 282; Altenmüller, *Hu*, in: *LÄ III*, col. 65; Barguet, *TdS*, 548; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 113 f., 127.



*jnk R<sup>c</sup> prj m Nw.w* I am Re who issued from Nun  
*m rn=j pw n Hprj* in this my name of Khepri,  
*b3=j pw ntr* and my *Ba*-soul is a god.  
*jnk km3 Hw* I am he who created Hu (authority);<sup>134</sup>  
*bw.t=j pw jsf.t n m33.[n=j] s* wrongdoing is what I detest, and [I did] not see it.  
*jnk Wsjr jrj m3<sup>c</sup>.t* I am Osiris who does right,<sup>135</sup>  
*c<sup>n</sup>h=j jm=s r<sup>c</sup> nb* and I live by means of it every day.<sup>136</sup>

**The version of BD 85 continues<sup>137</sup>**



*jnk Hw jwty sk=f* I am Hu, the one who has no perishing  
*m rn=j pwy n b3* in this my name of *Ba*-soul.

<sup>133</sup> In Pyr. § 372a-d, the text introduces two lakes. In the first one, the Jackal Lake, the king is to be purified, but in the second, the lake of the Duat, he and his *Ka* are to be bathed and dried. This gives us another function of the Jackal Lake as a place of feeding, nursing, and purification, and all of these occurred directly before the ascension. Müller interprets that the Jackal Lake or Jackal Field date back to a time when a dog or jackal, Anubis or Wepwawet, was the lord or the only god of the netherworld. Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, 364, n. 10.

<sup>134</sup> In CT IV, 145c (Sp. 320), the sun god says: *dd=j bpr Hw* “I speak, and Hu comes into being.” Faulkner, *AECT I*, 248; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 128. In BD 85 (papyrus of Nu), the deceased says: “I am Re who comes forth from Nun .... It is I who created Hu.” Thus, Hu was created by Re, the first god coming forth from the primordial ocean. Budge, *Book of the Dead II*, 46; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 82; Kákosy, in: *ZÄS* 90, 69.

<sup>135</sup> L1Li reads: “for I am one who does right.”

<sup>136</sup> The passage in BH4C can be restored from chapter 153B which develops into the phrasing of CT 307, 308: “I appeared as [Re] lord of the east, in those processions of the east, [I have come] to the sky, I have rested on his places that are in the east.” Quirke, *Prt m hmv*, 200.

<sup>137</sup> Budge, *Book of the Dead II*, 46, cf. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 227, n. 5.

**Doc. 33: CT IV, 147i-1 (Sp. 321) – version B2L**

Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 42 f.; Faulkner, *AECT* I, 249 f.; Barguet, *TdS*, 588-589; Bardinot, *Dents et mâchoires*, 142 f.; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 135, 370 f.



*pbr.n=f* ḥn<sup>c</sup> Šw

He has gone round in the company of Shu.

*ḥr pbr.t n.t* Ḥw Sj<sup>3</sup>

upon the circuit of Hu and Sia,<sup>138</sup>

*nd* ḥ.t<sup>139</sup> m-<sup>c</sup>=f

who made an enquiry from him.<sup>140</sup>

*dd.n n=f* Ḥw Sj<sup>3</sup>

Hu and Sia said to him:

*mj rk šm=n jrj=n rn.w*

“Come, let us go and make the names

*nw k3b pf ḥft*

of those windings<sup>141</sup> in accordance

*pr.t m jb=f*

with what went out from his heart.

**Doc. 34: CT IV, 156a-157b (Sp. 325) – versions S1C<sup>b</sup> and S2C<sup>b</sup> (with reconstructions from S1C<sup>a</sup>)**

Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 43; Faulkner, *AECT* I, 252; Roeder, *Urkunden*, 211; Barguet, *TdS*, 533.



*dd.t=f jr.w my*

What he said is done accordingly,

*sb<3>k=f r-gs R<sup>c</sup> m grḥ*

and he has made bright at the side of Re at night.

*nnk Ḥw dd.t.n=j nfr*

To me belongs Hu; what I said is good,

*pr<.t> m r<sup>3</sup>=j nfr dd.t=j jr<w> my*

my utterance is good, and what I say is done accordingly.

*jnk Ḥw nb ḥw*

I am Hu, Lord of Hu (authoritative utterance).<sup>142</sup>

<sup>138</sup> The orbit of Hu and Sia is the orbit of the sun god, cf. CT V, 383c-d; VII, 17d.

<sup>139</sup> *Nd* ḥ.t or *nd* ḥb.t, “to enquire about something, consult, or ask for one’s advice.” *Wb* II, 371, 16-20; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 260.

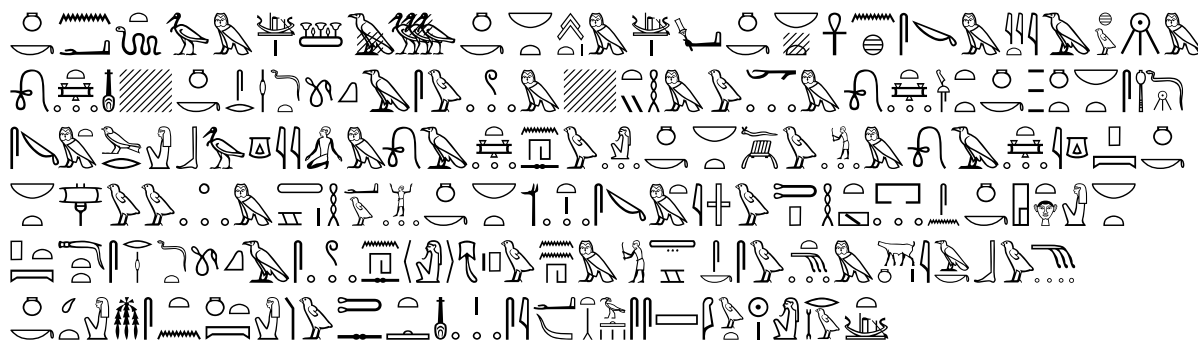
<sup>140</sup> According to Faulkner, the connection between 147g-1 with what has preceded it is by no means clear, and it is possible that there may have been a textual omission somewhere. Faulkner, *AECT* I, 250, n. 19.

<sup>141</sup> See also the “windings” of a waterway in Pyr. § 2061 where the king is said to be a helmsman in the bends of the winding waterway when he goes up to the sky. The writer presumably had the Nile River in mind. Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 284. For the three basic meanings of *k3b* see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 134. Cf. *Wb* V, 9, 13-15; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 646.

<sup>142</sup> Gardiner suggests that the main problem is deciding to whom the pronoun in the long series of short sentences from in CT IV, 154d to in 156a-b refers. He concludes that the sole possibility that seems to remain is that (“the mighty one,”) is the substantive we are seeking; Hu himself must be meant with this, and all the following phrases describe his power and functions. Willems notes that Hu appears to be a being more powerful than the other powers, great ones, and gods. These remarks are admittedly rather unspecific and could apply

**Doc. 35: CT IV, 177a-178e (Sp. 332) - versions G1T and A1C**

Münster, *Isis*, 106 f.; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 256-7; Barguet, *TdS*, 522; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 492 f.



*jnk n<sup>c</sup>.t b3 m wj3 š3w b3.w*

I am a *Nat*-serpent,<sup>143</sup> a *Ba*-soul in the bark,  
“Ordainer of Power.”

*jnk nb.t ḥp.t m wj3 ḥrp<sup>144</sup>*

I am the mistress of the oar in the “Bark of  
Controller.”

*jnk nb.t ḥnḥ ššmy.t<sup>145</sup>*

I am the mistress of life, the serpent-guide

*j3ḥw m w3.wt nfr[w.t]*

of the sunshine on the fair paths.

*jnk srwd.t k3s.w m*

I am she who strengthens the lashings

*[ḥn]ty ḥm.w m w3.wt jmnt.t*

at the steering oars on the western ways.

*jnk 3-nw.t nb.t šḥd*

I am the third one,<sup>146</sup> mistress of brightness,<sup>147</sup>

*ššm.t wr<.w> b3gy m*


who guides the great ones who are weary on

*w3.wt nhs.w*

the paths of the wakeful ones.


to any god. One could therefore argue that the passage describes aspects of Atum, and not of Hu. CT IV, 153-156 (Sp. 325), S1C<sup>b</sup>; Gardiner, in: PSBA 38, 46-47; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 12; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 252, n. 1; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 343.

<sup>143</sup>The *Nat*-serpent has assimilated to the crown-serpent and the serpent of the spell should be the leader of the bark. It can assume this function because it is luminous, it shines in the dark and destroys the enemies on its behalf; the uraeus serpent has the same characteristics as “the fiery one” and she, too, is called “the leader” of the bark. Münster, *Isis*, 107. For a discussion about serpents, see Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 353, n. 2176.

<sup>144</sup>In A1C, it was written .

<sup>145</sup>*Ššm.t* is a frequent name of the uraeus and goddesses who take its shape. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, 38, n. 18.

<sup>146</sup>The “third one” appears as a form of Hathor who opens a door for Re. A passage in Pyr. § 1082a-d, reads: “The sky is pregnant with wine and Nut has caused her daughter to be born in the morning. He (the king) raises himself and his third one is Seth.” According to Willems, “This suggests that a reference is being made to the visibility of the star in the early morning, and therefore perhaps to its heliacal rising, the event which ushered in the advent of a new lunar year. In Pyr. § 965a-966a, Sothis, who is given the nickname ‘Year,’ is said to guide the dead king. In this text, Hathor does the same. This makes it likely that the goddess is referring to her role on the day of the Rising of Sothis.” Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 354, with n. 2183.

<sup>147</sup>Through her connection with Seth, Isis has received the title  “Mistress of light in the place of darkness.” Münster, *Isis*, 153.



<i>jnk nb.t ꜥw m w3.wt jgp</i>	I am the mistress of light <sup>148</sup> on the paths of the clouds.
<i>jnk nb.t tꜥw.w m jw ꜥ.w</i>	I am the mistress of the winds on the island of joy.
<i>jnk nb.t wsr.wt<sup>149</sup> sꜥm.t</i>	I am the mistress of the prow ropes who guides those who are in their caverns.
<i>jmy.w tꜥꜥ.wt=sn<sup>150</sup></i>	
<i>jnk Hw.t-Hr nb.t p.t mꜥt.t</i>	I am Hathor, mistress of the northern sky,
<i>srwd.t ꜥꜥs.w nbs.w grꜥ pw</i>	who strengthened the lashings of the wakeful ones in that night
<i>n nbm tꜥ sk sw.wt<sup>151</sup> m-ꜥnw ꜥꜥkbw</i>	when the earth rumbled, and when the hair is in mourning. <sup>152</sup>
<i>jnk ꜥs.t<sup>153</sup> ms.t n Nw.t wtꜥ&lt;w&gt;.t nfrw=s</i>	I am Isis whom Nut bore, who displays her beauty, <sup>154</sup>

<sup>148</sup> *Fꜥw*, “splendour, magnificence, or respect” highlights the respect the goddess enjoys on the celestial paths, and the title *nb.t ꜥw*, appears as an epithet of a goddess with the characteristics of both Hathor and Isis. Furthermore, it may be significant that the epithet appears in a nautical context, which gives us the possibility to translate *ꜥw* as “light,” which is very necessary for the paths of the clouds. Thus, from this perspective, the epithet of Hathor as “mistress of light” may allude to the rise of the sun as the last line of the spell shows. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 354, n. 2185; 450, n. d. Cf. El-Sayed, in: RdE 26, 76, n. 4.

<sup>149</sup> The direct translation of *usr.t* is “strength or power,” but since the entire text refers to nautical terms, one would assume that *usr.wt* is the “front hawser,” the “prow rope.” Thus, the same meaning occurred in the Middle Kingdom texts and is not a late writing of *ꜥꜥ.t.t* as Jones suggests (Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 160, 38). In *Wb* 1, 364, 5, it is “Strick (zur Handhabung des Steuers).” Cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 257.

<sup>150</sup> In general, the meaning of *tꜥꜥ.t* refers to holes, caverns, and regions situated in the underworld, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 125 f. The word is also used for holes of various kinds. For example: “where snakes live” (PT § 245a; 444b; 682a; CT II, 37c-38a; IV, 117a), through which the sun rises in the morning (e.g., CT II, 176q; CT VI, 170a). According to Hornung, the *tꜥꜥ.wt* are identical to the *ꜥꜥr.t* of which 74 are known to have shielded the personified names of the sun god who functioned as gatekeepers. Re also dwells in these caverns in which the deceased (the *jmy.w tꜥꜥ.wt=sn*) dwelled. The *jmy.w tꜥꜥ.wt* are often gatekeepers (e.g., CT I, 373a; IV, 77b-8lf; 177i; 330b; CT VI, 170a). Hornung, *Anbetung des Re*, 123, n. 225; id., in: GM 6, 58; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 314, n. 1898. Cf. Barguet, in: RdE 9, 12, n. 1; Miatello, in: GM 252, 103, n. 31.

<sup>151</sup> Not in the *Wb*, and for many scholars, the meaning is unknown. Here, the determinative is  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ , as in the case of the verb *sꜥm* “to mourn” in CT VI, 325k, compare also CT V, 93f; VI, 124d, 250s; VII, 265b. Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 75; Münster, *Isis*, 106, n. 1194; Faulkner, *AECTI*, 257, n. 3; Meeks, *A. Lexi.*, 78.3898. Cf. van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 459, 562, 566.

<sup>152</sup> Here, the *nbs.w* should be considered aggressive guardians in this night of rumbles. This passage (177i-178b) is probably alluding to a recurring event concerning the renewal of the sun god. Re often appears accompanied by earthquakes in heaven or on earth. It is not clear whether this event recurs daily during the sunrise or annually (the revival of Osiris or the New Year in general). Also, the *sw.t*-curls, or the straps of this hairstyle, do not provide information on this question. Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 328. Cf. CT VII, 265a-b (Sp. 1033).

<sup>153</sup> For goddesses determined with the male determinative in the CT, cf., e.g., CT II, 151e (S1C); VI, 135a (GIT); 140a (A1C, GIT, M21C); CT VII, 152i (Pap. Gard. III, IV).

<sup>154</sup> In spell 331, Hathor “elevates her beauty” by a god who is probably Atum. A similar ambiguity prevails in the statement that the goddess “gathers his *ꜥꜥ* power” which according to Münster means that she is the one who has the magic power of the god, which may explain why, in this spell, she assembles her own *ꜥꜥ* power. Münster, *Isis*, 30, 107, n. 1200; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 384, n. 2142.

*f*<sup>b.t</sup> *3*<sup>h.w</sup>=*s*<sup>155</sup> who assembles her magic powers  
*ssw.t R<sup>c</sup> r <m><sup>c</sup>nd.t* and who lifts up Re to the day bark.

**Doc. 36: CT IV, 227b-228c, 230a-b, 286a-d (Sp. 335b) – version T3Be, Sq1C = BD 17**

Gardiner, in: PSBA 38, 44; Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 17; Otto, in: ZÄS 81, 65; Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 43; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 263-4; Roeder, *Urkunden*, 241 f.; Barguet, *TdS*, 566, 568; Morenz, *Religion*, 234.



*jmy.w-b3h*<sup>156</sup> O you who are in the presence,<sup>157</sup>  
*jmj n=j<sup>c</sup>.wy=tn* may you give me your hands,  
*jnk pw bpr jm=tn* for I am indeed come into being within you.<sup>158</sup>  
*ptr rf nn jmy.w-<b3h>* Who are those who are in the presence?  
*Hw pw hn<sup>c</sup> Sj3* They are Hu and Sia  
*wnn hn<sup>c</sup> jt<=j> Jtm m hr.t hrw* who are with <my> father Atum in the course  
*n.t r<sup>c</sup> nb* of every day.



*sy pw mjw pw<sup>c</sup>3 R<sup>c</sup> pw ds=f* What is that great tomcat? He is Re himself;  
*dd.n=t<w><sup>159</sup> mjw r=f<sup>160</sup> m dd Sj3 r=f* One said to him “tomcat” when Sia spoke to him.

**Doc. 37: CT IV, 343a-g (Sp. 341) – version B3L (with reconstructions from B1L)**

Münster, *Isis*, 30, 208; Faulkner, *AECT I*, 275; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 92, 177; Barguet, *TdS*, 588.

<sup>155</sup> The same titles of the *Mrtj*-serpents appear in CT V, 297f and of Sekhmet in CT VI, 275l. Münster, *Isis*, 107, n. 1204.

<sup>156</sup> *Jmy.w-b3h* means “the one who is before the predecessor” or is a paraphrase for “the one who is in the phallus.” Zandee, in: ZÄS 97, 160. Cf. *Wb I*, 73, 16-19. Doubtlessly this expression refers to Hu and Sia who are in the presence of the sun god, and according to BD 17, they are the two drops of blood which fell from the embarked sun god when he cut his phallus.

<sup>157</sup> BH1Br has *jmy.w ssm.w*, apparently “O you who are among the governors.” Faulkner, *AECT I*, 267, n. 32.

<sup>158</sup> “I am a *Ba*-soul who has come into being among you (T1C<sup>a</sup> only).” Faulkner, *AECT I*, 267, n. 33.

<sup>159</sup> “Besides the personal pronouns, Egyptian also has an impersonal pronoun  $\text{𓂏}$  *tw* (also  $\text{𓂏}$  and, rarely  $\text{𓂏}$  *tj*). This pronoun is used exclusively as the subject of an adverbial or a verb form, either as a suffix or as a dependent pronoun. It can usually be translated with the English impersonal pronoun ‘one,’ or its predicate can be translated as an English passive construction with the pronoun ‘it’ as the subject.” Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 201-202.

<sup>160</sup> Faulkner translated this sentence in the passive voice: “he was called “Cat” when Sia spoke about him.” However, the passive does not seem plausible here, because if *rf* were a particle, it would come before the nominal subject *mjw*. Therefore, it is a preposition with a suffix pronoun, which is confirmed by BD 17, in which it reads *n=f*. Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17*, 162.



*jrj-ʿ3 n pr ʿ3 m<y> wn n=j* (O) door keeper of the great house,<sup>161</sup> open for me.  
*jnk pw jnk <Rʿ> m bʿ.w=f* It is me. I am Re in his appearances, and the  
*Hʿ<ʿ>py m nnw.t<sup>162</sup>* Nile<sup>163</sup> in (his) stagnation.  
*Hw.t-Hr sbt=s jm<=j>* Hathor smiles<sup>164</sup> at me in the  
*mhn.t n.t p.t hr d3.t=j* ferryboat of the sky during my ferrying across.  
*jnk 3s.t Nb.t-hw.t sn.ty nfr.ty* I am both Isis and Nephthys, the two fair sisters,<sup>165</sup>  
*sm3 k3=tn m htp* may your *Ka* join in peace,  
*ntr.w jpn jmy.w p.t ʿbʿw* while those gods who are in the sky stand up.

**Doc. 38: CT V, 27a-28b, (Sp. 366) – version B2L, Sq6C**

Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 138, 325; Münster, *Isis*, 20, 25, 100 f.; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 176; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 7; Barguet, *TdS*, 158; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 172, 286.



<sup>161</sup> Regarding the great house, it could be the place that shelters the corpse of the god, whom some instances show to be not only Osiris, but also the sun god. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 308 ff. On the gate keepers and guardians of the house of Osiris, see *ibid.*, 308-309.

<sup>162</sup> According to Faulkner, *Nnw.t* “inertia” does not convey much meaning here. The word could possibly refer to the state of the river at dead low tide, but this hardly seems likely. It is more probable that this is a derivative of *nny* “turn about,” and that the allusion is to the bends in the Nile.” However, since the deceased addresses the gate keepers with intimidating language, we could stick to the direct meaning of the word “lassitude, stagnation.” Here, the deceased threatens that if they do not open the doors, the inundation will not come and accordingly, the solar cycle will be broken. Therefore, this translation is to be preferred over that of Faulkner, *AECT* I, 276, n. 2. Cf. Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 231.

<sup>163</sup> The eternal circuit of the Nile is paralleled to that of the sun. In the Old Kingdom model, the path along the Nile is from north to south (corresponding to the journey of the solar bark from west to east during the night), and then from south to north (corresponding to the journey of the solar bark from east to west during the day): N-S-N (=W-E-W). So, the deceased identifies himself with the Nile god and with Hu (as the lord of provisions) who provides him with what he desires. The Nile god who provides births, is the one who gave birth to Hu, and makes Re rejoice when he companies him in the bark. CT IV, 144a; CT IV, 145k; CT IV, 146q; Miatello, in: GM 252, 104.

<sup>164</sup> Surely in a friendly way, showing pleasure, and not in mockery. Faulkner, *AECT* I, 276, n. 3. For Hathor and the bark of heaven in the CT, see Allam, *Hatborkult*, 119.

<sup>165</sup> This attribute of *sn.ty* was added to the adjective *nfr.ty* in the Twelfth Dynasty in the necropolis of el-Bersha, or with the addition of *wr.tj bk3.w* in CT VI, 384c. Ahmed-Mohamed, *Nephthys*, 29.

*tsj ḥ3.t=j<sup>166</sup> jn Šw m <sup>c</sup>=fj3b<.ty>* My forepart is raised up by Shu in his left hand  
*tw3j=f Nw.t jm=f* with which he supports the sky.  
*ḥr ḥ3.t=j r t3* If my forepart should fall to the ground,  
*ḥr ḥ3.t Nw.t r t3* then Nut's forepart will fall to the ground.  
*smn ṭbw.t=j ḥr 3kr jn 3s.t* The soles of my feet are made firm on the earth by  
 Isis,  
*smn=s w<j> ḥr 3kr wd<sup>c</sup><.w> m ntr <sup>c</sup>nh* and she makes me firm on the earth (with) him who  
 is judged (Seth) as a living god.<sup>167</sup>  
*tsj.t <w>j jn 3s.t* I am raised up by Isis,<sup>168</sup>  
*mj smn=s s3=s Hr* as she made firm her son Horus  
*m ḥ3.t wj3 R<sup>c</sup> tsj=f<sup>169</sup>* in the prow of the bark of Re which he raised up.<sup>170</sup>

### Doc. 39: CT V, 33e-34b (Sp. 371) – version B2L

Broekhuis, *Renenwetet*, 96; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 9; Barguet, *TdS*, 413.



*jj.n=j m Npr* I have come as Neper,  
*<sup>c</sup>ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n=j m Wp-w3.wt* I have stood up as Wepwawet,<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> The word *ḥ3.t*, while generally designating the “front” of various things, when used to refer to a part of a body, seems to refer almost exclusively to the front of the head, i.e., the forepart, the prow, or the face. A great number of the occurrences of this term are examples of its metaphorical transference outside the domain of living creatures where the word refers to the “front stern of the barks. Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 173-174; Volokhine, in: BIFAO 101, 370-371; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 170, 173. In CT VII, 458e = Doc. 59, reference is made to “the entourage which is in the prow” without mentioning a bark, but the spell’s location next to a bark vignette confirms that this is what is meant. Other occurrences say only that the deceased is sailing *r ḥ3.t*, “towards the front,” which in this context seems to refer to the prow of the solar bark. CT VI, 279m (Sp. 658), 285d (Sp. 660), 382v (Sp. 753).

<sup>167</sup> In CT II, 387a, Seth is the “Lord of Life.” Cf. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 135, n. 2-4.

<sup>168</sup> Sq6C reads: “N’s brow is raised up.” Faulkner, *AECT* II, 7, n. 3.

<sup>169</sup> Sq6C ends with *tsj* as opposed to *nss* in the other texts, a word that does not exist in *Wb* or any other dictionary. I have no suggestion to propose.

<sup>170</sup> Since Horus occupies the prow of the bark, he becomes the lord of the bark, inherits the sky, and becomes a *wḥmw* “duplicate” of the sun god (lit. “repetition,” physical, not spiritual, double) because of his mother, Isis. All the ideas associated with Horus at the prow of the solar bark are allotted to Horus as a griffin. CT VI, 390 (Sp. 760); Altenmüller, *Apotropaia* I, 118, 160; Münster, *Isis*, 20-21; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 176; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 293, n. 3.

<sup>171</sup> Here, the deceased associates himself with Wepwawet on his standard in order to be able to receive crowns and grasps various types of sceptres. However, other texts in the PT identify Wepwawet as a royal being in the form of a jackal on a standard, in connection with whom there is mention of the uraeus and attributes like crowns and sceptres. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 226-227. In Pyr. § 455a-c, the *Zḥn-wr* (the solar bark) arises as Wepwawet and receives the *Wrr.t* crown. Cf. 1374b-c; 1379c; 1638c.

šw.ty=j m dp=j<sup>172</sup> m Mnw Gbtyw

my feathers are on my head as Min of Coptos,<sup>173</sup>

ḳ.n=j r pr Hw<sup>174</sup>

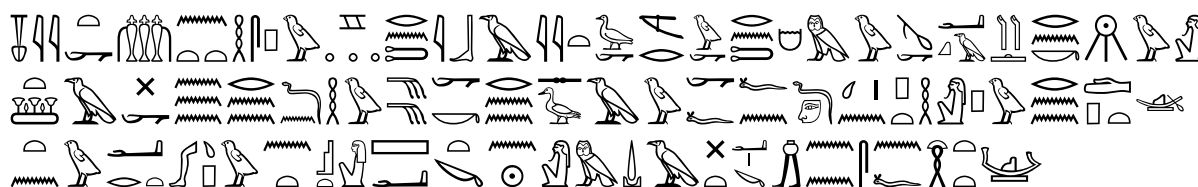
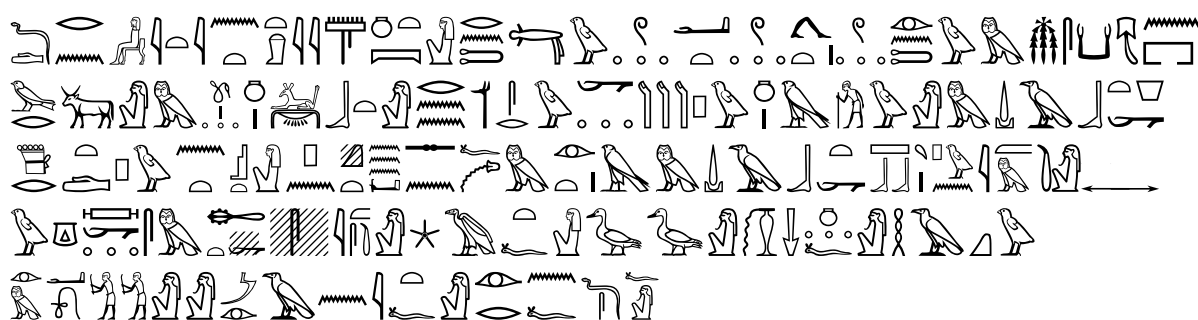
I have entered into the house of Hu,

rdj.t n=j dbb.t=f<sup>175</sup> wj jm=f<sup>176</sup>

what has been given to me is what I require from him.

**Doc. 40: CT V, 189a-193j (Sp. 404) - version B5C (with reconstructions from B9C)**

Münster, *Isis*, 14, 99; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 255; Müller, in: *JEA* 58, 106-107; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 49-50; Barguet, *TdS*, 360-361; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 161, 168, 444, passim; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 133, 180, 204, 275, passim.



dd rn=j jt.jn mnj.t

“Say my name,” says the mooring post.

nb.t t3.wy m k3r rn{nj}=t

“Lady of the Two Lands in the Shrine,” is your name.

<sup>172</sup> One of the frequent roles of the head in the situation of manifestation is its being crowned with various insignia, a relation interestingly always expressed with the preposition *m*, and thus strictly speaking conceptualized as one of containment, including one or a pair of plumes or various types of crowns and uraei. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 150.

<sup>173</sup> In B1C and B2P, the deceased himself is Min, in CT VII, 168c-e, the text reads on the behalf of the deceased: “I will move about as Min, I will travel as Horus who is in UT, I have opened up my path as Wepwawet.”

<sup>174</sup> Misread in B1C as Šw.

<sup>175</sup> The other two versions have the first person, and the third person here seems to be a mistake by the copyist.

<sup>176</sup> The suffix *jm=f* refers to the “house” of 34a. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 9, n. 2. However, it might refer to Hu since the house belongs to him.

<i>rn n brpw bpd<sup>177</sup> pw n t3j-sp<sup>178</sup></i>	The name of the mallet: It is the “Buttock of the Bull of the Wind.”
<i>rn n wd.wt<sup>179</sup> 3c.w<sup>180</sup> pw n sb.t</i>	The name of the front sterns: It is “Reeds of the Field of God.”
<i>rn n hc.t<sup>181</sup> 3kr rn=k</i>	The name of the mast: “Aker” is your name. <sup>182</sup>
<i>rn n j&lt;t&gt;.jn ht<sup>183</sup>-t3w</i>	The name of the cord is
<i>jn j&lt;.w&gt; wr.t m-ht w3j=s pw</i>	“He Who Brought Back the Great Lady After She Had Been Away.”
<i>rn n mbnnw</i>	The name of the Mehenenu: It is the
<i>j3.t pw n.t Wp-w3.wt</i>	“Standard of Wepwawet.”
<i>rn n sgrg.w<sup>184</sup></i>	The name of the yards(?) are
<i>m3.wt n.t Rc hry-jb.t Wnw</i>	“the Staffs of Re which Are in Hermopolis.” <sup>185</sup>
<i>špp pw n Jm&lt;s&gt;tj</i>	It is “the Gullet of Imesty.”
<i>rn n dbh.w=s</i>	The name of its Debehu: <sup>186</sup> It is

<sup>177</sup> The main function of the buttocks is found in a group of references to Re being born daily from this part of the body of Mehet-weret. In two cases, *brpw* the “mallet” of a ferry is identified with a buttock (in our text and in CT V, 204g-h). In CT VII, 161a, the buttocks of the deceased are identified with Isis and Nephthys. The word is often used metaphorically (similarly to, and often in parallel with the word *h3.t* “front”) to denote the back end of various things, most often the aft end of a bark. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 299, n. 3128, 302, n. 3163.

<sup>178</sup> It appears that this name can stand for a ram as well as for a bull. The word *sp*, “threshing-floor,” points to the threshing activities which both these animals can be seen carrying out in Old Kingdom reliefs. Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 159. The meaning of the term *t3j-sp* is discussed by Kaplony, *Inscripfen I*, 455-456, 661; id., in: CdE 44, 34-36. For alternative translation as “*k3-t3*,” see Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 749. See also LGG VII 459.

<sup>179</sup> The term *wd* or *wd.wt* is usually interpreted as “helm” or similar. In *Wb I*, 399, 12, it is “ein hölzerner Schiffsteil,” a forked stick. Recently, Milde has suggested that the *wd.yt* was rather a pole used by a pilot standing at the bark’s prow. *wd.wt* and *h3.t.t* (CT V, 188h) are mentioned together. The person handling them negotiates the course to the northern sky. He is found on the front stern rather than taking the helm (CT VI, 264k-n). A forked stick like this one serves as an excellent weapon to drive off Apophis. Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 177, n. 13.

<sup>180</sup> For *3c.w* “reeds,” cf. CT III, 61m; IV, 3b, 4e; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 66.

<sup>181</sup> *Hc.t* with boat det., the var. *hp.t ht* may mean the socket for the mast. Müller, in: JEA 58, 106; Faulkner, *AECT II*, 52, n. 34; Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 175, 100.

<sup>182</sup> Aker is determined by the Seth mammal in B7C, see p. 78.

<sup>183</sup> For *ht-t3w*, see *Wb III*, 342, 7 (“Mastbaum”); Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 182-183 (128) (“mast”). For *j.t* or *c.t* as the cord-ropes, see *Wb I*, 161, 1; Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 157 (23). See also footnote 189.

<sup>184</sup> For *sgrg.w*, see Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 188, 157; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 568.

<sup>185</sup> The motif of the struggle of the sun god against the powers of darkness seems to appear in Hermopolis rather than in Heliopolis. According to our text, the weapons of Re are said to be there. Also, the PT of Teti (Pyr. § 311c) report that he spent the day and night pacifying the two adzes in Hermopolis. Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 50. In CT I 230g-231a, Hermopolis is mentioned as a place of execution, and it is said of Thoth: “I have raised you within the solar disk so that I may make you spirit-like and that I may fell your foes for you, with them being cast into the slaughter-house of Hermopolis.” Altenmüller, *Apotropaia I*, 104.

<sup>186</sup> It is food (as a necessity of life, as a sacrifice). See *Wb V*, 441, 9; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 790.

<i>m3.wt</i> <sup>187</sup> <i>pw n.t Rc jmy.t Wnw</i> <sup>188</sup>	“the Staffs of Re Which Are in Hermopolis.”
<i>dd rn=&lt;j&gt; jt.jn t3y.t Nw.t rn=t</i>	“Say my name,” says the sail: “Your Name is Nut.”
<i>šd.w c.wt jw.t</i> <sup>189</sup> <i>jrj.n tw</i>	The lacings, halyards, and cordages: (someone) made you <sup>190</sup>
<i>m msk3 n Mr</i> <sup>191</sup> - <i>wr m rwd.w n.w Nbt&lt;j&gt;</i>	from the skin of the Mnevis bull and the sinews of Seth/the Ombite.
<i>rn n usr.w dbc.w pw n.w Hr-smsw</i>	The name of the oars: It is the Fingers <sup>192</sup> of Horus the Elder.”
<i>md3b.t dr.t pw n.t 3s.t</i>	The bailer: It is “the Hand of Isis When She
<i>pnk.t snfw m jr.t Hr</i>	Bailed out the Blood <sup>193</sup> from the Eye of Horus.” <sup>194</sup>
<i>md3b.t</i> <sup>195</sup> <i>špp pw n Jm&lt;s&gt;tj</i>	The bailer: It is “the Gullet <sup>196</sup> of Imesty.”
<i>3g.w=s m ht=s</i> <sup>197</sup>	The ribs in her hull
<i>&lt;J&gt;mstj Dw3-mw.t=f H3py Kbḥ-snw=f</i>	are Imesty, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuf, <sup>198</sup>

<sup>187</sup> On *m3.wt* as the staffs/offerings of Re, see Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 444-445.

<sup>188</sup> As Mueller points out in JEA 58, 106, the repetition of the description of this phrase is suspicious; it looks very much as if the scribe’s eye had strayed to the preceding section. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 52, n. 38.

<sup>189</sup> *Šdw* is guessed to be lacing or frapping cut from leather; in *Urk.* V, 208,17, it is determined with  $\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{C}}$ . *c.t* occurs in *c.t n.t hr.t*, in *Urk.* V, 207, 3. 10, in which the det. in 207, 3 suggests coiled rope. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 52, n. 40. Neither Müller nor Faulkner have a translation for *jw.t*. According to Jones, it is also a kind of rope. Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 152, 4.

<sup>190</sup> The transcription (i.e., with =*tw*) is not possible because *tw* (variant *tn*) is the dependent pronoun. The problem with the Egyptian text is the lack of an expressed subject; one expects *jtj.n tw* + subject “... has made you from” etc. This is obviously the reason for Faulkner’s translation “someone has made you.”

<sup>191</sup> For the composition *Mr-wr*, see Fecht, *Wortakzent*, 7, § 10.

<sup>192</sup> The fingers are among the body parts used most frequently in identifications of bark parts. E.g., the *bd3* “masthead” of a ferry is “the two fingers of Osiris (CT V, 132b). On the other qualities of the fingers, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 270-273.

<sup>193</sup> The eye has a wide range of image-schematic structures, qualities, and functions. Here, *pnk* “the bailing out” of blood from the eye of Horus is portrayed as a way of healing it. Cf. CT V, 205a. When the eye of Horus is injured in the battle against Seth, it can be Isis who heals it (otherwise it is Thoth, Shu, or Hathor), so the deceased can call the bailer of the bark the “Hand of Isis.” Münster, *Isis*, 14 with notes 198, 199.

<sup>194</sup> In CT V, 121b (Sp. 398) – versions M3C, M6C and M5C, the solar bark is designated as the “Eye of Horus.” See Jacq, *Voyage*, 41, 278.

<sup>195</sup> The only likely reason for the inclusion of *md3b.t* twice is that this is a dittography, the second instance taking the place of another component of the boat. The latter is used as the name of the second *md3b.t* in B5C/B7C (191g-h), where two skippers and two bailers are listed. Mueller, in: JEA 58, 106; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 52, n. 41.

<sup>196</sup> Apart from the use of this term in the identification of parts of a bark, the gullet occurs mainly as a container of *usr* “might.” For a detailed description of this function, see CT 1017. This spell deals with the cannibalistic appropriation of the powers of others. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 133.

<sup>197</sup> According to Faulkner, *m ht=s* “in her belly” surely refers to the hull. He does not accept Müller’s “innards.” The fem. suffixes in 192c refer to the ferryboat. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 52, n. 42. Faulkner’s translation seems more plausible to me.

<sup>198</sup> The four sons of Horus are associated with other parts of the bark. See CT V, 170b (Sp. 400), 205b-c, 206c-d in our spell. Cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 151.

<i>H3kw jr-m-<sup>c</sup>w3</i>	(that is to say) “He Who Plunders,” “He Who Acts as a Robber,” “He Who Sees the Father,” and “He Who Makes His Own Name.”
<i>M3-n-jt Jr-rn=f-ds=f</i>	
<i>sm3y.t<sup>199</sup> Hnt.t hsp.w rn=t</i>	The hogging, “Foremost of the Gardens” is your name.
<i>jb3y.t<sup>200</sup> Mrw rn=t</i>	The butt(?) (of the steering oar): “ <i>Mrw</i> -wood” is your name.
<i>hmw <sup>c</sup>k3 rn=k</i>	The steering oar: “Accurate” is your name, and
<i>j3hw ts mw rn n dnḥ.wy=k<sup>201</sup></i>	“Sunshine Which Cuts through the Water” is the name of your blade.
<i>rn n &lt;n&gt;s3w=f fnd n Pth pw</i>	The name of its cable tensioners. <sup>202</sup> It is the “Nose <sup>203</sup> of Ptah.”
<i>rn n dp.t tn</i>	The name of this boat:
<i>w<sup>c</sup>r.t pw n.t 3s.t s<sup>c</sup>.t n R<sup>c</sup> m d3.t-<sup>c</sup></i>	It is the “Leg of Isis Which Re Cut off with a Knife
<i>jn.j.n=s n=f &lt;m&gt;skt.t</i>	When She Brought the Night Bark to Him.”

#### Doc. 41: CT V, 206k-m (Sp. 405) – version M1C

Münster, *Isis*, 99; Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 67 f., 96, 169; Müller, in: JEA 58, 107; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 55; Barguet, *TdS*, 363 f.; Westendorf, in: *Fs Emma Brunner-Traut*, 355-356; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 301.



<sup>199</sup> Lit. “that which unites”; suggesting the hogging-beam which ran the length of riverine barks at deck level and lent rigidity to the hull. Müller translates this as “dovetails,” quoting Allen and Jéquier, but in that case it would surely be plural; the insignificant size of “dovetails” also makes it unlikely that they would have been included in this list. Jéquier, in: BIFAO 19, 167; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 52, n. 44; Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 185, 141.

<sup>200</sup> Müller, following Jéquier, translates *jb3y.t* as “rower’s seat.” BD 207, 5 has *jb3y.t*, but in CT V, 230e, it is part of the steering oar; since we have the *dnḥ* “blade” of the oar and the *ns3w* “loom(?)” (CT V, 193e-f), as well as the *bry-<sup>c</sup>* “tiller,” there is only the “butt” left for *jb3y.t*. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 53, n. 45. Cf. Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 152, 5; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 27.

<sup>201</sup> B9C: “the name of your blade is “Sunshine in Summer”; B10C: “Sunshine in the Water in [Heat(?)].” All versions seem to be derived from the flashing of the wet blade in bright sunshine. Note that B5C, B7C and B10C have the dual *dnḥ.wy*, as if the bark had two steering-oars, but only one such oar is indicated in 193c, and the *ns3w* “cable tensioners” of the oar in 193f are also singular. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 53, n. 47. On *ns3w* as cable tensioners, see n. 197.

<sup>202</sup> Following the suggestion of Willems regarding the meaning of the term *ns3w* which occurs directly after the steering oar. Müller explains *ns3w* as the “rudder’s handle.” Müller, in: JEA 58, 106-107. Similarly, Faulkner interprets the word as the “looms (of its steering oar).” Faulkner, *AECT* II, 53, n. 48. Willems interprets that: “The only argument in favor of this is the proximity of the term for steering oar. This consideration is, however, of dubious value; the term *hmw* designates the complete oar, so that separate reference to its loom is redundant.” This explanation appears most likely to me. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 437, n. <sup>AV</sup>. Cf. CT V, 137h (Sp. 398); CT V, 195a-b – version B9C, which has the same mythological identification but writes the bark parts as *s3wtj*.

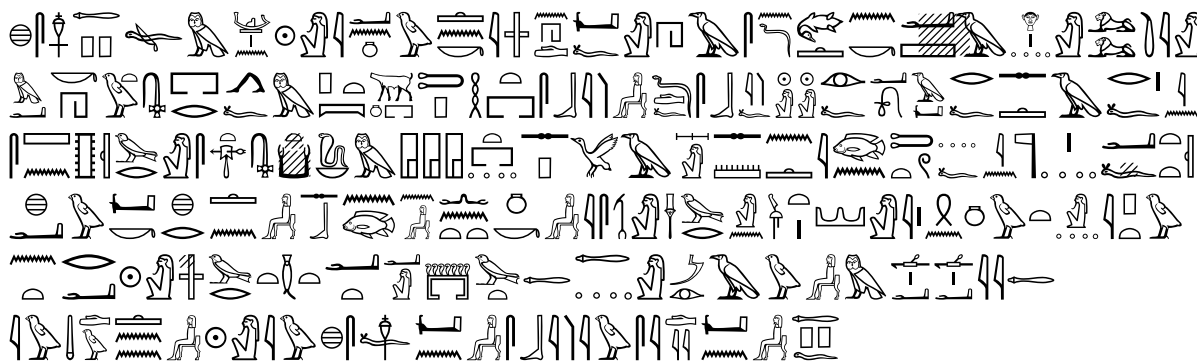
<sup>203</sup> On the conceptualization of the nose, see Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 202-204.



*jw<=j> rḫ.kwj rn n dp.t tn r dr=s* I know the name of the whole of this boat;  
*pḫ.wy pw n 3s.t* it is “Buttock of Isis  
*ṣ̣̣̌.n sw R<sup>c</sup> m d3.t-<sup>c</sup> r jr.t=f* Which Re Cut off With a Knife On His Own  
*n=f m m<sup>c</sup> ndy.t* Behalf in the day bark.”

**Doc. 42: CT V, 244a-246e (Sp. 414) – version B2L**

Faulkner, *AECT* II, 65 f.; Barguet, *TdS*, 328.



*ḫsf<sup>c</sup> 3pp m wj3 n R<sup>c</sup>* Driving Apophis from the bark of Re.  
*ḫnw<sup>204</sup> n=k jmy-nhd=f* Woe to you, Imy-Nehed-ef.<sup>205</sup>  
*ḫ3 snd n=k ṣ̣̣̌ ḫr.w* O you of whom the many-faced  
*Rwtj* and the Double Lion are afraid;<sup>206</sup>  
*mk ḫwt prj=f m p.t* Behold, a flame has gone out from the sky<sup>207</sup>  
*m-ḫnw tḫ.t sbj<sup>208</sup>* into the interior of the cave of the rebel.  
*dd=f sbj=f <r> R<sup>c</sup> {R<sup>c</sup>}<sup>209</sup>* He has uttered his rebellion against Re,  
*jrj=f<sup>c</sup> w3 r=f s3w r3=f* he has committed robbery against him and his  
*jn sšn<sup>211</sup> wr* mouth<sup>210</sup> is guarded  
 by the great destroyer.

<sup>204</sup> The precise meaning of *ḫnw* remains elusive but the implication is that of a threat to the person concerned. James, *Ḥekanakhte papers*, 109. On *ḫnw*, see *Wb* I, 41, 10-12; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 128; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 65, n. 1.

<sup>205</sup> An epithet of Apophis. For this serpent, see *Wb* II, 288, 5. In Pyr. § 1767b, the circuit of the sun god is identified with *jmy-nhd=f* “He who is in his terrorizing(?)” Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 297, n. 6. Cf. CT VII, 2211. *Jmy-nhd=f* “Der in seinem Grimm(?)” in *LGG* I, 239.

<sup>206</sup> For the variants of this phrase, see Faulkner, *AECT* II, 65, n. 3.

<sup>207</sup> *Hwt* “a flame” may come from heaven and punish the enemies of Re. Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 188. For more details on fighting enemies with flames, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 143, n. 18 and the references cited therein. Cf. Altmann, *Kultfrevler des Seth*, 100-101.

<sup>208</sup> For the definition of the word *sbj* in this context, see Zandee, *Death*, 296.

<sup>209</sup> The preposition *r* before *R<sup>c</sup>* is omitted in B1C and B2L; the latter has a dittography of Re. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 65, n. 5.

<sup>210</sup> *S3w* with a “head” as a variant of “mouth” in B2Bo.

<sup>211</sup> *Sns* in B4Bo and B2Bo. For the meaning of the verb “demolish” or “destroy,” see Pyr. § 1121.

<i>stj tk3<sup>212</sup> m ḥw.wt Sp3</i>	A flame is kindled against him in the houses of Sepa.
<i>smn jnt.wt=fjn ntr.w ḥft.t<sup>213</sup></i>	His fetters <sup>214</sup> are fastened by the gods.
<i>ḥwj=k ḥr.n=j</i>	May you be protected! I have fallen down
<i>sbn.n=j n-ntt</i>	and have crawled away because
<i>jnk js w3s sḥm<sup>215</sup> wr n jmn.t</i>	I am he of the <i>w3s</i> -sceptre, the great divine power of the west.
<i>j šnw.t jptw n.t R<sup>c</sup></i>	O you great entourage of Re
<i>jmy-wr.t bnr.t<sup>216</sup> ḥ3&lt;.t&gt;</i>	(of the) great and sweet starboard side of the great one
<i>t3-wr.t ḥ3 ḥ3.w</i>	(and of the) larboard side of the greatest one.
<i>m3 wj m w<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>.y</i>	Regard me as a wholly unique one,
<i>jw mdw.n n=j R<sup>c</sup></i>	for Re has spoken for me,
<i>jw ḥsf.n=j sbj</i>	I have driven off the rebel, (and)
<i>jw sdy.n=j ḥ3pp</i>	I have made Apophis impotent. <sup>217</sup>

#### Doc. 43: CT VI, 57h-60c (Sp. 484) – version S1C

Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 66; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 128 f.; Baret, *TdS*, 251-52; Willems, *Coffin of Heqata*, 354, n. 2186.



<sup>212</sup> In CT 216d-f (Sp. 49), it is stated that the guardians of the great god (Osiris) burn torches *stj tk3* to defeat the deceased's enemies. Cf. BD 137A.

<sup>213</sup> In all texts, an incomprehensible word *ḥft.t* appears; the meaning of *ḥft.t* is unknown, and the word appears to be a feminine substantive (*Wb* I, 183, 7). For more parallels of the word, see Faulkner, *AECT* III, 131, n. 1.

<sup>214</sup> *Jnt* "to put in irons." The derivation is *jnty.w*, "the fetterers." They are four gods, who stand near Apophis. In their left hand they hold the noose of the rope with which they subjugate Apophis. Zandee, *Death*, 125 f. Cf. *Wb* II, 367, 2-8; CT II, 386a.

<sup>215</sup> See † "göttliche Macht, Götterbild" *Wb* IV, 243,5-245,2.

<sup>216</sup> According to Faulkner, B1C and B2L insert *bnr.t* "sweet" as a description of the entourage who stands on both sides of Re Likewise, Grieshammer suggests that *jmy-wr.t* and *t3-wr* are used in the CT to name a specific group of persons, cf. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 66, n. 11; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 118. I believe that they made this translation based on a different arrangement of the words (the copy of de Buck is very intertwined and overlapped), and it was not possible to verify the text on the original coffins. One could suggest that the two terms might refer to the starboard and the larboard sides of the solar bark. See also *gs t3-wr ḥ3 Mḥn-R<sup>c</sup>* "the larboard side of the bark of the coiled serpent of Re" in Doc. 47.

<sup>217</sup> According to CT IV, 34, the deceased transforms into fire to rescue Re from Apophis.

*jj.n=j mjn*<sup>218</sup> *m jd<b> Hw*  
*ḥr pry.t=j n.t dw špšḥ*  
*wn<ḥ>=j t3mw*<sup>219</sup> *n wr.t tn*  
*jmy.t ḥ3.t wj3 R<sup>c</sup>*  
*ḥr.t-jb wj3 Hprj*  
*gmj.n=j s wḥm.n=s ḥ<sup>c</sup>w=s*  
*ḥmt.n=s ḥr.w=s nrwt.t=s*<sup>220</sup>  
*m wp.t=s tnj jrw=s*  
*r ntr.w*  
*jj ntr s3 t3*  
*j.n=sn jmy.w ḥnt.yw r=j*  
*m33=sn {n nw} wj*  
*šsp.n=j s.t=j db3.n=j [ns.t=f(?)]*  
*ḥpr.n=j gmj.n=j jm*  
*jnk Nḥs n nny=f*  
*ju=j m šms.w n <nsw.t(?)>p.t*

I have come here from the riverbank of Hu  
 on my ascents of the mountain of the Sehseh-bird,  
 so that I may don the cloak of this great lady  
 who is in the prow of the bark of Re  
 and in the middle of the bark of Khepri.  
 I found her when she repeated her manifestation  
 and trebled her faces, her serpent of terror  
 being on her brow, and her shape is distinguished  
 above (those of) the gods.<sup>221</sup>  
 “The god comes, beware, earth.”<sup>222</sup>  
 Say those of the southland concerning me  
 when they see me  
 after I have taken my seat and occupied [his throne]  
 and I have acquired what I found there,  
 I am the wakeful one, who is not weary,  
 I am in the retinue of the king of the sky.

#### Doc. 44: CT VI, 75i-76b (Sp. 494) - version B3L

Faulkner, *AECT* II, 135; Bargaet, *TdS*, 243.



*ju ḥrw f<sup>c</sup> nw*<sup>223</sup> *m-ḥnw 3ḥ.t*  
*prj Sḥ3 m-ḥnw k3r*  
*ju sdm.n=f ḥrw b3=j*

The sound of woe is in the horizon,  
 Sia goes up into the shrine,  
 for he has heard the sound of my *Ba*-soul,

<sup>218</sup> In this passage, *mjn* clearly means “here” rather than “today”; note the variant ʕ3 “here” in B1Bo. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 123, n. 13.

<sup>219</sup> For *t3m* as the clothes of Hathor, see Drioton, in: BdE 32, 173.

<sup>220</sup> Instead of Renenut, four of the five manuscripts mention Nerutet, the vulture-serpent, who personifies terrifying on the forehead of Hathor. Allam, *Hathorkult*, 126, n. 10; Broekhuis, *Renennwetet*, 67-68.

<sup>221</sup> Here, the deceased wants to call upon his competence by showing the mighty gods around him. He appeals for the help or assistance of Hathor in her terrifying character, wearing an uraeus serpent as a diadem on her head. Then, he associates himself with Nehes, the epithet of Seth, to confirm his dominance in the realm of the gods of the Duat. On Hathor as a crown serpent, see Allam, *Hathorkult*, 109-112.

<sup>222</sup> For this translation, see the Sed festival episodes at Abu Ghurob in Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Konigtum*, 429. Var. B2L and B1Bo: “The god comes, having gone aboard his bark.” CT VI, 59c, versions B2L and B1Bo.

<sup>223</sup> On *f<sup>c</sup>nw* as “woe,” see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 44.

*ḥr nḥm=f ds=f m-<sup>c</sup> jbt.ty.w* (and) he himself saved it from the trappers<sup>224</sup>  
*jtj.w b3.w ḥnr.w šw.wt* who catch *Ba*-souls, who imprison shades,<sup>225</sup>  
*dd.w m ḥb.t<sup>226</sup>* who put (them) in the place of execution,  
*ḥḥ.w mtr<sup>227</sup> spr=f* (and) who look for a witness of its arrival.

**Doc. 45: CT VI, 84n-85a (Sp. 500) - version B3L**

Borghouts, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 179, § 440; George, *Schatten als Seele*, 82; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 139; Barguet, *TdS*, 245-46.



*jnk šḥm<.w> m rd.w=f* I am one having power over his legs,<sup>228</sup>  
*jrj n R<sup>c</sup> Ḥw.t-Ḥr jrj n* who serves Re and Hathor and who serves  
*ntr nb n.t<y> m p.t t3* every god who is in sky and earth  
*m 3w.t d.t r nḥḥ* for all eternity.  
*j b3=j 3ḥ=j nb ḥk3.w=j* O my *Ba* and my *Akb*, all my magic  
*šw.t=j nb t=j ḥnk.t=j nb.t* and my shade, all my bread and beer,<sup>229</sup>  
*r jry.w p.t t3 nb w3.t=k* for all the guardians of sky and earth, and every  
*nb.t nfr.t jrj.t.n n=k Ḥw* fair path of yours which Hu has made for you.

<sup>224</sup> The implications of this capture, however, do not seem as harmful as in our text. Sia may carry out the role of Thoth in the PT (Pyr. § 1378c), who takes the king's *Ba*-bird soul into his care and custody. He grabs the *Ba* in his net to take care of it and then allow it to rise with his help towards the sky. Allen, in: JNES 17, 150; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 215, n. 6. See also the myth of trapping the *Ba* of Osiris in the so-called "Delta papyrus," in Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, 235, § 19 c.

<sup>225</sup> B3Bo substitutes 76a: *ḥnr.w m tḥḥ.wt* "which are imprisoned in caverns."

<sup>226</sup> *Ḥb.t*, the place of judgment or a locality where the deceased is executed. He may be placed in it, and he wants to open it in order to escape from it. Zandee, *Death*, 170; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 67, n. 369.

<sup>227</sup> *Mtr*, "to give evidence." Regarding fowlers who take *Ba*-souls away and lock shadows up, it is said in the same spell: "who look for evidence, when he approaches . . . may your evidence (testimony) have no power over it." Zandee, *Death*, 259.

<sup>228</sup> This power motif is found very frequently mentioning this body part in the recurrent expression of *šḥm m* "having power over" one's leg. This quality is often found with an explicit connection to the ability to move freely, and also as part of a larger group of body parts over which the deceased must have control. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 283, n. 2973. The legs are conceptualized as containers of power, so here, the deceased seems to subjugate this body part and all of his powers to Re and Hathor.

<sup>229</sup> Here, all aspects of the deceased, his *Ba*, his *Akb*-spirit, his shade, and his magic are asserted in the spell in order to move freely; this is expressed as either paths or gates being opened to them (the aspects of the deceased). Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 366.

**Doc. 46: CT VI, 269b-f (Sp. 647) – version G1T**

Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 44; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 255; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 222; Barguet, *TdS*, 481.



*jw dsr.n=j hp.wt m*<sup>230</sup> <*m>skt.t*

I have steered the night bark

*ꜥpr.w wjꜣ m hny*

and the sailors of the bark are in a state of joy,

[*js.t*] *Rꜥ m sꜣ tꜣ hb*

while [the crew] of Re (who) guards the land celebrating.<sup>231</sup>

*Hw m hꜥw Sjꜣ-Rꜥ jb=f ndm<.w>*

Hu is joyful, Sia-Re, his heart is happy,

*psd.t hr=sn hd.w*

the Ennead is cheerful.

**Doc. 47: CT VI, 387a-m (Sp. 758) – version B1C = BD 131**

Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 82; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 290; Barguet, *TdS*, 594; Backes, *Zweibegebuch*, 361, 363; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 373.<sup>232</sup>



*rnp.wt hb.w*<sup>233</sup>

(A. *on the throne of the god*): millions of years.<sup>234</sup>

*wꜣ.wt sd.t*


(B. *On the right edge of the ovals*): The paths of fire.

<sup>230</sup> For *dsr hp.t m*, see Piankoff and J. J. Clère, in: *JEA* 20, 162; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 223, n. 13.

<sup>231</sup> See Barguet's translation: "(l'équipage) de Re est en fête." Barguet, *TdS*, 481.

<sup>232</sup> Presently, the only known copy of spells 758-759 is inscribed on the headboard of the outer coffin of the *jmy-r mꜥ* *Sjꜣ* from his Middle Kingdom tomb at el-Bersha, now located in the Cairo Museum, CG no. 28083. However, since a portion of these spells did find their way into the New Kingdom BD 131, one would assume that these spells experienced a somewhat wider distribution than that which their one extant example would otherwise suggest. Piccione, in: *JARCE* 27, 44. Cf. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 107.

<sup>233</sup> The text of Sp. 758 is inscribed within a wide oval that entirely encircles the roads (see fig. 1), which Zandee conjectures is specifically a representation of Mehen himself. Zandee, *Death*, 164-165. Sp. 759 reveals the name of these fiery roads, and they are specifically the *wꜣ.wt Mhn*, the "Roads of Mehen." CT VI, 389C-D. Similarly, in the very first line of Sp. 759, the deceased must identify the specific serpent deity involved: "Now as for this Mehen, he is (that) of Re." CT VI, 387n. Cf. Barguet, *TdS*, 594. Furthermore, to enter these roads of Mehen and presumably approach Re, the deceased must know the roads and their names, as Sp.760 says: "As for him who knows the names of those his roads, it is he who will go into the serpent Mehen. As for him who knows this spell, he will never perish. He will live on what Re lives in the seat of the shining sun which guards these gates in millions after millions." CT VI, 390k-n; Piccione, in: *JARCE* 27, 45-46.

<sup>234</sup> This is a variant of the hieroglyph  in which the year sign is separated from the head of the human figure. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 290, n. 2.

<i>s33 w3.wt jptn</i>	These paths guard
<i>gs t3-wr 3 Mhn</i>	the larboard side of (the bark) of Mehen, who
<i>dbn m h3 m-s3 h3</i>	makes a circle in a million after a million (years).
<i>sb3.w stnm</i>	The gates are confused,
<i>gs w3d.t<sup>235</sup> Mhn dbn</i>	the prow of (the bark) of Mehen has swung around
<i>s.t R<sup>c</sup> - psdn.ty.w<sup>236</sup> s33.t sb3.w jpn</i>	the seat <sup>237</sup> of the ennead of Re which guards
	the gates;
<i>nw h3 pw n h3 m-s3 h3</i>	it is a million after a million (years).
<i>sb3.w stnm</i>	( <i>C. On the left of the ovals</i> ): The gates are confused,
<i>gs jmy wr.t-3.t n Mhn</i>	the starboard side is the right side of (the bark) of
	Mehen.
<i>dbn w3.wt sd.t s.t R<sup>c</sup> -psd</i>	The paths of fire go around the seat of the
	shining Re,
<i>s33 w3.wt n gs-dp.t wr 3 Mhn</i>	who guards the paths for the great (bark)
	of Mehen, <sup>238</sup>
<i>dbn h3 m-s3 h3</i>	who makes a circle for a million after a million
	(years).

**Doc. 48: CT VI, 388h-n – version B1C (Sp. 759)**

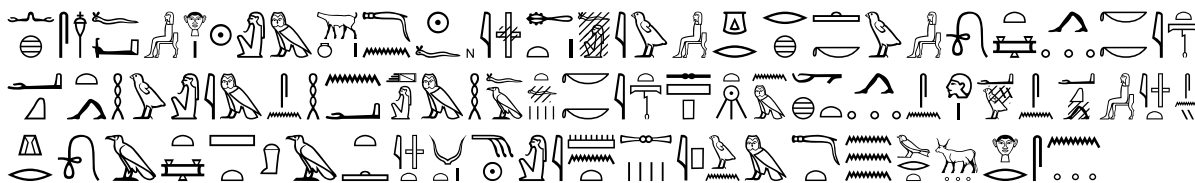
Münster, *Isis*, 20; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 291; Piccione, in: *JARCE* 27, 44 f.; Barguet, *TdS*, 594; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 372 f.

<sup>235</sup> *Gs* is found in relation to boats. Usually the word refers to *jmy-wr.t* the “starboard” and *t3-wr* “larboard” sides of a boat, and once a *w3d.t* “prow” side is referred to, and an explicit reference to “the four sides of the bark” shows that *gs* can be used more broadly than referring to the left and right sides. Sethe, in: *ZÄS* 54, 3, n. 5; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 141. One can assume that the alternative translations of *gs-dp.t* as “côté tribord” in Barguet, *TdS*, 594, and as “protection” in Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 695, n. 232 are not plausible and out of the text’s context. *T3-wr 3* can also mean “east” according to Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 704 f., which is also not proper for the general sense.

<sup>236</sup> For this reading see Barguet, *TdS*, 595, n. 24. Cf. Faulkner, *AECT* II, 290, n. 5.

<sup>237</sup> The seat of (the shining Re?) mentioned in the description of the vignette must refer to the throne in the centre of the vignette. The sun god Re sits at the centre of these roads on his throne of millions of years and guards the gates of these dangerous roads. They are fiery roads protected by a demoniac guard and there are gates which lead astray. Ranke, *Schlangenspiel*, 16-19; Zandee, *Death*, 164; id., in: *JEOL* 15, 68; Piccione, in: *JARCE* 27, 44, n. 11. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 375, n. 3802.

<sup>238</sup> This protection is not only granted by Mehen, but also by the entourage that forms a protective ring. In CT 1033, the text refers to the fiery ring that protects the solar bark (CT VII, 262k-278b). They (the entourage) reside in and/or represent Mehen’s coils or protective rings surrounding the sun god in the drawing of the enthroned sun god. They surround the solar bark on its four sides (CT VI, 387b-m; 387c-388d), forming nine rings that have alternating black and red colors, symbolizing dark and fiery roads respectively. Piccione, in: *ARCE* 27, 44, n. 9; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 389.



*n ḥsf=j ḥr*<sup>239</sup>

*R<sup>c</sup> m-ḥnw mḥn=f*

*N jmy ḥ.t=f*

*ḵw=j gr rh.kwj w3.wt kkj.t*

*ḵ.t Ḥw jm=sn ḥn<sup>c</sup> Sj3 m*

*ḥḥ3.t 4 kkj.t*

*ššp.t n m-ḥt=sn*

*dp-<sup>c</sup>.wy=sn*

*ḵ=j jmy.t <w>=sny ḥr w3.t š3.t*

*jmy.t wp.t R<sup>c</sup>*

*jmn.t ts 4 jpw n Mḥ.t-wr.t ḥr=sn*

I will not be held back because of

Re within his Mehen-serpent,<sup>240</sup>

for N is the one who is in his body.<sup>241</sup>

Moreover, I know the dark paths

where Hu and Sia enter with

the four dark serpents

that illuminate for those who are behind them

and those who are in front of them.

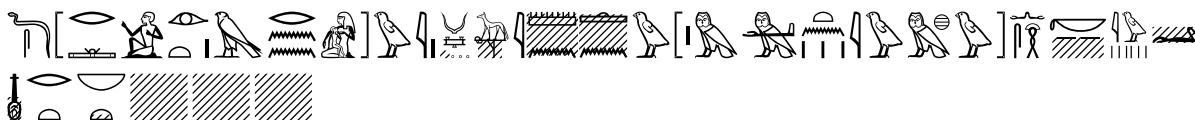
I enter between two of them under the secret path

which is in the vertex of Re,

and upon which<sup>242</sup> these four knots of Mehet-Weret  
are hidden.

#### Doc. 49: CT VI, 415d-g (Sp. 786) - version M2N4, restored from BD 44

Naville, *Tb*, 44, (2-3); Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 155; Faulkner, *AECT* II, 308; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 119; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 63-64; Baret, *TdS*, 290; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 124.<sup>243</sup>



*ds[r <w>j jr.t Hr*

*rnn] wj Wp-w3.wt*

[The Eye of Horus] raises [me],

Wepwawet [caresses] me.<sup>244</sup>

<sup>239</sup> *Ḥsf ḥr*, lit. “oppose because of.” Faulkner, *AECT* II, 292, n. 15. Cf. CT VII, 389b (Sp. 1099), where the text mentions the free movement of the deceased in the presence of Re and in which the verb is clearly written as passive *ḥsf*, which could support the argument in *Wb* III, 335, 6-337, 2 that the verb is to be classified as 3-lit. rather than 4ae inf. Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 408-409; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 373, n. 3791.

<sup>240</sup> 388h is a good example that the solar disk sign of *mḥn* should not be taken as a direct genitive for Re, but a determinative for *mḥn*. Cf. CT VI, 760c, where in which the text clearly reads *mḥn n R<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>241</sup> It is assumed that the suffix pronoun in *jmy ḥ.t* refers to Re, and not the deceased. This is mainly because of the reference to the deceased being “inside the Mehen” and paths “which are in the brow of Re,” leading to the supposition that most processes described in this part are taking place inside the body of the sun god. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 374, n. 3793.

<sup>242</sup> Following the understanding of Nyord that =sn refers to the road. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 374, n. 3795.

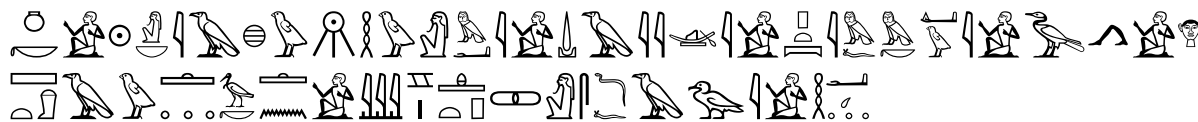
<sup>243</sup> The text is very damaged, and the restorations are from BD 44. See Faulkner, *AECT* II, 308, n. 1.

<sup>244</sup> As usual, the function of Wepwawet is to open the paths, here by caressing the deceased; another important function of Wepwawet is found in CT VII, 49h (Sp. 845), where Wepwawet separates the deceased paths from his foes. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 30.

*jmn.n<=j> w[j m-m=tn jw jbm.w] skj.w 6* I have established myself [among you, you six  
Imperishable] Stars,  
*nfr.t nb.t* everything that is good.

**Doc. 50: CT VII, 17c-g, T3C (Sp. 818)**

Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 128 f.; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 9; Barguet, *TdS*, 525.



*jnk R<sup>c</sup> nb j3bw* I am Re, lord of the sunshine;  
*Hw m <sup>c=f</sup>245 d3y=j p.t jm=f* Hu is in my hand, and I will cross the sky by means  
of it.  
*mk wj <sup>c=k=j</sup> hr št3.w* Behold, I enter to the secret places,  
*b3k.n=j sb.t htp* I have cultivated the field of offerings,  
*sdf3=j hf.w<=j>* so that I feed myself.<sup>246</sup>

**Doc. 51: CT VII, 99k-p (Sp. 887) – version S10C**

Faulkner, *AECT* III, 52; Barguet, *TdS*, 563.



*m33=j sb.wt m33=f*<sup>247</sup> /// I will see the fields, I (?) will regard him  
*fdj Wsjr* /// who pulled Osiris apart.  
*Nbs Wr hr=t<j> r hw.ty Skr* O, Great Wakeful One, beware of the two Mansions  
of Sokar,  
*jnk nw n* for I am this one whom  
*shn=fjp <n=j> <sup>c=nb</sup> hn(?) .w m* /// he sought; life is allotted <to me.><sup>248</sup>

**Doc. 52: CT VII, 176j-177i (Sp. 958) – version Pap. Gard. III, IV**

Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 44-45; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 90; Barguet, *TdS*, 542.

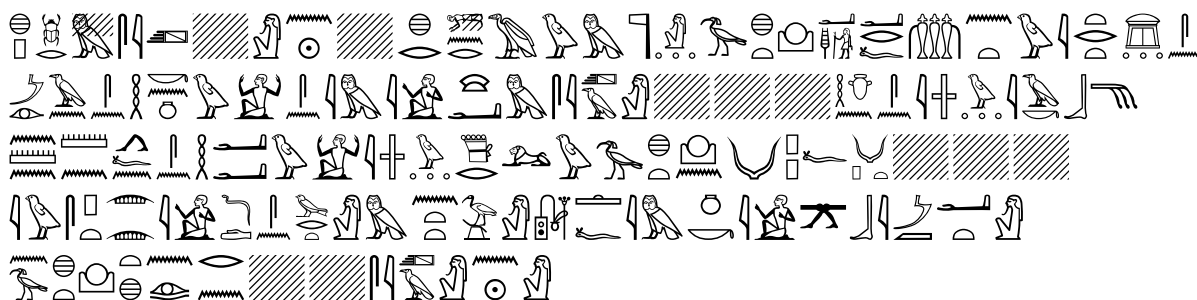
<sup>245</sup> It could be translated as: “Hu before me.” In CT V, 383c-d, the text reads: “I have come into you with my *Ba* behind me and my Hu *dp <sup>c=uy=j</sup>* before me.” Faulkner, *AECT* II, 98; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, 369.

<sup>246</sup> Hu is the supervisor of the fields of offerings and provisions and the relation between Hu and Djefa is very clear. Pyr. § 1217a-1218d (Sp. 519); Sethe, *Komm.* V, 93-94; Bissing, *Ka'i der alten Aegypter*, 12 ff.; Schott, in: ZÄS 73, 11.

<sup>247</sup> The suffix =f in *m3=f* seems out of place; emend to *m3=j n fd Wsjr(?)*. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 52, n. 1.

<sup>248</sup> Restored as *jp [n=j] <sup>c=nb</sup>*. The restoration of the rest of 99p is uncertain. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 52, n. 2.





*ḥpr m Sj3 n R<sup>c</sup> ///*

To become Sia who belongs to Re.

*ḥr nrw m ntr.w 3ḥ.t*

Dread has fallen on the gods of the horizon,

*ḥ<sup>c</sup> rf ḥnt<y>.w jtr.wt=sn*

so, stand up, o you who dwell in their shrines!

*m33.n=sn ḥknw=sn jm=j*

They saw their joy through me,

*ḥ<sup>c</sup> j<=j> m Sj3<sup>249</sup>*

for I appear as Sia

*/// n=sn jmy.w j3kb*

for those who are in mourning

*n<sup>250</sup> mnmn=f n=sn*

because he moves for them.

*ḥ<sup>c</sup> w jmy.w dr.w 3ḥ.t*

Those who are at the limits of the horizon rejoice

*n wpp=f wp.t ///*

when he reaches the top (peak).<sup>251</sup>

*jw sp.ty=j dd=sn n wr.t*

My lips speak to the great lady

*m nt.t Dḥwtj sš=f jm*

about what Thoth writes therein.

*jnk sbj m3<sup>c</sup>.t n 3ḥ.t*

It is I who dispatches Maat<sup>252</sup> to the horizon,<sup>253</sup>

<sup>249</sup> 177b in Pap. Gard. IV starts with *jmy=tn*, but its position is uncertain since the parallel text is missing. De Buck, *CT VII*, 177, n. 3.

<sup>250</sup> “The *n* at the beginning of 177c is probably the preposition as in *n wpp=f* in 177e. No verb *mnmn* appears to be known. It is not clear who “he” may be; possibly it is an editorial change from the 1st person.” Faulkner, *AECT III*, 90, n. 1.

<sup>251</sup> In the term *Wpj-wp.t*, there is an indication that Re opens the summit of the mountain in the horizon so that he may illuminate the world. Therefore, this term might fit in this text. In BD 18, it reads: “O, Thoth, who justified Osiris against his enemy, justified Osiris N in his court, at the mountain peak of the dead.”

<sup>252</sup> In representations from the New Kingdom and later periods, we frequently find Maat occupying the solar bark, where her presence may symbolize the sun god’s rule, but more probably embodies the unvarying orderly course of the solar bark. In a hymn to Re in the papyrus of Ani, Maat and Thoth appear in the solar bark with Horus; the text reads: “May I see Horus acting as a steersman, with Thoth and Maat, one on each side of him; may I grasp the prow of the night bark and the stern of the day bark.” In another line from the same papyrus, the functions of Maat and Thoth in the solar barks are explained: “You adore him in his beautiful form during his rising in the day bark. They who dwell in Heaven and they who dwell on earth praise you. Thoth and Maat have written what is necessary for you every day.” Budge, *Book of the Dead I*, 2-3. On a sarcophagus from the Saite Period (Cairo Museum, No. 41029 A), Maat and Thoth appear together at the front stern of the solar bark. Moret, *Sarcophages de l’Égypte Bubastite à l’époque Saite*, pl. 31, A, cf. Backes, *Zweinegebuch*, 361-363.

<sup>253</sup> In CT (Sp. 957), “to become Maat,” the deceased asserts the fact that he obeys Maat. This Maat belongs to Re. The CT frequently mention “doing” *jrj*, “bringing” *jnj*, *sbj*, *jw ḥr*, “ascending” *š<sup>r</sup>r*, and “saying” *dd* Maat. Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 62. According to ideas expressed in the papyrus of Ani, the course of the solar bark is mapped out by Thoth and Maat (wisdom and righteousness), a notion which shows the consistent regularity and beneficial influence of the solar cycle across the horizon. Hassan, *Giza VI*, part 1, 126.

*thn rn<=j>* and my name is injured (*thn?*).<sup>254</sup>  
 /// *Sj3 n Rc* Sia of Re.

**Doc. 53: CT VII, 273a-274c (Sp. 1033) = BD 136B.**

Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 112; Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 16; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 129; Barguet, *TdS*, 624; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 109, n. 101; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 59-60; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 166-71.



*bsf.n=j n=f<sup>c</sup>3pp* I have repelled Apophis for him.  
*psg.n=j n=f nsp.w=f*<sup>255</sup> I have spat on his wounds for him;<sup>256</sup>  
*jrj n=j w3.t sw3=j* prepare a path for me (so that) I may pass!  
*jnk wr jmy ntr.w* For I am a great one among the gods.  
*mj sw3 r=k hnj.t<w>*<sup>257</sup> *wj3=k nb Sj3* come, pass by, your bark will be rowed, lord of Sia!  
*twt jw<sup>c</sup><.w> wr*<sup>258</sup> For you are the heir of the great one.

**Doc. 54: CT VII, 379c-e (Sp. 1095)**

Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 98-100; Münster, *Isis*, 21; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 178; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 152; Barguet, *TdS*, 646; Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 198; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 91; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 357.



<sup>254</sup> For *thn*, see *Wb* V, 327.1-6; Faulkner, *CD*, 301; Barguet, *TdS*, 542, n. 218; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 741.

<sup>255</sup> *Nsb.w*, a word which seems to signify the injury caused by a blow or cut. Several texts omit the suffix of *nsb.w*. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 131, n. 17., cf. Kees, in: *ZÄS* 60, 9.

<sup>256</sup> The wounds inflicted by Apophis. In several texts, Re must be rewarded after his victory over Apophis by “spitting on his wounds” to heal them. The association of such spitting is stated in relation with Thoth. Spell 1113 reads: “I am one whom Apophis detests since I know how to spit on your (Re’s) wounds; I see, for I am one who spits on wounds which will heal.” *Pyr.* § 521; CT VII 273b, 444b; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 17 § S11, H. van Voss, *Dodenboek 17a*, 84, n. 385. Cf. Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 78-82, n. 363; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 261-262. In the twelfth stanza of BD 182, the shoulder of Thoth is injured, and he is able to heal himself by spitting on the wound. Also, in BD 102, the deceased exploits this myth by claiming to spit on the bone of the god in order to attach his arm. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 317 with n. 353, 332-333. Furthermore, spitting on the wounds of Apophis is a typical element related to the sun rise. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 110.

<sup>257</sup> See also the translation of Barguet: “Que vogue ta barque.” However, Backes assumes that it requires a subjunctive form of *hnj* as in the case of *jnj* (*jn.t*). Nevertheless, the fact that the *t* is found before the determinative is not an argument against the possible *tw*-passive. Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 60, n. 120.

<sup>258</sup> The term *wr* can be understood as the oldest son and heir of the sun god. Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 259.

3s.t nw nt.t m ḥ3.t=f m M3<sup>c</sup>.t

ššm=s n=f w3.wt m d3j.t p.t

stwt=f jrr.t R<sup>c260</sup>

This is Isis who is in front of him<sup>259</sup> as Maat,  
she shows him the ways when crossing the sky,  
that he may imitate what Re does.

**Doc. 55: CT VII, 404d-407c (Sp. 1099)**

Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 105; Grieshammer, *Jenseitsgericht*, 157; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 155; Barguet, *TdS*, 650; Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 204; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 97.<sup>261</sup>



dj=j ḥr M3<sup>c</sup>.t m dp wj3<sup>c</sup>

ḥ3y m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw m d3d3.t

smn=j ḥḥ.w

ššm=j šnw.t dj=j n=sn

ḥn.t m ḥ<sup>cc</sup>.wt

I will cause Maat<sup>262</sup> to travel around at the head of  
the great bark,

and the vindicated to go out from the tribunal.

I will establish the millions,<sup>263</sup>

I will lead the entourage; I will let them  
voyage in high delight,

<sup>259</sup> Faulkner interprets that the suffix here is referring to the deceased while Lesko suggests that this one whom Isis precedes and guides across the sky is Thoth who is named in CT 1096. Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 98; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 152, n. 1. Sherbiny follows the assumption of Lesko and adds that the three third person masculine suffix pronouns in ḥ3.t=f (379c), n=f (379d), and stwt=f (379e) refer to one and the same person. This could be Thoth or Horus, son of Isis with Thoth-like traits. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 366.

<sup>260</sup> Assmann's reading of this passage: "Die ihm gleichkommt, das Auge des Re" is not supported by the surviving texts. None of the variants here reads jr.t. The late variants read stwt R<sup>c</sup> (B2Bo, B1L) emphasizing the imitation/resemblance nuance. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 178, cf. id., *Ma'at*, 182. Perhaps stwt in the late sources is an active participle followed by an object: "He who imitates/resembles Re." Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 366. Cf. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 152, n. 2.

<sup>261</sup> Lesko states: "This spell has another description of the course of the sun through the heavens. It is also a description of the afterlife which is complete in itself and originally was probably separate from any of the other traditions collected and put together in the book. The spell cannot be joined to either the preceding or following sections," cf. Lesko, in: *JAOS* 91.1, 40. On the contrary, Rößler-Köhler considers CT 1099 to be an introduction to the following spells, cf. Rößler-Köhler, in: *Gs Merklein*, 122. This spell is completely parallelized in BD 130 except for the first stanza. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 204-205.

<sup>262</sup> The offerings are usually designated by the general terms ḥtp or ḥtp.t. But here, they are said to be Maat. It is generally assumed that the goal of the journey of the protagonist in the Book of Two Ways is the "Field of Offerings" (ḥt.t ḥtp). The importance of offerings, both for the gods and for the deceased himself, is in fact repeatedly emphasized. Again, we notice the reciprocity between the deceased as a presenter of offerings and as the divine receiver of offerings. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 601.

<sup>263</sup> In this text, the ḥḥ.w millions of the hereafter appear parallel to the entourage šnw.t. In a late Ramesside letter to an oracle, there is a reference to d3.t n(t) nḥḥ; in the Ptolemaic Period, Osiris has the epithet "Osiris who calls the millions." In Edfu, "the sun god leads the millions of the western horizon." Thus, there should be no doubt regarding the interpretation of wj3 n nḥḥ. Barns, in: *JEA* 35, 70, line 6 (*verso*); Hornung, *Das Amduat* III, 60.

*p̄hr js.t R<sup>c</sup> m-s<sup>264</sup> nfr=f*

*k̄3y M3<sup>c</sup>.t p̄h=s nb=s*

*dj.tw j̄3<w> n nb-r-dr*

*šsp=j mdw sk=j p.t jm=f*

and the crew of Re may look after his beauty.

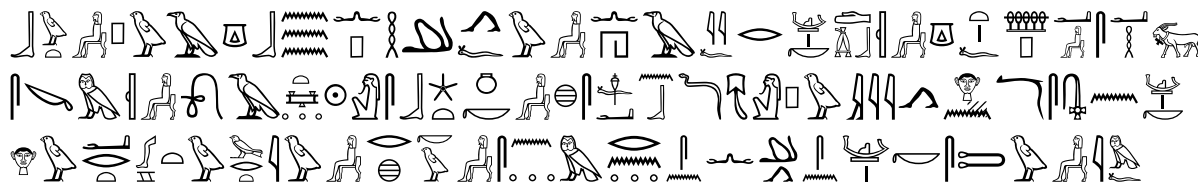
Maat will be exalted, and she will reach her lord

praise will be given to the Lord of All,

and I will receive the staff, I will sweep the sky with it.

### Doc. 56: CT VII, 413b-415c (Sp. 1099)

Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 106; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 155; Barguet, *TdS*, 650; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 98-99; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 394.



*bw.t=j pw 3gbj*

*n p̄h=f wj*

*n h̄3y=f r wj̄3=k*

*db̄3<.w> ns.t=f<sup>267</sup>*

*šsp=j s<sup>c</sup>h*

I abominate the flood,

and it will not reach me.

It<sup>265</sup> will not descend in your bark,<sup>266</sup>

his throne has been prepared,<sup>268</sup>

I will receive the insignia,<sup>269</sup>

<sup>264</sup>The translation of Faulkner and Zandee is: “in charge of” or “taking care of,” cf. Zandee, in: ZÄS 99, 57; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 155. For *p̄hr m-s̄3*, see *Wb* 1,546, 17-18; Faulkner, *CD*, 94. See also the interpretation of Backes: “(wobei) die Mannschaft Res hinter seiner Schönheit herzieht,” cf. Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 97. B2BO writes “that the crew of Re may follow after the beauty.” Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 411, cv.

<sup>265</sup>The flood.

<sup>266</sup>According to de Buck, Faulkner, and other scholars, the second person here can only refer to Re, and the negation in four texts is certainly an error. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 156, n. 30. B2BO writes *n h̄3y=f r wj̄3=k*, where the third-person suffix pronoun refers to the flood 3gbj. The rest of the sources’ texts use the suffix pronoun as a reference to the deceased. The resulting rendering makes little sense: “This N will not descend to your bark.” According to Backes and Sherbiny, if we suppose that the verb *h̄3y* was used transitively in addition to reading the text without a break, we may get the following rendering: “His (i.e., the deceased) abomination is the flood, it will not reach him, and it (i.e., the flood) will not attack your bark.” The latter interpretations are more plausible. Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 98; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 418.

<sup>267</sup>According to the present text and its parallels from the early sources, it is not clear to whom the suffix =f specifically refers, the deceased or Re, however, the late sources indicate that it is Re’s throne. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 418. An alternative rendering is suggested by Backes, in *Zweivegebuch*, 98, 149: “Ihr Thronstz ist ausgestattet.”

<sup>268</sup>For the passive voice, see Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 104. It is possible to read this sentence in the light of the late sources as *db̄3=f ns.t=f* “(he) (i.e., the deceased) will occupy his throne” (following Faulkner, *AECT* III, 155). However, if we read the preceding sentence while omitting the negative particle, the resulting translation could be: “This N will go down to your bark after his throne has (or: would have) been prepared.” Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 418.

<sup>269</sup>The conventional translation of *s<sup>c</sup>h* is “dignity.” There are another two occurrences of *s<sup>c</sup>h* in the Book of the Two Ways. The first occurs in CT VII, 399a (Sp. 1099). There, the deceased is said to have his own dignity. This may indicate the ability of authoritative speech. The second is in CT VII, 465b (Sp. 1130), where the deceased is said to appear every day anew in the *s<sup>c</sup>h* of the Lord of All. The references to the appearance of the god in this passage may



*jrj-rn=f-ds=f*

he who made his own name.

*ḥnmm.t*<sup>276</sup> *js.t R<sup>c</sup> n rh t<sub>nw</sub>*

The sun folk, the crew of Re, (whose) number is not known.

### Doc. 58: CT VII, 457j-n (Sp. 1127)

Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 127; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 166; Barguet, *TdS*, 661; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 116; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 548.



*dd-mdw jn Ḥk3.w-smsw*

Words spoken by the Eldest Magician:<sup>277</sup>

*ju=k tr r sbju*

“Immediately you shall go,<sup>278</sup>

*ju m33.wt=f*<sup>279</sup> *ḥr.t<j> ḥr=k*

his sight fell on you.<sup>280</sup>

*j <stj> sw ḥry.w-pd.t*

Oh, shoot him,<sup>281</sup> bowmen!

*sḥr sw ḥry.w* <sup>c</sup>*bb.wt*<sup>282</sup>

Overthrow him, spearmen!”


### Doc. 59: CT VII, 458a-1 (Sp. 1128)

Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 128; id., in: JAOS 91, 41; Zandee, in: ZÄS 90, 152; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 136; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 166; Barguet, *TdS*, 661; Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 225; Backes,

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Isis and Nephthys. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'Égypte Bubastite à l'époque Saïte*, pl. 39. Cf. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 117, fig. 39 A, B.

<sup>276</sup> According to Gardiner, the *ḥnmm.t* are particularly associated with the rising sun or solar king. They are generally related to the solar bark. In Pyr. § 1686-7, the deceased king, as a solar deity, leads the *ḥnmm.t* and goes aboard the bark of Re *uj3 n R<sup>c</sup>*. Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 112; Serrano, in: SAK 27, 360-361; Allen, *AEPT*<sup>2</sup>, 224.


<sup>277</sup> The deceased is identified with the creator god in CT 1130 in B6C, for instance, and with the Eldest Magician in CT 1127. Baines objects to the reading *Ḥk3.w-smsw* and proposes *Ḥk3-wr* instead. Baines, *Fecundity*, 20 f. However, this is not convincing since the word *smsw* is clearly written as  in our text.

<sup>278</sup> Lesko translates this as a question, “will you travel?” It is better to translate it as a wish expressed through an adverbial sentence. *sbw* is apparently an infinitive that comes after the <j>r of futurity, but one would have expected the fem. *sb.t*, and the particle *tr* is not necessarily interrogative in meaning. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 166, n. 1; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 116, n. 339. Rößler-Köhler proposes the following reading: “Du wirst (gleich) einer sein, der vergeht,” cf. Rößler-Köhler, in: *Gs Merklein*, 126, n. 47. It is not clear how she interprets *sbju*. The only possible explanation would be to consider the *-w* an ending of the noun of agent. Sherbiny suggests that this is a rhetoric question. It can be paraphrased as follows: “Where are going? There is no escape.” Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 550.

<sup>279</sup> For the term *m33.wt*, see Osing, *Nominalbildung*, 89; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 551.

<sup>280</sup> On the variants of the translation of this phrase, see Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 116, n. 340.

<sup>281</sup> Apophis.

<sup>282</sup> <sup>c</sup>*bb.wt* is a weapon and tool used against the serpents, see Cherf, in: ZÄS 109, 86-97. The word was probably derived from <sup>c</sup>*b* “horn,” as indicated in the  determinative here. It may refer to the wooden staff (with the V-shaped junction at one end) used to hunt the serpents since the Old Kingdom, and be derived from one of the written forms of the word, see Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, 6-7. See also the presence of two <sup>c</sup>*bw.t* “serpent staves” in the antechamber of Tutankhamun’s tomb. Cherf, in: ZÄS 115, 107-110. For <sup>c</sup>*bb.wt* in general, see Jéquier, *Frises d’objets*, 165-168.

*Zweibegebuch*, 117; Assmann and Kucharek, *Ägyptische Religion: Totenliteratur*, 360; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 548.



šnw.t n.t sd.t [šnw.t] n.t sd.t	Entourage of fire, [entourage] of fire. <sup>283</sup>
sd.t <m>skt.t <sup>284</sup>	The fire of the night bark. <sup>285</sup>
šnw.t jmy.t ḥ3.t 3s.t	The entourage which is on the prow: Isis,
Stš Hr	Seth and Horus. <sup>286</sup>
šnw.t jmy.t pḥ.wy Hw Sj3-Rc	The entourage which is on the stern: Hu and Sia-Re.

### Doc. 60: CT VII, 461c-462c, 465d-466b (Sp. 1130)

Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 130; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 131 f.; Barta, in: SAK 1, 26; Otto, in: *Gs Otto*, 7-11; Faulkner, *AECT III*, 167-8; Barguet, *TdS*, 662-3; Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 227 f.; Lorton, in: SAK 20, 125-129; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 156, n. 124; Backes, *Zweibegebuch*, 119-120; Assmann and Kucharek, *Ägyptische Religion: Totenliteratur*, 361-362; Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 565.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>283</sup> The role of the fire here is to protect the solar bark, drive away Apophis (cf. Gutbub, in: *Gs Maspero I*, 4, passim), and enlighten the dark roads.

<sup>284</sup> The depicted solar bark is most probably the night bark. According to Sherbiny, the vignette of the bark in B1C has the short label that occurs in CT VII, 458, d<sup>1</sup>,  $\overline{\text{L}}_{\text{C}}$  written toward the front part of the sledge between the first and the second crossbeams. This label may read “night bark,” although it lacks the bark determinative. Sherbiny interprets: “Perhaps the actual representation of the solar bark itself compensates the need for writing the determinative, and it may be the unusual writing of the word  $\overline{\text{L}}_{\text{C}}$  referring to the prow rope (see Doc. 16) that is used in pulling the sledge on which the solar bark rests. If this interpretation is correct, it will fit the depicted situation where this towing rope is attached to first crossbeam of the sledge. Furthermore, both signs  $\overline{\text{L}}$  and  $\overline{\text{L}}$  are almost identical in the hieratic writing of B1C. Although this hieratic form of  $\overline{\text{L}}$  is common in B1C (and several other coffins as well), it is almost absent from the standard paleographical publications in Egyptology. The following representative examples of  $\overline{\text{L}}$  from within the floorboard texts of B1C testify to this fact.” Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 559. Faulkner and Barguet translate it as the night bark without giving any comment. Faulkner, *AECT III*, 166, n. 2; Barguet, *TdS*, 661. Backes omits the whole paragraph (458a-d).

<sup>285</sup> The blazing solar bark symbolizes the early morning; accordingly, another statement in Doc. 53 contains a typical element of the sunrise symbolism, in which the dead man claims to have brought Apophis to the sun god and to have spat on his wounds. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 225.

<sup>286</sup> On Horus and Seth as defenders of the sun god, see e.g., pp. 60, 135.

<sup>287</sup> CT 1130 is considered one of the spells which represent the solar-Osirian unity, and the beginning of a solution to the religious crisis of the First Intermediate Period. One of the things the text yields is a different conception of the afterlife: “the deceased will be like Re in the eastern horizon and like Osiris within the underworld.” Of course, this statement is not to be taken as evidence of any “democratisation” in the netherworld but rather as an expansion of the concept integrating the new members of the power hierarchies of the nome principalities. Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 289.



*dd-mdw jn šṯ3.w rn.w*

Words spoken by the one whose names are secret.<sup>288</sup>

*nb r-dr dd<.w> hft<sup>289</sup> sgr.w nšn<sup>290</sup>*

The Lord of All is he who speaks before the ones  
who silence the storm,

*m skdw.t šnw.t<sup>291</sup>*

during the sailing of the entourage.

*wd3<.w><sup>292</sup> mj m htp*

Proceed now in peace!

*wḥm=f<sup>293</sup> n=tn sp.wy nfr.wy*

I will relate to you the two good deeds<sup>294</sup>

*jrj.n n=j jb.j ds=j m-hnw Mḥn*

which my own heart did for me within the  
Serpent Mehen

<sup>288</sup> It is not clear who the one whose names are secret is. It may be the *Ba*-souls who are in the Duat as in the fifth hour of the Amduat, or an epithet for the gates *sbḥ.t*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 76; Otto, in: *GS Otto*, 7. Furthermore, *šṯ3.w rn.w* could be an epithet of the creator god. According to the published materials, this is the only attestation of this epithet of the creator god in Egyptian texts. *LGG* VII, 134.

<sup>289</sup> Lorton translates “facing” and interprets that *hft* is used here virtually as a “stage direction.” Lorton, in: SAK 20, 126, n. 5.

<sup>290</sup> *Nšn* can also be rendered as “rage” or “tumult.” Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I, 13. Otto considers the *sgr.w nšn* to be identical to the entourage mentioned just below. Otto, in: *GS Otto*, 7. *Nšn* could also be a reference to Apophis, an interpretation supported by the mention of *dw-kd* later in this spell. *Wb* II, 340, 16. Cf. *nšn n ʿ3pp* “the raging of Apophis” in CT VII, 376b. Lorton convincingly criticises such interpretations. The context shows that a “storm” must be meant, see Lorton, in: SAK 20, 126, n. 6. Cf. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 565-566. On the term *nšn* in this context and its parallels in the CT, see Köhler, *Rage like an Egyptian*, 178, 347.

<sup>291</sup> Lichtheim translates this phrase as: “As he speaks before those who silence the storm in the sailing of the court.” She indicates that *šnw.t* are the courtiers, or the entourage of Re, cf. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I, 131. Otto suggested the translation: „die den Aufruhr beschwichtigen bei der Fahrt, dem Hofstaat.“ Otto, in: *GS Otto*, 6. Cf. Quack, *Lehre für Merikare*, 96 f.; Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 11, n. 352. Piankoff, Lesko and Faulkner offer a less literal translation “... when the entourage sailed,” cf. Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, *Wandering*, 31; Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 130; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 167. Rößler-Köhler perceives silencing the storm as a completed action and hence situates the event of sailing in the past: „die (als Mannschaft) das Wüten zur Ruhe gebracht haben während der (bisherigen) Fahrt des Hofstaates,“ cf. Rößler-Köhler, in: *GS Merklein*, 129.

<sup>292</sup> B1Bo is the only source that includes the determinative  $\Delta$ , while both B3C and B4C have  $\equiv$  instead. This has prompted some scholars to render “Be hale.” It is noteworthy that both verbs “hale” and “proceed” can be determined with either  $\Delta$  or  $\equiv$  in the CT. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 566. For examples, see Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 109 f.

<sup>293</sup> The verb form is subjunctive with the first-person expressing the future. Faulkner, *AECT* III, 167; Hermsen, *Zwei Wege*, 227; Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 100. B6C reads: “this N may relate to you”; due to the text being changed from the first to the third person. The rendering of *wḥm* here with “relate” is more likely than “repeat,” since the speaker is not repeating anything. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 568.

<sup>294</sup> Here, Re enumerates his good deeds to the blessed dead. These include the equal opportunities which he gave to men and put in their hearts, the thoughts regarding the west (death and the grave) as an incentive to make them give offerings to the gods. Var. B6C: “four good deeds”; *sp* in B9C has the regular plural determinative. Breasted, *Conscience*, 221; Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 129; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 168, n. 1; Morenz, *Religion*, 59. In this text, the carrying out of good deeds will occur upon the solar bark within the serpent Mehen.



*n mrw.t sgr.t jsf.t*

so that evil may be silenced.



*ju=j r skd.wt m³<sup>295</sup> m wj³=j*

I shall navigate rightly in my bark,

*jnk nb ḥḥ.w<sup>296</sup> m d3.t p.t*

for I am<sup>297</sup> the lord of the ḥḥ.w-waters<sup>298</sup> when  
crossing the sky,

*n t<w>r<.w>=j<sup>299</sup> n<sup>c</sup>.t jm=j*

I cannot be rejected because of any of my limbs.

*ju Ḥw ḥn<sup>c</sup> Ḥk3 ḥr sbr.t<sup>300</sup> n=j*

Hu is in the company of Heka overthrowing for me

*dw-ḳd<sup>301</sup> pf*

that<sup>302</sup> one of evil character.<sup>303</sup>

### Doc. 61: CT VII, 481g-j, B1Pe (Sp. 1136)

Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 29; Zandee, *Death*, 29; Faulkner, *AECT* III, 173; Barguet, *TdS*, 668.



*nnk Ḥw mdw m kkw*

Mine is Hu who speaks in darkness,

*wsr wn.wt*

who is powerful in hours,

*wn w3.t sw3=j n=k jm m*

who opens a path that I may pass to you within,

<sup>295</sup> Note that B6C omits the preposition *r* and the *.t* ending of *skd.wt*. Also, *m³*<sup>c</sup> is determined with  $\Lambda$ , which may mean “navigate aright,” for other occurrences in CT, see van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 156.

<sup>296</sup> *Ḥḥ.w*-waters is probably a written form of *ḥḥ.w* “infinity” or “endlessness.” Van der Molen, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 353. Here, this endlessness could be a blanket term for the celestial waters that the solar bark crosses in a certain cosmogonic realm. For a discussion of the written forms and their possible origin, see Sethe, *Amun*, § 128, § 143, and §§ 147-148; Barta, in: GM 127, 7-12. Cf. CT V, 166h and the late occurring word *ḥḥ* “inundation-water” in *Wb* III 152, 13.

<sup>297</sup> A way of identifying the deceased with a divine being is by assuming the being’s speech, which is also encountered here. Here, the text is too short and does not contain a reference to the speaker; otherwise, there are some sources using the proper name of the deceased instead of the first-person pronoun as in the case of CT 1130. Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 566.

<sup>298</sup> B3C, B9C: *nb nḥḥ*.

<sup>299</sup> *Twr* “reject.” Here, I follow the suggestion that *tr* is a different writing of the verb *twr*, which is already attested in the PT (*Wb* V, 252, 10-13). Another reference is made to the verb *trj* “respect” from the New Kingdom (*Wb* V, 318, 12). For the different interpretations of this sentence offered by scholars, see Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses*, 571-572. Cf. Backes, *Zweivegebuch*, 121, n. 359.

<sup>300</sup> *Sbr*, “fallen,” *ḥwj*, “beaten” and *ḥsf*, “repelled or expelled.” These words are used in the expressions of defeating the enemies of both the sun god and the deceased. Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, 11.

<sup>301</sup> This is a common name of Apophis. *Wb* V, 546, 22; Borghouts, in: JAE 59, 126, n. 8; Hornung, *Der Eine*, 67. Note the seated god determinative of *dw-ḳd* in B1Bo and the serpent determinative in B6C and B3C.

<sup>302</sup> In B6C: “Hu is with N, Heka fell the enemy of N and fell for him the one of evil character.”

<sup>303</sup> Note that in front of the representation of the bark in B3C (CT 1128, CT VII, plan 2), there are labels that refer to the undrawn picture of Apophis including his name and vertebra (CT VII, 457a-b (Sp. 1126)). In the same undrawn scene, labels are only attested in B3C, where the Eldest Magician orders bowmen to shoot Apophis and spearmen to overthrow him (CT VII, 457m-n (Sp. 1127)).

*m dd rn=j*

by saying my name.

**Doc. 62: BD 3 = ((Doc. 25), CT II, (Sp. 153)) - version in the Papyrus of Nu, estate manager for the treasurer, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 BC, British Museum EA 10477**

Budge, *Book of the Dead* I, 27-28; Le Page Renouf, in: PSBA 14, 270 f.; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 8; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 46, 416; Faulkner, *AEED*, 36; Barguet, *LdM*, 41; Dembska, in: ZÄS 116, 25; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 37 (7-8); Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 18.



*j Jtm prj<.w> m wr bnbw*<sup>304</sup>

O Atum, going forth as the great one of the *bnbn*-waters,

*3ḥ m Rwtj*

effective as the Double Lion,<sup>305</sup>

*ḥwy mdw=k n jmy.w-b3ḥ.w*

would that you tell those who are in the presence,

*jw Wsjr N m jmy k3b=sn*

that N comes as one who is in their midst.<sup>306</sup>

*jrj.n=f wd-mdw n js.t*

He (N.) has made the commands to the crew of

*R<sup>c</sup> m mšrw*

Re<sup>307</sup> in the evening.

*ᶚnh Wsjr N m-ḥt mwt=f*

May Osiris N live after his death

*mj R<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> nb*

like Re every day.

*jn ḥm msy R<sup>c</sup> m sf*



Indeed, who bore Re yesterday is the one who

*msy Wsjr N*

bore Osiris N.

**Doc. 63: BD 17 = CT (Sp. 335) - version in the Papyrus of Ani, accountant of the temple states of all gods of Thebes/of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nineteenth Dynasty, c. 1300-1200 BC, British Museum EA 10470**

Naville, *Tb* 17, 94-95; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 31; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 74; Faulkner, *AEED*, 49; Dondelinger, *Papyrus Ani*, pl. 10; Barguet, *LdM*, 63; Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17*, 76, 104; Lapp, *Totenschrifttexte* I, 295, 297, 299; Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 62.

<sup>304</sup>  *bnbn* is the “surging flood,” a personification of heaven as water. The later texts read:  *wr.t m nw*, “the great goddess in water.” In BD 38A and in some CT, it is the *bnbnw* bark of Khepri. In BD 38B, it is the bark of Atum. Naville, *Pap. Fun.* II, pl. XVIII, 1. 24; Le Page Renouf, in: PSBA 14, 271.

<sup>305</sup> “The Lion and the Lioness” is a designation of Atum as the father of the lion god Shu and the lioness goddess Tefnut. *LGG* VII, 412 ff. For Shu and Tefnut as children of Atum and participants in the process of creation, see Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 49-53.

<sup>306</sup> Atum, the creator god, is asked to reveal to “those who are in the presence,” presumably the gods surrounding him, the arrival of the deceased in the presence of the sun god and his entourage. Since the curator is the sun god, these words might have been spoken during daytime hours at the final funeral procession. Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 18.

<sup>307</sup> As Kees states, “the sentence which tells about orders given to the crew of Re reflects the influence of some aspects of the solar theology upon the creed of Osiris.” Kees, *Totenglauben*, 154. Cf. Dembska, in: ZÄS 116, 25, n. 11.



*ptr r f sw*

What does it mean?

*Hprj ḥry-jb wj3=f R<sup>c</sup> pw ds=f*

Khepri in the midst of his bark, he is Re himself.

*jr nw n jry.w sjp.w*

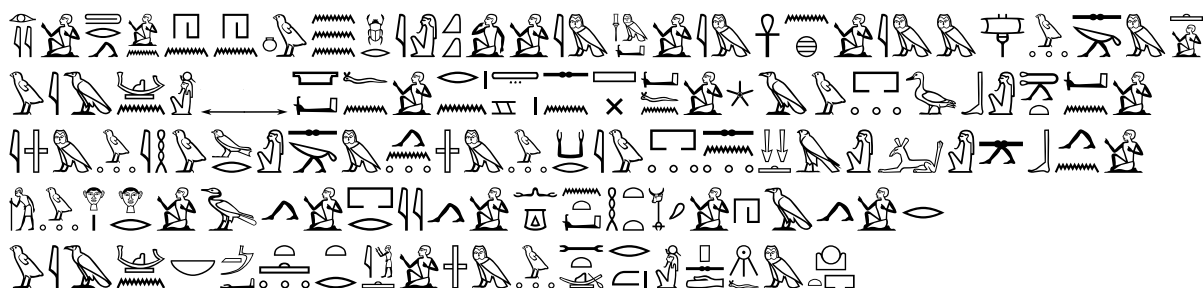
As for those keepers of the examiners,

*Bnty.w<sup>308</sup> pw 3s.t pw Nb.t-ḥw.t*

they are the baboons; it is Isis and Nephthys.<sup>309</sup>

**Doc. 64: BD 38A – version in the Papyrus of Mesemmeter, first assistant of Amun, scribe, Eighteenth Dynasty, Louvre E21324**

Naville, *Tb*, 38A, 5-8; Budge, *Book of the Dead* I, 137-138; Le Page Renouf, in: *PSBA* 15; 219; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 45; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 105 f.; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 59 f.; Barguet, *LdM*, 79 f.; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 116; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 112; Lüscher, *Totenbuchtexte* 11, 6-19.<sup>310</sup>



*jry=j pḥr=j n ḥnbnw n Hprj*

I make my cycle in the *ḥnbmw*<-bark> of Khepri.

*wnm=j jm šḥm=j jm*

I eat in it, I am powerful thereby,

*ḥnb=j jm m t3w*

I live in it on air.<sup>311</sup>

*ššm=j wj3 n R<sup>c</sup>*

I guide the bark of Re.

*wn=f n=j r3 n t3*

It opens for me the entrance of the earth,

*sn=f n=j sb3.w Gb*

It opens for me the gates of Geb.

*jtj.n=j jmy.w jḥw wr*

I have seized those who are in the toils of the great one.

*ššm.n<=j> jmy.w k3rj.w=sn*

I have guided those who are in their shrines.

<sup>308</sup> *Bbnty* is the son of the sun god in Pyr. § 608c and the two sons of the sun god in Pyr. § 1437c. Faulkner, *AEPT*, 118, 222; Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17*, 258.

<sup>309</sup> The word *sjp* means “inspect or examine,” and *jry.w sjp* probably refers to the transferral to the place of execution, within the slaughterhouse where they (Isis, Nephthys, and the baboons) take their enemies and set them down. Münster, *Isis*, 197.

<sup>310</sup> Parallels of this chapter in CT II, (Sp. 143, 153); III, (Sp. 173); V, (Sp. 423, 438).

<sup>311</sup> This text is one of the spells that intend to give the deceased the necessities of life (air, food, and drink) that have been absent to him because of his death. Here, the bark is the place where the deceased fulfils his needs. For the cargo of the solar bark which contain food and drink supplies, see Doc. 13. See also the parallel texts in the PT and CT in Zandee, in: *GS Otto*, 511 ff.

*snsn(?)<.n=j>*<sup>312</sup> <*nb.wy*> *Hr Stš*

I have united <the two lords,> Horus, and Seth.

*sbj.n=j jšw.w hr hr=j*

I have dispatched the elders on my own account.

*‘k=j pry=j n g<š>.n.tw ht.t=j*

I enter, and I go out without my throat being blocked.

*hš<w>=j r wjš n nb mš<sup>c</sup>.t*

I embark on the bark of the “Lord of Justice.”<sup>313</sup>

*trj=j jmy.w <m><sup>c</sup>nd.t*

May I respect those who are in the day bark

*r-gs R<sup>c</sup> psd=f m šh.t*

beside Re when he shines in the horizon.

**Doc. 65: BD 100 - version in the Papyrus of Nu, estate manager for the treasurer, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 BC, British Museum EA 10477**

Budge, *Book of the Dead* II, 76; Le Page Renouf, in: PSBA 16, 267; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 82; Haekal, in: ASAE 63, 53 f.; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 199; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 98; Barguet, *LdM*, 138; Milde, *Neferenpet*, 93-102; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, Pl. 80, frame 28 (5-8); id., *Totenbuch Papyrus Nebamun*, 39, Abb. 52a-b; Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 224 f.

This spell is said to have been found wrapped around the mummy in the coffin as a separate sheet to be used as an amulet or charm by both the living and the deceased.<sup>314</sup>



*jrj.n=j 2-nw n šs.t*

I have acted as the companion (lit. second) of Isis,

*swsr.n=j šhw=s*

I have made powerful her power,<sup>315</sup>

*tsj.n=j ‘kš<sup>316</sup> hsf.n=j ‘špp*

I have attached the towrope, I have repelled Apophis,

*šhm.n=j nmt.t=f*

I have put a stop to his movements,

*rdj.n n=j R<sup>c</sup> ‘.wy=fy*

Re has given his hands to me,

*nn hsf wj js.t=f*

and his crew will not repel me.<sup>317</sup>

*wsr=j wsr wdš.t ts-phr*

If I am strong, the *Udjat*-eye is strong, and vice versa.

<sup>312</sup> See *Wb* IV, 172, 12-15.

<sup>313</sup> Clearly the night bark.

<sup>314</sup> Ockinga, *Shroud of Tny*, 179-189; Munro, *Totenbuch des Month-em-hat*, 49-51; Illés, in: SAT 11, 123; Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 225; Taylor, *Book of the Dead*, 47.

<sup>315</sup> As the Greatest of Magic, Isis forces Re to divulge his secret name by making a serpent that poisons him and offering to heal him only when he tells her the name, as the name of Re is a pivotal secret and principle of creation; it is to be recited for good health and recovery in a mythic narrative, cf. Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 227.

<sup>316</sup> For ‘*kš* as ship’s cordage and tow rope, see Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 157-158.

<sup>317</sup> BD 15B5 (Allen’s numbering) summarises the event. The text states: “The crew of your bark is in joy, while your enemy is consigned to your knife, for your bark has come equipped with the truth . . . . You travel as Re, you sit as Atum, you embrace your mother (doubtlessly Isis), and your mother embraces you.” Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 26. Cf. Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 45.

**Doc. 66: BD 101 - version in the Papyrus of Nu, estate manager for the treasurer, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 BC, British Museum EA 10477**

Budge, *Book of the Dead* II, 77 f.; Le Page Renouf, in: PSBA 16, 268; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 83; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 200; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 99; Barguet, *LdM*, 138 f.; Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 172 f.; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, Pl. 78 f. (2-4), frame 27; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 226 f.



<i>j3ty n mw prj&lt;.w&gt; m hbb.t</i>	Voyager of the water, who emerges from the (primeval) waters,
<i>hfd&lt;.w&gt; hr m3 n wj3=f</i>	who sits on the prow of his bark,
<i>hfd=k hr m3 n wj3=k</i>	may you sit on the prow of your bark,
<i>wd3=k r ʿ=k n sf</i>	may you be sound through your action of yesterday.
<i>ju hnm n=k Wsjr N 3b jkr<sup>318</sup> m js.t=k</i>	Osiris N, the effective <i>Akh</i> , joins you in your crew.
<i>wd3=k wd3=f</i>	If you are sound, he (Osiris N) will be sound. <sup>319</sup>

**Doc. 67: BD 130 - version in the Papyrus of Nu, estate manager for the treasurer, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 BC, British Museum EA 10477**

Budge, *Book of the Dead* II, 168; Le Page Renouf, in: PSBA 19, 65-67; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 106; Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, 51-53; Haekal, in: ASAE 63, 54 ff.; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 252 f.; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 119 f.; Barguet, *LdM*, 172; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 50 (25-28), frame 17; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 289.<sup>320</sup>



<i>dj Wsjr N pbr m3ʿ.t dp m<sup>321</sup> wj3 ʿ3</i>	N causes Maat to circulate over the great bark,
<i>brj m3ʿ-brw m d3d3.t</i>	bearing the vindicated one in the tribunal.
<i>smn=f hb.w ssm=f sny.t</i>	He establishes millions, <sup>322</sup> and guides the entourage,

<sup>318</sup>The *3b jkr* is a special designation or epithet for the deceased that occurs in a variety of forms, the most complete being *3b jkr n Rʿ* which is also the most common. The relationship of the deceased as an *3b/3b jkr* to the sun god Re is expressed by the indirect genitive *n Rʿ* “of/belonging to Re,” i.e., referring to the position of the *3b/3b jkr* in the vicinity of the sun god. Furthermore, the deceased as an *3b jkr* must be sustained in the lofty position of the bark’s crew. Demarée, *The 3b jkr n Rʿ Stelae*, 275-278.

<sup>319</sup>The deceased wants to achieve his well-known desire of joining the crew of the sun god, in the CT: “I saw Re born yesterday from the buttocks of the celestial cow, if he is sound, I will be sound, and vice versa.” CT IV, 246- 247a; Faulkner, *AECT* I, 263.

<sup>320</sup>BD 130-136 is a series of chapters for securing a place in the bark of the sun god. Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 286.

<sup>321</sup>*M dp* according to CT VII, 404d.

<sup>322</sup>Faulkner’s translation: “He establishes the Chaos-gods,” cf. Faulkner, *AEBD*, 119.

*dj.n n=sn Wsjr N hn.t m ḥ<sup>cc</sup>.wt dp.t* Osiris N has let them sail in utter joy,  
*phr js.t R<sup>c</sup> m-s3=f* when the crew of Re circles after him,  
*nfr=f k3j m3<sup>c</sup>.t ph=s nb=s* and his perfection, Maat is exalted as she reaches her  
 lord.  
*dj.tw j3w n nb r-dr* Praise is given to the Lord of All.

**Doc. 68: BD 134 - version in the Papyrus of Nu, estate manager for the treasurer, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 BC, British Museum EA 10477**

Naville, *Tb*, 134, 12-13; Le Page Renouf, in: PSBA 14, 128-130; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 109; Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, 15 (9-10), 58 (24-26); Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 260; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 123; Barguet, *LdM*, 176; Dembska, in: ZÄS 116, 18; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 48 (8-10), frame 17; Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 298 f.



*ḥmy.w ḥmy.wt ḥm.ty=sn m Wsjr N* O you male assailants and female assailants who will  
 assail Osiris N<sup>323</sup>  
*m wj3 n jt=f R<sup>c</sup>* in the bark of his father Re.  
*Ḥr pw Wsjr N msj.n sw mw.t=f 3s.t* Osiris N is Horus, his mother Isis bore him,  
*rnn.n sw Nb.t-ḥw.t* Nephthys nursed him,  
*mj jr.t.n=sn n Ḥr r* as they did for Horus to  
*ḥsf sm3y.t<sup>324</sup> Swty* repel the band of Seth.<sup>325</sup>

**Doc. 69: BD 140 - version in the Papyrus of Iahetesnakht, mid Twenty-sixth Dynasty, c. 600 BC, University of Cologne P.Aeg.10207**

Naville, in: PSBA 24, 136-138; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 116, S4; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 273; Verhoeven, *Iahetesnacht I*, 264 (67,2), II, 98\*; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 113-115; Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 316.<sup>326</sup>



*ḥ3y n=t ḥknw n R<sup>c</sup>* Acclamation to you and praise to Re,

<sup>323</sup> Here, I follow the translation of Allen: “O, attackers male or female who may attack Osiris N.” Faulkner, on the other hand, suggests, “O you, who would harm this Osiris N.” Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 109; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 123.

<sup>324</sup> *Sm3y.t* from *sm3y*, “gang or companions.” *Wb* III, 457, 8-10.

<sup>325</sup> Seth as a defender of the solar bark is already known, but he is usually excluded when the Ennead is represented in the New Kingdom scenes, but not always, as has already been explained (see above note. 284). As for Seth and the Ennead, in the papyrus of Chester Beatty, Seth puts forward his claim to the throne of Egypt by boasting that he is the strongest member of the Ennead, and that he slays the enemy of Re daily, being in front of the Bark of Millions. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyrus I*, 16, pl. IV, (4-5).

<sup>326</sup> The papyri from the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period do not contain this chapter. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 116, n. 235. Cf. Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 114, n. 322.

*škdđ js.ty wj3 šbr ʿ3pp*

*h3y n=t hknw <n> Rʿ*

*šbpr hpr.w*<sup>327</sup>

as the crew sails the bark, Apophis is overthrown.

Acclamation to you and praise to Re,

the forms are brought into being.

**Doc. 70: BD 144 - version in the Papyrus of Nu, estate manager for the treasurer, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, c. 1400 BC, British Museum EA 10477**

Budge, *Book of the Dead* II, 222-23; Naville, in: PSBA 24, 195-197; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 122; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 280; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 135; Barguet, *LdM*, 191; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 75 (38-40), frame 26; Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 255; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 327.



*Wsjr N wb3 bj3*

*h3f nšny*

*sʿnh js.t Rʿ*

*sʿr.n Wsjr N htp.wt r bw hr=s*

*rdj.n Wsjr N jrj wj3 šm.t=f nfr.t*

Osiris N is the opener of the firmament,

repeller of the storm,

who makes the crew of Re alive.

Osiris N has raised up the offerings to the place bearing it (the bark),<sup>328</sup>

Osiris N has caused the bark to make its good trip.

**Doc. 71: BD 169 – version in the papyrus of Twri, New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty (Thutmosis IV), pLouvre N3092 [III 93]**

Naville, *Tb* 169, 17-19; Budge, *Book of the Dead* III, 49 f.; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 177; Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 45; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 347; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 167; Barguet, *LdM*, 250; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 420; *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, TM 134308, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134308>



*wb3 hr=k m pr kkw*

*w3h hr pg3 n m33 krj*

*šms.n=k h33 jdb.wy*

*kbh=k hr ht n mry*

May your face be opened in the house of darkness<sup>329</sup>

(you) endure on the Pega without seeing the storm,

(for) you have followed the ruler of the two riverbanks.

May you clean yourself at the Meru-tree (cedar wood)

<sup>327</sup> Verhoeven mistakenly translates it as: “der seine Erscheinungsformen entstehen läßt,” despite the absence of the suffix =f, cf. Verhoeven, *Iabtesnacht* I, 264 (67, 2).

<sup>328</sup> The translation of Allen also seems plausible: “Osiris N has caused offerings to ascend to the place where it (i.e., the crew) is,” cf. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 122.

<sup>329</sup> Darkness is the first state of life that has enlightened by Nun. Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 80, 12. The deceased does not see in this darkness, which is why the opening of a man’s face refers to his vision being precise. Cf. Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 78, 4; 115, 2; 153a, 15.

*ḥr-gs.wy n wr-ḥk3.w*

*jw Sš3.t ḥms.tj m-b3ḥ=k*

*jw Sj3 m s3 ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w=k*

on the two sides of the One Great in Word Power,

while Seshat sits in front of you,

and Sia is the protection of your limbs.

**Doc. 72: BD 172 – version in the Papyrus of Nebsemi, scribe of the Ptah temple at Memphis, late Eighteenth Dynasty, British Museum EA 9900**

Naville, *Tb* 172, 42-43; Naville, in: PSBA 26, 45-48; Budge, *Book of the Dead* III, 60; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 180; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 357; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 171; Barguet, *LdM*, 256; Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nebsemi*, pl. 100, 42-43; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 428; *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, TM 134286, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134286>



*prj=k m3=k R<sup>c</sup> ḥr*

*shn.wt rmn.w nw p.t*

*ḥr d3d3 jwn-mw.t=f*

*ḥr rmn.w Wp-w3.wt*

*wpj=f n=k w3.t m3=k 3ḥ.t*

*bw w<sup>c</sup>b mrj=k jm*

May you ascend and see Re on

the supporting bearers of the sky,<sup>330</sup>

on the head of the “pillar of his mother,”<sup>331</sup>

on the shoulders of Wepwawet.

May he open a path for you that you may see  
the horizon,

the pure place where you desire to be.

**Doc. 73: BD 182 – version in the papyrus of Mut-hetepti, priestess of Amun, Third Intermediate Period, mid-21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, British Museum EA 10010**

Naville, *Tb* 182, 23-25; Naville, in: PSBA 26, 124; Budge, *Book of the Dead* III, 104; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 198; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 393; Faulkner, *AEBD*, 181; Barguet, *LdM*, 270; Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 226-234; Lucarelli, in: SAT 17; 79-91; Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 469; *Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*, TM 134509, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134509>



*jnk Dhwtj jj.n=j mjn m ḥr-ḥ3*

*tsj.n=j ḥkw sw3d.n=j mḥn.t*

I am Thoth. I have come today from Kheraha.

I have attached the towrope and assigned the  
ferryboat.<sup>332</sup>

<sup>330</sup> Nut forms the celestial vault braced on its hands and feet, which serve as pillars. Barguet, *LdM*, 256, n. 27.

<sup>331</sup> “Pillar of his mother” is an epithet of young Horus. *LGG* V, 243.

<sup>332</sup> According to Hassan, the *mḥn.t* boat was merely a ferry for short journeys through shallow water, and particularly for a meandering stream. On the contrary, the present text expresses that Thoth will use the ferryboat to fetch the east to the west, which means that it has religious significance in the same sense that the solar bark has. Hassan, *Giza* VI, part 1, 146.



<i>jn.j.n=j j3b.t.t n jmn.t.t</i>	I have fetched the east to the west,
<i>k3j.kwj hr j3.t=j r ntr nb</i>	while I am higher on my standard than any god
<i>m rn=j pwy n k3 hr=f</i>	in this my name of “his face is high.”
<i>ju wpj.n=j nfr.wt</i>	I have opened those fair (paths)
<i>m rn=j pwy n Wp-w3.wt</i>	in this my name of Wepwawet.

**Doc. 74: First hour, upper register, text of the twelve-hour goddesses – version of Amenhotep II**

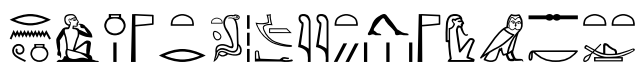
Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 7 (8); Hornung, *TZA* I, 122-123; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 6, 73; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 22; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 140.



*rn.w n.w ntr.wt ssm.ywt<sup>333</sup> ntr 3* Names of the goddesses who guide the great god

**Doc. 75: First hour, upper register, text of the twelve-hour goddesses – version of the Late Period (sarcophagus of Usermaatre).**

Jenni, in: Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 131, 2b, cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 200.<sup>334</sup>



*rn.w nw ntr.wt m3c.ywt<sup>335</sup> ntr m <m>skt.t* Names of the goddesses who properly lead the god in the night bark.<sup>336</sup>

**Doc. 76: First hour, middle register, texts of the two Maat goddesses - version Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 9 (3); Hornung, *TZA* I, 126-127; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 6, 90-91; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 28; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 169-170; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 140.



*M3c.ty st3 ntr pn m <m>skt.t* The two Maat goddesses haul this god in the night bark

<sup>333</sup> Four 𓅓 only in Amenhotep II. It is certainly a cryptographic for *m3c.ty*.

<sup>334</sup> In Manassa’s version, the text is not retrograde, but normal orientation.

<sup>335</sup> “The odd orthography 𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓 on the sarcophagus of Usermaatre is probably a confusion resulting from the full participial ending of the feminine plural *.ywt*, also present in the New Kingdom versions, and further influenced by the two Maat goddesses in the middle register of the first hour.” Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 200. Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 274, § 357.

<sup>336</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 200. For the translation of this text in the sarcophagus of Usermaatre, see Jenni, in Brodbeck, ed., *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel*, 104.

*škḏ<j>.t*<sup>337</sup> *m ʿrry.t n.t nw.t tn jtr.w 120 pw* while sailing in the portal of this region, it is 120  
iteru.

*ʿpp=f mw m-ḥt*<sup>338</sup> *r Wrns* Afterwards, he traverses water to Wernes.

### Doc. 77: First hour, closing text – version of Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 20 (6)-21 (1); Hornung, *TZA* I, 163-165; Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 63; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 16, 268-273; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 39; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 146-147.



*šsm tw wnw.t jmy{w}.t=k*<sup>339</sup>

The hour in which you are, accompanies you.

*stḏ tw sḏ.ty=k<y> m <jrw>=k*<sup>340</sup>

Your two daughters haul you in your visible forms.

*ḥtp<=k m>*<sup>341</sup> *wḏ.w dpy.w šb.wt tḏ*

<You> rest <in> the stelae upon the fields of the  
earth.

*jtj=k grḥ jn<j>t=k hrw*

You take away the night, you bring the day.

*twt ntr pw ḏḏj wnw.wt*

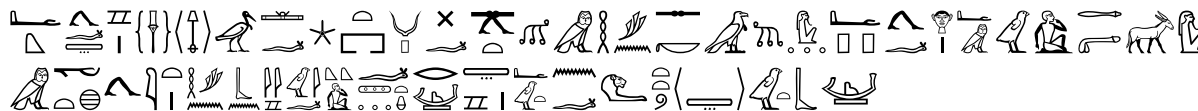
You are that god who traverses the hours.

*ḥtp=k*<sup>342</sup> *wjḏ Ḥprj*

You rest (in) the bark of Khepri.

### Doc. 78: Second hour, introductory text - version Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 24 (4-7); Hornung, *TZA* I, 179-180; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 20, 323-327; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 50-51; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 114-115; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 148.



<sup>337</sup> The verb *škḏ<j>* or *škḏḏ* is repeated many times in the Amduat and is limited to describe the sun god's movement who sails through the regions of the night hours. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 157.

<sup>338</sup> Hornung considered that  $\overline{\text{E}}$  is not an object for *ʿpp=f* and belong to the writing of *m-ḥt* which its *m* is written twice. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 18, 5. Cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 6, n. 6; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 170, n. 233.

<sup>339</sup> *Jmy.wt* is plural because it is supposed to follow the *wnw.wt* "hours" which is plural only in Thutmose III.

<sup>340</sup> Reading here is according to the parallel in Doc. 130 where the "two daughters" participate in receiving the sun god in the eastern horizon. In Ramesses VI: *m bḏ.w=k* "By means of your *Ba*-souls." Hornung suggested *m <mst.t>=k*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 37, n. 43.

<sup>341</sup> The term *ḥtp* is used for different aspects: Stay in a field (in a night-time hour) or a region; resting in a certain shape/quality; settling down on a being/object; merging of the *Ba* and the shadow into the body/corpse. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 126-127.

<sup>342</sup> Usually, settling down on a being/object lasts for the duration of the night hour. After that, this conjunction dissolves again, so it is only temporary. This category also includes the expression *ḥtp=f.s.t=f* "He takes his place/seat." Here, this certainly does not mean a temporary conjunction lasting only one hour. *ibid.*, 127, n. 3.

$\text{ḳ}=\text{f } t\bar{3} <\text{wb}\bar{3}>=\text{f}^{343} \text{ dw}\bar{3}.t^{344}$

$\text{w}\bar{p}\bar{j}=\text{f } \text{sb}.t \text{ m } \text{ḥn}\bar{s}\bar{k}\bar{y}.w$

$\text{ḳ}\bar{p}\bar{p}=\text{f } \text{ḥr } \text{ḳ}.\text{w}-\text{ḳ}^{346}$

$\text{m}-\text{ḥt } \text{M}\bar{3}^{\text{c}}.t \text{ḥn}\bar{b}.y\bar{t}^{347}$

$\text{jw}=\text{f } \text{wnm}=\text{f } t \text{ r } \text{w}\bar{j}\bar{3}-t\bar{3}^{348}$

$<\text{r}>\text{dj}.t\bar{w} \text{ n}=\text{f } \text{ḥ}\bar{3}.t.t <t\bar{3}>-\text{t}\bar{w}\bar{j}^{349}$

He enters the earth and <opens> the netherworld.<sup>345</sup>

He parts the locks of the Hairlock-wearers.

He passes by the “Donkey-swallowers”

in the following of Maat of the land-plots.

He eats bread at the Bark of the Earth,

and the prow-rope of the <Ta>-Tebiu-Bark is given to him.

### Doc. 79: Second hour, middle register, annotation to the entire register - version of Thutmosis III with reconstructions from User

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 30 (3-8), 31 (1); Hornung, *TZA* I, 197-200; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 24, 393-405; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 60-61; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 151.



<sup>343</sup> The verb *wb3* belongs to the semantic field of *wpj*, *wn*, and *ḥtm* which is of great importance for the processes of the solar cycle. Those terms partially contain an area of application that points in a transferred direction: namely the “revealing” of hidden beings or circumstances in the netherworld. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 107.

<sup>344</sup> Frequently, *t3* and *dw3.t* are synonymous, e.g., Re is the “opener of the earth” *wb3 t3* in the fifth hour. Hornung, *Amduat* I, 84, 8; id., *Amduat* II, 44, 14.

<sup>345</sup> This text locates the Duat as a place in the underground.

<sup>346</sup> There is a bull-headed god in the lower register (185.). He has a knife in his hand and bears the name “Donkey-swallower.” With reference to BD 40, Hornung sees this bull-headed figure as a demon who swallows the sinners who are personified as a donkey. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 54, n. 185. Cf. Naville, *Tb*, Taf. 54. For further information about the nature of this god, see *LGG* II, 109-110.

<sup>347</sup> This spelling is not listed for Maat, and according to Hornung  $\beta\bar{t}$  could be read as *šw.t*, and the mention of *m3c.t ḥnb.yt* at the beginning of the passage is related to the representation of  $\beta$  in the last bark of the middle register. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 45, 17. The second *n* of *ḥnb.yt* in the version of Thutmosis III is clearly a copyist’s error. I have no suggestion to add.


<sup>348</sup> *Wj3-t3* is the name of the sun bark in the middle register of the third division of the Book of the Gates. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 45, 18.

<sup>349</sup> *T3-twbj* or *t3-tbj*, is a reference to the sun god mentioned in Pyr. §§ 290, 1394b and CT II, 296a (Sp. 155) as the eye of *twbj* and *t3-tbj*, two aspects which fit very well with the topic of the second hour. Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 178. Sethe, Zandee, and Hornung assume that it is a god whom the sun god probably hides behind. The determination with a bark makes it clear that the sun is meant. Sethe, in: ZÄS 57, 30; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 45, 19; Faulkner, *AEPT*, 65, n. 29, cf. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 20, n. 1. Mercer suggests that *tbj* must refer to the earth, which, broken up (or, opened) by the sun god, is prepared for the king’s descent into it. Mercer, *Pyramid Texts* III, 687. One would suggest that Ta-Tebiu is another name of the night bark in which the sun god sails through the night-time. This bark indicates the breaking up of the earth, the role assigned to the night bark. For *tbj*, see also *LGG* VII, 381a.





<skdj ntr pn> ʕ3 r <sup>350</sup> <sb.t tn m sb>r pn <sup>351</sup>	<This> great <god sails(?) by this locale in> this <fash>ion.
hnj<.w>=f m wj3.w jmy.w t3	He is rowed in the barks that are within the earth.
jmy<.w Wrns> <sup>352</sup> jw=sn <sup>353</sup>	Th<ose who are> in <Wernes>, they come,
jrj=f hp.t r sb.t tn	as he makes a course to this field.
wd-mdw mdw <sup>354</sup> r=sn <m> wj3=f	<He> gives orders to them <from> his bark,
dwj mnj<=f m> wj3=f hp.t <j>w wr(?)	and <he> calls to them <from> his bark when he moors. The course ...(?).
pbr nn n wj3.w ʕ3 wr<.t> <sup>355</sup> m <Wrn>s	These barks perambulate gr<eatly> in <Werne>s,
rmnj<.w> Wsjr <sup>356</sup> b<wt.br=sn m> wj3.w=sn	bearing Osiris. <Then they> mourn <in> their barks.
wd ntr pn ʕ3 Nprj <... m(?)> wj3.w=sn	This great god and Neper/the grain god command them <... in?> their barks,
sbm<=sn> <sup>357</sup> sb.wt	so that <they> have power over the fields.
jw rb<.w> m b3<.w> <sup>358</sup> m wr	He who knows (it), is one who descends as a great one
r hr.t-ntr wj3	to the necropolis, and to the bark.

### Doc. 80: Second hour, closing text - version of Thutmosis III with reconstructions from User

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 38 (6)-39, (1); Hornung, *TZA* I, 230-232; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 30, 507-510; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 68; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum*

<sup>350</sup> By comparing this text with those of the other middle registers, especially that of the third hour, the addition of  to <m> sbr pn and ʕ3 to ntr pn ʕ3 seems necessary, especially as the subject is subsequently taken up again by the suffix =f. Also, in the beginning, a verb must be added, like hns in the third hour or skdj as in the other hours. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 49, 1.

<sup>351</sup> It may be r sb.t tn r sb.t tn or r nw.t tn according to Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 49, 1.

<sup>352</sup> Corrupted passage in all witnesses, in User, , Amenhotep II, , Seti I, , Ramesses II, , Seti II, , Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX, . Hornung, *TZA* I, 198. Cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 49, 4.




<sup>353</sup> There is a gap in the text; Amenhotep II usually reads gmj wš “found empty.” Hornung, *TZA* I, 198. Cf. Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 175, n. 29.

<sup>354</sup> Hornung’s interpretation is that the twofold mdw makes no sense behind wd and, therefore, dwj “call” is isolated behind wj3=f. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 49, 5. Cf. *Wb* V, 550, 3.

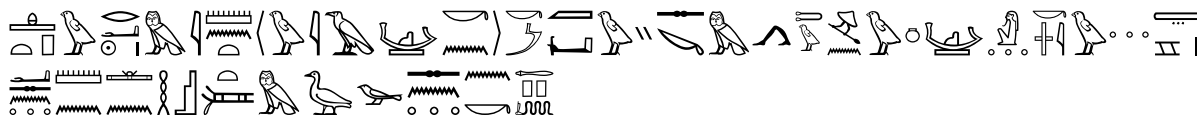
<sup>355</sup> Hornung translates wr.t as an adverb after User, Seti I, Seti II, and Ramesses VI. It could be also wr “the very great (Osiris?)” after Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II, and Tutankhamun. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 49, 8; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 24, n. 4.

<sup>356</sup> In User, Amenhotep II, and Ramesses VI it is , in Seti I,  and in Tutankhamun, . Hornung, *TZA* I, 199. For an alternative translation of the verb rmnj, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 242.

<sup>357</sup> Only User added sn. One would even expect sbm<=sn m>, but there is no m here.

<sup>358</sup> The translation of the last sentence is uncertain, although the beginning is normal except for the missing object behind rb. How to read and translate the rest remains unclear. The second < behind  in some versions could be the preposition which one expects after b3<.w>, then  and  would both be abbreviated nouns. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 50, 13. Alternatively b3j, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 115-116.

der Zeit, 187; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld I*, 218-219; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 156.



*ḥtp-w<y>*<sup>359</sup> *R<sup>c</sup> m jmn.t <wjβ=k n>=k*

Welcome Re in the west! <Your bark> belongs to you.<sup>360</sup>

*mβ<sup>c</sup>-wy ššm tw ḥnj.w=k jmj.w tβ*

How proper is it that your rowers who are in the earth guide you.

*ϵ=sn mn<.w>*<sup>361</sup> *n ḥtm=sn n=k ϵ3pp*

Their arm is steadfast, so that they might destroy for you Apophis.

### Doc. 81: Second hour, closing text – version of Thutmose III with reconstructions from Seti I

Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, 42 (1)-43 (3); Hornung, *TzA I*, 252-256, 262-263; Hegenbarth, in: SAK 30, 179, 180; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 32, 545-549, 34, 556-557; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 72-73; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 156, 157.



*<n<sup>c</sup>j.w>*<sup>362</sup> *tn<sup>363</sup> n<sup>364</sup> wjβ.w=j*

<You may navigate> (there) for my barks!

*ḥm<j>.w tn<sup>365</sup> r<sup>366</sup> ššm.w*

you may return to the images,

*s<sup>c</sup>nh mβ(?) šḥ.t*

(to?) revive and renew the fields.

*nttn šḥty.w Wrns*

You are the peasants of Wernes,

<sup>359</sup> In all versions except Thutmose III, it is *ḥtp.wy*. Here, *wj* reinforces the synonymy with *ḥtp sp-2* “welcome, welcome,” used by Ramesses IX. Hornung, *TzA I*, 231, cf. Schott, in: ZÄS 79, 54-65.

<sup>360</sup> John and Colleen Darnell translate this phrase: “Your bark belongs to proper navigation,” and they ignore the second =*k* after *wjβ=k*. Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 156.

<sup>361</sup> All versions except for Thutmose III have *ϵ=sn šḥ<.w>* “their arms are hidden.” Hornung, *TzA I*, 232.

<sup>362</sup> For the meaning of the verb *n<sup>c</sup>j* and its relation to the representation of the serpent no. 317 in the fifth hour, where the serpent occupies the solar bark, and the regeneration serpent no. 869 in the twelfth hour, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 58.

<sup>363</sup> Although Hornung translates it in *Unb*, 80 as an indicative, the verb is given plural strokes, so it is clearly an imperative. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 32, n. 9.

<sup>364</sup> There is a gap instead of *n<sup>c</sup>j.w* in Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III; Amenhotep II does not use a preposition and Seti I uses *ϵ* after *n<sup>c</sup>j.w*, but all other versions use *—*. Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 56.

<sup>365</sup> Here and in the previous line, I followed the translation of Wiebach-Koepke, who sees an imperative form followed by the dependent pronoun. Also, the speech of the sun god here fits Zeidler’s observation in *Pfortenbuchstudien I*, 132 f., according to which the sun god used these constructions in the directives of the underworld. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 32, n. 10. In contrast, Rößler-Köhler sees it as an adverbial sentence in Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 96, n. 45, with reference to Pyr. § 554b.

<sup>366</sup> For a discussion on the word *ḥmj* with the preposition *r*, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe I*, 130.

*ᶜnh.w b3 jmy<.w>=j<sup>367</sup>*

those with living *Ba*-soul, who are identical with me.<sup>368</sup>

*nttn ᶜh3.w<sup>369</sup> hr ᶜ.w=j*

You are the ones who fight for my limbs,

*mkj.w wj r <ᶜ3>pp*

and the ones who protect me against <A>pophis.



*j m=tn wj šm=j m-ht 3b.t=j*

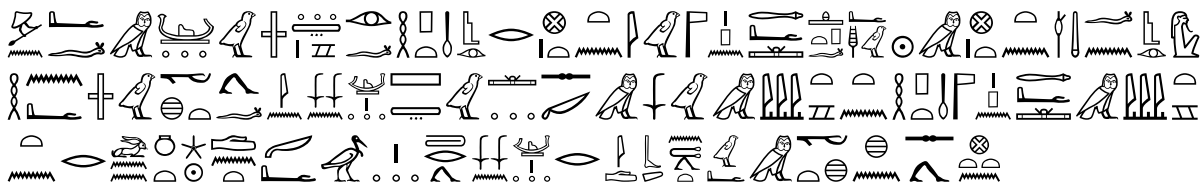
O, behold me, I am following my effective eye,

*sbj=j<sup>370</sup> hr htw j3bt.t=j*

and I proceed behind my left eye.

## Doc. 82: Third hour, middle register, annotation to the entire register – version of Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 50 (4-9); Hornung, *Tz4 I*, 292-295; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 40, 649-657; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 90-91; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 160.



*hnj=f m wj3.w jmy.w t3*

He sails in the barks which are in the earth,

*jrj=f hp.t<sup>371</sup> Wsjr r nw.t tn*

as he carries out the navigation of Osiris in this region.

*jw ntr pn 3 htp=f ᶜhᶜ.w m nw.t tn*

This great god rests a while in this region.

*wd-mdw=f n Wsjr hnᶜ jmy.w=ht=f*



He issues commands to Osiris and those who are in his following.

*jn<sup>372</sup> nn n wj3.w št3.w šsm sw*

It is these mysterious barks which guide him

*m sb.t tn*

in this field.

<sup>367</sup> The absence of  occurs only in Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II. This reading is doubtful for the following gap, and the suffix  is missing in all copies (except Merenptah, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX), so it is hard to connect *jmy.w=j* with the preceding *ᶜnh.w-b3*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 59, 52.

<sup>368</sup> Hornung translates this phrase: "... deren Seele durch mich lebt." Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 56. Then he translates it differently as "... Seele, die mit mir identisch sind." *ibid.*, 59, 52. Wiebach-Koepke suggests that with this view, one would have to add a pronoun referring to *sbty.w* to adopt a corresponding relative form. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 33, n. 3.

<sup>369</sup> Although an invariable participle would be expected according to the grammar, all versions have plural strokes. See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 373A. However, Gardiner remarks: "In very ancient times, the participle seems to have taken the number and gender of the subject." For the participial phrase, see Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 390-392. See also Edel, *Grammatik* I, § 626 ff.

<sup>370</sup> For the uses of the verb *sbj* in the Amduat, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 156.

<sup>371</sup> For more details on *hp.t* and *jrj hp.t*, their determinatives, and the differentiation of their meanings in the Netherworld Books' contexts, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 60.

<sup>372</sup> User, Amenhotep II, and Amenhotep III certainly have corrected the construction with *jn* (see the following *šsm sw*). In Thutmosis III, Seti I, Seti II, and Ramesses VI, the text reads *jw nn n wj3.w* etc. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 68, n. 4.

*ḥp.t*<sup>373</sup> *ntr pn ʿ3 m sb.t tn*

*r wnw.t Dn.t-b3.w*

*pḥr nn n wj3.w r jdb n Jtj.w*<sup>374</sup>

*m-ḥt ḥns nw.t tn*

The navigation of this great god in this field  
at the hour of “She Who Cuts the *Ba*-souls.”

These barks travel around the shore of “the  
robber,”

after traversing this region.<sup>375</sup>

### Doc. 83: Third hour, closing text, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 56 (10-11), 57 (1-2); Hornung, *TZA* I, 315-317; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 46, 771-776; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 97; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 165.



*ḥʿj b3=k*

*w3š sbm=k*

*ššm tw M3ʿ.ty=ky m w3.t kkw*

*p.t n b3=k*

*t3 n ḥ3.t=k*

*ʿḥʿ n=k wʿ.tj wʿt.t r nfr.t mnj.t s3b.w*

May your *Ba*-soul appear.

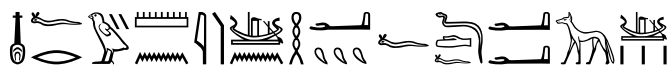
May your power be strong.

May your two Maats guide you on the path of  
darkness.

The sky belongs to your *Ba*-soul,  
and the earth belongs to your corpse.<sup>376</sup>

May the unique one<sup>377</sup> rise for you, she who is alone  
at the towrope which the jackals moor.

The closing text in the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CG 29306) reads further:<sup>378</sup>



*Nfr.wy mnj<.t> wj3 n ḥʿ.w=f*

How perfect is the mooring of the bark for his  
flesh,

<sup>373</sup> For *ḥp.t* as an infinitive, see *Wb* III, 68, 11-15.

<sup>374</sup> *Jtj.w* is the name of the gate of this hour. According to this, the barks of the third hour accompany the sun god only in this region and return to their places after his move onwards. Hornung, *Uwb*, 87 translates: “These barks return to the shore of the robber,” which is not possible. The gate “robber” is at the end of the hour, which would mean that after passing through this place accompanying the sun god, the barks could not possibly return to the gate, but only turn around to face it. See Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 104. In Seti II, the text is missing after *jdb* due to the lack of space. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 68, n. 7.

<sup>375</sup> Region of the third hour.

<sup>376</sup> For the parallel to this expression, see Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 8, n. 13. The dual fate of the *Ba*-soul and the corpse is expressed frequently in Egyptian funerary literature. See e.g., Zandee, *Amunshymnus*, 188-191; Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 120-124. See also the embalming ritual as described in Töpfer, *Das Balsamierungsritual*, 2015.

<sup>377</sup> The term “unique one” refers to the uraeus serpent of the sun god. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 76, n. 12. Cf. *Wb* I, 278, 6 and 279, 11.

<sup>378</sup> Maspero, *Sarcophages* I, 257; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld* II, pl. 208, 5-6.

*dd=f jmj*<sup>379</sup> *s3b.w <r> wj3*

when he says: assign the jackals to the bark.<sup>380</sup>

In the tomb of Inherkhau, the text reads:<sup>381</sup>



*j.nd hr=sn p3 jfdw s3b.w st3*<sup>382</sup> *wj3*

Greeting to them, the four jackals who tow the bark,

*n3 h3<w> m p.t r dw3.t*

those who descend from heaven into the netherworld.<sup>383</sup>

#### Doc. 84: Third hour, closing text, version of Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 58 (4-8); Hornung, *TZA* I, 324-327; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 48, 797-803; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 100; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 166.



*j nw s3t3 n=j jmn n=j b3.w=sn*

Oh, you whom I have made concealed, whose *Ba*-souls I have hidden,

*r.w n=j n Wsjr m-h3t=f*

come near to me, and to Osiris in his following,

*r nd hr=f r sbj.t hr s3m.w=f*

to greet him and to pass over his images,<sup>384</sup>

*r s3tm jrj.w wt r=f*

to destroy those who bound him!

*Hw*<sup>385</sup> *n=k Wsjr*

May Hu belong to you, Osiris.

*Sj3 n=k hnty-jmn.tyw*

May Sia belong to you, Foremost of the Westerners.

#### Doc. 85: Fourth hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 68 (11)- 69 (1-3); Hornung, *TZA* II, 363-365; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 58, 972-977; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 193; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 125; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 170.



<sup>379</sup> *Jmj* serves as an imperative to . See *Wb* I, 76, 14. This translation is not certain because *jmj* with a double *c* is not common, and I cannot find any parallels. See also Engsheden, *La Reconstitution du Verbe*, 84.

<sup>380</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 245-246.

<sup>381</sup> Valbelle, *Les artistes*, 82-83.

<sup>382</sup> The references to this verb in the *Amduat* mainly refer to the sun god, who is towed by helpful deities on his bark. An exception is e.g., *TZA* I, 371, where Anubis is addressed as a “hauler,” and this activity certainly relates to the corpse of Sokar’s burial process. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 157.

<sup>383</sup> Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 247.

<sup>384</sup> Passing over the body of Osiris or intervening with his body is one of the solar bark’s goals, see the sixth hour of the *Amduat*.

<sup>385</sup> Faulty writing in Thutmosis III: .

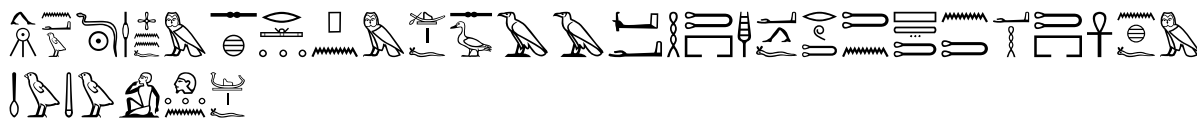


*sk̄dd n̄tr pn ʿ3 hr=sn m sbr pn*<sup>386</sup>  
*jn nsr dpy r3 n wj3=f*  
*sšm<.w> sw m nn w3.wt št3.wt*<sup>388</sup>  
*juwj m33=f sšm.w=sn*  
*duwj=f n=sn r h3w=sn*<sup>389</sup>  
*brw=f pw sdmw=sn*

This great god sails by them<sup>387</sup> in this manner:  
 it is the flame which is on the mouth of his bark  
 that guides him on these mysterious ways,  
 without him seeing their images.  
 He calls them in their vicinity,  
 and it is his voice that they hear.

### Doc. 86: Fourth hour, lower register, text of the first scene, version of Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 72, (5-6); Hornung, *TZA* II, 374-375; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 62, 1027-1028; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 129; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 172.



*n<sup>c</sup>w*<sup>390</sup> *hd.w wnn=f m*  
*sbr pn m wj3=f s33<.w> jm̄h.t*<sup>391</sup>  
*ʿh<sup>c</sup>=f r w3.t tn št3.t n.t jm̄h.t*  
*ʿnh=f m brw mdw dp.w n wj3=f*

*Nau*-serpent who illumines. He exists in  
 this manner in his bark guarding the Imhet.  
 He stands at this mysterious road of Imhet.  
 He lives through the voice that the heads of his bark  
 speak.

### Doc. 87: Fifth hour, introductory text, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 76 (1-2); Hornung, *TZA* II, 387-388; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 66, 1093-1095; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 127-128; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 141-142; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 174.



<sup>386</sup> This form is often used to describe the state and the activate behaviour of the sun god and the netherworld beings, whereby the “awakening” of the underworld refers to its activated dynamics. In this respect, the general form of existence undergoes a significant modification in the category of “eternal” duration, which indicates that almost all underworld beings come into a new state or more dynamic attitude due to the sun god’s temporary presence. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 125.

<sup>387</sup> The dwellers of the fourth hour.

<sup>388</sup> Seti I and Ramesses III add *tn* after *w3.wt*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 86, 2.

<sup>389</sup> Thutmosis III omits the addition *r h3w=sn*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 86, 3.

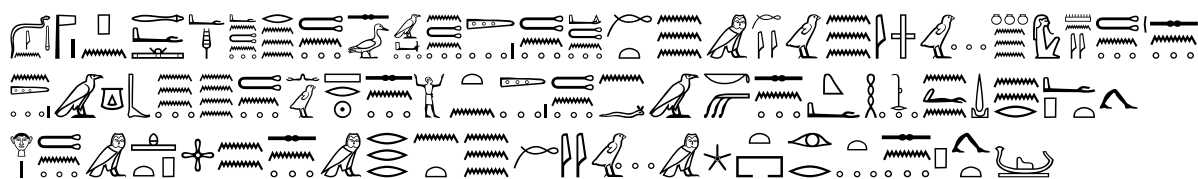
<sup>390</sup> The *Nau*-serpent is the vehicle of regeneration in the twelfth hour (Doc. 131, 132).

<sup>391</sup> *Jm̄h.t* is a region over which the solar bark passes in the fourth and fifth hour. For the nature of this place, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 82, 11 (with references cited therein). Cf. Leitz, in: *ZÄS* 106, 41-57; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 79; Billing, in: *SAK* 40, 63.

<i>rn n wnw.t n.t grḥ sšm.t</i> <sup>392</sup> <i>ntr pn</i> ʿ3	The name of the hour of the night guiding this great god
<i>sšm.t ḥry.t-jb wjḳ=s</i>	is “She Who Guides In the Midst of Her Bark,” <sup>393</sup>
<i>sšm.t njsw.t (Mn-Ḥpr-Rʿ)  s3 Rʿ (Dḥwtj-msj&lt;.w&gt;-nfr-ḥpr.w) </i>	who guides the king (Menkheperre) , son of Re, (Thutmose Neferkheperu) ,
<i>m3ʿ-ḥrw ḥr w3.wt nfr.wt m p.t m dw3.t</i>	the justified, on the beautiful ways in the sky and in the Duat.

### Doc. 88: Fifth hour, upper register, text of the second scene, version of Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 79 (3-7); Hornung, *TZA* II, 400-403; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 70, 1147-1158; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 146-147; Quack, *Tod im Nil*, 408-409; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 176.<sup>394</sup>



<i>dd-mdw jn ntr pn</i> ʿ3 ʿḥ<.w> <i>n=tn</i>	Words spoken by this great god: “Stand
<i>r mw=tn s3.w n=tn jdb.w=tn</i>	at your water, guard your riverbanks,
<i>dj=tn mḥ.t m mḥy.w</i> <sup>395</sup> <i>jmy.w</i>	and you may give the flood to the floating ones in the
<i>Nwn</i> <sup>396</sup> <i>mnj=tn</i> <sup>397</sup> < <i>s</i> > <i>n n jdb.w 3gb</i>	Nun, that you land them at the shores of the flood.
<i>mw</i> <sup>398</sup> <i>n=tn n wšr=sn</i> <sup>399</sup>	Waters be for you; it shall not dry up.
<i>k3j.t n jdb.w=tn n ʃk=sn</i>	Height be to your banks, that they are not barren.
<i>kḥ.w</i> ʿ <i>n d3j&lt;.w&gt;-mw</i>	Bend your arms for the water-crosser, <sup>400</sup>

<sup>392</sup>The verb *sšm* is often used in the Amduat and appears to be consistently connected with the sun god, who is “led, guided” by deities.

<sup>393</sup>On the name of the deceased in the composition of the Amduat, see Altenmüller, in: JEOL 20, 28 ff.

<sup>394</sup>This text switches between horizontal and vertical writing. I wrote the entire text as retrograde.

<sup>395</sup>On the translation of the term *mḥy.w*, see Griffith, *Conflict*, 7, n. 1., which Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 95, n. 1 disapproves of, interpreting that the translation of this term as “drowned” is too concrete and even Osiris as a member of the *mḥy.w* is not “drowned,” but goes to the Nile after his murder (as mentioned several times in the Memphite theology) to be rescued by Isis and Nephthys from the water and become *mnj*.

<sup>396</sup>*Jmy.w-Nwn* is a designation of the dead and this epithet comes with special justification to those who are in the water. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 95, n. 1.

<sup>397</sup>As in the Osiris myth, *mnj* “rescue” is a prerequisite for a proper burial. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 95, n. 2. For the meanings of this verb in the netherworld books, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 107.

<sup>398</sup>There is no *n* between *3gb* and *mw*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 95. However, the construction of adverbial clauses not introduced by *jw* with the preposition *n* as optative clauses “... should be given to you/yours” is generally common in the Books of the Underworld. See Quack, *Tod im Nil*, 409, n. 129, cf.

<sup>399</sup>On *wšr*, see *Wb* I, 374, 12; Barguet, in: BIFAO 50, 62, n. 2.

<sup>400</sup>*D3j<.w>-mw* is a designation of the sun god. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 96, n. 5.

*r* <sup>c</sup>*p.t* *ḥr=tn* *m ḥtp* to pass by you in peace.”  
*wnn=sn* *m jry.w* *n.t mḥy.w* *m dw3.t* They exist as guardians of the water of the  
 drowned in the netherworld;  
*jrr.t=sn* *p<w>* *jw.t*<sup>401</sup> *wj3* what they have to do is (to let) the bark pass.

### Doc. 89: Fifth hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of User

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 84 (4-5); Hornung, *TzA* II, 415; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 74, 1243-1244; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 155; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 179.



*skdd* *ntr pn* <sup>c</sup>*3* *m st3.w* *ḥr ḳrr.t* *tn* This great god travelled by means of hauling over  
 this cavern<sup>402</sup>  
*m* *wj3=f* *jmy* *t3* <sup>c</sup>*nḥ<.w>* *-b3.w* in his bark which is in the earth, (named) “Living of  
*Ba*-souls.”

### Doc. 90: Fifth hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 85 (2-4); Hornung, *TzA* II, 418-419; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 76, 1259-1264; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Khepri*, 165; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 197; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 179.



*mj* *n* *Ḥprj* *R<sup>c</sup>* *mj* *R<sup>c</sup>* *n* *Ḥprj* Come to Khepri, Re, come, Re, to Khepri!<sup>403</sup>  
*nfr.t* *jnj<t>* *.n=tn* *nfr.t* The towrope which you<sup>404</sup> have brought, the  
 towrope  
*s<sup>c</sup>r.t<j>* *n*<sup>405</sup> *Ḥprj* has been raised up to Khepri,  
*dj=f<sup>c</sup>* *n* *R<sup>c</sup>* that he might give a hand to Re,  
*m3<sup>c</sup>=f* *w3.wt*<sup>406</sup> *št3.wt* that he might straighten the mysterious paths

<sup>401</sup> See Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 95, 96, n. 6. Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 82 proposes the reading: *jj.wj tw* “welcome to the bark.” She assumes that it is a task of the drowned gods.

<sup>402</sup> See also the statement at the beginning of the introduction that the sun god is drawn in the “upper half” of the secret cavern of Sokar! Here, the “mound” of the lower register crowned by the head of Isis seems to be called “cavern.” See Hornung, *TzA* II, 384-385.

<sup>403</sup> Apparently, a salutation of the hauling crew.

<sup>404</sup> I think the more probable translation here is to translate *s<sup>c</sup>r.t<j>* as a stative/pseudo participle. Darnell and Darnell suggested another translation: “The towrope which we have brought is the towrope which we shall raise up to Khepri.” According to them, the transliteration will be *nfr.t jnn.t=tn* (incorrectly for *jn.t.n=n?*) *nfr.t s<sup>c</sup>r.t n Ḥprj* (Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 179), but this is not compatible with the Egyptian original. Thus, it is explicit that the crew of the solar bark speaks to the sun god as the one who brings the towrope to be handed via them to Khepri (see 3.5.3).

<sup>405</sup> Thutmose I, User, Thutmose III, and Ramesses II write only the preposition *n*, Ramesses VI writes these plural strokes without the preposition *n*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 85, (3o).

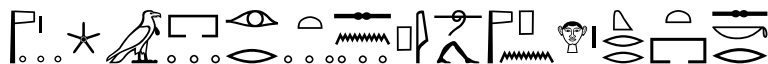
<sup>406</sup> For *m3<sup>c</sup> w3.wt* “to straighten (make the paths traversable)”, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 105-106.

*n R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3h.ty*

for Re-Horakhty.

**Doc. 91: Fifth hour, middle register, text above the haulers of the solar bark, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 86 (4); Hornung, *TzA* II, 421; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 76, 1284-1286; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 156; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 180.




*ntr.w dw3.ty.w jrr.t=sn*

The gods of the netherworld: what they have to do

*pn st3 ntr pn hr krr.t Skr*

is to haul this god above the cavern of Sokar.

The haulers of the bark (366.-372.) are not named in all witnesses. ThIIIK mentioned them three times as  *ntr.w st3.yw R<sup>c</sup>* “the gods who are hauling Re.”

**Doc. 92: Fifth hour, middle register, version of Amenhotep II**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 86 (9); Hornung, *TzA* II, 422-423; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 78, 1297-1299; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 159; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 180.



*3s.t n ssm.w=k<sup>407</sup> ntr 3*

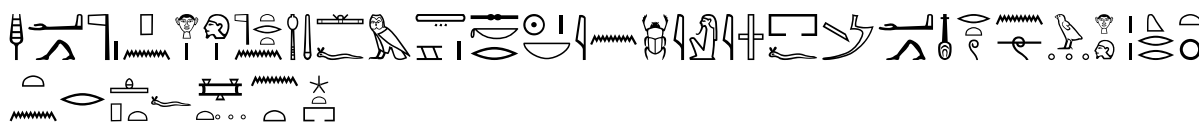
Isis belongs to your image and the great god

*n h3.t=k swt s3w=f s<j>*

to your corpse, so that he is the one who shall guard it.

**Doc. 93: Fifth hour, middle register, the text between Khepri and the head of Isis, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 87, (1-2); Hornung, *TzA* II, 423-424; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 78, 1301-1305; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 158; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 180.



*h<sup>c</sup> ntr pn hry-dp ntr.t <t>n*

When this god halts at the head of this goddess (Isis),

*wd-mdw=f m t3 Skr r<sup>c</sup> nb*

he issues commands in the land of Sokar every day.

*jn Hprj jmy pr=f m3<sup>c</sup> nfr.t*

It is Khepri within his house<sup>408</sup> who conducts the towrope

<sup>407</sup> *Ssm.w* seems to refer to the whole “cavern” of the lower register, which hides the mysterious corpse of Sokar in the oval. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 101. The same spelling *ssm.w* - with book-roll and plural strokes/pellets - can be used both for the singular (“image”) and the plural (“images”).

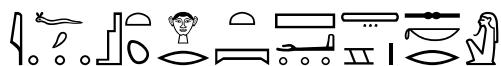
<sup>408</sup> Apparently, the house of the upper register. This house is referred to in only one scene further in the horizontal inscription above the serpent as *hn hprj* “chest of Khepri.” Hornung, *TzA* II, 408; Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 164.

*n st3.w hr-dp krr.t tn*  
*r htp=f w3.wt n.t dw3.t*

during the hauling over this cavern,  
 so that he<sup>409</sup> might occupy the paths of the  
 netherworld.

**Doc. 94: Fifth hour, middle register, the text beside the head of Isis, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 87 (4); Hornung, *TzA* II, 424; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 78, 1308; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 158; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 180.<sup>410</sup>



*jwf3s.t hry.t sc̣y t3 Skr*

The body of Isis which is upon the sand of the land  
 of Sokar.

**Doc. 95: Fifth hour, middle register, the text above the seven towing goddesses, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 87 (6-8), 88 (1-3); Hornung, *Umb*, 110; Hornung, *TzA* II, 425-428; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 78, 1313-1325; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 160-161; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 181.



*skdw.t m st3.w jn hm n ntr pn 3*

Travelling by means of hauling by the majesty of  
 this great god,

*šsp jn nn n ntry.wt*

who is received by these goddesses.<sup>411</sup>

*jn<sup>412</sup> nn n ntr.wt n ntr p<n> 3*

These goddesses say to this great god:

*jj R<sup>c</sup> m htp n dw3.t*

“Re came to the netherworld in peace.

*m3<sup>c</sup>.w w3.t R<sup>c</sup> m wj3=f*

Straightened is the path of Re in his bark,

*jmy t3 m d.t=f<sup>413</sup>*

which is in the earth, in his body,<sup>414</sup>

<sup>409</sup> The sun god.

<sup>410</sup> Only attested in User, Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II. The text is fragmented in Thutmosis I.

<sup>411</sup> Receiving the sun god means that these goddesses inhabit this area to assist in hauling the solar bark, and they stay in their position and do not move with the sun god to the next hour's domain.

<sup>412</sup> All versions have *jn* except User, who has *dd-mdw jn*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 101.

<sup>413</sup> Hornung translates *d.t* as “west,” then in his comments to the text, he states that “what is meant here is the body not the west.” Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 101, n. 2.

<sup>414</sup> Darnell and Darnell translate the passage as “which is within the earth, in its bodily form, he who annihilates the enemies.” But it seems that the passage is to be understood differently from *jmy t3 m d.t=f* (it is an antonomasia of Re) since it is being emphasised by initiating the sentence and then resumed in the =*f* of *jmy t3 m d.t=f* (= subject of the sentence). I am indebted to Prof. Martin Stadler for this explanation.

*ḥtm.t<w> ḥfty.w=f n=k jmy jmn.t*

his enemies are annihilated for you, who is in the west,

*R<sup>c</sup> ḥtp=k jm=s*

O Re, that you might rest in it.

*<j><sup>c</sup>r=k<sup>415</sup> n p.t*

May you arise to the sky,

*m b3 ʿ3 ḥry-dp šḥm.w 3ḥ.t*


as a great *Ba*-soul, master of the powers of the horizon.

*st3.w=k ḥpr st3.w=k*

You are hauled, your hauling is successful!

*m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw=k dr<.w> ḥfty.w=k*

You are vindicated. Your enemies are driven off.”

The seven hauling goddesses of the bark (375.-381.) have neither attributes nor names. In ThIIIK, they are  *ntr.wt* “the goddesses.”<sup>416</sup>

### Doc. 96: Fifth hour, middle register, the red line above the seven towing goddesses, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 88 (5-6); Hornung, *TzA* II, 428-429; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 80, 1328-1330; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 160; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 181.



*ntr.wt st3.ywt R<sup>c</sup> m dw3.t <ḥr>*

The goddesses who haul Re in the netherworld <over>

*ḥrr.t tn jrr.t=sn pj st3 ntr pn ʿ3*

this cavern. What they do is to haul this great god,

*r ḥtp=f wj3=f*

so that he might rest (in) his bark

*jmy Nwn m dw3.t*

that is in the Nun in the netherworld.<sup>417</sup>

### Doc. 97: Fifth hour, middle register, text above the last five deities of the register, version of Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 89 (3-5); Hornung, *TzA* II, 431; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 80, 1343-1346; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 163; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 181.



*3s.t dj=s n=tn jmn.t*

Isis gives you<sup>418</sup> the west,<sup>419</sup>

*ḥtp=s ḥr=tn*

so that it might be at peace with you.

<sup>415</sup> Many passages in the Netherworld Books show that the verb *ḥr* refers to the upward movement. It could also play a role in the context of the solar activity, as in this case. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 111.

<sup>416</sup> Hornung, *TzA* II, 429.

<sup>417</sup> For Nun as the path of the solar bark, see e.g., 3.10.3.

<sup>418</sup> The last group of deities in the middle register.

<sup>419</sup> Allusion to the goddess *3s.t jmn.t* (386.).

ᶜᵇ n=j jr=t<n> m jr.w=tn<sup>420</sup>

Stand for me, you, in your visible forms,

r ᶜᵖ.t=j ḥr=tn m ḥtp

until I pass by you in peace.

**Doc. 98: Fifth hour, text in the path of the lower register, version of Amenhotep II**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 90 (5-6), 91 (1-2); Hornung, *TZA* II, 434, 436-437; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 80-82, 1362-1371; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 164; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 182.



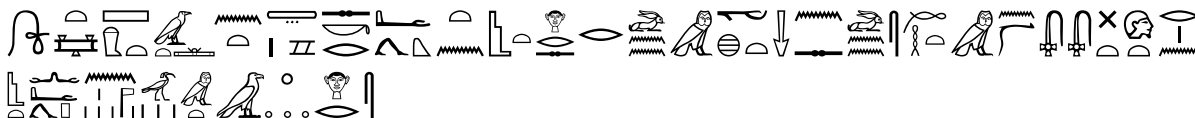
w3.t šṯ3<.t> n.t jmḥ.t šṯ3<.t> ntr pn<sup>421</sup> ḥr=s The mysterious path of Imhet on which this god is hauled.

wnn=s ḥr bw.t Nhs<sup>422</sup>

It contains the abomination of Nehes.<sup>423</sup>

rw.ty jmn.t

Gateway of the west.<sup>424</sup>



w3.t šṯ3.t<sup>425</sup> n.t t3-Skr

The mysterious path of the land of Sokar,

ᶜk.t.n 3s.t ḥr=s r wnn m-ḥt

upon which Isis has entered to be in the following

sn=s wnn=s mḥ.t<j> m ns<r.t>

of her brother.<sup>426</sup> It is full of flames


<n>.t sd.t dpy.t r3 n 3s.t

of fire being at the mouth of Isis.


n ᶜpj.n<sup>427</sup> n ntr.w 3ḥ.w mwt.w ḥr=s

The gods, the *Akb*-spirits, and the dead cannot traverse to it.<sup>428</sup>

<sup>420</sup> The reading of the whole passage is not certain. Rößler-Köhler proposes a new arrangement of the text: 3s.t jmn.t (386.) ḥtp=s ḥr=tn | ᶜᵇ<j>r=tn n=j r ᶜᵖj.t=j . . . Rößler-Köhler, in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 90. See also Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 80, n. 3.

<sup>421</sup> The enigmatic writing  seems to understand ntr pn as Sokar, not as the sun god. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 103. In the vicinity of the fifth hour, the term ntr pn ᶜ3 was used to refer to the sun god, and ntr pn refers to Sokar. Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 175.

<sup>422</sup> Literally “under the abomination of Nehes.”

<sup>423</sup> Nehes is not limited to Seth, but in the thirteenth Dynasty, it is also a nickname of another violent god, Sobek, written in Pap. Ram. VI, col. 72 as . Gardiner, in: RdE 11, 50, n. 9; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 103, n. 3.

<sup>424</sup> Refers to the door next to it which, unlike the right door, remains anonymous in all versions. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 103.

<sup>425</sup> Šṯ3.t “mysterious” or “inaccessible” is also the name of the sand road of the fourth hour. See Doc. 86, Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 103.

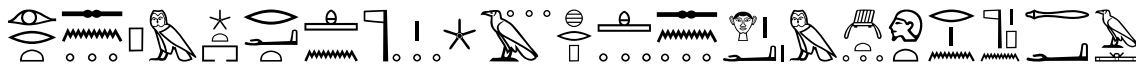
<sup>426</sup> By identifying with Osiris, Sokar becomes the “brother” of Isis. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 103.

<sup>427</sup> It is n ᶜk in Thutmosis III, ᶜ3<sup>ic</sup> ᶜᵖj in User, and n ᶜᵖᵖ.n in Merenptah and Ramesses III. For ᶜᵖj “to walk through a place/pass” in the Netherworld Books, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 52.

<sup>428</sup> Therefore, the gods, the *Akb*-spirits, and the dead cannot enter this cavern without the protection of Isis.

**Doc. 99: Sixth hour, text of the first scene in the upper register, version of Amenhotep II**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 100 (5-6); Hornung, *TZA* II, 469; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 90, 1510-1513; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 184; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 186.



*jrr.t=sn p<w> m dw3.t*

What they do in the netherworld

*rd<j>.t ḥtp n ntr.w dw3.ty.w*

is to give offerings to the netherworld gods.

*ḥrp ḥtp=sn ḥr-<sup>c</sup> m*

Their offerings present immediately as

*3w.t <m> dp.t-r3 n ntr pn 3*

victuals <due to> the speech of the great god.<sup>429</sup>

**Doc. 100: Sixth hour, upper register, text of the recumbent lion and Isis, version of Thutmose III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 103 (7-9); Hornung, *TZA* II, 477-478; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 92, 1559-1563; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 199; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 188.



*<n>{s}tr.t p<w> n.t R<sup>c</sup>*

It is the divine (eye) of Re.

*wnn=s m-ḥr.t K3-hmbm.t<sup>430</sup> m dw3.t*

It is above the “Bull of Roaring” in the netherworld.

*njm K3-hmbm.t ḥtp R<sup>c</sup>*

“Bull of Roaring” is pleased<sup>431</sup> when Re rests

*ḥr<sup>432</sup> ntr.t=f*

upon his divine (eye).

*wnn sšm.w n 3s.t-T3j.t*

The image of “Isis-Tait” is

*m-<sup>c</sup>rw<sup>433</sup> n ntr.t tn*

in the vicinity of this divine eye.

**Doc. 101: Sixth hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of Amenhotep II**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 106 (3-8); Hornung, *TZA* II, 485-488; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 96, 1609-1617; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 192-193; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 190.

<sup>429</sup> Literally, “On the tip of the tongue of the great god” expressing the “creative authoritative utterance” of the sun god. For parallels to creation through speech see Zandee, *Schöpferwort*, 33-66.

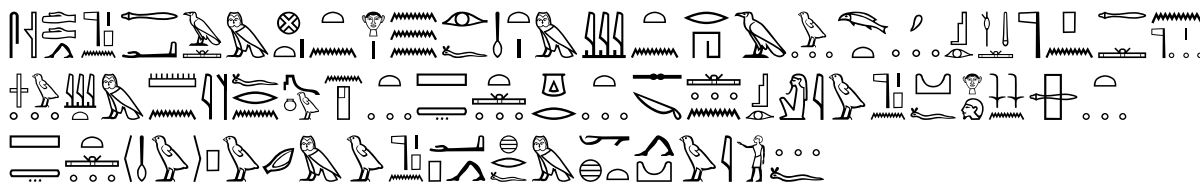
<sup>430</sup> For an alternative reading of *K3-hmbm.t* as “Lord of Roaring,” see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 229, n. 145 and references cited therein.

<sup>431</sup> The verb *njm* “to be (sexually) pleased” suggests a connection with the “bull of bulls” that utters a sound of sexual pleasure in the *Amduat*’s eighth hour. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 229, n. 144. The sounds of the eight hours’ caverns also provide a hint at the myth of the solar eye. See *ibid.*, 263.

<sup>432</sup> The stroke (Z1) oddly precedes the ideogram *ḥr* only in Thutmose III.

<sup>433</sup> For *m-<sup>c</sup>rw*, see *Wb* I, 41, 23.





*skdd ntr pn ʿ3 m nw.t tn hr mw*

This great god sails in this region upon the water,<sup>434</sup>

*jrj=f hp.t m sb.t tn*

as he set a rowing course through this field

*r h3w h3.t Wsjr*

in the vicinity of the corpse of Osiris.

*wd-mdw ntr pn ʿ3 n ntr.w jmy.w sb.t*

This great god issues commands to the gods who are in (this) field,

*mnj=f r nw n hw.wt št3.wt*

when he moors at these mysterious burials' enclosures<sup>435</sup>

*hry.wt šm.w n Wsjr*

that contain the images of Osiris.

*ju ntr pn dwj=f hr-dp nn n*

This great god calls out above

*hw.wt št3.wt<sup>436</sup>*

these mysterious burials' enclosures.

*<hrw><sup>437</sup> pw sdm.w ntr pn*

It is <the voice> that this great god hears,

*ʿpj.hr=f<sup>438</sup> m-bt dwj=f*

then he passes on, after he has called out.<sup>439</sup>

### Doc. 102: Sixth hour, middle register, text above the solar-Osirian body, version of Amenhotep II with reconstructions from Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 110 (9-10), 111 (1-2); Hornung, *TZA* II, 502-504; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 100, 1690-1697; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 200-201; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 192.



*h3.t Hpr<j><sup>440</sup> pw m juw=f ds<=f>*

It is the corpse of Khepri from his own flesh,

*ʿš3-hr.w m s33=s<sup>441</sup>*

“He of Many Faces” guards it.

<sup>434</sup> Tutankhamun begins: “Words spoken: You sail in your bark.” Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 116.

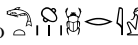
<sup>435</sup> Mostly referring to the burial chests of the upper register.

<sup>436</sup> On *hw.wt št3.wt* with *šm.w*, see Egberts, *Quest of Meaning*, 128, n. 13.

<sup>437</sup> It is *hrw* in all versions except in Amenhotep II and Tauseret who replaced it with *wd*. Certainly, *wd* is an error of the scribe(s) instead of the similar *hrw*.

<sup>438</sup> The verb is most commonly used to describe the movement of the sun god and those deities who traverse the underworld with him. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 155.

<sup>439</sup> Hornung also suggested: “It is the echo of his voice that follows him as he moves on.” Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 116, n. 6.

<sup>440</sup> See also  *h3.t Hprj* as a mummy with a scarab head in Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, 54, Taf. D. For the meaning of this scene and the different suggestions for the translation, see 3.6.2.

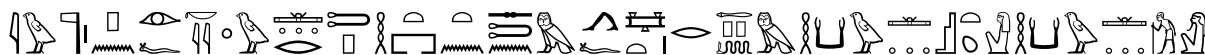
<sup>441</sup> Only Ramses VI correctly writes the suffix =s, while Thutmose III and User wrongly has *n*. Amenhotep II (and Seti I) wrongly omits the suffix.

wnn=f m sbr pn sd=f m r3=f  
 jrr.t=f p<w>{n}<sup>443</sup> dwn=f br ssm.w pn  
 w3j <br=f> n jmn.t mj-ḳd  
 jwtj jw.n=f n r s<.t nb.t><sup>444</sup> n.t dw3.t<sup>445</sup>  
 brw R<sup>c</sup> p<w> jw <r(?)> ssm.w jmy=f

He is in this manner: his tail in his mouth.<sup>442</sup>  
 What he does is stretch himself out underneath this  
 image.  
 The entire west comes <to him,>  
 without being able to go to any (other) place in the  
 netherworld.  
 The voice of Re is what comes <to> the image  
 which is in him.

### Doc. 103: Seventh hour, introductory text, version of Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 117 (6-7); Hornung, *TZA* II, 524-525; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 108, 1822-1824; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 138; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 217; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 195-196.

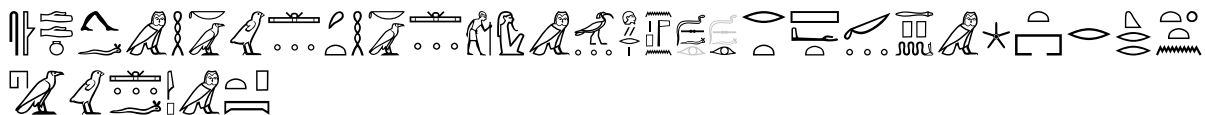


jw ntr pn jrj=f ky jr w r tpb.t<sup>446</sup> tn  
 stnm=f<sup>448</sup> w3.t r 3pp  
 m ḥk3.w 3s.t Ḥk3.w-smsw

This god assumes another form at this cavern.<sup>447</sup>  
 He might swerve the way from Apophis  
 through the magic of Isis and the Eldest Magician.

### Doc. 104: Seventh hour, introductory text, version of Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 118 (5-8); Hornung, *TZA* II, 528-529; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 108, 1834-1837; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 138; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 219; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 196.



skdd=f m ḥk3.w

He sails by means of the magic of

<sup>442</sup> The protective multi-headed serpent (see fig. 58).

<sup>443</sup> Only Thutmose III correctly writes *pw*. Amenhotep II, Seti I, and Ramses VI have *pn*, and the other witnesses are destroyed.

<sup>444</sup> For this formula and its variants, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 128-129, 151 f.

<sup>445</sup> This statement shows the stationary behaviour of beings who do not move from their assigned place - which, however, in no way indicates a general negative status of these gods and demons, who can very well have a positive role in the cosmic structure of existence. However, in some cases, enemies are also characterised using this form; in contrast to this, the sun god himself also behaves very few times in the sense of this mode of movement, namely when it comes to staying away from opponents. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 129.

<sup>446</sup> *Tpb.t* seems to mean a narrower space than *ḳrr.t* and also means the “shrine” of a god. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 125, 1. For more details, see Doc. 35.

<sup>447</sup> The new form of the sun god is his appearance being protected by Mehen, see 3.7.1.

<sup>448</sup> The verb *stnm* or *stnm* is often used with *w3.wt* or *mtn.w* “ways or roads” to express one of the many ways to protect a given area from an enemy. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 301, n. 95., see also *Wb* IV, 343, 6-15. For more variants, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 100.

3s.t Hk3.w-smsw

m 3h.w dpy r3

n ntr pn ds=fjrr.t<w> šc.t c3pp

m dw3.t r krr.t tn

h3w=f pj m p.t<sup>449</sup>

Isis and the Eldest Magician

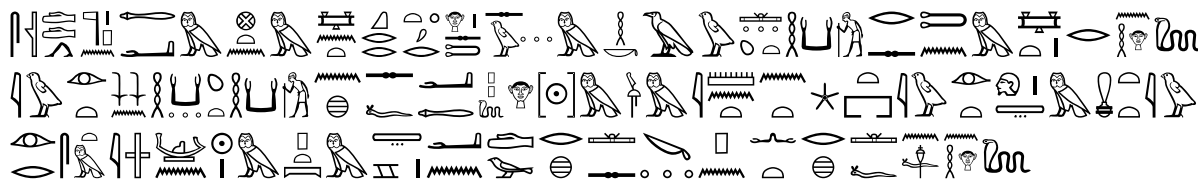
and by means of the effective (spells) which are in the mouth

of this god himself. The slaughter of Apophis is done in the netherworld at this cavern,

(but) his place is in the sky.

**Doc. 105: Seventh hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of Amenhotep II**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 122 (10) - 123 (1-5); Hornung, *TZA* II, 544-546; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 114, 1929-1939; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 139; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 2288-229; Backes, in: GM 252, 28; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 199.



škdd ntr pn c3 m nw.t tn

m w3.t n.t krr.t<sup>450</sup> Wsjr

hr sts.w<sup>451</sup> m hk3.w 3s.t

Hk3<.w>-smsw

r stnm w3.t r Np<3>-hr

jw jrj.t<w> nn n hk3.w 3s.t Hk3<.w>-smsw

This great god sails in this region

on the path of the cavern of Osiris,

during the defeat (of the enemy)<sup>452</sup> by the magic of Isis

and the Eldest Magician,

to turn away from “Horrible of Face.”

These spells of Isis and the Eldest Magician

<sup>449</sup> Hornung suggests that despite the “slaughtering” that has happened here, Apophis repeatedly meets the sun god during the day’s journey in the sky, which proves the omnipresence of the god’s enemy. Hornung, in: ZÄS 81, 32. Backes suggests that Hornung’s translation requires an adverbial sentence \*jw h3w=f m p.t “this is his place in the sky.” He interprets: “Either it is stated that the nocturnal area of the seventh hour is quite conceivable as an area in the sky, be it in the visible night sky or the invisible one. Here, the nocturnal underworld where the overcoming of Apophis occurred is presented as the equivalent of its overcoming in the daytime sky.” Backes, in: GM 252, 25. This interpretation seems appropriate because the removal of Apophis is a process of neutralisation, not a battle for elimination. Another fight occurs during the daytime. See pp. 135-136.

<sup>450</sup> Krr.t Wsjr instead of tph.t Wsjr in the introduction text, as a definition of the area of the seventh hour.

<sup>451</sup> Among the New Kingdom witnesses, hr st3.w “hauling” only exists in Thutmosis III. Hornung, followed by Wiebach-Koepke and Backes, translates it as “hauling.” Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 131; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 114, 1931; Backes, in: GM 252, 28. Manassa translates “defeating (of the enemies)” without giving any explanations for this translation. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 300. One would assume that the translation of Hornung and his supporters does not seem plausible since the bark in this area moves without hauling (see the next footnote). Furthermore, in Wb IV, 362, 11, sts is translated as “von erschlagenen Feinden, die rücklings daliegen,” and it may refer to the enemies of Osiris depicted in the upper register. See Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 199, n. 102.

<sup>452</sup> Here, the magic spells replace the hauling of the bark. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 132, 3. In the introductory text to the seventh hour, Re is said to sail “without hauling.” Hornung, *TZA* II, 528.

*n ḥsf*<sup>453</sup> *ᶜ3pp ḥr [Rᶜ]*  
*m jmn.t m jmn.t n.t dw3.t*  
*jw jrj.t<w> dp t3 m-mjt.t*  
*jw jrr.w st m jmy wj3 n Rᶜ*  
*m p.t m t3*  
*ᶜnd rh ssm.w pn*  
*jwtj rh=f n*  
*ḥsf Nḥ3-ḥr*<sup>455</sup>

are enacted to ward off Apophis from Re,<sup>454</sup>  
 in the west, in the hidden part of the netherworld.  
 It is performed on earth likewise.  
 Who performs it, is one within the bark of Re  
 in the sky and in the earth.  
 It is (only) the select who (can) know this image,  
 without the knowledge of which  
 “Horrible of Face” may not be repelled.

### Doc. 106: Seventh hour, middle register, text describes Apophis and his sandbank, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 124 (4-6); Hornung, *TzA* II, 548-550; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 114, 1958-1965; Kemboly, *Question of Evil*, 259-60; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 139-140; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 230-231; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 200.



*tṣ*<sup>456</sup> *nḥ3-ḥr*<sup>457</sup> *m dw3.t*  
*mḥ 440 <pw> m 3w.t=f*

The sandbank of “Horrible of Face” in the  
 netherworld,  
 <it is> 440 cubits in its length,

<sup>453</sup> The lexeme *ḥsf* essentially designates the form of action corresponding to the defence against enemy beings. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 167.

<sup>454</sup> The version in the tomb of Seti I and the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CGAE 29306) write “he is being sealed up” rather than “from Re.” Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 199, n. 103. The different versions are the result of the similarity between the *ḥtm*-seal and the *ḥr*-face in hieroglyphic writing. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 301.

<sup>455</sup> Hornung translates the sentence *ᶜnd rh ssm.w=pn jwtj rh=f n ḥsf Nḥ3-ḥr* “it requires little to know this image; he who does not know it cannot repel Horrible of Face.” But the construction of the sentence is that of substantive + active participle. Westendorf, *Grammatik*, § 297, 2b. Also, it is paralleled in the Short Amduat as *jn* + substantive + active participle. Hornung, *Das Amduat* III, 16 (line 177), 47. Wente interprets that “none of the versions of the passage in either the Long or Short Amduat give *n ḥsf=f Nḥ3-ḥr*, but simply *n ḥsf Nḥ3-ḥr*, so that the verb form must be parsed as passive *sḏm=f*,” not like the renderings of Hornung and others. Wente, in: JNES 41, 165, n. 31.

<sup>456</sup> The det. *z* of *tṣ* is missing here, sometimes it is *z* “sandbank, dry spot” (*Wb* V, 401 f.), so that there is no confusion with *tṣ* “vertebrae.” Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 132, 1. Cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramesses VI*, 281.

<sup>457</sup> *Nḥ3-ḥr* “Horrible of Face” probably alludes to the wrinkled skin of the serpent. He appears in the Coffin Texts with his gang *sm3j.t* as a demoniacal enemy of the gods. In contrast to his common epithet of Apophis and Seth, Nehaher appears as a protector of the netherworld and guardian of the blessed and damned. The Book of Caverns and a frieze of deities in one of the crypts in Dendera temple place Nehaher in the company of protective deities. Zandee, *Death*, 109; Chassinat and Dumas, *Dendera* 6, 91, 5; Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt*, 115; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 323. For positive and negative roles of Nehaher in the funerary literature, see El-Sayed, in: BIFAO 81, 119-140; Frandsen, in: GM 179, 9-34. For the root meaning of *nḥ3*, see Lloyd, in: JEA 61, 59-66; LGG IV, 271-272.

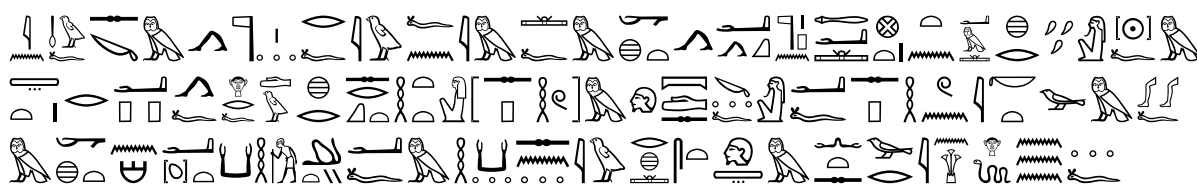
*j<w>=f mh=f sw m k3b.w=f*  
*jrj.{n.}t<w> <c>d>.t=f<sup>459</sup> r=f*  
*jwtj<sup>460</sup> ʿpp ntr pn ʿ3 hr=f*  
*st<n>m=f w3.t r=f r tph.t-Wsjr*  
  
*skdd ntr pn m nw.t tn*  
*m ssm.w n Mhn<sup>462</sup>*

and he fills it with his coils.<sup>458</sup>

His slaughter is made against him,  
 without this great god passing by him,  
 when he turns away from him at the cavern of  
 Osiris.<sup>461</sup>  
 This god passes along in this place  
 in the image<sup>462</sup> of the Mehen serpent.

### Doc. 107: Seventh hour, middle register, text above Apophis, version of Amenhotep II with reconstructions from User

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 125 (1-6); Hornung, *TZA* II, 551-554; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 116, 1973-81; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 232; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 200.



*jn hrw=f ssm<.w> ntr.w r=f*  
*jw=f njm=f<sup>464</sup> m-ht ʿk ntr pn ʿ3 nw.t tn*  
*ʿm.hr jwf [jtn]=f m t3*  
*r ʿpp=f hr=f*  
*wdj.hr Srk.t-htj.t*  
  
*[sphw]<sup>465</sup> m dp*  
*hry-ds.w=f wdj=f sphw*  
*njk.t m rd.wy=f<y>*

It is his voice that leads the gods against him.<sup>463</sup>

He moves after this great god has entered this region.  
 Then the flesh (of Re) swallows his [disc] in the earth  
 so that he might pass by him (Apophis).  
 Then “She who Lets Throats Breathe,” Selket,  
 throws  
 [the lasso] on (his) head,<sup>466</sup>  
 while “He who is above His Knives” places  
 the punishing lasso at his feet,

<sup>458</sup> That is how the sandbank was created, on which Apophis lies, waiting for the bark to obstruct it and stop the journey.

<sup>459</sup> Only a broken ʿn}d can be seen in all copies, Seti I has 𓏏. The short version of the seventh hour reads 𓏏 jr=tw ʿd.t=f jr=f “one makes his slaughter against him.” Hornung, *Das Amduat* III, 16, 183.

<sup>460</sup> For the construction of a *jwtj* sentence and its indications in the Amduat and the Book of Gates, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 128-130.

<sup>461</sup> The solar bark changes its course, so that Re does not need to move directly towards the dangerous serpent body until Apophis is rendered harmless. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 132, 5.

<sup>462</sup> Ramesses III writes: *skdd ntr pn ʿ3 Wsjr njsw.t nb t3.wy jrj-jh.t (wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-jmn)| s3 Wsjr nb hf.w (R<sup>c</sup>-mssw-hk3-jnw)|*.

<sup>463</sup> The roars of Apophis reveal his location to Re.

<sup>464</sup> The term *njm* does not refer to its original meaning in this context. It thus cannot apply to Apophis. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 108. Cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 133, 4.

<sup>465</sup> *Sph.w*, “lasso,” is missing from this position in all versions, except for User. See Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 133, 7.

<sup>466</sup> See the “fettering” of the god’s enemies in Doc. 42.

*m-ḥt nḥm 3s.t Ḥk3<.w>-smsw* after Isis and the Eldest Magician seize  
*pḥ.ty=f m ḥk3.w=sn* his strength by their magic.<sup>467</sup>  
*jw rḥ st dp t3* One who knows it<sup>468</sup> upon earth  
*m jwty swr Nḥ3-ḥr mw=f* is one whose water “Horrible of Face” will not drink.

**Doc. 108: Seventh hour, lower register, text of Horus of the Duat, version of Amenhotep II**  
 Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 128, (6-7); Hornung, *TZA* II, 563-564; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 118, 2026-2027; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 237; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 202.



*jrr.t=f p<w> m dw3.t* What he does in the netherworld  
*snḥp<sup>469</sup> sb3y.w jr<j>.t ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w<sup>470</sup> wnw.wt m* is to make the stars rise and set the positions of the  
*dw3.t* hours in the netherworld.

**Doc. 109: Seventh hour, lower register, speech of Horus of the Duat to the star gods, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 129, (1-3); Hornung, *TZA* II, 566-567; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 120, 2036-2040; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 238; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 202.



*ḥ<sup>c</sup>=tn r=tn n R<sup>c</sup> pn 3ḥ.ty* “You rise indeed before this Re of the horizon  
*jmy dw3.t r<sup>c</sup> nb* who is within the netherworld, every day.  
*<jw>=tn<sup>471</sup> {n} m-ḥt=f<sup>472</sup> sb3.w=tn dp.w-* You are in his following, while your stars are before  
*ḥ.wy=fy* him,  
*r ḥ<j>.t=j jmn.t nfr.t m ḥtp* until I have passed through the beautiful west in  
 peace.”

<sup>467</sup> Presumably, the punishing deities cannot face Apophis before restraining his power.

<sup>468</sup> “It” may refer to the magic formula of Isis and the Eldest Magician.

<sup>469</sup> This causative form of *nḥp* is attested only once in the Amduat. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 109.

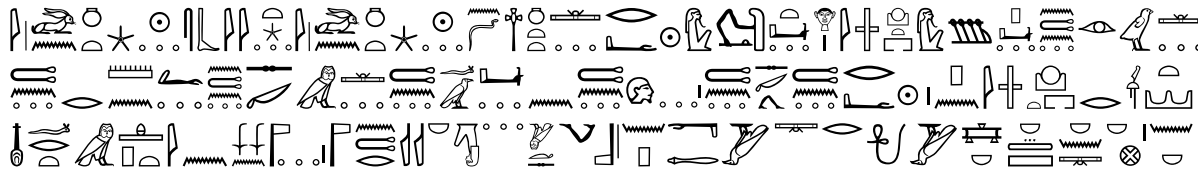
<sup>470</sup> On the meaning of *ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w*, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 135, 3.

<sup>471</sup> Rößler-Köhler reads it: *n(t)tn m-ḥt=f* in Gundlach and Seipel, eds., *Das frühe ägyptische Königtum*, 74, n. 9. For this dependent pronoun, see also Grapow, in: ZÄS 71, 48 ff.

<sup>472</sup> “Horus of the Duat” identifies himself with Re of the horizon, of whom he spoke in the third person, and at the same time clearly reveals himself as a manifestation of the sun god. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 136, 5.

**Doc. 110: Seventh hour, lower register, text of the goddesses of the hours, version of Thutmosis III**

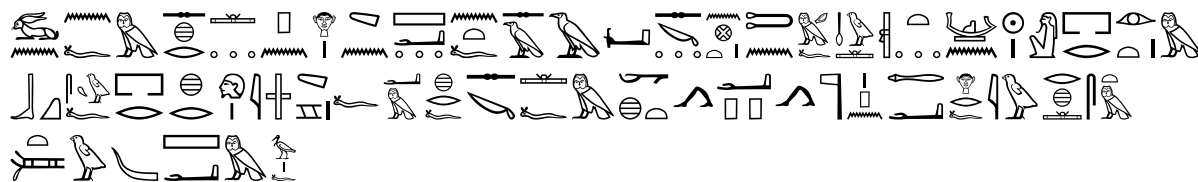
Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 130 (10)-131 (1-5); Hornung, *TZA* II, 572-575; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 120, 2064-2074; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 240; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 203.




<i>j</i> <sup>473</sup> <i>wnw.wt sb3.ywt j wnw.wt ndt.wt R<sup>c</sup></i>	O, star hours! O, hours who protect Re,
<i>ḥ3.wt hr</i> <sup>474</sup> <i>jmy 3ḥ.t</i> <sup>475</sup>	who fight on behalf of the one who is within the horizon!
<i>šsp.w n=tn jr.w.w=tn</i>	May you receive for yourselves your visible forms,
<i>rmnj.w n=tn šsm.w=tn</i> <sup>476</sup>	may you bear for yourselves your images,
<i>βj.w n=tn dp.w=tn</i>	and left up for yourselves your heads,
<i>šsm=tn R<sup>c</sup> pn jmy 3ḥ.t</i>	that you may guide this Re who is within the horizon
<i>r jmn.t nfr.t m ḥtp</i>	to the beautiful west in peace.
<i>jn nn n ntr.w ntry.wt šsm&lt;.w&gt; ntr pn 3</i>	These are the gods and goddesses who guide this great god
<i>r w3.t št3.t n.t nw.t tn</i>	to the mysterious path(s) of this region. <sup>477</sup>

**Doc. 111: Seventh hour, lower register, text of the crocodile perches on a sandbank, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 132 (9-10) - 133 (1-3); Hornung, *TZA* II, 577-581; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 122, 2092-2101; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 142; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 241; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 204.



<sup>473</sup> The particle *j* is written as  *ju* only in the sarcophagus of Ramesses III. See also the Late Period sarcophagi which used the latter orthography. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 308.

<sup>474</sup> For the term *ḥ3 hr*, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 60 (53).

<sup>475</sup> *Jmy 3ḥ.t* is mentioned as a surname of the sun god.

<sup>476</sup> All New Kingdom versions write *jr.w.w=tn* and *šsm.w=tn*, with the exception of Ramesses III, who omits the pronoun after the two nouns. The *t*-ending of the two words on the sarcophagus of Ramesses III is not present in any other New Kingdom copies. Hornung, *TZA* II, 573.

<sup>477</sup> The last sentence refers to all twenty-four deities of the second and third scenes in the lower register. In addition to its retrograde reading direction, the hieroglyph signs of this sentence in Thutmosis III's version are oddly inverted.

*wnn=f m šbr pn ḥr<sup>478</sup> jdb n š<sup>c</sup>y*

*ntf s33<.w> sšm.w n nw.t tn*

*sdm=f ḥrw js.t wj3 n R<sup>c</sup>*

*prj jr.t m bkš.w=f*

*prj.ḥr dp jmy jdb=f<sup>c</sup> m.ḥr=f<sup>479</sup>*

*sšm.w=f m-ḥt<sup>c</sup> pp ntr pn<sup>c</sup> 3 ḥr=f*

*jw rb<.w> st m*

*tm.w<sup>481</sup> bš<sup>c</sup> m b3=f*

He is in this manner upon the sandbank.

It is he who guards the image of this region.

When he hears the voice of the crew of the bark of Re,

the eye emerges from his vertebra.

Then the head that is within his bank emerges, then he swallows

his image after this great god passes by him.<sup>480</sup>

He who knows it is one

whose *Ba*-soul the crocodile will not swallow.

### Doc. 112: Eighth hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 141 (6-7); Hornung, *TzA* II, 606; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 128, 2218-2220; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 204; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 258-259; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 207.



*škdd ntr pn m nw.t tn*

*m st3.w ntr.w dw3.ty.w*

*m sšm.w=f št3 n Mḥn*

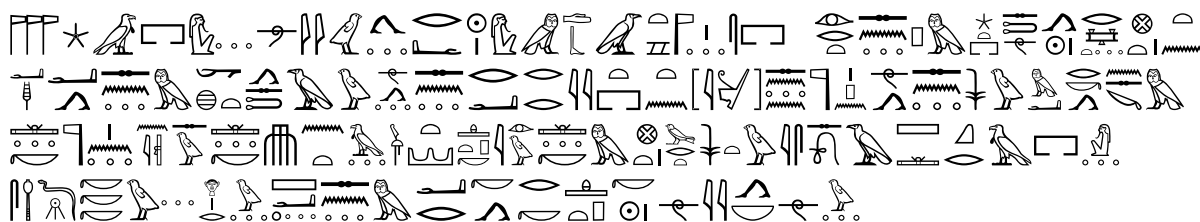
This god sails in this region,

being hauled by the gods of the netherworld,

in his mysterious image of the Mehen serpent.<sup>482</sup>

### Doc. 113: Eighth hour, middle register, text of the hauling crew, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 142 (11), 143 (2-8); Hornung, *TzA* II, 610-614; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 130, 2246-2257; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 260-261; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 208.



*ntr.w dw3.ty.w st3y.w R<sup>c</sup>*

The gods of the netherworld who haul Re

<sup>478</sup> Amenhotep II, Seti I, and Tauseret omit the preposition *ḥr*. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 138, 1. For the grammatical construction of this text, see Seele, in: JNES 8, 359-364.

<sup>479</sup> For the structure *prj* ↔ *ḥm*, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 198.

<sup>480</sup> After the sun god moves on the pictures of the eye and the head of Osiris, he become invisible again. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 138, 5.

<sup>481</sup> For the presence of the nominal subject between the verb *tm* and its negative complement, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 310 with note 143.

<sup>482</sup> The new form which the sun god assumes in the seventh hour (see Doc. 103).



*m db3.t ntr.w=s*<sup>483</sup>  
*jrr.t=sn p<w> m dw3.t*  
*st3 R<sup>c</sup> r w3.wt nw.t tn*  
*ḥ<sup>c</sup>=sn m-ḥt st3.w=sn r ḥrry.t tn*  
*[j.n]<sup>486</sup>=sn n ntr pn st3=sn sw*  
*mj rk n šm.w=k ntr=n*  
*n jsj.w=k<sup>487</sup> ḥnty.w jmn.t*  
  
*ḥtp=k jr.w=k m nw.t wr.t*<sup>488</sup>  
  
*swt js sw3<sup>y</sup>*<sup>489</sup> *krty.w*  
*šbd=k kkw*  
*ḥry.w š<sup>c</sup>y=sn*  
*mj rk r=k<sup>490</sup> ḥtp=k*  
*R<sup>c</sup> st3y nb st3.w*

in the “Sarcophagus of its Gods.”<sup>484</sup>

It is what they do in the netherworld:

haul Re to the paths of this region.

They halt<sup>485</sup> after they have hauled to this portal.

They [say] to this god when they haul him:

“Come to your images, O our god,

(and to) your “those who belong to the tomb,”

(those) foremost of the west,

so that you might rest in your forms in the great place.

Then, indeed, the cavern dwellers exalt (you),

when you illuminate the darkness

of those who are upon their sand.

Come, indeed, to yourself, that you might rest,


Re, hauled one, Lord of Hauling!”

<sup>483</sup> *Db3.t ntr.w=s* refers to the region *nw.t* of this hour. See the introductory text (Hornung, *TzA* II, 583). Starting from *jrr.t=sn p(w)*, the text is in non-retrograde hieroglyphs.

<sup>484</sup> The translation of *db3.t* as “sarcophagus” is interpreted by Hornung (Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 141). For the meaning of the word in the funerary texts, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 253.


<sup>485</sup> They haul the sun god along the roads of this region, and they stop after carrying him to the gateway of the eighth hour. They do not move with him to the next locale. However, this hauling illuminates the darkness of the caverns, causes the cavern-dwellers to give adoration, and brings the sun god to the following hour’s area.

<sup>486</sup> Most of the New Kingdom versions omit a verb before the pronoun =*sn*, except for the sarcophagus of Ramesses III which omits the pronoun and writes *j.n ntr pn*. Hornung, *TzA* II, 612.

<sup>487</sup> *Jsj.w* presumably refers to the *šm*-signs preceding the solar bark. Darnell and Darnell translate this word once as “crew” and once as *jsj.w*-signs without giving any explanation. Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 208, n. 110, 209. Hornung suggests the translation „die zum Grab Gehörigen.“ Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 146, 3; id., *Uwb*, 147. Moreover, in the sarcophagi of Nectanebo II and Tjaihorpata, although the word *js.t* is not legible in the two sources, Manassa reads them: *mj rk n šm=k ntr=n js.t=k ḥnt.yw jmn.tyw* “come to your images our god, (and to) your crew, those foremost of the west.” Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 257; *ibid.*, pl. 185B, 229. I have no clue to suggest except for the mutual sign  (M40) between *js* “tomb” and *js.t* “crew.” See e.g., Doc. 111. The same appellation is also assigned to the *šms*-signs. See the next document.

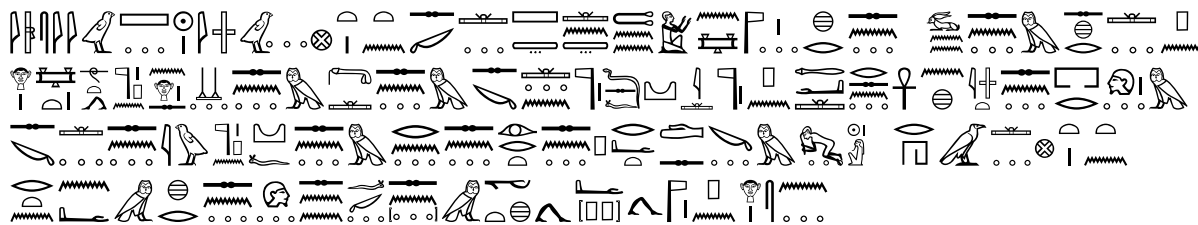
<sup>488</sup> *Nw.t wr.t* is also the name of the netherworld in the Book of the Dead. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 36, 29.

<sup>489</sup> *Sw3<sup>y</sup>* appears to have an implication of “applause,” “respectful approbation” or “pay honour to” seem adequate as translations of *sw3<sup>y</sup>*. Gardiner, in: JEA 39, 18 (x).

<sup>490</sup> The second  can only be a preposition with the suffix referring to the manifestations of the sun god. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 146, 7.

**Doc. 114: Eighth hour, middle register, text above the šms-signs, version of Thutmosis III with reconstructions from Amenhotep II**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 144 (2-10); Hornung, *TZA* II, 614-618; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 132, 2262-2278; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 262-263; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 209.<sup>491</sup>



*jsy.w*<sup>492</sup> *R<sup>c</sup> jmy.w nw.t tn*

“Those who belong to the tomb” of Re who are in this region.

*ššm.w št3<.w> n T3-tnn jmn.n Hr ntr.w  
hr=sn*

Mysterious images<sup>493</sup> of Tatenen where Horus hid the gods.

*wnn=sn m šbr pn hr w3.t st3.t ntr pn hr=s*

They are in this manner on the path upon which this god is hauled.

*mnḥ.t=sn m-b3ḥ=sn*

Their clothing is before them

*m ššm.w n ntr ds=f*

as images of the god himself.

*ḏwj ntr pn ʿ3 r=sn*

It is when this great god calls to them

*ʿnḥ jmy.t=sn*

that what is in them becomes alive,

*prj dp.w m ššm.w=sn*

and the heads emerge from their images.

*jw ntr pn ḏwj=f n=sn m rn.w=sn*

This god calls them by their names.

*jrr.t=sn p<w> rd<j>.t ds.w m ḥfty.w R<sup>c</sup>*

What they do: plant knives into the enemies of Re in the vicinity of this region to which they fight off (the enemies).<sup>494</sup>

*r ḥ3w nw.t tn <d>r.t=sn*

Then they swallow their heads and their knives,

*ʿm.ḥr=sn dp.w=sn sf.w*<sup>495</sup>*=sn*

after this god pa[sses] over them.<sup>496</sup>

*m-ḥt ʿ[pp] ntr pn ḥr=sn*

<sup>491</sup> The text in Thutmosis III's version varies between the retrograde and non-retrograde system.

<sup>492</sup> Every witness has a different determinative for this word (Hornung, *TZA* II, 614). Presumably, all determinatives indicate a meaning of place or a region in the Duat.

<sup>493</sup> For the mysterious images and their compatibility with the nature of the Amduat, see Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 44-45; Eschweiler, *Bildzauber*, 190-194.

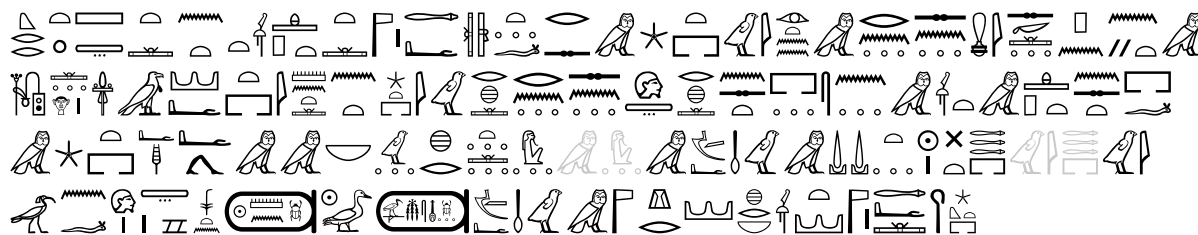
<sup>494</sup> The šms-signs accompany the sun god in this hour and in the last eight hours (see 3.8.2). However, it is clear that they fight and defeat the sun god's enemies in the vicinity of this hour.

<sup>495</sup> *Nfw*<sup>stc</sup>=*sn* in all versions (Hornung, *TZA* II, 617). Further references to *sfw* are in the second hour (id., *TZA* II, 248 f.) and eleventh hour (id., *TZA* III, 785). Furthermore, this writing is probably due to the similar forms of *s* and *n* in Hieratic. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 132, n. 1.

<sup>496</sup> As with the hauling crew of the solar bark, they do not travel with the sun god to the next hour. They carry out their function of annihilating enemies in the vicinity of this region. Then they conceal their respective heads and knives after the sun god passes by them.

**Doc. 115: Ninth hour, introductory text, version of Thutmose III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 154 (2-7); Sadek, *Contribution*, 233; Hornung, *TZA* III, 650-653; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 140, 2425-2434; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 149-150; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 280-281; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 213.



*ḳrr.t šṯ3.t n.t jmn.t*

The mysterious cavern of the west

*ḥtp.t ntr ʿ3 js.t=f r=s m dw3.t*

where the great god and his crew rest in the netherworld.

*jw jrj.t<w> nn m rn.w=sn*

These are done with their names

*mj sšm.w pn nty m sš*

like this image which is a painting

*ḥr j3btj.w ʿ.t-jmn.t<sup>497</sup> n.t dw3.t<sup>498</sup>*

on the eastern side of the hidden chamber of the netherworld.

*jw rḥ<.w> rn.w=sn dp t3*

The one who knows their names upon earth

*rḥ<.w> ns.w.t=sn m jmn.t*

and who knows their seats in the west

*m ḥtp<.w> ns.t=f m dw3.t*

is one who occupies his throne in the netherworld.

*ḥʿ<.w> m-m nb.w-ḥr.t<sup>499</sup> m*

One who stands among the “lords of provisions,” as one

*m3ʿ-ḥrw m d3d3.t Rʿ ḥsb.t ʿ3.w*

justified by the council of Re who reckons the differences.<sup>500</sup>

*jw 3ḥ n=f dp t3*

It is effective for him on earth.

*njs.w.t (Mn-ḥpr-Rʿ) | s3 Rʿ*

(For) the king (Menkheperre), son of Re,

*(Dḥwtj-msj<.w>-nfr-ḥpr.w) | m3ʿ-ḥrw*

(Thutmose Neferkheperu), the justified,

*m ḥr.t-ntr ḥr nb jmn.t*

in the necropolis of the lord of the west,

*ntr ʿ3 ḥk3 dw3.t*

the great god, ruler of the netherworld.

<sup>497</sup> On the meaning of ʿ.t-jmn.t, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 3 and the references cited therein.

<sup>498</sup> However, User and Thutmose III did not follow the description of the text; the ninth hour is on the north wall in both tombs, as the east wall did not provide enough space for the four hours. Only in the case of Amenhotep II is the east wall wide enough to accommodate the last four hours. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 154, n. 10.

<sup>499</sup> On the term nb.w-ḥr.t and its derivatives, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 102, n. 5.

<sup>500</sup> For the translation of this phrase, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 154, n. 12. The alternative reading, “Gerichtshof am Tage des Berechnens der Differenz” is also plausible. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 141, 2433. On the background and meaning of ḥsb.t ʿ3w, see Willems, *Chests of Life*, 148-150.



ntsn dd.w mw m mjḥw.w=sn<sup>506</sup>

n 3ḥ.w jmy.w nw.t tn

ḥkn.yw n nb jtn<sup>507</sup>

ntsn šḥ<.w> b3 m jr w=f<sup>508</sup>

m md.w=sn št3 r<sup>c</sup> nb

They are those who give water with their oars  
to the *Akb*-spirits who are in this region,  
those who praise the lord of the sun disc.

They are those who cause the *Ba*-soul to shine in  
his visible form<sup>509</sup>  
by their mysterious words, every day.

**Doc. 118: Tenth hour, upper register, text of the scarab beetle, version of Thutmosis III with reconstructions from Amenhotep II**

Piankoff, in: ASAE 49, 140; Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 168 (8-9); Sadek, *Contribution*, 250; Hornung, *TZA* III, 704-705; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 152, 2661-2664; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 180; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 303; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 219.



wnn=sn m šḥ[r] pn m dw3.t

m jr w.w ms.wt<sup>510</sup> Ḥprj

ḥj=f nw.t=f r nw.t tn


r pr<j>.t m-ḥt r<sup>512</sup> 3ḥ.t j3bt.t n.t p.t


They are in this manner in the netherworld  
as visible forms that Khepri bore.<sup>511</sup>

He is lifting his oval at this region,  
to go forth afterwards to the eastern horizon of the  
sky.<sup>513</sup>

**Doc. 119: Tenth hour, middle register, text above the solar bark, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 172 (7-9); Sadek, *Contribution*, 254; Hornung, *TZA* III, 717-719; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 156, 2741-2746; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 310-311; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 222.

<sup>506</sup> User still shows  of the older spelling *m<sup>c</sup>wḥw* for “rudder,” while the other versions have the spelling *mjḥw.w* which was common since the Middle Kingdom. *Wb* II 46, 14; Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 157, n. 4.

<sup>507</sup>  *nb-jtn*. Re as “lord of the sun disc” also appears in the third hour. Hornung, *TZA* I, 323. For the epithets and titles of the sun god in the Netherworld Books, see Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen*, 24-27.

<sup>508</sup> The iconographical evidence is very compatible with the description in the text, “the appearance of the sun god’s *Ba* through the *jr w*-visible form of the sun (*jtn*),” since the *Ba* of the sun god, a ram-headed bird, often appears within a solar disc in the Netherworld Books. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 272.

<sup>509</sup> Re = Osiris in his various subterranean manifestations. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 157, n. 6.

<sup>510</sup> *M jr w.w msj<.w> Ḥprj* in Amenhotep II. According to *Wb* II 141, 14: *ms.wt* is to be seen as parallel to *ḥpr.w* as a form of a god. It seems that the text intentionally avoids the term *ḥpr.w*; *ms.wt* does not undergo the transformation like *ḥpr.w*, so it is not dynamic but rather static. Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, 178, n. 542.

<sup>511</sup> Here in the tenth hour, the scarab and his oval are children of Khepri. I.e., the oval lifted by the scarab is a representation of the solar journey and a figurative image of the entire Duat. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 343-344.

<sup>512</sup> *M-ḥt R<sup>c</sup>sic* in User.

<sup>513</sup> The last sentence confirms Khepri’s presence with the sun god in the night-time hours of the Duat.



*skdd ntr pn ʿ3 m nw.t tn*  
*m šbr pn m wjʒ=f*  
*js.t=f n.t ntr.w ḥnj=sn sw*  
*ḥtp ntr.w jmy.w nw.t tn m mw*  
*jmy.w mjwḥ.w=sn<sup>514</sup> srk=sn*  
*m ḥrw jḥjḥ<sup>515</sup> n js.t tn ntr.w*

This great god sails in this region  
 in this manner in his bark  
 while his crew of gods row him.  
 The gods who are in this place rest in the water,  
 where their oars are located. They breathe  
 through the sound of the splashing of this divine  
 crew.

### Doc. 120: Tenth hour, middle register, text of the armed crew, version of Thutmosis III with reconstructions from User

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 174 (8-10), 175 (1-5); Sadek, *Contribution*, 257; Hornung, *TZA* III, 725-730; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 160-161, 2787-2802; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 313-315; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 223-224.



*wnn=sn m šbr pn ḥr šsr.w=sn*  
*[ḥr ʿbb.wt=sn] ḥr pd.wt=sn*  
*m ḥ3.t ntr pn ʿ3 prj=sn ḥr=f*  
*ḥ3.t j3bt.t [n.t] p.t jn n=sn ntr pn ʿ3*  
*ḥ3ḥ<sup>517</sup> n šsr.w=sn spd n ʿbb.wt=tn*

They are in this manner bearing their arrows,  
 [bearing their spears,] and their bows<sup>516</sup>  
 in front of this great god. They go forth with him to  
 the eastern horizon [of] the sky. This great god says  
 to them:  
 “Speed be to your arrows, sharpness be to your  
 spears,

<sup>514</sup> They are the “floating ones” who are also in the fifth hour, swimming in the path of the solar bark. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 166.

<sup>515</sup> On the meaning of *ḥrw jḥjḥ*, see Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 166.

<sup>516</sup> Literally, “are under.” The description of the three groups of gods again follows the order in which they appear. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 168, n. 2.

<sup>517</sup> According to Wiebach-Koepke, the text refers only to the weapons of the sun god’s bodyguards used against his enemy; the passage thus gives no information about the deities’ mode of movement (Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 99). However, the preceding and following phrases clearly state that they follow the sun god to the eastern portal, and they belong to his entourage.

*pd n šmr.wt=tn njk=tn n=j*

*ḥfty.w=j jmy.w kkw r rw.ty*

*ʒḥ.t tn n=j m-ḥt=j*

*ḥtp=j nn.t wʒš jwf=j*

*m m<sup>c</sup>ndy.t ntsn ḥsf<.w> sbj*

*nḥʒ-ḥr m kkw-smʒ.w<j>*

*n<sup>c</sup>pp ntr pn<sup>c</sup> m<sup>c</sup>rry.t jʒbt.t*

*n ʒḥ.t<sup>c</sup>pp=sn ḥr ntr pn m-ḥt*

spanning be to your bows,<sup>518</sup> that you may punish for me

my enemies who are in the darkness at the gateway of the horizon.<sup>519</sup> You belong to me, in my following, when I rest in the nether sky,<sup>520</sup> when my flesh is strong

in the day bark.” It is they who repel the rebel

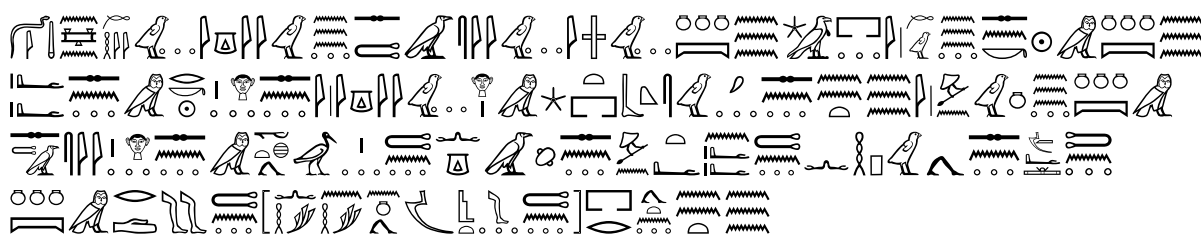
“Horrible of Face” in the unified darkness,

so that this great god shall pass into the eastern portal

of the horizon and so that they shall pass with this great god afterwards.

### Doc. 121: Tenth hour, lower register, text of the floating ones, version of Thutmose III with reconstructions from Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, 176 (5-9), 177 (1-2); Sadek, *Contribution*, 259; Hornung, *TZA III*, 732-735; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe II*, 160, 162, 2821-2836; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 316-318; Quack, *Tod im Nil*, 409; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 224.



*dd-mdw jn Hr n mḥy.w*

*jgy.w stʒs.yw<sup>521</sup> jmy.w Nwn*

*dwʒ.ty.w j mḥw.w*

*snk<.w> m Nwn<sup>c</sup>.wy=sn m-rk*

*ḥr.w=sn j jgy.w ḥr m dwʒ.t*

*bḥs.w=sn n n.t*

Words spoken by Horus to the drowned,

the capsized, the outstretched ones who are in the Nun.

Namely, those who are in the netherworld: “O drowned ones

who have sunk in the Nun, whose arms are in the vicinity of

their faces. O you with the upturned faces in the netherworld,

whose vertebrae belong to the floodwater.

<sup>518</sup> Arrows, spears, and bows are the weapons which this armed crew carries in the vignettes of this hour.

<sup>519</sup> I.e., in the darkness which encloses the actual Duat. In the first hour, the horizon’s gate was closed immediately after the entry of the sun god, in order to not let in the enemies who were also outside of the horizon. Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 168, n. 7.

<sup>520</sup> This occurs at sunset (Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 168, n. 8), another indication that this group of deities starts the journey with the sun god.

<sup>521</sup> For *mḥw.w*, *jgy.w* and *stʒs.yw*, see Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 169-170.

*j ḥnw.w Nwn m st̄s.yw*

O those who row through Nun as outstretched ones,<sup>522</sup>

*ḥr.w=sn m-ḥt b̄s.w=sn*

whose faces are in the following of their *Ba*-souls.

*t̄s.w n b̄s=tn n ḡs.w=sn*

Breath be to your *Ba*-souls, that they do not constrict.

*ḥn<j>.t n ʿ.wy=tn n ḥpw=sn*

Rowing be for your arms, so that they are not turned back.

*m̄sʿ=tn<sup>523</sup> Nwn m rd.wj=tn*

May you travel the Nun rightly with your legs,

[*n ḥnḥn m̄s.wt=tn*]

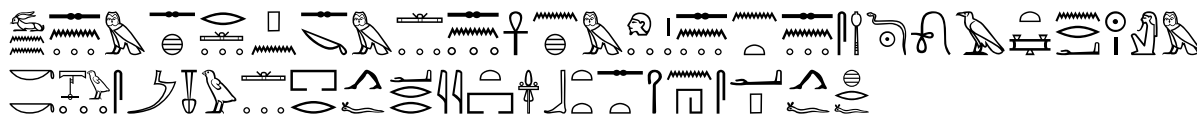
[so that your knees are not hindered].

*prj=tn n n.t*

May you go forth into the floodwater.”

### Doc. 122: Tenth hour, lower register, text of the last scene, version of Amenhotep II

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 178 (2-4); Sadek, *Contribution*, 259; Hornung, *TZA* III, 740-742; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 162, 2856-2860; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 320; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 225.



*wnn=sn m ḥbr pn s̄sm.w=sn ʿnḥ<.w>*

They are in this manner, their living images

*m dp.w=sn ntsn ḥd<.w> w̄s.t n Rʿ*

on their heads. It is they who illuminate the way for Re

*m kkw-sm̄s.w<j> prj=f<r><sup>524</sup>*

in the unified darkness when he goes forth (through)

*ʿrry.t j̄bt.t <m>s.t-Nhs<sup>525</sup> ʿpj=f ḥr=f*

the eastern portal. The sceptre of Nehes passes with him (Re).

### Doc. 123: Eleventh hour, introductory text, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 179 (8-9), 180 (1-2); Sadek, *Contribution*, 262; Hornung, *TZA* III, 745-748; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 164, 2878-2858; Hegenbarth, *Raum der Zeit*, 155-156; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 327-328; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 225-26.

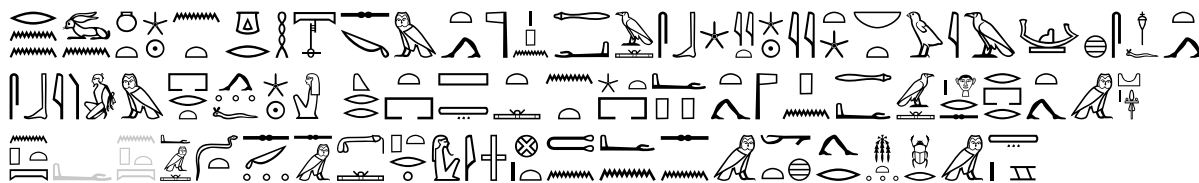
<sup>522</sup> They row to cross the Nun's waters and help the sun god in navigating his bark (see 3.10.3).

<sup>523</sup> For *m̄sʿ* as “knowing the roads,” see *Wb* II, 22, 13. Compare also *m̄sʿ* “to lead properly” in 3.1.1. See also the sun god himself as *m̄sʿ-w̄s.wt* “Straightener-of-Paths” in catalog of sources, footnote 545.

<sup>524</sup> Here, the preposition *r* after *prj=f* is omitted because of the double *r* in *ʿrry.t*. It is not yet meant that he is going out “from” the eastern gate. Firstly, the sun god must find his way in order to go through the eastern horizon. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 171, n. 1.

<sup>525</sup> The sceptre with the head of Seth. The scholars before Hornung follow the model of Maspero and read this name as *Stḥ-nhs* “the watchful Seth.” According to Hornung, while the spelling is quite common for the shortened (is this what is meant here?) forms, it would be unique in the Amduat as the *ms.t* staff is presented. The representation of Seth's head also referred to as *nhs* merely signifies a god which one did not like to mention directly by name, and Nehes is the actually intended one. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 172. Cf. *LGG* IV, 267-268.





rn n wnw.t n.t grḥ sšm.t

ntr pn ʿ3 sb3y.t<sup>526</sup> nb.t wj3

bsf.t sbj m pr<j>.t=f

ḳrr.t šṯ3.t<sup>527</sup> n.t dw3.t

ʿpp.t ntr pn ʿ3 ḥr=s

r pr<j>.t m dw j3b<.ty> n p.t

ʿm d.t sšm.w=s m b3ḥ ptr<j>

jmy nw.t tn dj=s sn m-ḥt

r msw.t Ḥprj<sup>530</sup> m t3

The name of the hour of the night that guides  
this great god is “Starry One, Mistress of the Bark,”  
who repels the rebels during his appearance.

The mysterious cavern of the netherworld  
through which this great god passes  
to go forth from the eastern mountain of the sky.

The *d.t*-time<sup>528</sup> swallows<sup>529</sup> its images in the  
presence of the Seer  
who is in this region, and returns them afterwards  
at the birth of Khepri in the earth.<sup>531</sup>

**Doc. 124: Eleventh hour, upper register, text of the time goddess, version of Thutmose III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 181 (7-8); Sadek, *Contribution*, 264; Hornung, *TZA* III, 753-754; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 166, 2915-2919; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 210; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 332; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 227.<sup>532</sup>



d.t=s ds=s wnn=s m ḥry.t

šd-wnw.wt

Her own body. She exists atop

(the serpent) “He Who Rescues the Hours.”<sup>533</sup>

<sup>526</sup> The name of the eleventh hour was abbreviated as *sb3y.t* in the upper register of the first hour, see no. (41).

<sup>527</sup> From *ḳrr.t šṯ3.t* onwards, the text is written in retrograde.

<sup>528</sup> The name of the seated goddess on a serpent in the upper register. *Wb* V, 503, 9.

<sup>529</sup> For the protective nature of swallowing, see Manassa, in: *RdE* 57, 121-122.

<sup>530</sup> In all versions, Khepri is written phonetically without determinative.

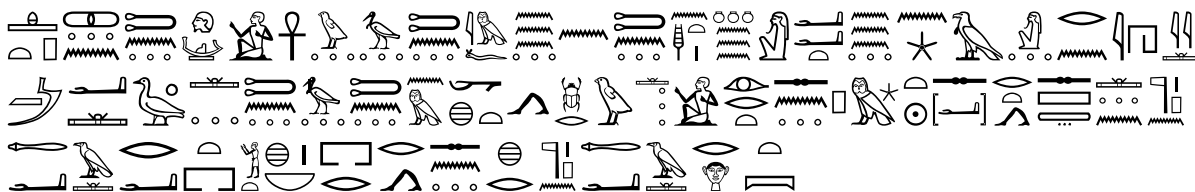
<sup>531</sup> The “tangled” stars in front of the goddess become visible again at the birth of Khepri. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 175, n. 11.

<sup>532</sup> This text is written in the row-retrograde system in all New Kingdom versions except for Seti I.

<sup>533</sup> For this reading, see Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 354. The reading of the serpent’s name as “He Who Takes the Hours” is interpreted by Hornung, who considers that the name could refer to the action of “swallowing” which is repeated here and in the introductory text. The eleven stars appear to be the eleven previous night-time hours that come out of the serpent and are “swallowed up” again by the goddess. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 176. See also the birth of the hours from a serpent in the upper register of the eighth hour of the Book of Gates, where a giant serpent called *ʿm msj wn.wt* “The swallower that gives birth to the hours.” See Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* II, 195. Also, according to Manassa, in the middle register of the fourth hour of the same book, “the description of the hour-goddesses “swallowing” the hours could also be a type of rebirth.” Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 62. Another interpretation about the devouring of hours in Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 211, n. 351.

<i>jrr.t=s p&lt;w&gt; ʿnb &lt;m&gt; hrw<sup>534</sup> R<sup>c</sup> r<sup>c</sup> nb</i>	What she does is live through the voice of Re every day.
<i>ʿm=s ššm.w=s r nw.t tn</i>	She swallows her images at this region. <sup>535</sup>
<i>wnw.t 11<sup>536</sup> p&lt;w&gt; w<sup>c</sup>.t m ḥtw ntr</i>	It is the 11th hour, the first in the following of the god.

**Doc. 125: Eleventh hour, upper register, text of the twelve gods, version of Amenhotep II**  
Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 182 (5-9), 183 (1); Sadek, *Contribution*, 265; Hornung, *TzA* III, 756-759; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 166, 2937-2945; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 334-335; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 227-228.



<i>ḥtp.w n=tn dp&lt;y&gt;.w wj3=j</i>	The offerings that are on my bark be to you,
<i>ʿnb.w b3.w=tn jm=f</i>	On which your <i>Ba</i> -souls may live therein.
<i>mw n=tn n ʿḥ<sup>c</sup>.t<sup>537</sup> Nwn</i>	Water be to you from the high point of Nun,
<i>dd.t mw n dw3.ty.w r=&lt;s&gt;<sup>538</sup></i>	at which water is given to those of the netherworld.
<i>jhy m3<sup>c</sup> jrj.w=tn</i>	Hail, may your visible forms be proper!
<i>b3.w=tn n m-ḥt ḥpr.w=j</i>	May your <i>Ba</i> -souls be in the following of my manifestations.
<i>jrr.t=sn p&lt;w&gt; m dw3.t</i>	What they do in the netherworld
<i>s[<sup>c</sup>]r.t sst3 n ntr pn ʿ3</i>	is to cause the approaching of the mysterious of this great god
<i>r ʿ.t jmn.t r<sup>c</sup> nb</i>	to the hidden chamber every day.
<i>prr=sn ḥr ntr pn ʿ3 r ḥr.t</i>	They shall go forth with this great god to the heaven.

**Doc. 126: Eleventh hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of Thutmose III**  
Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 184 (8-9), 185 (1); Sadek, *Contribution*, 267; Hornung, *TzA* III, 764-766; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 168, 2984-2990; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 338-339; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 229.

<sup>534</sup> The sign for *hrw* appears as  in Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. The other versions have the normal sign . Only Ramesses VI has .

<sup>535</sup> The stars in front of her, see also the introductory text above.

<sup>536</sup> In the correct copies, there are eleven stars in front of the seated goddess, which correspond to the hours of the night that have already elapsed. The number is reduced to ten in some versions. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 175, 176, n. 4; id., *Die Nachtfahrt*, 174 f.

<sup>537</sup> The blessed dead drink from the overflowing water. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 176.

<sup>538</sup> Amenhotep II writes *r=n*, but that's a mistake for *r=s*.



škd̄d ntr pn ʿ3 m nw.t tn m šbr pn

js.t=f n.t ntr.w ḥnj=sn sw r

ʒḥ.t ʒḥt.t n.t p.t ps̄d.t<sup>540</sup>

dp<y>.t wjḥ šsm=s ntr pn ʿ3 r

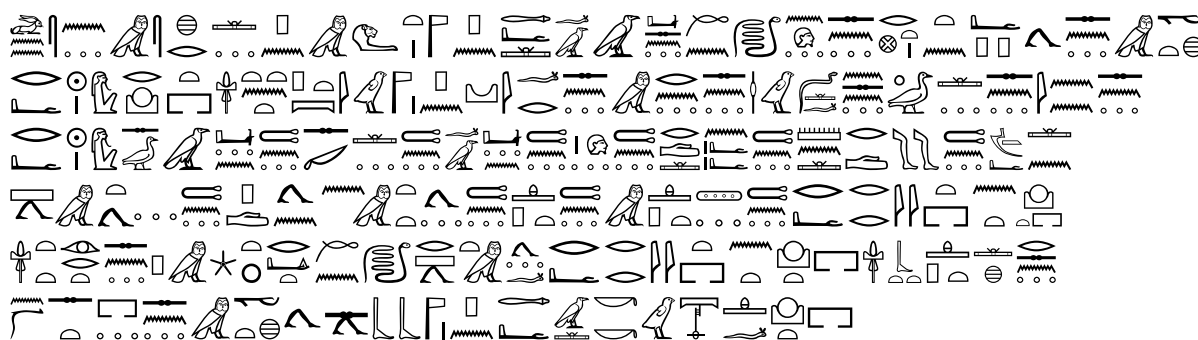
wḥ.wt kkw<sup>541</sup> m jmy<.t>=s<sup>542</sup>

sh̄d<.t> jmy.w tḥ

The great god sails in this region in this manner,  
while his crew<sup>539</sup> of gods row him to  
the eastern horizon of the sky. “She who shines”  
at the head of the bark leads this great god towards  
the roads of darkness by means of what is in her,  
illuminating those who are in the earth.

### Doc. 127: Eleventh hour, middle register, text of the twelve gods carrying Mehen, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 185 (10-11), 186 (1-7); Sadek, *Contribution*, 268; Hornung, *TZA* III, 768-773; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 170, 3008-3026; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 340-341; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 230.



wnn=sn m šbr pn m-ḥḥ.t ntr pn ʿ3

fḥḥ=sn Mḥn-tḥ <ḥr><sup>543</sup> dp.w=sn

r nw.t tn ʿpp=sn m-ḥt R<sup>c</sup>

r ʒḥ.t ʒḥt.t n.t p.t

juw ntr pn ḏwj=f r=sn m rn.w=sn

wḏ=f n=sn jr.w.w=sn

jn n=sn R<sup>c</sup> sḥ.w.w n=tn šsm.w=tn

They are in this manner in front of this great god.  
They carry the Mehen serpent of the earth upon  
their heads  
at this place, and they pass in the following of Re  
to the eastern horizon of the sky.  
This god calls to them by their names,  
and commands to them their duties.  
Re says to them: “Protect your images

<sup>539</sup> Presumably, the word *js.t* refers to the crew on the bark and the other crew on land who assist the sun god on his night-time journey.

<sup>540</sup> On the meaning of *ps̄d* in the Amduat, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 158-159.

<sup>541</sup> For more details on *wḥ.wt kkw* “the roads of darkness,” see CT IV, 65b; Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Huy*, 33, Taf. 38 (E); Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement*, 20, cf. M. Bonanno, in: *Societates Precapitalistas* 6, 1-16.

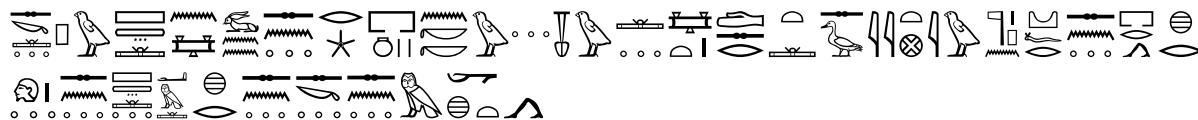
<sup>542</sup> The reading *m jmy<.t>=s* would refer to the solar disc enclosing the *ps̄d.t*-uraeus and illuminating the way of the sun god. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 178.

<sup>543</sup> A preposition is missing in all versions, but *dp.w=sn* as a second object to *fḥḥ=sn* makes little sense. In the depiction, they carry the serpent on their heads. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 178.

ḥḥj.w n=tn dp.w=tn rwd n ʿ.wy=tn and lift up your heads. Strength to your arms  
 mn <n> rd.wy=tn and endurance to your feet.  
 m3<sup>c544</sup> n šm.t=tn May your movement be right/straight,  
 pd n nmt.t=tn may your steps be fast!  
 ḥtp=tn m ḥtp.w=tn r ʿrry.t May you be content with your offerings at the  
 portal  
 nt 3ḥ.t j3bt.t jrr.t=sn p<w> m of the eastern horizon of the sky.” What they do in  
 dw3.t rd<j>.t Mḥn r the netherworld is set the Mehen serpent on  
 šm.t=f r ʿrry.t j3bt.t n.t 3ḥ.t his course at the eastern portal of the horizon.  
 ḥtp.ḥr=sn ns.wt=sn m-ḥt Then they occupy their thrones after  
 sbb ntr pn ʿ3 kkw this great god passes through the darkness  
 ḥtp=f 3ḥ.t<sup>545</sup> and occupies the horizon.<sup>546</sup>

### Doc. 128: Eleventh hour, middle register, text of Isis and Nephthys as uraeus, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 187 (6-8); Sadek, *Contribution*, 269; Hornung, *TZA* III, 775-776; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 172, 3044-3049; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 342; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 231.



ššm.w pw <s>št3<.w>.n Hr These are the images concealed by Horus.<sup>547</sup>  
 wnn=sn r sb3 sn.nw n kkw-sm3.w<j> They exist at the second gate of the unified  
 darkness<sup>548</sup>

<sup>544</sup> This m3<sup>c</sup> is used in different situations in the sun god's journey. The sun god himself is the m3<sup>c</sup>-w3.wt "Straightener-of-Paths." See Litany of Re no. 48 in Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 105, and the description of him riding on the bark, m3<sup>c</sup>=k wj3 "you, who leads the bark properly," in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, pl. 14, vs III, ll 2-3. The action of Khepri hauling the towrope of the solar bark is also described in the Amduat's fifth hour: m3<sup>c</sup>=f w3.wt št3.t n Rʿ-Ḥr-3ḥ.tj "he might straighten the secrets ways for Re-Horakhty." See Doc. 90.

<sup>545</sup> There is an addition on Manassa's type II sarcophagi which reads: "Osiris N takes up the oar, so that he might row Re to the eastern horizon of heaven, having placed Mehen on his course." The additional text indicates that the deceased joins the crew of the solar bark, and the crew who lifts up the serpent. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 173-174.

<sup>546</sup> The eastern horizon, the eastern portal, and the horizon are mentioned in four separate instances in this text to refer to the destination of these gods and the Mehen serpent.

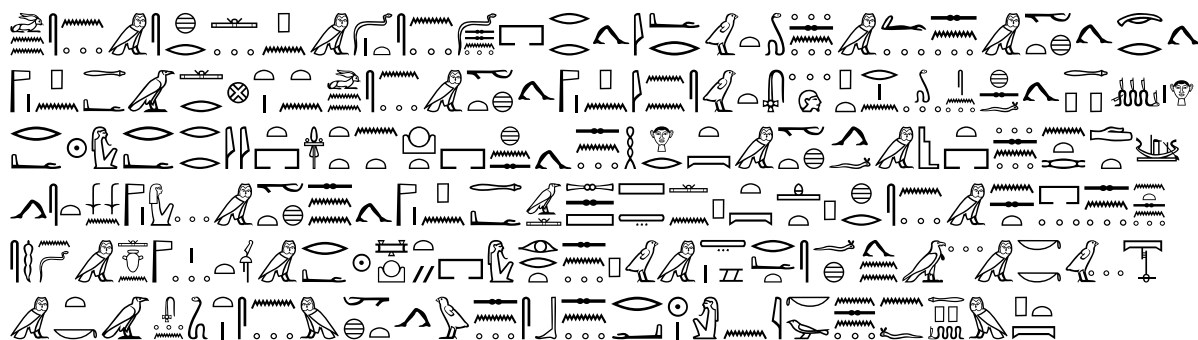
<sup>547</sup> This phrase is attributed to the text of the "twelve gods carrying Mehen" in Manassa's type II sarcophagi. The text there reads: "Osiris N takes up the oar, so that he might row Re to the eastern horizon, having placed Mehen on his course, this mysterious image of Horus." Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 358.

<sup>548</sup> The first gate of kkw-sm3.w<j> is not mentioned anywhere, but it should be in the western horizon. The gates of the unified darkness are identical to those of the Duat. In the Coffin Texts, it reads: "The son has come into the Island of Fire in order to open up the interior of the unified darkness, to make a doorway into the netherworld, to take possession of his father's seat" (CT I, 161c-f). Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 179, n. 2. See also Kees, in: ZÄS 78, 50 ff.

w3.t dsr.t S3y.t jw ntr pn dwj=f (on) the sacred path of Sais.<sup>549</sup> This god calls  
 r=sn prj.br dp.w=sn št3.w to them, then their mysterious heads come forth.  
 ʿm.br=sn šsm.w=sn m-ht Then they swallow their images afterwards.

### Doc. 129: Twelfth hour, upper register, text of the twelve goddesses with serpents, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 193 (11), 194 (1-9); Sadek, *Contribution*, 278-279; Hornung, *TZA* III, 800-806; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 178-180, 3164-3179; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 361-362; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 235.



wnn=sn m šbr pn They are in this manner  
 m d.t=sn ds=sn in their own bodies.  
 prr fʿr.wt=sn m rmn.w=sn Their uraeus serpents go forth from their  
 shoulders,<sup>550</sup>  
 m-ht spr<sup>551</sup> ntr pn ʿ3 r nw.t tn when this great god reaches this region.  
 wnn=sn m-ht ntr pn They are in the following of this god.  
 jn nsw.t dpy.t r3 n fʿr.wt=sn It is the flames in the mouth of their uraeus serpents  
 bsfʿ3pp hr Rʿ r ʿrry.t j3bt.t that repel Apophis from Re at the eastern portal  
 n.t 3h.t hns=sn hr.t m-ht=f of the horizon, they cross heaven in his following  
 m s.t=sn n.t <m>ʿnd.t in their places of the day bark.<sup>552</sup>  
 ʿn<sup>553</sup> st nn n ntr.w m-ht These goddesses turn back after

<sup>549</sup> Or Assiut? For example: s3w.ty appears several times at the Sed-festival gateway of Osorkon II. Cf. Lange-Athinodorou, *Sedfestritual und Konigtum*, 292.

<sup>550</sup> According to Hornung, these goddesses may preserve brightness in the Duat through their light-spreading serpents, even if the sun god is not in the underworld. Hornung, *Umb*, 505, n. 78.

<sup>551</sup> Spr in the Amduat is mostly used in relation to the movement of the sun god. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 156.

<sup>552</sup> After they defeat the sun god's enemy, they not only follow him towards the eastern horizon, but they also make sure that he reaches his day bark.

<sup>553</sup> In all witnesses, there is an unusual use of ʿn with a reflexive pronoun. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 186, no. 3. ʿn is altered to an otherwise unattested verb ʿst "turn back" (Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 363). Presumably, ʿn does not describe the movement of the sun god but the gods surrounding him. Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 101. For the construction ʿn-st, see *ibid.*, 101.

*snn*<sup>554</sup> *ntr pn* *ꜥ3 ts št3 n p.t*

this great god passes the mysterious sandbank of the sky.

*ḥtp.br=sn m ns.wt=sn*

Then they rest on their thrones.

*ntsn sndm jb n ntr.w*

They are those who please the hearts of the gods of the west with Re-Horakhty.

*jmnty.w m R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3ḥ.tj*

What they do in the earth

*jrr.t=sn pw m t3*

is give release to those who are in the darkness

*rdj.t sfḥ n nty.w m kkw*

with the flames of their uraeus serpents,

*m tk3.w n f<sup>r</sup><.w>t=sn*<sup>555</sup>

after they come, sending Re,

*m-ḥt jw=sn sbj=sn R<sup>c</sup>*

having punished for him Apophis in the sky.

*njk.n=sn n=f<sup>c</sup>3pp m p.t*

### Doc. 130: Twelfth hour, upper register, text of the two daughters above the “turquoise gods,”<sup>556</sup> version of Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 196 (1-3); Sadek, *Contribution*, 280; Hornung, *TZA* III, 811-812; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 180, 3205-3208; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 364-365; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 236.



*jtj=k 3ḥ.t ḥtp=k k3r=k*

May you seize the horizon, so that you might occupy your shrine

*tw3 tw ntr.ty m d.t=sn*

and the two goddesses raise you with their body.

*hy n=k b3 jmy ḥr.t*

Jubilation be to you, *Ba*-soul who is in heaven!

*šsp tw s3.ty=ky m jr.w.w=k*

May your two daughters<sup>557</sup> receive you in your visible forms.

### Doc. 131: Twelfth hour, middle register, text of the solar bark, version of Thutmose III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 197 (6-11); Sadek, *Contribution*, 282; Hornung, *TZA* III, 816-819; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 182, 3235-3245; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 367; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 237.

<sup>554</sup> A variant of the verb *snj* “vorbeigehen, passieren.” *Wb* III, 454, 14. For the function of this verb in the Netherworld Books, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 156.

<sup>555</sup> From *f<sup>r</sup><.w>t=sn* on, the text starts to no longer be retrograde.

<sup>556</sup> The turquoise gods participate in praising the solar disc in the eastern horizon and represent the phase of transition from the moonlight to the fully bright rays of the sun. Furthermore, as the Book of the Day indicates, the “turquoise gods” can appear as baboons. See Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 367 with notes 388-390.

<sup>557</sup> They could be Isis and Nephthys, Isis and Hathor, or the two Maats. See 3.12.2.



škd̄d n̄tr pn̄ m šbr̄ pn̄ m nw.t tn̄  
 m jm̄ḫ n̄ s̄šm.w pn̄ šṯ  
 n̄ ᶜnh-n̄tr.w n̄tr.w=f st̄ḫ<.w> sw

ᶜk=f m sd=f prr=f<sup>558</sup> m r̄ḫ=f

msj<.w> m ḥpr.w=f n̄ Ḥpr̄<sup>559</sup>

n̄tr.w jmy.w wj̄ḫ=f mj̄

ḥtp=f ḥry-dp̄ s̄šm.w šṯ n̄ Šw

wpp̄ p.t r̄ t̄<sup>560</sup> kkw-sm̄ḫ.w<j><sup>561</sup>

jn̄ ᶜ.wj=f<j> ḥtm̄ dw̄ḫ.t

ḥtp.ḥr̄ n̄tr̄ pn̄ m̄ ḫ.t̄ j̄ḫt̄.t̄ n̄.t̄ p.t̄

šsp̄ sw̄ Šw̄ ḥpr̄w.w=f r̄ jdb̄ j̄ḫ.t̄j̄

This god sails in this manner in this region  
 in the vertebrae of this mysterious image  
 of (the serpent) “Life of the Gods.” His gods haul  
 him  
 when he enters its tail, and comes out from its  
 mouth,  
 having been born in his manifestation of Khepri,  
 and the gods who are in his bark likewise.  
 He goes to rest upon the mysterious image of Shu,  
 who separates the sky from the land (in) the utter  
 darkness.  
 It is his arm which seals the netherworld.  
 Then this god rests in the eastern horizon of the  
 sky,  
 so that Shu might receive him, namely his  
 manifestations at the eastern bank.<sup>562</sup>

<sup>558</sup> For the writing of ᶜk pr.t “entering and coming forth,” see Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 119-120.

<sup>559</sup> According to Assmann, *msj* in such a context refers to a “cyclical union with the mother,” whereas *ḥpr* is a spontaneous development, “through the divine power of creation”; *msw.t* refers to the birth of the sun god as a child, and *ḥpr.w* to his appearance as a scarab. In verses 24-25 of the text of “the king as solar priest,” these forms of rejuvenation come together: *mw=f r̄ḫ.w msw.t n̄.t R̄ᶜ ḥpr.w=f jmy Nwy* “he knows the birth of Re, and his manifestation within the flood.” Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 18 (§ 3), 32-3; id., *Liturgische Lieder*, 43, n. 20. For more details on *msj* and *ḥpr.w*, see Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 345-346.

<sup>560</sup> As a result of the unity of Re and Osiris, earth and sky did not meld during the narrowly averted cosmic disaster. On the melding together of heaven and earth, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 306, n. 24. A unique text from the Late Period describes the parting of the Nun’s waters: *Šw wp̄ Nwn r̄ t̄ḫ* “Shu, who divides Nun from the land.” The text here reads: *wpp̄ p.t r̄ t̄ḫ*. This substitution is particularly significant in light of the concluding tableaux from the Book of Gates and the Book of the Night, where Nun plays a prominent role in the sunrise. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 368.

<sup>561</sup> End of retrograde writing.

<sup>562</sup> It is the bank of Nun on which the sun god rests at the end of Book of Gates. The corresponding western bank of Nun or the netherworld was named in the title of the first hour. Perhaps the oval sand strip, in which Shu and Khepri have dwelled, can be interpreted as the “eastern bank.” Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, 188.

**Doc. 132: Twelfth hour, middle register, text of the hauling crew atop the giant serpent, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 198 (9-12), 199 (1-2); Sadek, *Contribution*, 283; Hornung, *TzA* III, 821-825; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 184, 3263-3273; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 369-370; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 237.



wnn=sn m sbr pn

st3=sn ntr pn 3 m bksw 6nb-ntr.w

jm3by.w n R6 jmy.w ht=f

dpy.w 6.wy=fy ms.t<w>=sn m t3 r6 nb

m-ht msw.t ntr pn 3 m j3b.t p.t

6k=sn m ssm.w st3 n 6nb-ntr.w

m jm3by.w<sup>563</sup> [prj=sn] m hwn.w

R6 r6 nb bw.t=sn pw knj<sup>565</sup>

dp t3 dm rn n ntr 63

wnn=sn m d.t=sn ds=sn

[prr] m-ht ntr 63 r p.t

They are in this manner,

hauling this great god in the vertebrae of “Life of the Gods,”

being the venerated ones of Re who are behind him and

before him. They are born in the earth every day,

after the birth of this great god in the east of the sky.

They enter the mysterious image of “Life of the Gods”

as venerated ones, so that [they might emerge] as youthful ones<sup>564</sup>

of Re, every day. Their abomination is to shout

on earth and to utter the name of the great god.

They are in their own bodies

when [going forth] behind the great god to the sky.

**Doc. 133: Twelfth hour, middle register, text of the goddesses who tow the solar bark, version of Thutmosis III**

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 200 (6-10), 201 (1); Sadek, *Contribution*, 284-285; Hornung, *TzA* III, 829-832; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 186, 3306-3314; Hegenbarth-Reichardt, *Raum der Zeit*, 218; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 372; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 239.

<sup>563</sup> Here, the *jm3b*-sign is used for the “vertebrae” of the serpent 6nb-ntr.w and the haulers who surround the serpent, “the venerated ones of Re.” Thus, the use of *jm3b*-veneration is significant in the twelfth hour of the night. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 366. Cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 63-64. Here, the sun god seeks to receive the appropriate veneration and support to achieve his rebirth properly.

<sup>564</sup> Because their rebirth is connected to the sun god, they surround him to protect him during his entry into the serpent “Life of the Gods.”

<sup>565</sup> The verb *knj* is usually used as a verb to refer to negative speech. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 162, 7, cf. Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 170, 344.





wnn=sn m sbr pn

They are in this manner.

ntsn šsp nfr.t n.t wj3 n R<sup>c</sup>

It is they who take up the towrope of the bark of Re,

prj=f m jm3b n nb-ntr.w

when he emerges from the vertebrae of “Life of the Gods.”

ntsn št3 ntr pn 3 m p.t

It is they who haul this great god in the sky

šsm.w sw r w3.wt hr.t

and who lead him to the ways of heaven.

ntsn jrr hr.t m p.t

They are those who cause what happens in the sky,

m t3w m htp.w m d<sup>c</sup> m hw.t wd.t=sn

like wind, calm, storm, and rain.<sup>566</sup> What they decree

pw m nb.w jrr.t wj3 3 m p.t

as living ones is what the great bark does in the sky.

### Doc. 134: Twelfth hour, lower register, text of gods who are carrying oars, version of Thutmosis III

Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, 202 (10-12), 203 (1-3); Sadek, *Contribution*, 287; Hornung, *TzA* III, 837-840; Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* II, 188, 3354-3363; Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 374-375; Darnell and Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 240.



wnn=sn m sbr pn hr mjwh.w=sn

They are in this manner, carrying their oars.

ntsn hsf<.w> 3pp

It is they who repel Apophis

m j3b.t<sup>567</sup> p.t m-h<sup>t</sup> msw.t ntr

from the eastern sky after the birth of the god.



jrr.t=sn pw jr<j>.t sts.w<sup>568</sup> n jtn 3

What they do is do the elevation of the great disc<sup>569</sup>


m 3b.t j3bt.t n.t p.t r nb

in the eastern horizon of the sky every day.

<sup>566</sup> They regulate the weather conditions in the sky. See also the serpent-riding goddesses of the upper register of the eleventh hour who are responsible for the underworld wind (or storm). Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 190. For this function, see Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, 68.

<sup>567</sup> Here it seems that the writer has mistakenly mixed the signs  and . All versions from the New Kingdom have a different writing of the word. Hornung, *TzA* III, 837.

<sup>568</sup> For the verb *sts* and its derivatives, see Wiebach-Koepke, *Bewegungsabläufe* I, 113-114.

<sup>569</sup> This “great disc” is what the eight deities are said to raise up daily in the eastern horizon. Here, *jtn* 3 with the det.  is used as a name for the sun god himself. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, 202, 12; Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld*, 215.

*jn ns<r> m jr.t=f*  
*pss hfty.w R<sup>c</sup> m nhpw*  
*hns nn n ntr.w hr.t m-h<sup>t</sup>*  
*ntr pn ʕ3 r<sup>c</sup> nb šsp=sn*  
*jr.w.w=sn r krr.t tn r<sup>c</sup> nb*

It is “he who burns with his eye”<sup>570</sup>  
 who boils the enemies of Re in the early morning.  
 These gods traverse the sky in the following  
 of this great god every day so they receive  
 their visible forms at this cavern every day.<sup>571</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> The fire-breathing serpent (893.).

<sup>571</sup> This crew of gods has two tasks to do: navigate the bark with their oars and repel Apophis, who appears again to threaten the sun god in the eastern sky. For the reappearance of Apophis, see 3.7.2.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Glückstadt
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen, Glückstadt
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica, Geneva
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago
An.Or.	Analecta Orientalia, Rome
ÄOP	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Cairo
Bib. Aeg.	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brussels
BD	Book of the Dead
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude, Cairo
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
BSAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte, Hamburg
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte, Brussels
CENiM	Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne, Montpellier
CG	Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire, Cairo
CNI	Publications Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications, Copenhagen
CT	Coffin Texts
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven, Leiden
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo
GM	Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen, Wiesbaden
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, New York
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, "Ex Oriente Lux," Leiden
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden
LingAeg	Lingua Aegyptia, Göttingen
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin
MÄU	Münchener Ägyptologische Untersuchungen, Munich
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo, Wiesbaden
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale, Cairo

NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen
n.	note
no.	number
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg and Göttingen
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
OR	Orientalia
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie, Leiden
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London
PT	Pyramid Texts
RAPH	Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire, Cairo
RÄRG	H. Bonnet et al., <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1952).
RdÉ	Revue d'Égyptologie, Paris
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens, Heidelberg
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Hamburg
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago
SAT	Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch, Wiesbaden
SEAP	Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche, Pisa
SO	Sources Orientales, Paris
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae ( <a href="https://aew.bbaw.de/tla/">https://aew.bbaw.de/tla/</a> )
SSR	Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion, Wiesbaden
UEE	UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
WdO	Die Welt des Orients, Göttingen
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies, New Haven
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig and Wiesbaden

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# Figures



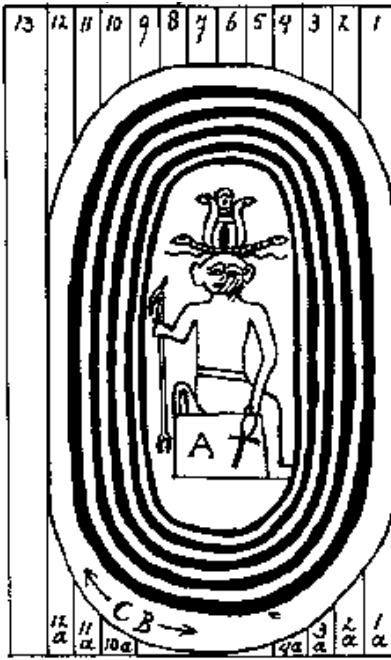


Fig. 1: The enthroned sun god  
CT VI, 386, B1C vignette.

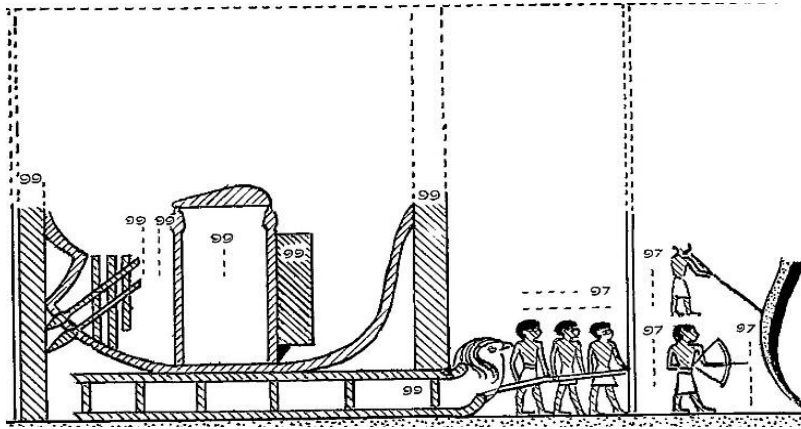


Fig. 2: The solar bark and its defenders, Book of Two Ways  
CT VII, B1C, plan I.

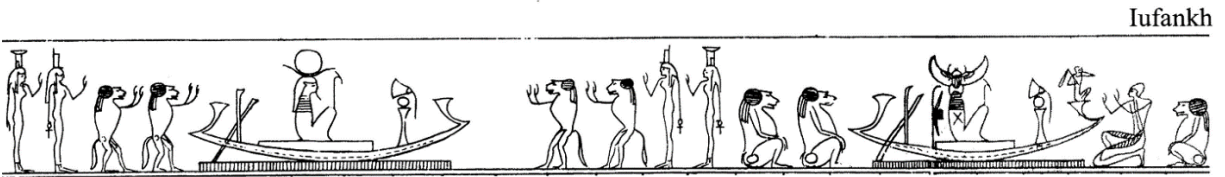


Fig. 3: Khepri as the sun god adored and protected by Isis, Nephthys, and the baboons.  
Illustrations relating to sections 32 and 33 of BD 17, Papyri of Iufankh (Ptolemaic Period, Turin)  
Quirke, *Prt m hrv*, 67.

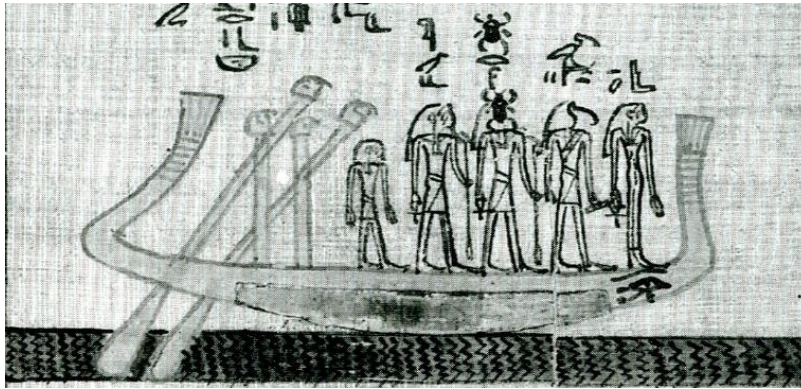


Fig. 4a: Vignette from BD 100, papyrus of Nu  
Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 97.

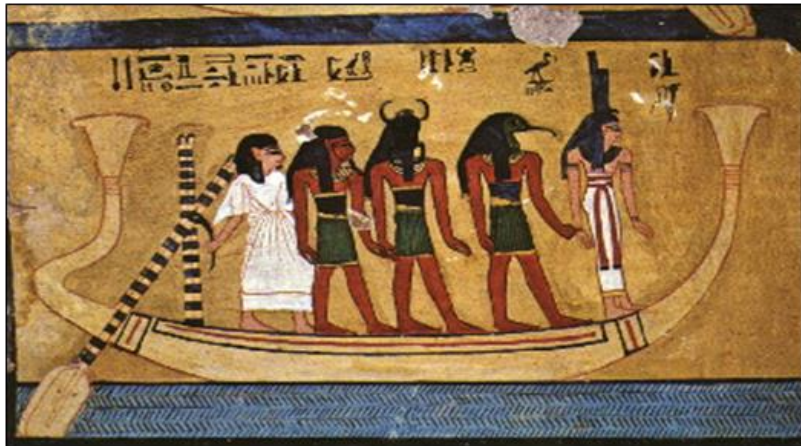


Fig. 4b: Vignette from BD 100, tomb of Inherkhau (TT 359)  
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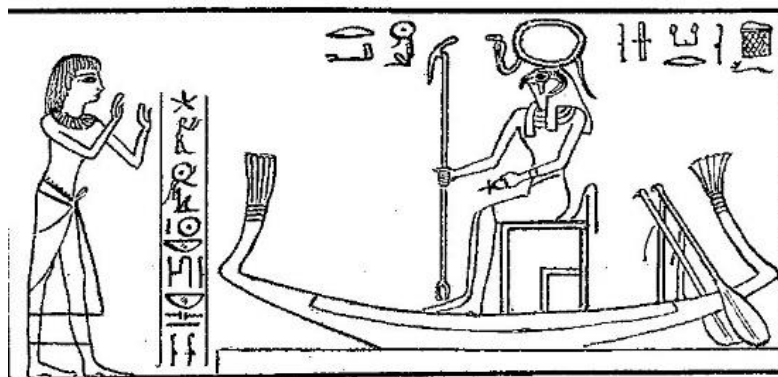


Fig. 5a: Vignette from BD 133, version of Nebseni (Eighteenth Dynasty)  
Quirke, *Prt m brw*, 295.

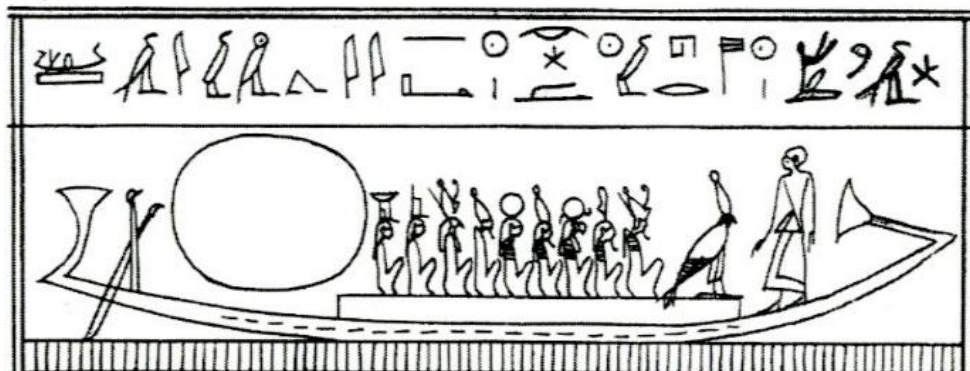


Fig. 5b: Vignette from BD 134, version of Iufankh  
Quirke, *Prt m hrw*, 298.

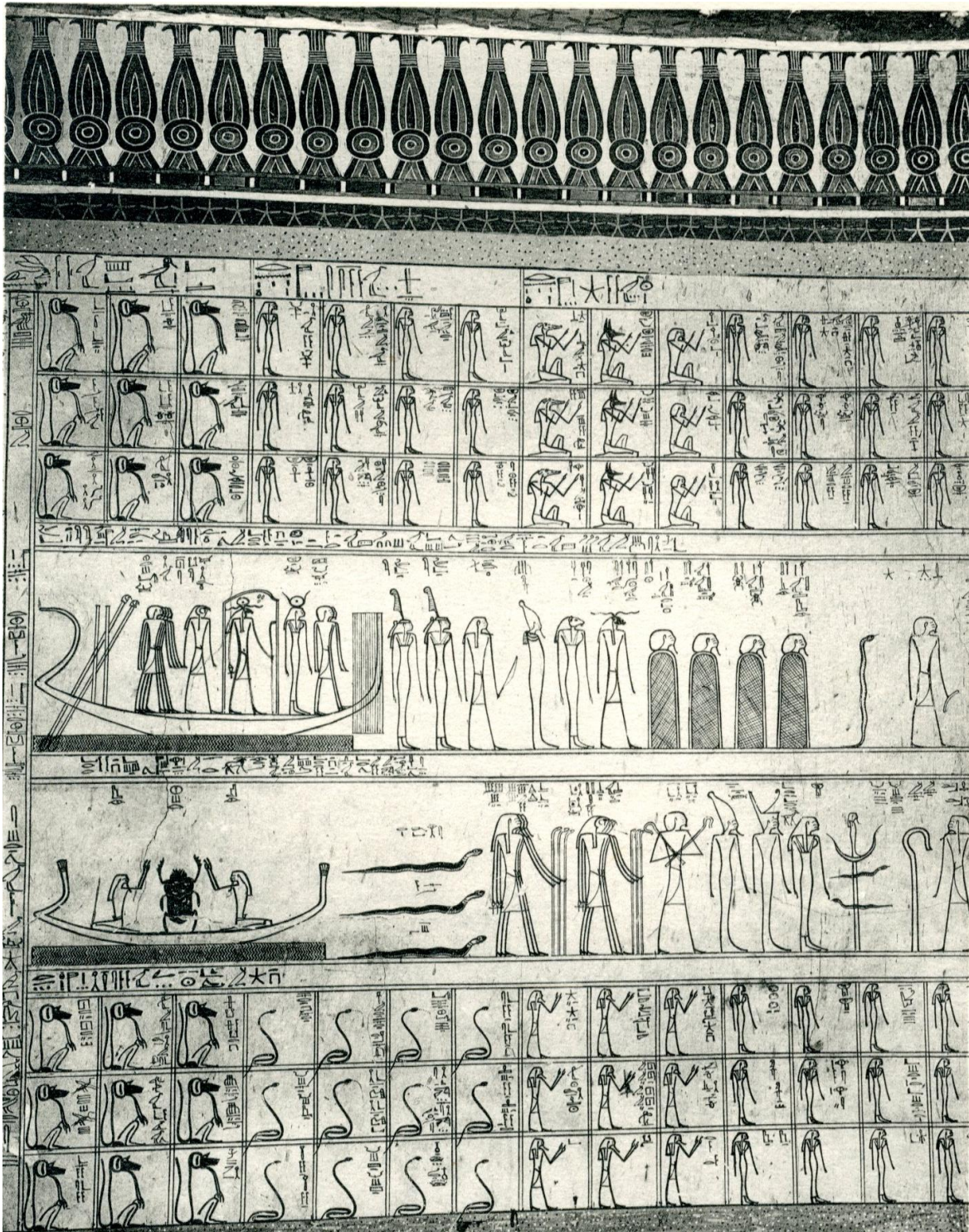


Fig. 6: First hour in the tomb of Thutmosis III  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 2

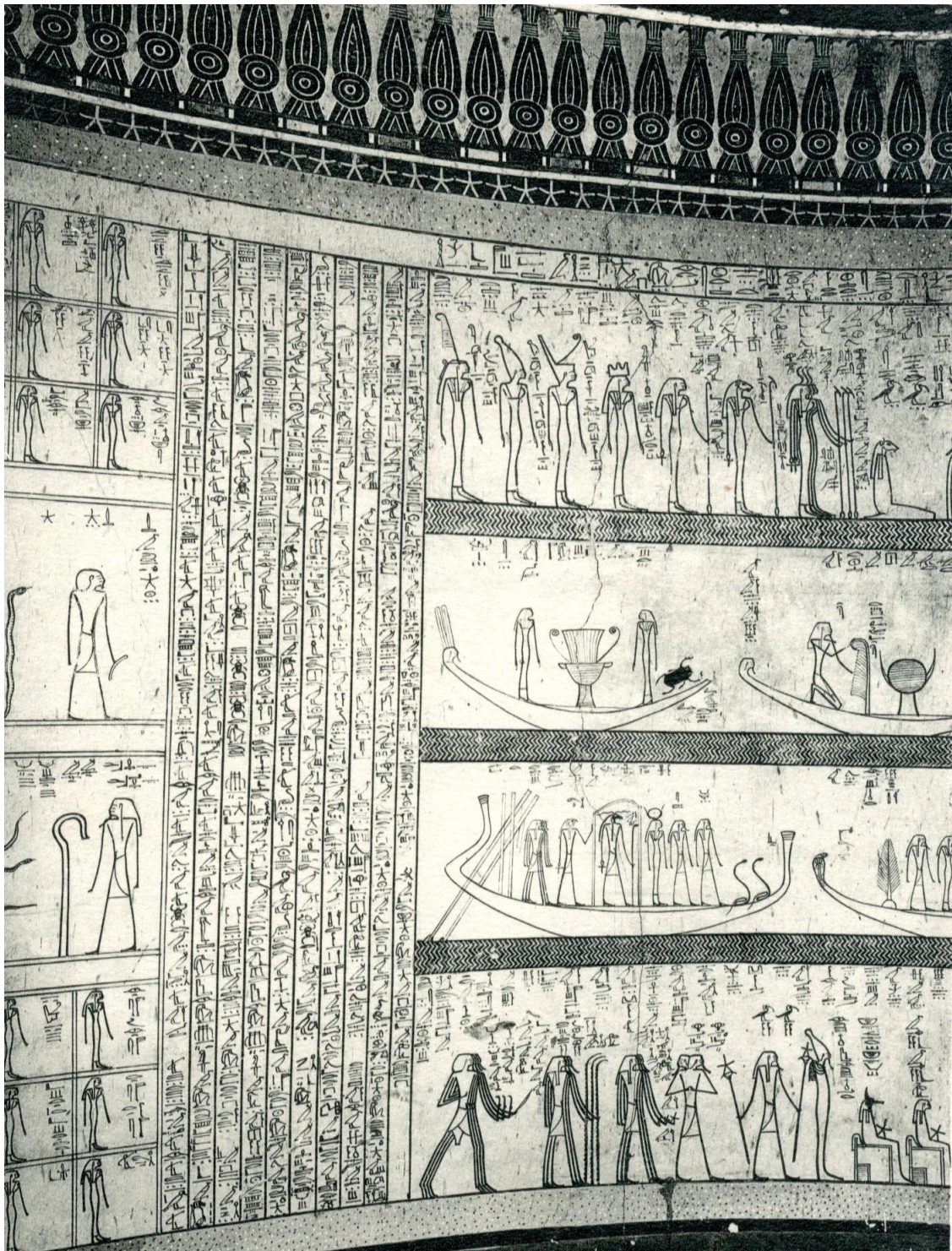


Fig. 7: First and second hours where the middle register appears divided into two sub registers, Thutmosis III  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 2

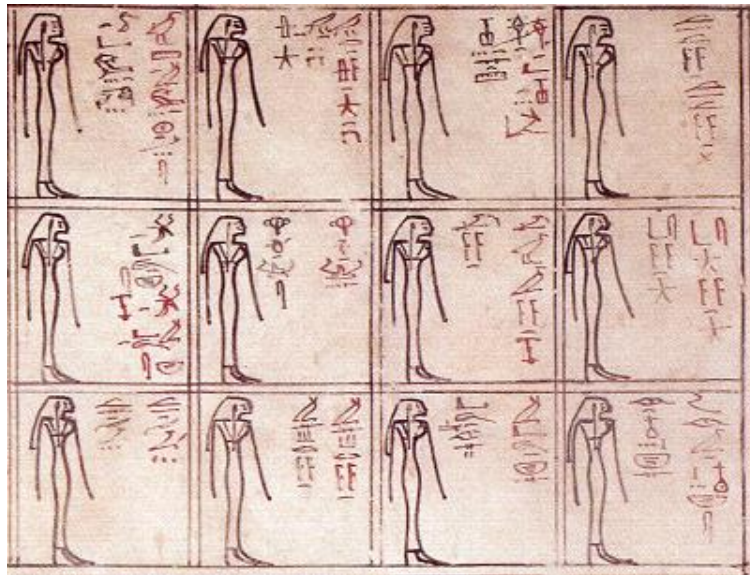


Fig. 8: Twelve-hour goddesses of the night, first hour, upper register, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 53.



Fig. 9: Crew of the solar bark, first hour, Thutmosis III  
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Fig. 10: The enthroned sun god worshipped by two figures of Khepri, papyrus of Khonsou-Renep, second scene  
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Fig. 11: Osiris as Khepri worshiped by two baboons  
 Stadler, in: ZÄS 128, Taf. XVIII.

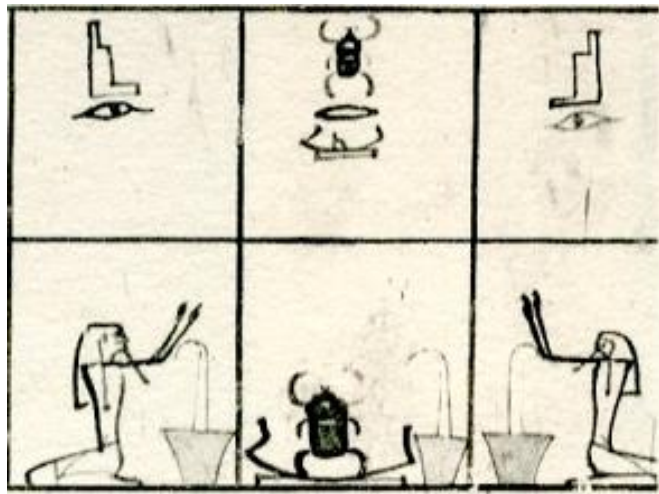


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 Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 15.



Fig. 13: Barks of the second hour, Ramesses VI  
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/manna4u/50304451506/> on 17/09/2020.

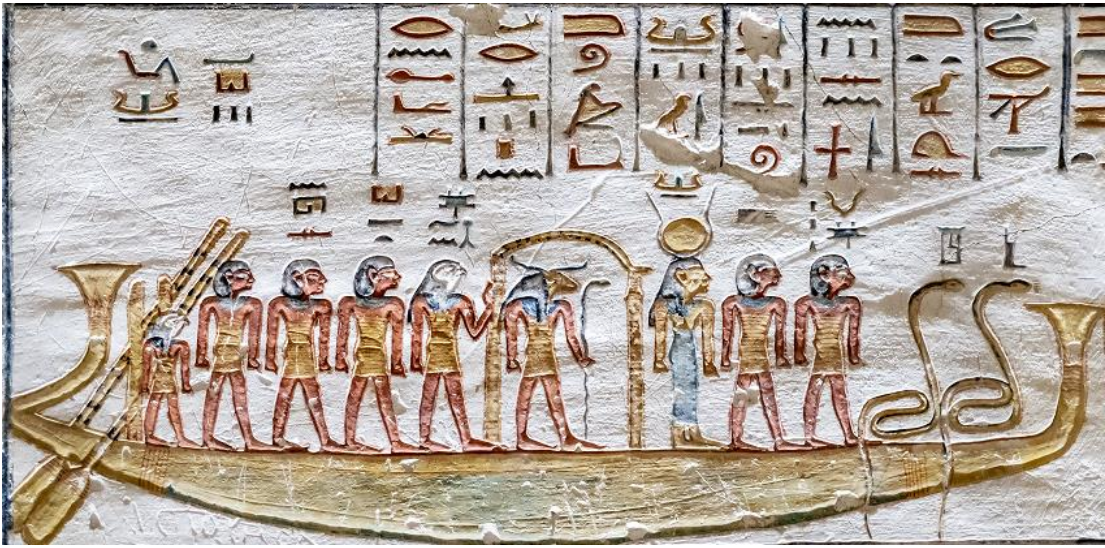


Fig. 14: Crew of the main bark, second hour, Ramesses VI  
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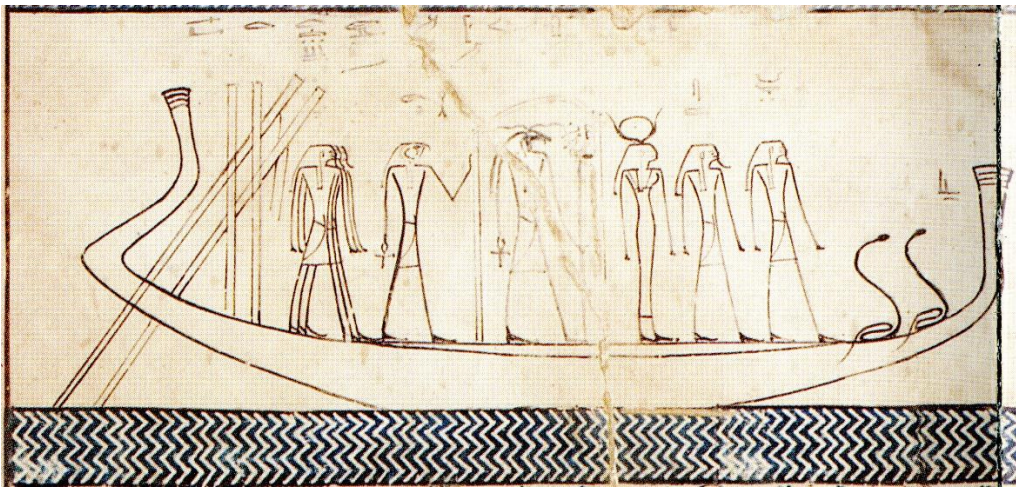


Fig. 15: Crew of the main bark, second hour, Thutmose III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 54.



Fig. 16: Crew of the main bark, second hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 27.



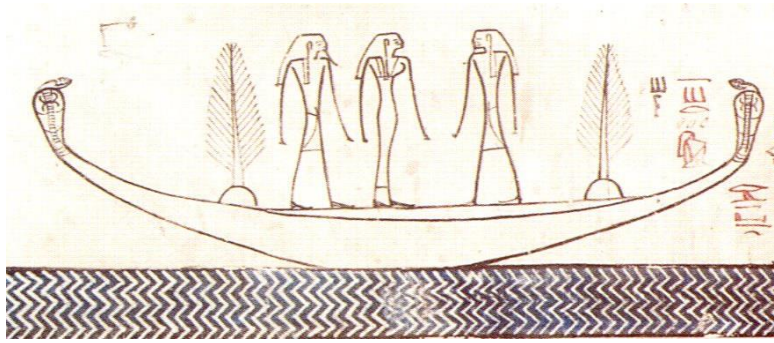


Fig. 17: Second bark, second hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 54.



Fig. 18: Second bark, second hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 27.



Fig. 19: Second bark, second hour, Seti I  
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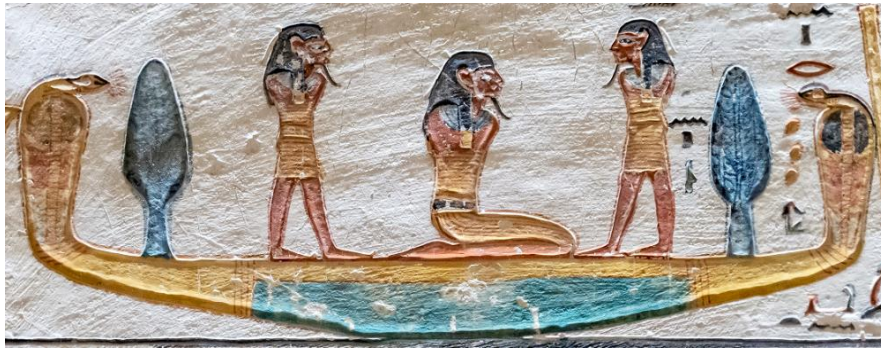


Fig. 20: Second bark, second hour, Ramesses VI  
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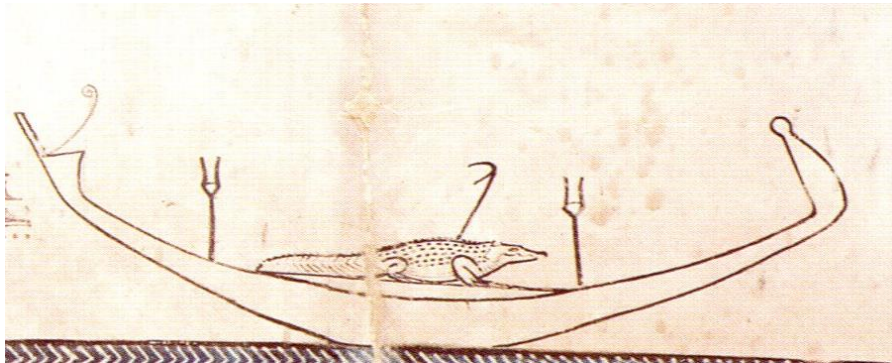


Fig. 21: Third bark, second hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 54.



Fig. 22: Third bark, second hour, Seti I  
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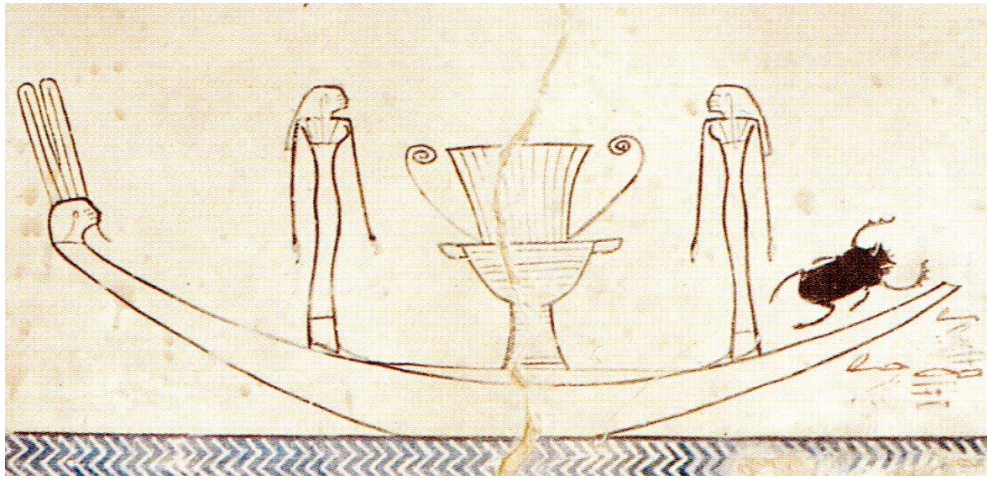


Fig. 23: Fourth bark, second hour, Thutmosis III  
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Fig. 24: Fourth bark, second hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 28.

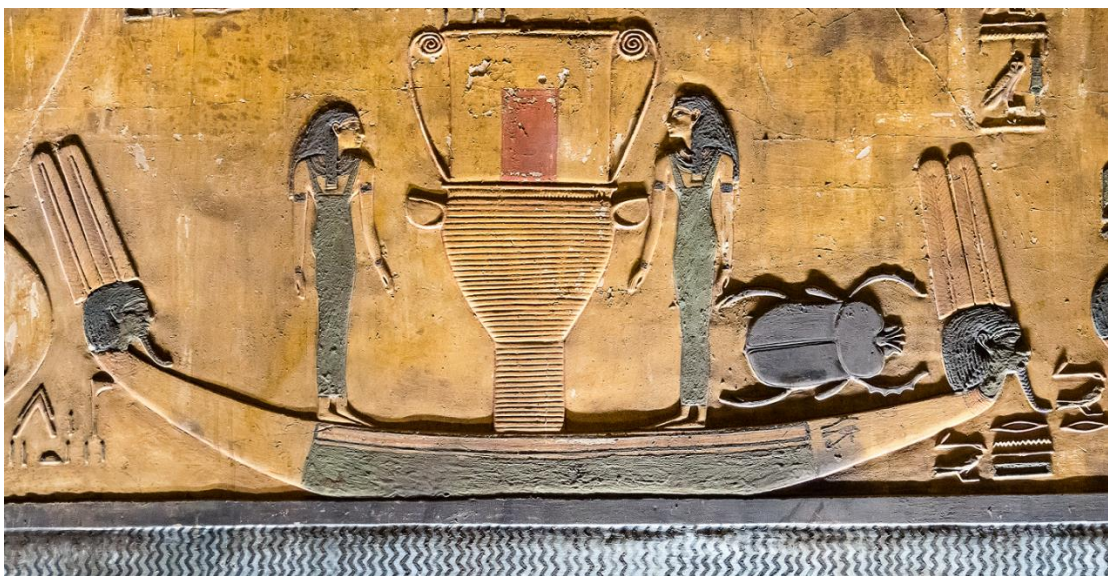


Fig. 25: Fourth bark, second hour, Seti I  
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Fig. 26: Fifth bark, second hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 28.



Fig. 27: Fifth bark, second hour, Seti I  
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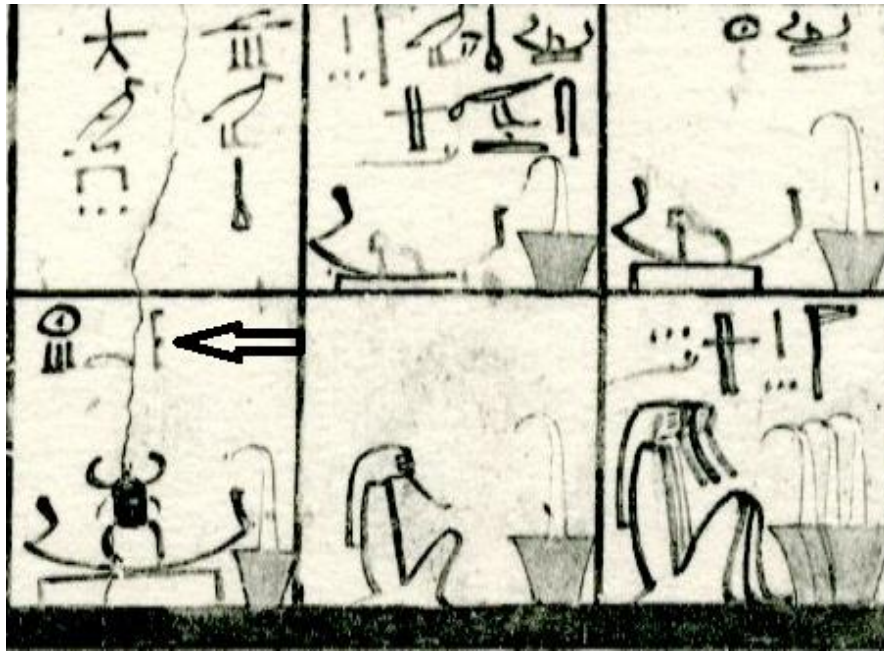


Fig. 28: Name of the fourth/fifth bark, second hour, Thutmosis III catalog  
 Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 15.

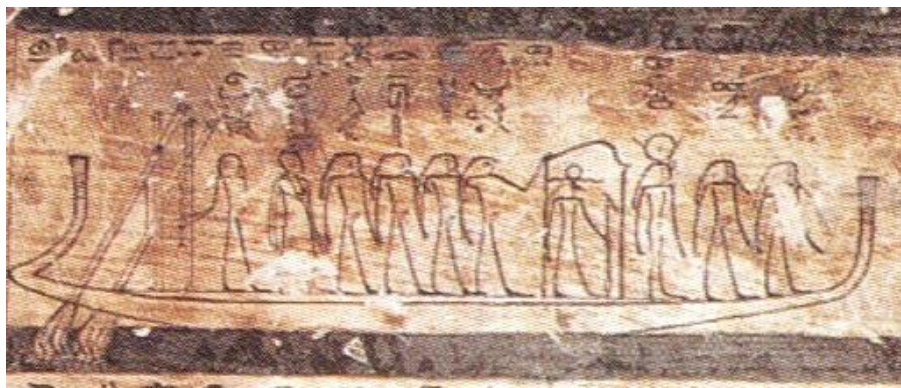


Fig. 29: Crew of the solar bark, third hour, User  
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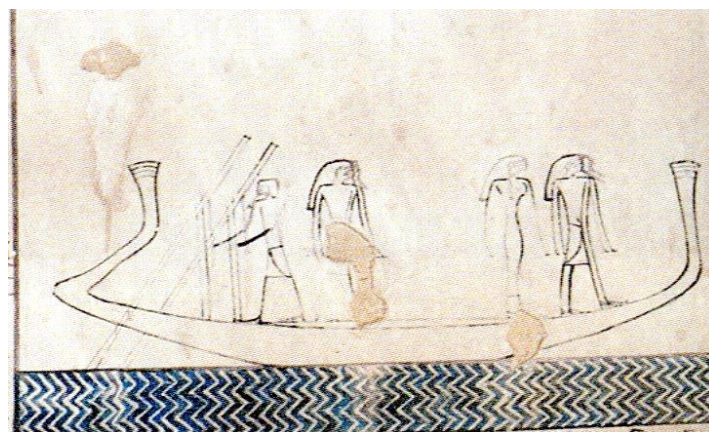


Fig. 30: Crew of the solar bark, third hour, Thutmosis III  
 Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 76.

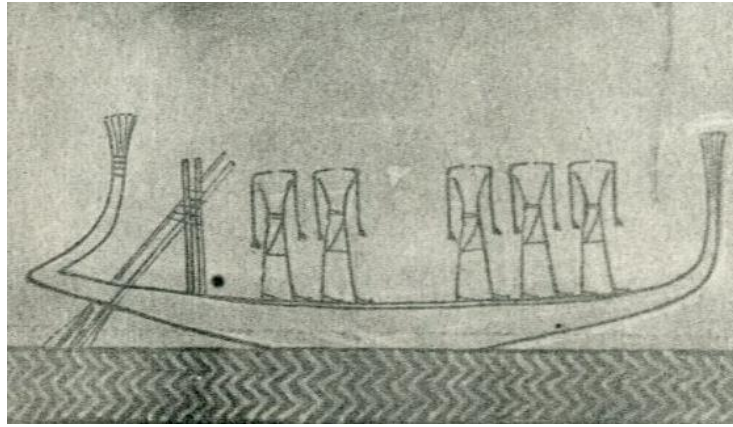


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Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 28.



Fig. 32: The main solar bark, third hour, Seti I  
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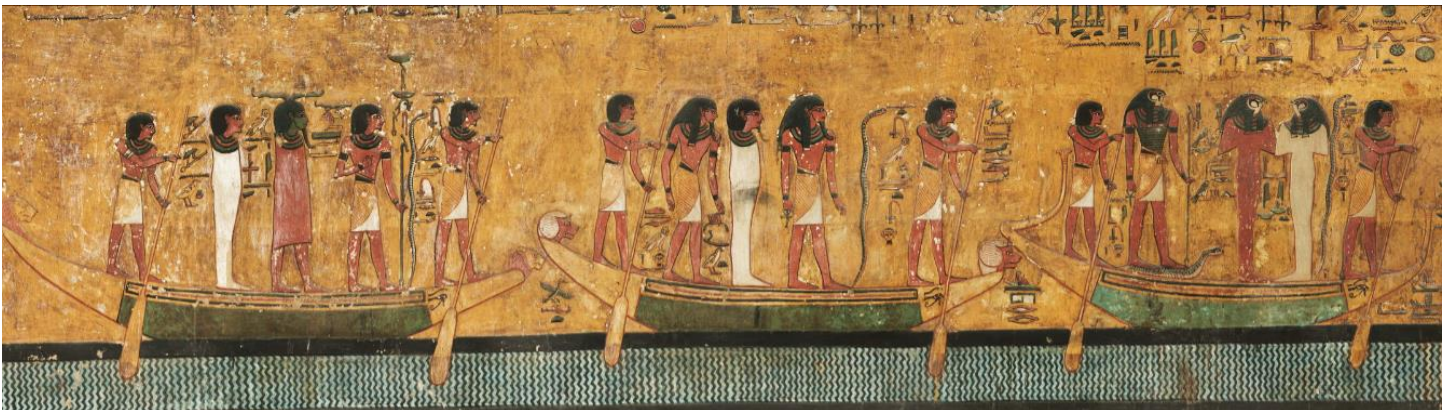


Fig. 33: The additional barks of the sun god, third hour, Seti I  
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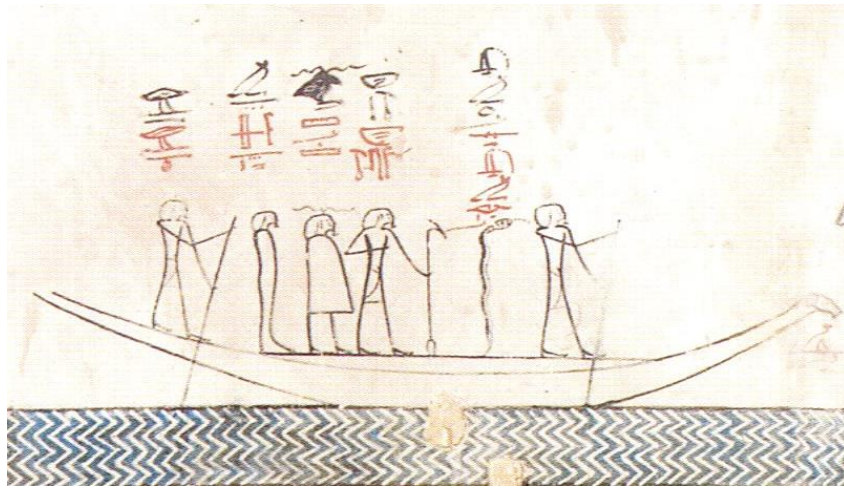


Fig. 34: Second bark, third hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 57.

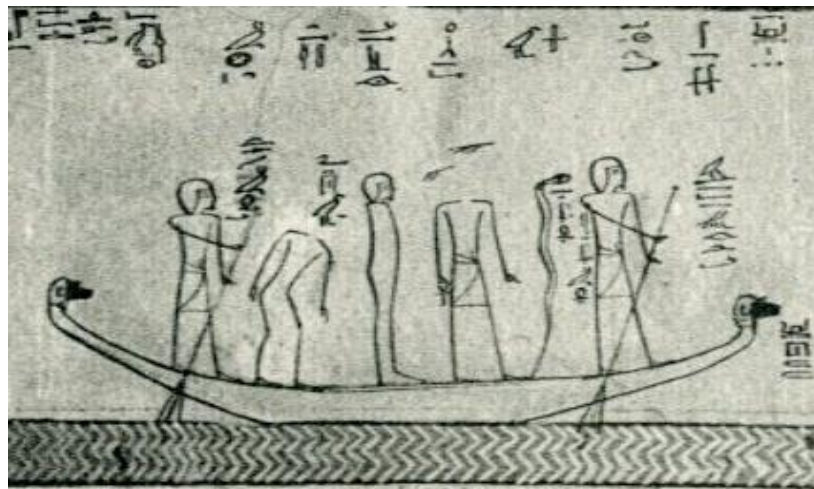


Fig. 35: Third bark, third hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 28.

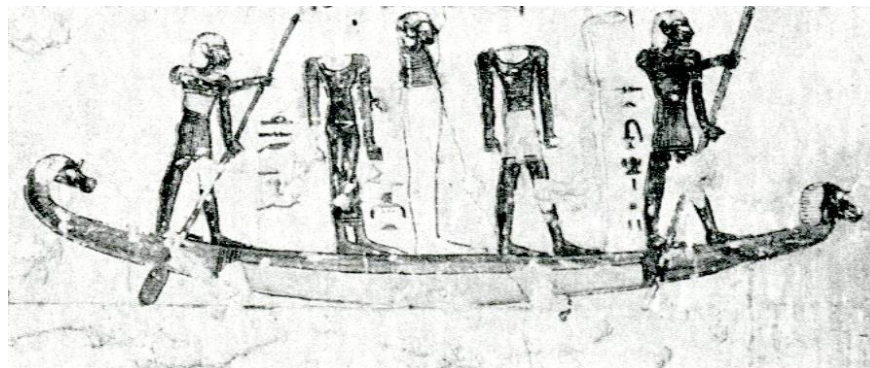


Fig. 36: Third bark, third hour, Ramesses VI  
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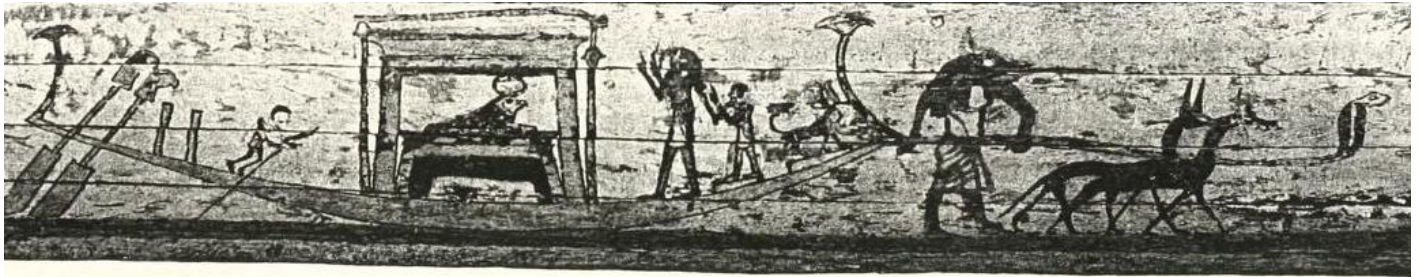


Fig. 38: Jackals haul the solar bark, sacophagus 41040, Cairo Museum  
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Fig. 41: Thoth lifts up the divine eye towards Sokar, middle register, fourth hour, Thutmosis III  
 Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 58.

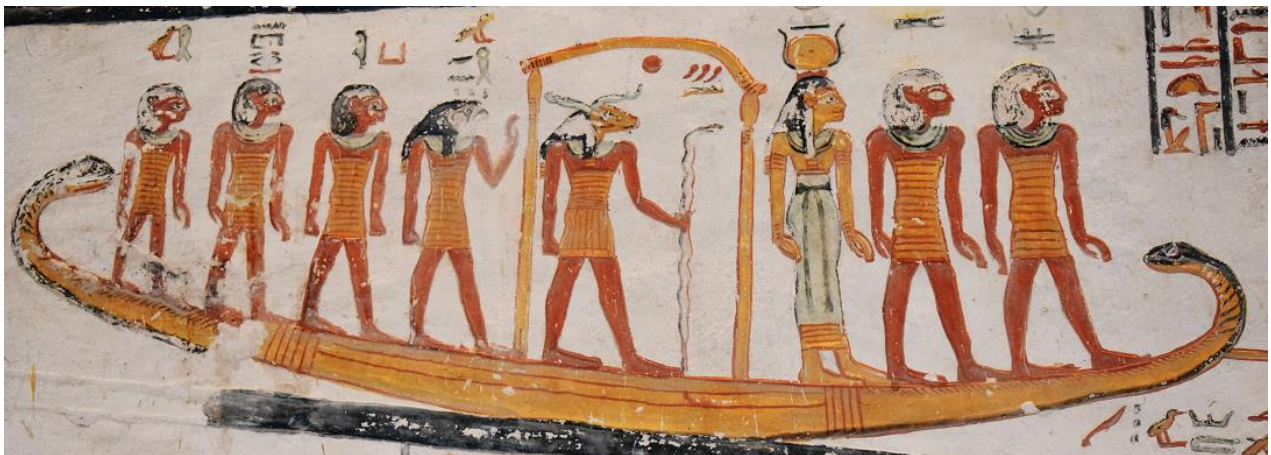


Fig. 42: Crew of the solar bark, middle register, fourth hour, Ramesses VI  
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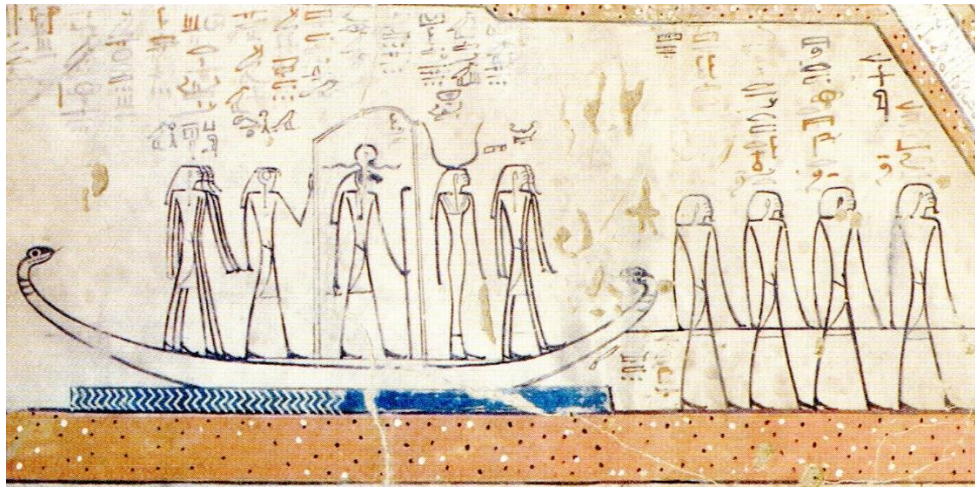


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Fig. 44: Bark of the lower register, fourth hour, Ramesses VI  
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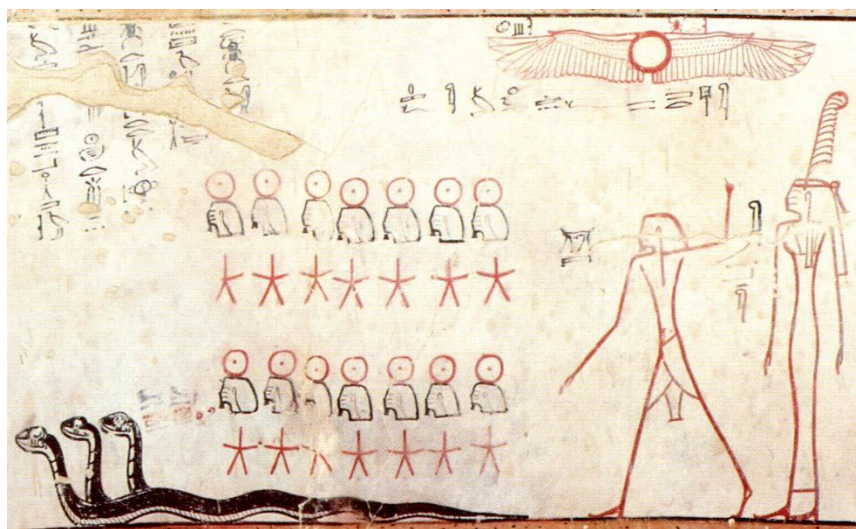


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Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 58.

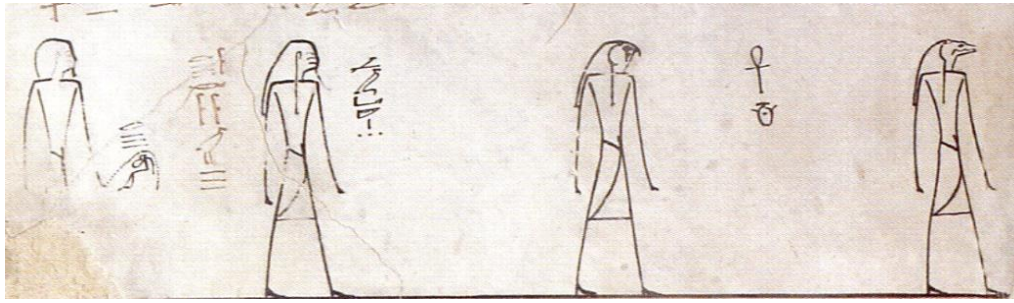


Fig. 46: Crew of the Nun' water, upper register, fifth hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 59.

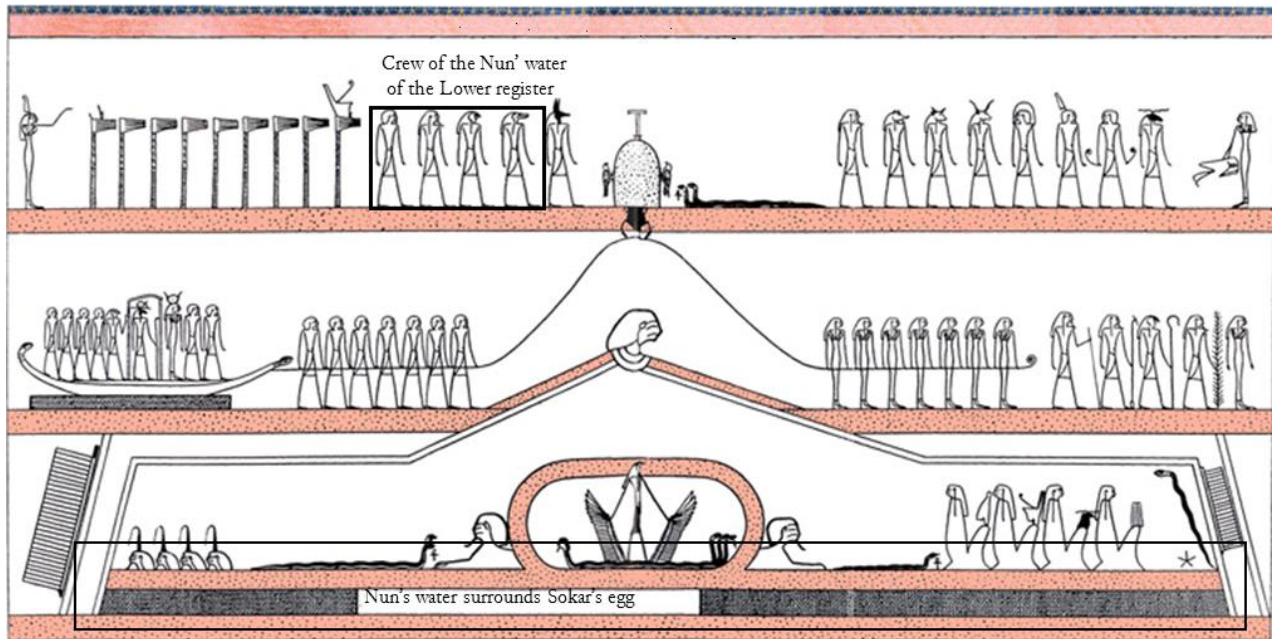


Fig. 47: Schema of fifth hour  
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Fig. 48: Center area of the fifth hour, Ramesses VI  
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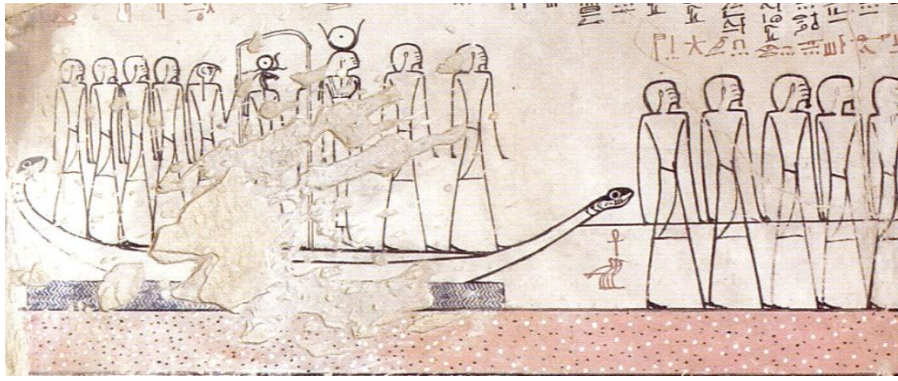


Fig. 49: The solar bark and its haulers, fifth hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 59.

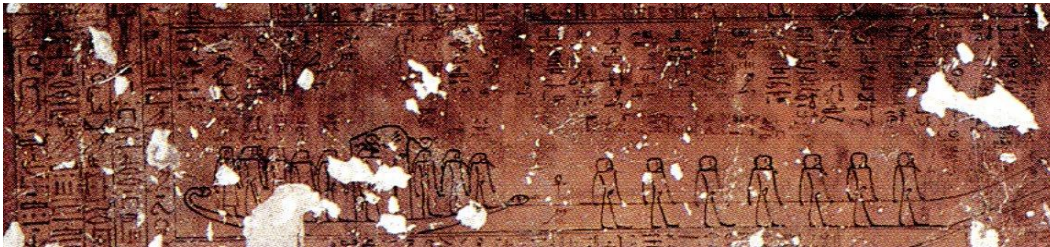


Fig. 50: The solar bark and its haulers, fifth hour, User  
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Fig. 52: The solar bark in the sixth hour, Thutmosis III  
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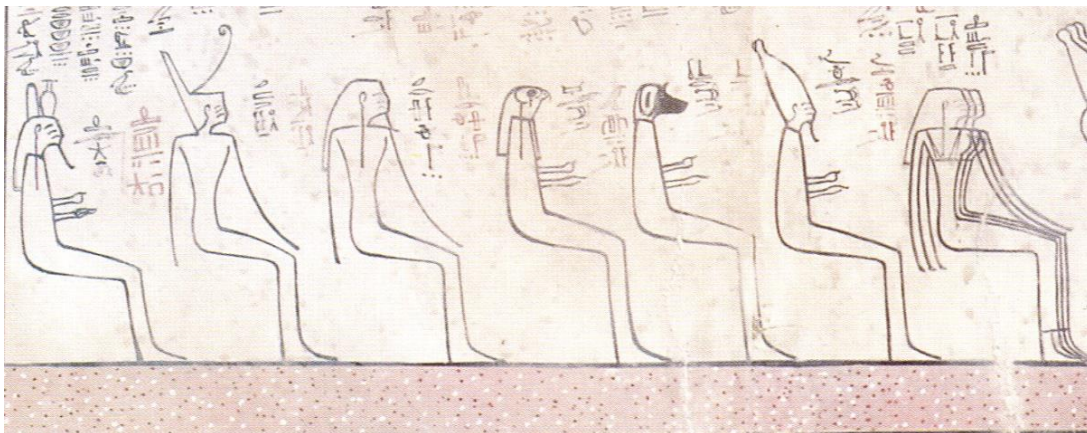


Fig. 53: The Ennead of the upper register, sixth hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 60.

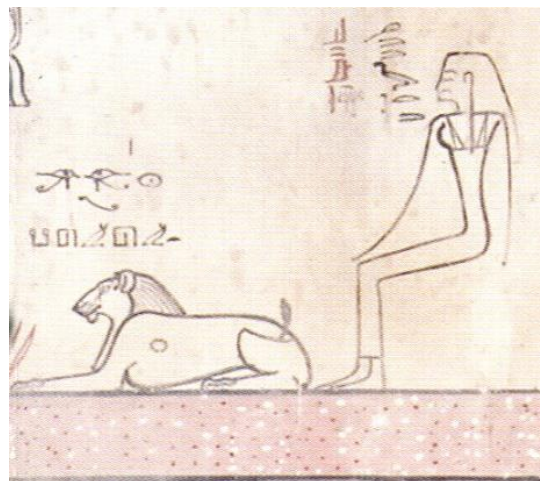


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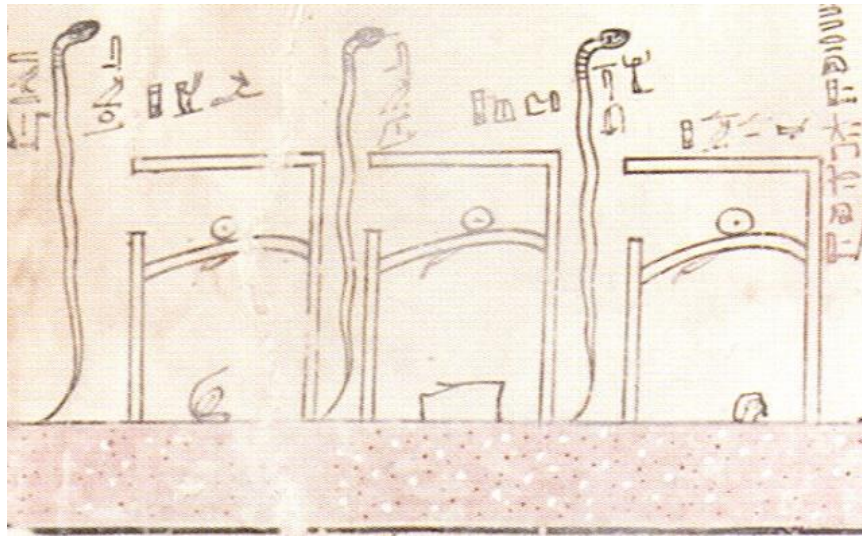


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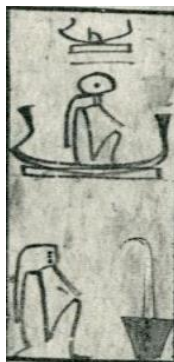


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Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et  
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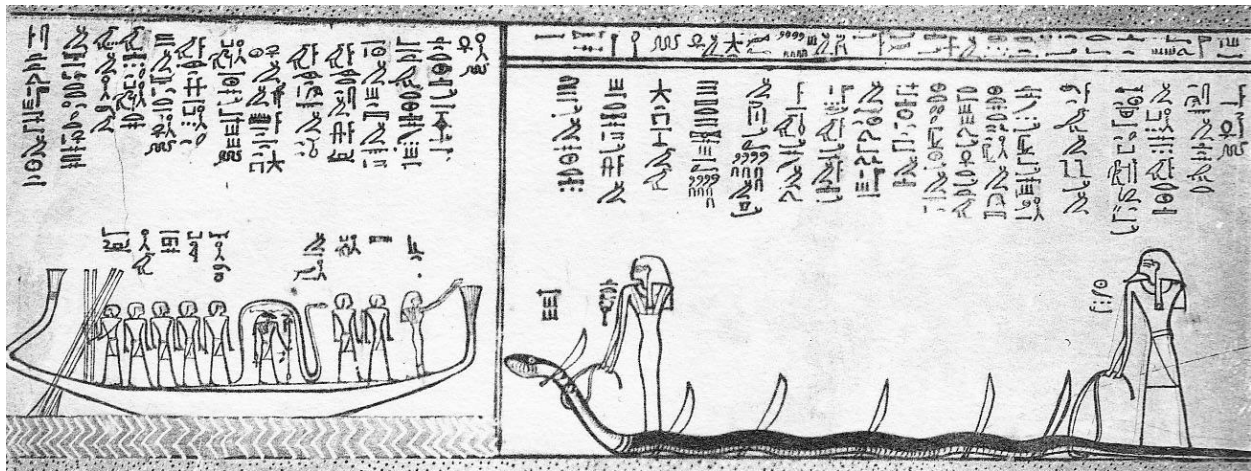


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Fig. 60: Flesh of Osiris and the Mehen serpent punishing the enemies, Ramesses VI  
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Fig. 62: Middle register of the seventh hour, Ramesses VI (distributed in two sub-registers)  
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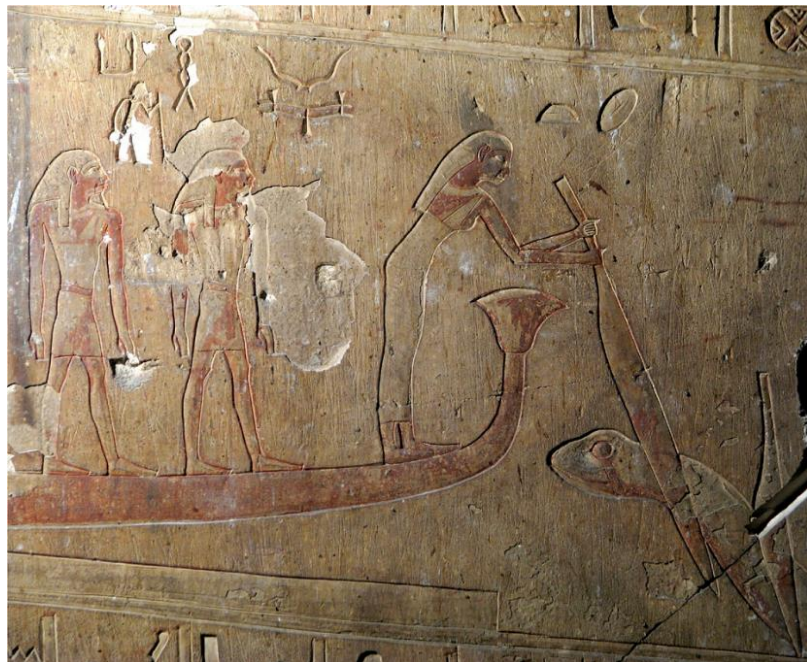


Fig. 63: Isis slaughters Apophis, middle register, seventh hour, Pediamenopet  
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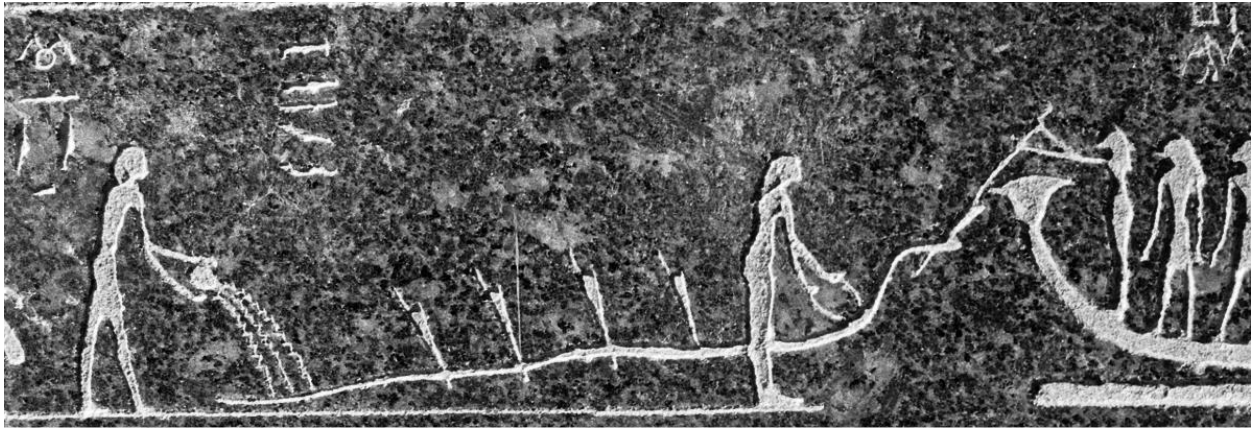


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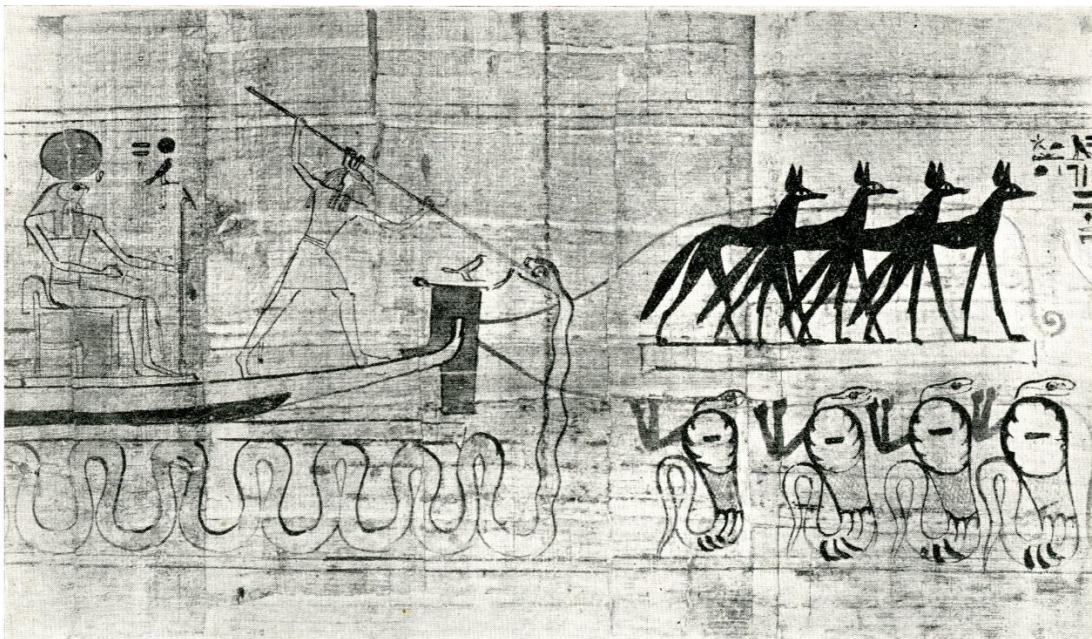


Fig. 65: Seth stabbing Apophis with his spear, papyrus Her-Ouben Piankoff, in: ASAE 49, 159, pl. 8.

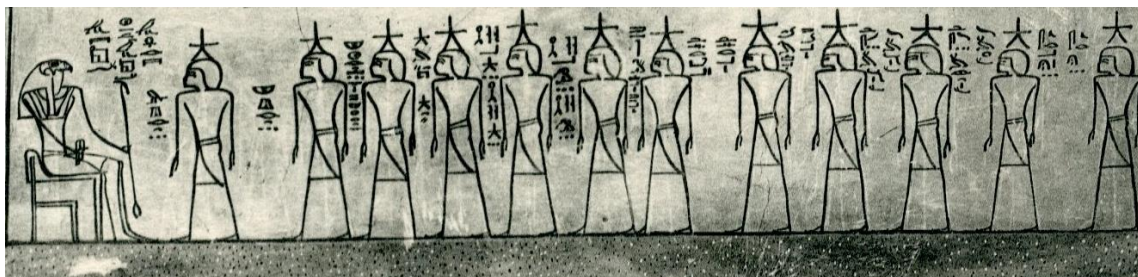


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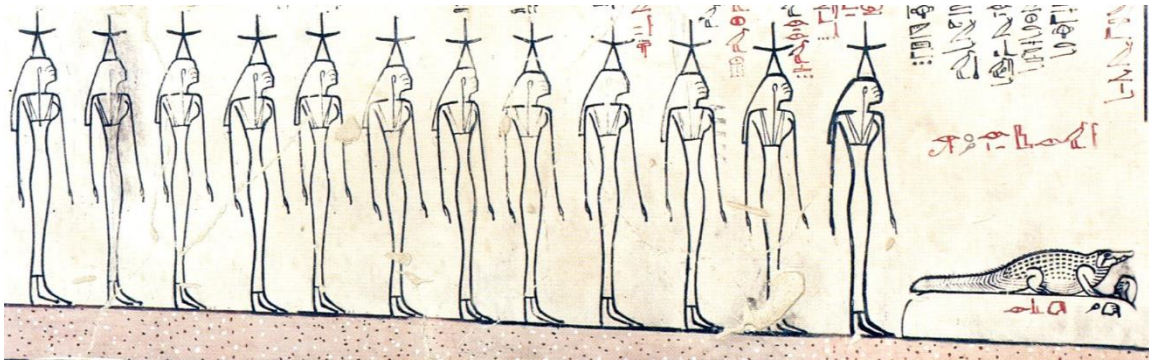


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Fig. 69: The solar bark and its haulers, fifth hour, User  
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Fig. 70: The haulers of the solar bark followed by eight *šms*-signs, Seti I  
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Fig. 71: The solar bark surrounded by the *šms*-signs (Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, ÆIN 298)  
 Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens*, pl. 90.

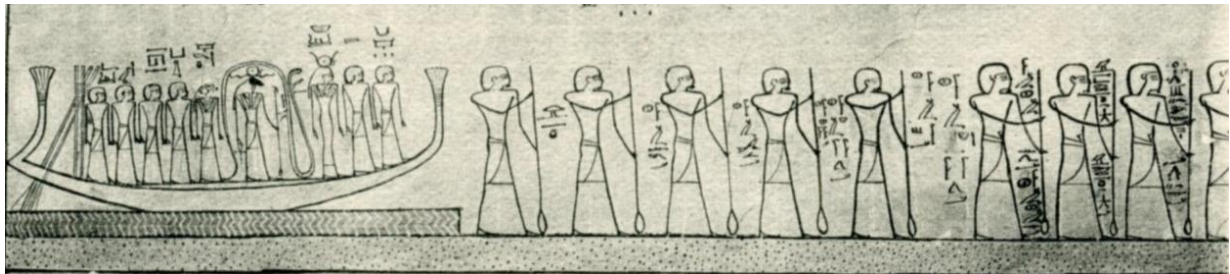


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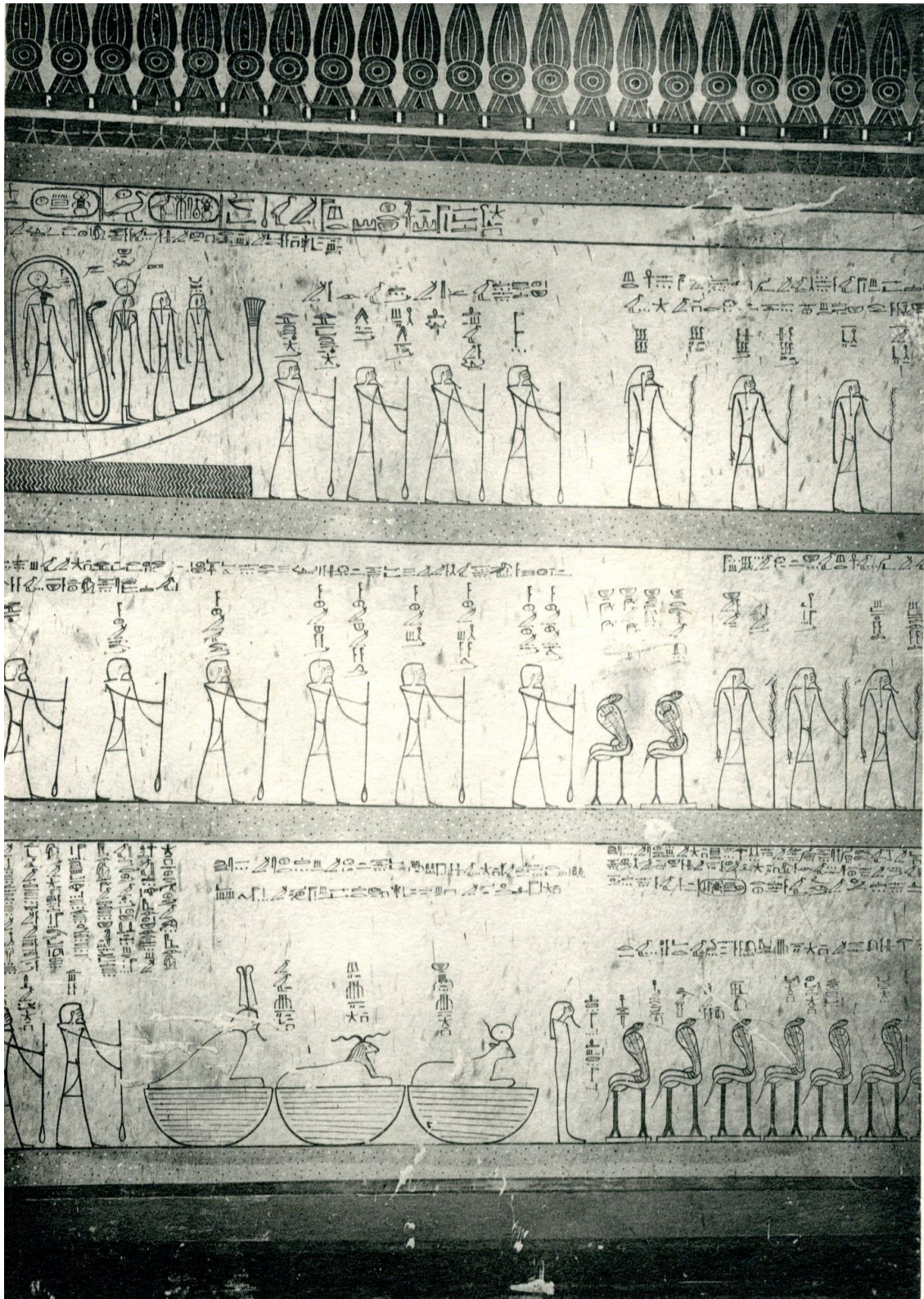


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Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 36.

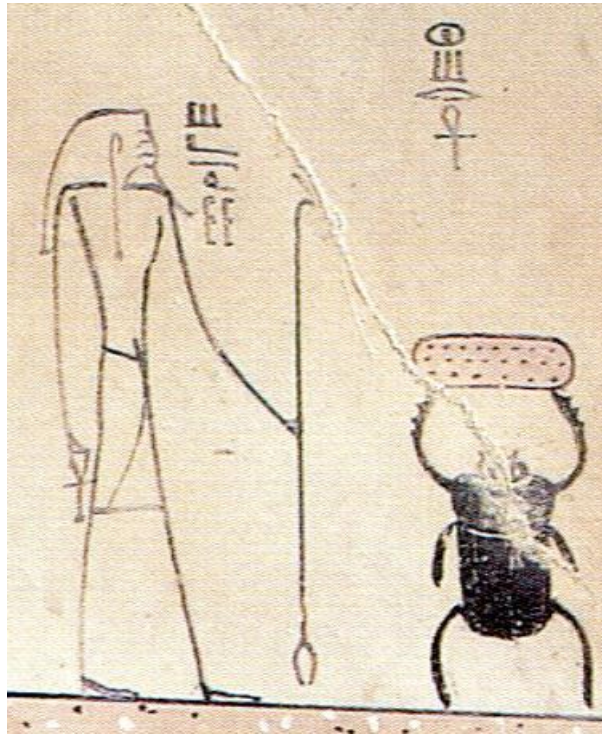


Fig. 75: A standing god faces a scarab holding an oval with dots, tenth hour, upper register, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 68.



Fig. 76: The scarab, the Duat, and the sun disk, panel from Albert Gallatin collection  
Cooney, in: *JNES* 12, pl. LV.

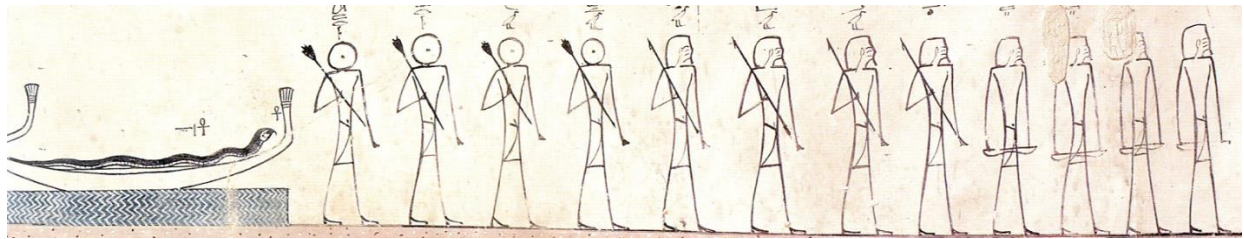


Fig. 77: The armed crew of the middle register, tenth hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 69.

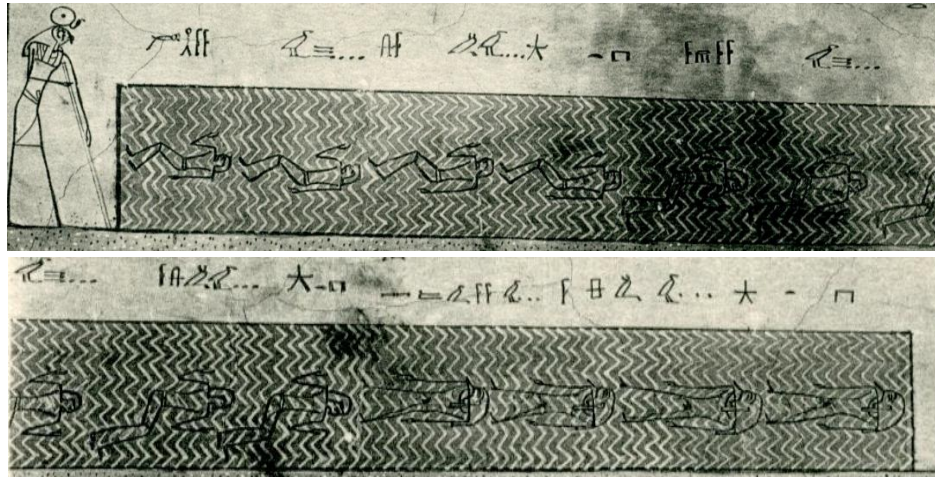


Fig. 78: Water of the drowned (prelimal water of Nun), tenth hour, lower register, Thutmosis III  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 37.

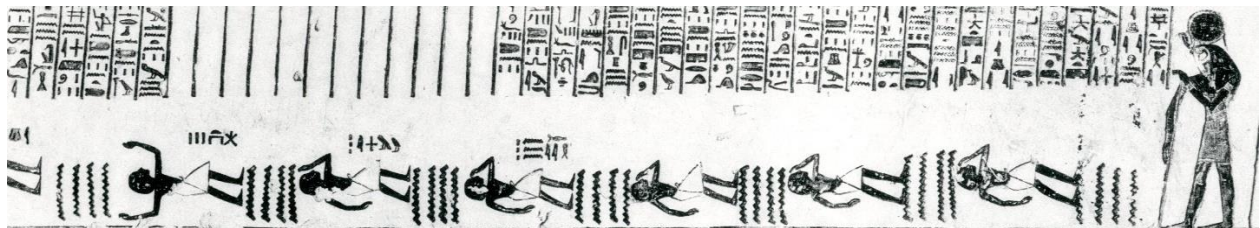


Fig. 79: The drowned ones, tenth hour, lower register, Ramesses VI  
Piankoff, *Ramses VI*, II, pl. 99.

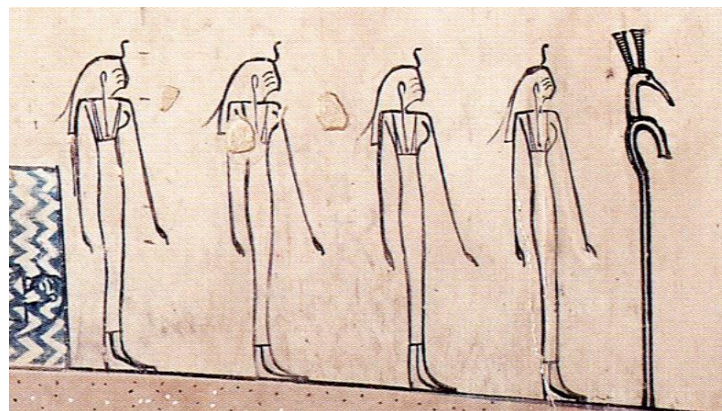


Fig. 80: The last scene of the tenth hour, lower register, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 69.

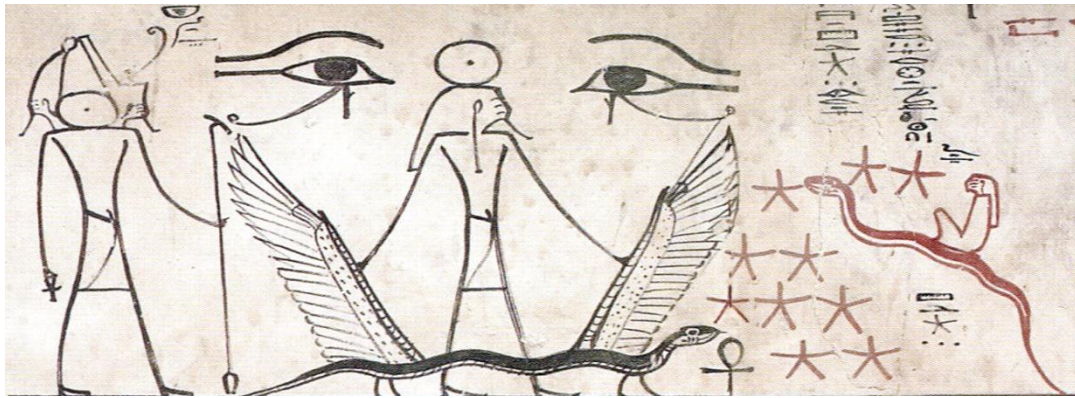


Fig. 81: The first three scenes in the eleventh hour, upper register, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 70.

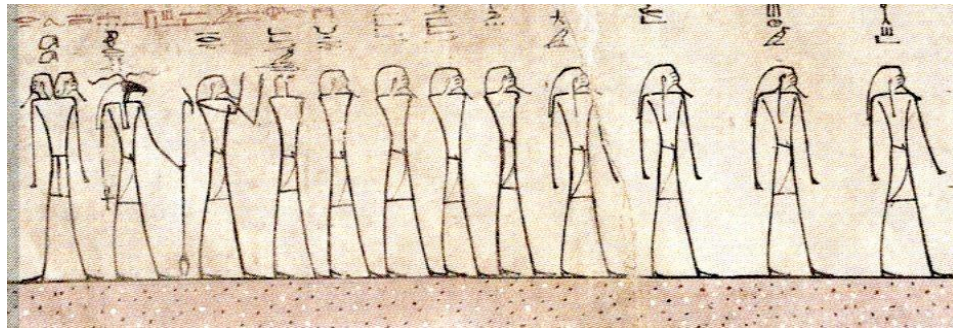


Fig. 82: Crew of the upper register, eleventh hour, Thutmosis III  
Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 333.

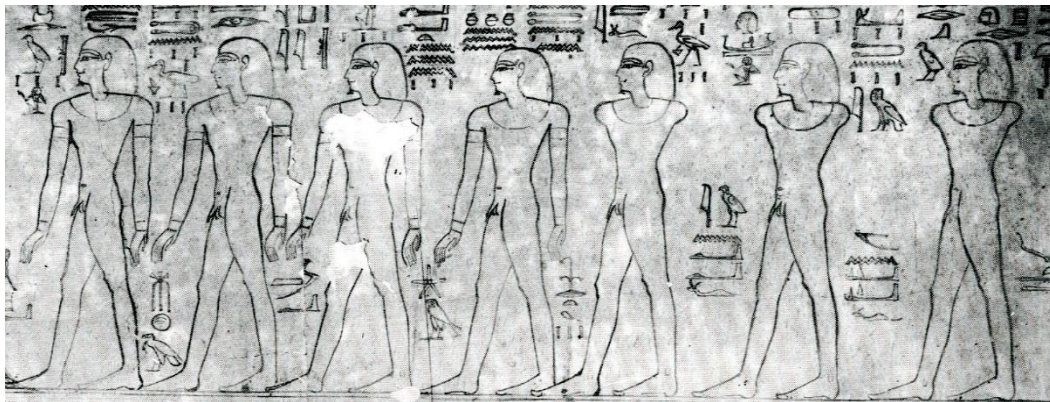


Fig. 83: Naked members of the upper register's crew, eleventh hour, Seti I  
Hornung, *The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I*, fig. 88.

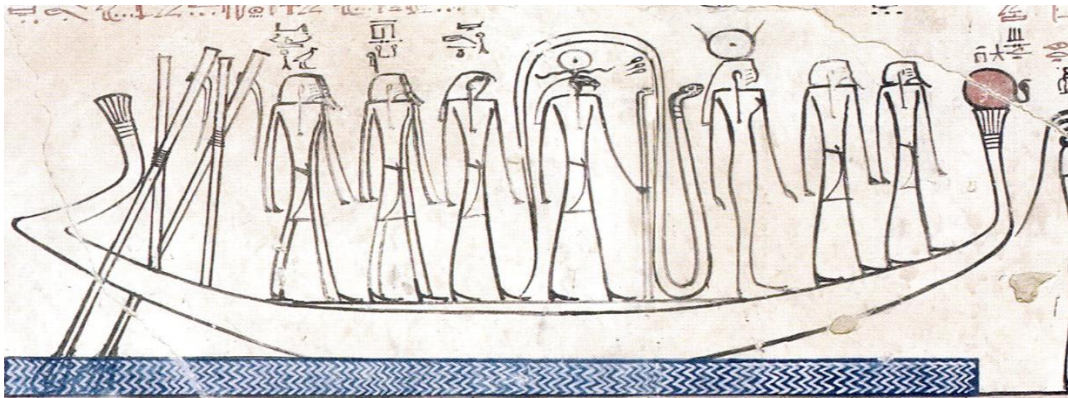


Fig. 84: Crew of the solar bark, eleventh hour, middle register, Thutmose III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 70.



Fig. 85: Crew of the solar bark, eleventh hour, middle register, Ramesses VI  
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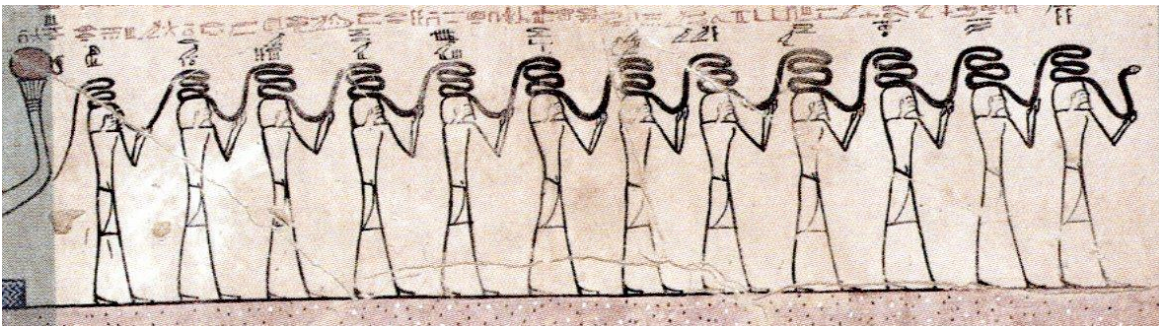


Fig. 86: The bearers of the Mehen-Serpent, eleventh hour, Thutmose III  
Warburton, *The Egyptian Amduat*, 340.



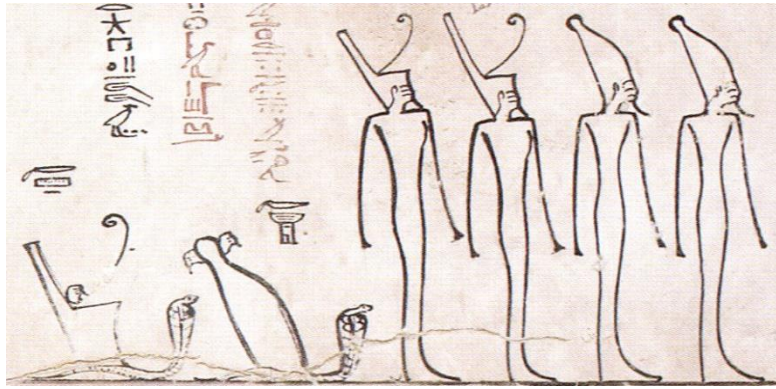


Fig. 87: Isis, Nephthys, and the images of Neit, eleventh hour, middle register, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 71.

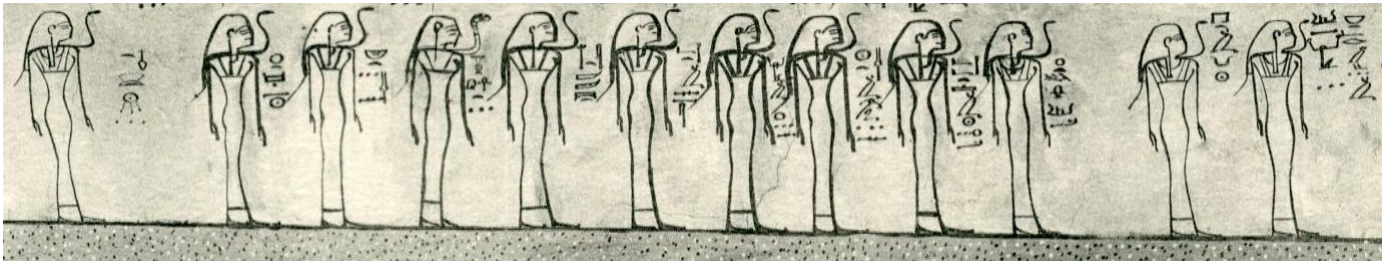


Fig. 88: Twelve standing goddesses having fire-spitting serpents, upper register, twelfth hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 40.

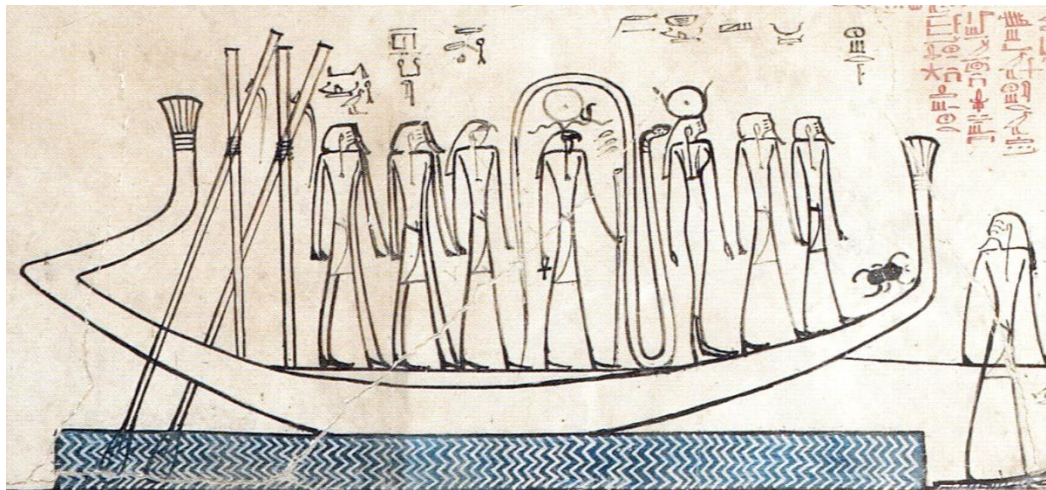


Fig. 89: Crew of the solar bark in the twelfth hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 72.

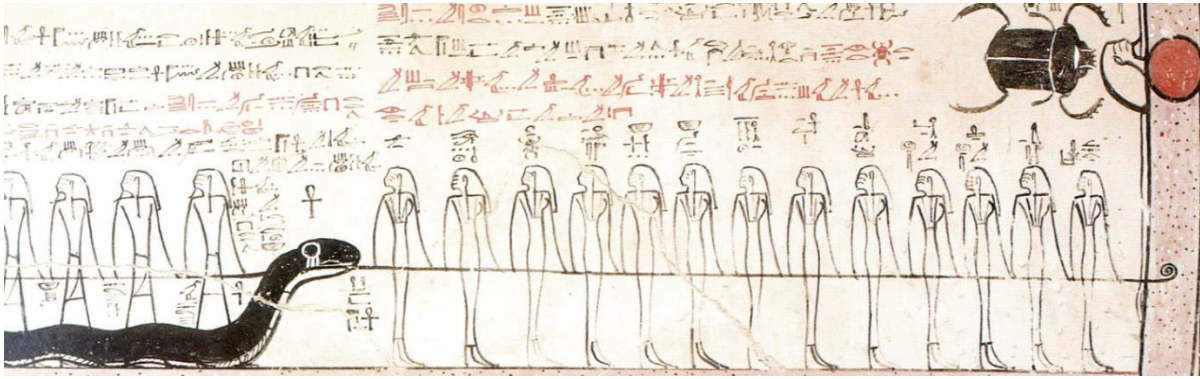


Fig. 90: The hauler gods and goddesses of the twelfth hour, Thutmosis III  
Hornung, eds., *Immortal Pharaoh*, 73.

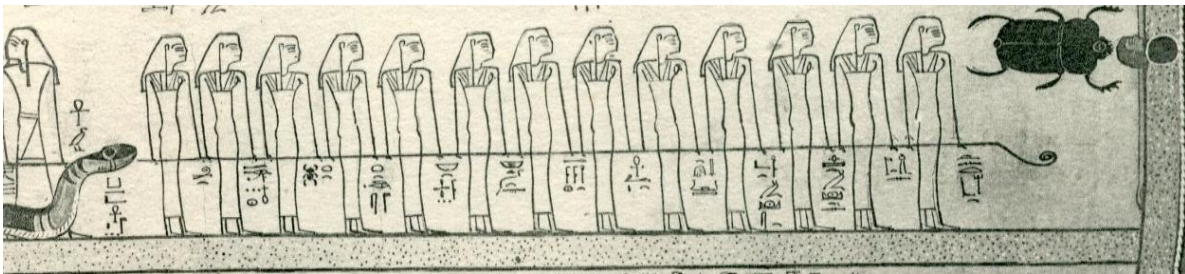


Fig. 91: The thirteen goddesses of the middle register, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 40.

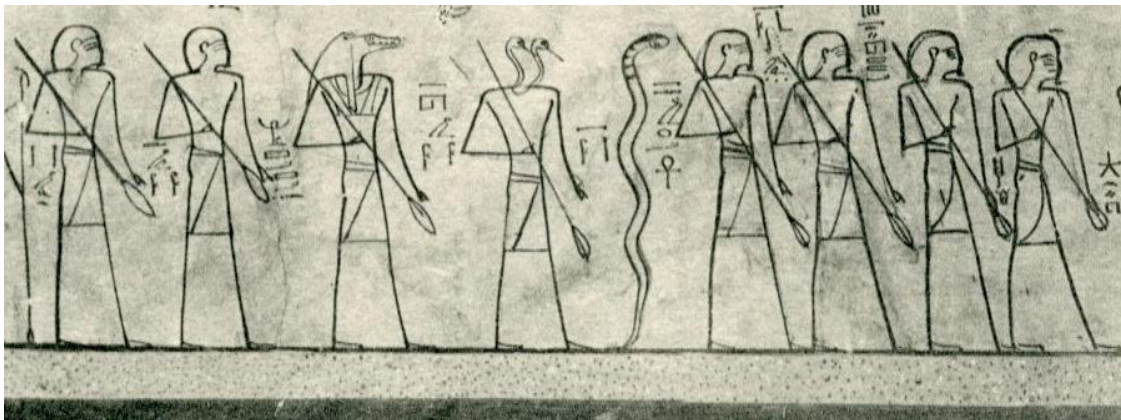


Fig. 92: Two groups of eight gods with a serpent, lower register, twelfth hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 40.



Fig. 93: Ten gods with raise arms before Osiris, lower register, twelfth hour, Amenhotep II  
Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, pl. 40.