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Cover photograph: A student of the Czech Institute of Egyptology documenting a decorated limestone stela in the eastern wall of the tomb of Nyankhseshat (AS 104) at Abusir South (photo M. Odler, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

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Contents

List of paper presentations	iii–vii
List of poster presentations and project presentation	viii
Introduction	ix
1. The crew of the sun bark before the first appearance of the <i>Amduat</i> . A new perspective via the <i>Pyramid</i> and <i>Coffin Texts</i> <i>Abdelhaleem Awadallah</i>	1–16
2. ‘Hail you, Horus <i>jm.j-Šn.wt</i> ’? First thoughts on papyrus Leiden I 347 <i>Susanne Beck</i>	17–22
3. Some thoughts on Nubians in Gebelein region during First Intermediate Period <i>Wojciech Ejsmond</i>	23–41
4. A few remarks on the persistence of native Egyptian <i>historiolae</i> in Coptic magical texts <i>Krisztina Hevesi</i>	42–54
5. Under the lion’s shadow. Iconographic evidence of Apedemak in the Meroitic Royal District at Napata <i>Francesca Iannarilli, Silvia Callegher, Federica Pancin</i>	55–65
6. Brief notes about regional elements of the pottery assemblage from the Byzantine site of Manqabad (Asyut) <i>Ilaria Incordino</i>	66–73
7. Development of purification scenes in the Graeco-Roman Period. Detecting distinct styles in temple decoration <i>Konstantin Ivanov</i>	74–80
8. Late dynastic reuse of Theban tombs <i>Marta Kaczanowicz</i>	81–94
9. The title <i>imy-r3 pr</i> ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ during the Old Kingdom <i>Věra Nováková</i>	95–112
10. A second unpublished version of the so-called Joseph Laporte’s notebook on the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria. Preliminary study and remarks <i>Renaud Pietri</i>	113–129
11. Being the son of a Goddess. The claim for legitimacy of the Bubastite kings <i>Perrine Poiron</i>	130–140

12. Time measuring and time units in the kiosk on the roof of the temple of Dendera <i>Alexa Rickert</i>	141–148
13. Deleterious outcomes of vernacular housing at el-Tarif cemetery <i>Rasha Soliman</i>	149–161
14. Illustrations of temple rank on 21st dynasty funerary papyri <i>Marissa Stevens</i>	162–228
15. Lapis lazuli in Sinai and indigenous black copper during the 18th Dynasty <i>Kimberley Watt</i>	229–238
16. Berenike of the Ptolemies. A Hellenistic desert city/fortress <i>Marek Woźniak</i>	239–252

List of paper presentations

Jose Manuel Alba Gómez, Yolanda de la Torre, Luisa M. García González
The tomb QH32 in Qubbet el-Hawa

Cristina Alù
In search of the shty.w identity within the ancient Egyptian society

Nicola Barbagli
The damnatio memoriae of the Roman Pharaoh

Susanne Beck
‘Hail to you, Horus jm.j-šnw.t (?)’.
First considerations on papyrus Leiden I 347

Malwina Brachmańska
The tied leopard and the leopard manacles.
Notes on the place of the leopard in the royal symbolism in the Ramesside period

Silvia Callegher, M. Gottardo, Francesca Iannarilli, F. Pancin, S. Taurino
Under the lion’s shadow.
Iconographic evidence of Apedemak in the Meroitic Royal District at Napata

Cloé Caron
Nu as a dreadful instance.
Remarks on the first sense of the concept of the primeval matter and on its etymology within the Pyramid and the Coffin Texts

Raúl Sánchez Casado
The ḥmt-kꜣ.
A female ritualist in the funerary cult of the Old Kingdom

Emanuele Casini
‘(Re-)contextualization’ of some New Kingdom finds from the Valley of the Queens

Julia M. Chyla
Gebelein quarries?

Alessandra Colazilli
Catfish-headed deities.
Some reflections on their nature and symbolism

Margaritta Danilova
On the issue of the Middle Kingdom kꜣp-Staff

Marwa Bdr El Din
The female figurines in the Egyptian Museum Cairo

Veronika Dulíková

A contribution to Old Kingdom administration.

The title iry nfr-ḥꜣt

Samuel Dupras

The Late Egyptian yes/no question system

Wojciech Ejsmond

Nubians in the Gebelein region during the First Intermediate Period

Abraham I. Fernández Pichel

Theological traditions in Esna II, 31.

Connections to Evergetes Gate in Karnak

María Franco González

Material evidence of religious practices and economic activities in the Temple of Millions of Years of Thutmose III

Thomas H. Greiner

Lapis-lazuli and long-distance trade in the Late Predynastic

Dagmara Haładaj

Underworld spirits in iconography of late Third Intermediate Period coffins

Krisztina Hevesi

The persistence of native Egyptian Historiolae in Coptic magical texts

Jacqueline M. Huwyler

Tracing the foreign.

Near Eastern communities in New Kingdom Egypt

Ilaria Incordino

Note on the painted decorative repertoire of pottery items from ‘Monastery of Abba Nefer the Hermit’ in Manqabad (Asyut)

Douglas Inglis

The Third Dynasty Abusir Boat.

A bridge between the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom

Konstantin Ivanov

Development of purification scenes in the Greco-Roman Period.

Detecting distinct styles in temple decoration

Kata Jasper

Notes on a formative period in the history of transmission of Pyramid Texts sequence 204–205, 207, 209–212

David Jeřábek

Abusir bureaucrats making impression(s)

Lucie Jirásková

Distribution pattern of burial equipment in the Old Kingdom tombs

Marta Kaczanowicz

Architectural aspects of tomb reuse during the First Millennium BCE

Taichi Kuronuma

Beyond hierarchy.

Heterarchical aspect of Predynastic funerary goods revisited

Nicolle Leary

When size matters.

Investigating animal figures and the canon of proportion using hypothetical grids

Natalia Małecka-Drozd

The economic role of the Nile Delta in the Third Millennium BCE.

Written sources vs. archaeological finds

Anna Giulia De Marco

Identify the wood workshops of Deir el-Medina.

A case study from the Turin collection

Uroš Matić

‘Joyful is her mirror in which she gazes’.

Mirrors in decoration of private tombs, coffins and steles from the Old to the New Kingdom

Vera Michel

Pits – disposal or ritual remains?

Offering pits from the urban quarter R/III (Avaris/Tell el-Dab‘a)

Aurore Motte

Speaking as an ancient Egyptian

Ghada Mohamed

Beyond the sign.

The forms and functions of the anthropomorphized Imntt sign in Ancient Egypt

Věra Nováková

Some notes on the title imy-r3 pr ‘overseer of the house/estate, the Steward’ during the Old Kingdom

Vincent Oeters

The tomb of Tatia at Saqqara.

New insights on familial relationships and private devotion

Pavel Onderka

Kiosk WBN 390 and the building program of Natakamani and Amanitore at Wad Ben Naga

Nir Orlev

Gender-based differences in the ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts.

Preliminary results

Federica Pancin

'In all his names, in all his forms'.

Figurative Osirian theonyms in the litanies of Esna

Marie Peterková Hlouchová

Sokar and ḥnw-bark in Old Kingdom sources

Renaud Pietri

A second version of the so-called Joseph Laporte's notebook on the French Expedition in Egypt and Syria

Perrine Poirion

Being the son of a Goddess.

The claim for legitimacy of the Bubastite kings

Gyula Priskin

The hour vigil of Osiris on Peftjauneith's coffin

Alexa Rickert

Initiating the annual cycle.

The ritual on New Year's Day in the temple of Hathor at Dendara

Sergio Alarcón Robledo

Tomb Qubbet el-Hawa 35p.

An architectural approach

Sasha Rohret

Provisioning vs. household economy in Old Kingdom settlements.

Preliminary results of the faunal analysis at Tell Edfu

Lisa Sartini

Just a matter of taste?

A peculiar colour scheme on black coffins of the New Kingdom

Reham El-Shiwy

Hapy of the South versus Hapy of the North

Rasha Soliman

The long forgotten Tarif tombs

Marissa Stevens

Illustrations of temple rank on 21st dynasty funerary papyri

Filip Taterka

The black eye-paint of Punt and its ritual significance

Katarzyna Trzcińska, Anna Wodzińska

The significance of New Kingdom amphorae from Tell el-Retaba

Yolanda de la Torre Robles, Jose M. Alba Gómez

Use and reuses of Qubbet el-Hawa tombs

Valeria Turriziani

Reconsidering the Giza writing-boards.

A contribution to the Old Kingdom divine pantheon

Federica Ugliano

Heliopolis (1903–1906).

For a new archaeological topography of the site through the archives of the Missione Archeologica Italiana (Museo Egizio, Turin)

Kimberley Watt

The administration of mining and quarrying expeditions in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt

Dawid F. Wieczorek

Hieratic dipinti in the Thutmose III Hathor shrine sanctuary at Deir el-Bahari

Dorotea Wollnerová

Rituals with linen in Ptolemaic and Roman temples

Marek Woźniak

Berenike of the Ptolemies.

Desert city, fortress or maritime gateway to the Southern Seas

Ayano Yamada, Eissa Zidan, Mamdouh Taha, Hiromasa Kurokochi, Sakuji Yoshimura

Numbering and counting system in ancient Egyptian boat building

Seria Yamazaki

Ideal and actual practices of the Middle Kingdom burials.

Reconsidering the ‘court type’ burial

List of poster presentations

Abdelhaleem Aly Ahmed Awadallah and Martin Stadler
The crew of the sun bark in the Amduat

Scott Allan
Dark Dynasty.
A reanalysis of the Second Dynasty of ancient Egypt

Kamila Braulinska
Hatshepsut's monkey business

Marion Claude
The cultural organisation of the town of Akhmim

Wojciech Ejsmond
Temples and stars.
Astronomical aspects of early sacral architecture in ancient Egypt

Amani Hussein Ali Attia
Tomb of Khaemhat - TT57 in Qurnah - West Luxor

M. Laura Iamarino, Elisa Neira Cordero, Gabriela Lovecky and Valeria Ojeda
The cult chapel of a Post-Amarnian tomb: TT49

Daniel Viktor Takacs
The possible role of the Gebelein Speos in Hatshepsut's whm msw.t program

Project presentation

Arcanae / Anciennes civilisations digitales
(<http://arcanae.fr/>)

Introduction

In the year 2018 the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague celebrated the 60th anniversary of its establishment. The Institute was delighted that at this important occasion it was able to organise a special meeting in Prague: the nineteenth symposium of the Egyptological conference for young scholar, *Current Research in Egyptology*. The conference was held on 25th–28th June 2018, and hosted more than 100 students and young scholars from a number of countries and institutions. The participants presented their latest research in the fields of history, society, religious life, material culture, language, archival ‘digging’ or archaeological excavations. Moreover, six keynote lectures were presented by experts from the Czech Institute of Egyptology and the Institute of Egyptology, University of Vienna.

The Organising Committee of the Prague session would like to express their gratitude to all participants for their inspiring talks and posters. Our special thanks go to the members of the Czech Institute of Egyptology and to its director, Prof. Mgr. Miroslav Bárta, Dr., for their support and for enabling three foreign researchers to participate in the meeting. Likewise, we are grateful to the representatives of the Faculty of Arts for providing us with spatial and technical facilities, and to our colleagues and students for their important pieces of advice and their assistance.

The present volume contains 16 articles focusing on different topics from the fields of religion, society, material culture, archaeology, epigraphy, tomb reuse, kingship, Coptic, modern travelling in Egypt and the protection of Egyptian monuments. This publication thus demonstrates the wide range of Egyptological research and opens these fields of study to scholarly discussion, which enables a better understanding of ancient Egyptian and Sudanese civilisations.

Commonly, students of the Czech Institute of Egyptology participate in the excavations at Abusir, which is also reflected on the cover photo. It pictures the uncovering of a mastaba at Abusir South in the spring season of 2018. Abusir, a part of the Memphite necropolis, is a locality that has been explored by the Czech Institute of Egyptology for many decades, and its excavations have contributed to the study of many phenomena of the ancient Egyptian civilisation.

Editors



The crew of the sun bark before the first appearance of the Amduat.

A new perspective via the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*

Abdelhaleem Awadallah¹

Abstract

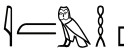

The *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* are the most important funerary texts in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, usually depicted to help the spirit of the concerned person to be preserved in the afterlife and possess his place in the solar circuit, the matter which guarantee his position in the presence of the gods. So, is the Book of the Amduat which describes the nocturnal journey of the sun god and his followers from the west horizon to the eastern horizon. Regardless of the location of the Duat in the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* which was in the eastern side of the sky and its location in the Book of the Amduat which was under the earth and change the nature of the journey to a horizontal movement in the domains of the Underworld, the study aims at investigating the roles played by members of the solar bark's crew in helping both the sun god and the deceased during the vertical transmission from the earth to the sky, depending on the texts before the first appearance of the Amduat.

Keywords

Amduat; sun bark; night journey; crew; solar cycle; *Pyramid Texts*; *Coffin Texts*

Introduction

The Amduat is one of the most important ancient Egyptian Netherworld books, recorded in many different kinds of manuscripts since the beginning of the 18th dynasty and especially on the walls of the royal tombs. Even though the Amduat first appeared in the early 18th dynasty, many scholars have agreed that the composition of the text in all likelihood predates the New Kingdom. H. Altenmüller (1968, 27–42) has argued, based on the nature of the texts, that parts of this book may be dated to the end of the Old Kingdom and that it was completed as a composition at the beginning of the New Kingdom. H. Grapow (1967, 30–3) stated that integration and compatibility can be detected between the Book of Two Ways and the Amduat, and the Book of Two Ways is considered the first form of the description of the Underworld. He also believed that the 4th and 5th Hours of the Amduat are similar to the map of the Book of Two Ways; in addition, some words were mentioned – as places – in the 4th and 5th Hours, which had already attested in the Book of

Two Ways, such as:  *Jmḥ.t*, 'Underworld', and  *W3.wt nt r3 st3.w*, 'Ways of Rosetau', and based on this he dated the book to the end of the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period.

Nonetheless, E. Hornung (1997, 40) and S. Schott (1958, 316–25) found it difficult to date the origins of this book to the late Old Kingdom because the text's earliest witnesses cannot be dated to this period. They believed that the Amduat could be dated to the late Middle Kingdom, and probably to the early New Kingdom. J. Wegner (2009, 143–50) stated that the tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos is an Amduat-tomb and that it embodies core ideas expressed in the Amduat given the architectural design of the tomb.

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K. Jansen-Winkel (2012, 87–9) assumes that it is true that there are many words and forms that look very ancient, and some of them may indeed have originated in Old Egyptian texts. However, 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 ancient times. A. von Lieven (2007, 223–50) made it clear that, despite the attempts to create new ideas with an older linguistic status, the early traditional ways were still indicated in the later texts.

The previous studies tried to establish a connection between the Amduat and the former texts either through the textual themes or the architectural form of the tomb, but 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 *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*. So, the proposed study focuses mainly on ascertaining the functions and responsibilities assigned to the crew who manage the sun bark's journey according to the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* before the appearance of the Amduat and proving that the Amduat is the perfect image of the Netherworld that the ancient Egyptians created as of the Old Kingdom.

Most of the hours in the Amduat, the number of crew members is nine. In the 2nd Hour, Isis and Nephthys join the crew as two serpents at the front stern of the bark. In the 3rd Hour, the sun bark, in some versions incomplete, shows the usual crew accompanied by three other barks carrying various representations of the sun god with a differing number of accompanying deities. Beginning from the 7th Hour, the sun god is enveloped by the protective serpent Mehen, and the crew is strengthened by the goddess Isis, standing at the prow and stretching out her arms against the arch-enemy of the sun, Apopi.

In the New Kingdom's Netherworld books, the number of crew members is considered subject to a specific rule. The group of nine deities represents an unfathomable multiplicity of divine powers (Schweizer 2010, 42). In contrast, in the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*, the number of individuals in the sun bark's crew is not directly clarified. One spell from the Book of Two Ways states that the number is unknown, while another spell from the same book claimed that the number is six, bearing in mind that the sun god is counted as one of them.

In all Egyptian religious documents, the identification of the deceased with the sun god can be explicitly determined because the deceased wants to take his place beside Re, cross the horizon in his bark to the place where the gods were born and join the cosmic order in 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 (Davis 1977, 166; Allen 1989, 1–25). The main purpose of joining the sun's solar cycle for the deceased is to help him during his vertical transmission from the earth to the sky and during his horizontal movements through the domains of the Duat. This category does not begin with preparing the king or his soul for the ascension, but it begins with purifying him and his ka. The purification and prayers in the funerary ritual supposedly cleansed the deceased in preparation for his entrance into the Hereafter (Davis 1977, 163). One may suggest that the cycle of ascension encompasses three phases; the first phase includes the time after death, the embalming and going to the tomb, the second phase is that of raising the deceased in the sky and opening the gates for him, and finally, the third phase represents the deceased receiving his place in the bark amongst the crew of Re, sailing with them to fight the enemies of the sun god and reaching the eastern horizon together. The selected excerpts from the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* clarify the role played by members of the sun bark's crew during the three phases and less concerned with philological questions which can arise in the interpretations.

The First phase

Spell *CT* 153 briefly narrates the entire process of the solar cycle and the desire of the deceased to be within the circuit of the sun god (= Text 7; see below). Many passages in the *CT* may be considered a perfect combination of the three phases of the solar cycle, represented by Re, Atum and Khepri (Minas-Nerpel 2006, 76, 84), in which the deceased travels to the front of the horizon, joins the paths of the sun which Re makes available to him, travels with Re-Atum and sits with Khepri. Re commands that the deceased shall be there as a ruler of his thrones (cf. *CT* VI, 393a–h). The connection of the fate of every blessed deceased individual with that of the sun god and the desire to live after death *ꜥnh m-ht mwt*, is very common in the *Coffin Texts*. One may say that this rejuvenation and the new birth of the sun god and the deceased is the most important mission assigned to the bark's crew.

Spell *PT* 222 is also considered a collective spell in the *PT*, comprising the three phases of ascension into the realm of the sun god, in which the most significant role of Isis, Nephthys, Seth, and Horus is to take care of the deceased's mummy during the process of embalming until reaching the horizon and being encircled by his mother Nut (Altenmüller 1972, 151–2). In *PT* § 150a–c, the speaker, perhaps the high priest, addresses the deities who accompany the sun gods on his nightly journey (Spiegel 1971, 178; Faulkner 1969, 50). The deceased wants to join the sun's circuit, so he compares his birth to that of the sun's and tries to join the day and night barks via Isis and Nephthys (= Text 1; see below). The sun passes through the bones of the god Shu, who is between the earth and the sky and appears in the horizon. The sky is reached when Nut takes the new born child in her arms (Sethe 1935, 148; Frankfort 1948, 121).

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 (Spiegel 1971, 178, 213, n. 13). 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 circuit, 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 distributed are between the two sisters throughout the night and the day (Ahmed 2016, 79).

The Second phase

This event and its parallels are considered the main event in the second phase of the solar cycle. In order to enter the Duat and open its gates and paths, Wepwawet is the one who intercepts this mission (= Text 4; see below). Wepwawet stands on the front stern of the bark of Re in most hours of the night in the Amduat, and this function was extensively mentioned in the *CT* and *PT*. The deceased ascends to the sky with all means of protection and being helped by all the gods of the Duat, where his face becomes that of Wepwawet (*PT* § 1304b–c). The deceased has been banded with the breast band of Horus, clothed in the clothing of Thoth, protected by Isis and Nephthys, with Wepwawet parting a path for him, and Shu lifting him up (*PT* § 1089a–1090c). In the *Coffin Texts*, the role of Wepwawet as an opener of the ways is frequently paralleled (*CT* I, 34a, 74i, 193b, 194a, 312i; *CT* IV, 376a–b, 378a; *CT* VII, 94h, 168e; Altenmüller 1975, 39–40; Willems 1996, 227, n. 1223).

There was a functional connection between Wepwawet and Re, which often led to the syncretistic god, Wepwawet-Re, found on a stela from the Middle Kingdom, while the text in *CT* VI, 177k reads: 'I am Re, the sole jackal in the sky'. Here, it is an obvious precept that in the night, Re opens the dark paths of the Netherworld with the aspect of Wepwawet (Assmann 2002, 107).

Spell *CT* 236 represents an important part of the second phase of the solar cycle, in which the deceased wants to be raised into the sky and enter the realm of the great gods (= Text 9; see below). He claims that he will not be turned back at the gates of the Duat, he ascends to the sky with Orion (*CT* III, 303i–304a), 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 (*CT* III, 305e–306b).

In the second phase, when the deceased is going out around the great god, he ascends to the sky with the strength of a lion (*CT* III, 341a–c). He knows the names which allow him to control everything, assumes his place behind Re and has the powers of Hu and Re (= Text 10; see below). Then he claims that he himself is Re. J. Zandee (1964, 42); cites several passages in which Re and Hu are at least the same (see also Borghouts 1971, 184). In *CT* 107 (*CT* II, 119i–120a), the recitation states the purpose of the journey: to go out into the day and open the Netherworld. So, it is clearly beneficial for the deceased to identify with Hu during the process of ascension until reaching to 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 disc.’

The Third phase

The event of *CT* II, 198a–b (= Text 6; see below) occurs at the beginning of the third phase, in which the crew of the sun bark is the active group fulfilling the major responsibilities in the nocturnal journey in the Duat. They sail the bark, overthrow Apopi and cause the manifestation of the sun god as Khepri (cf. *BD* 140). In the *CT* 181, the text reads: ‘It is the night bark and the day bark which are daily taken for me to the house of the good. (...) For it is Isis who rows me every day’ (cf. *CT* II, 75h–m). The navigation of the sun bark is authorized by the crew of Re who knows no destruction or weariness.

The text of *PT* § 267a–268d belongs to the third phase of the solar cycle, as the last paragraph of *PT* 249 reads: ‘I appear as Nefertem, as the lotus-bloom which is at the nose of Re; the deceased will arise from the horizon daily and the gods will be cleansed at the sight of him’. Now he has assumed his place with the sun god, announced his presence through Sia and associated himself with him (= Text 2; see below). Here, Sia is the representative of the sun god in the sky, the bearer of the divine book and the one who stands at the right hand of Re. P. Boylan (1922, 81–2) 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’. However, 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 (Stadler 2009, 13, 403, 428–9; cf. Milde 1991, 203–4). In the Book of Gates, Sia is the spokesman of the sun god who orders the gates of the Netherworld to open wide for Re. In the *Amduat*, Sia stands with Wepwawet and ‘the lady of the bark’ at the prow of the sun bark.

Spell *CT* 758 and the first lines of Spell 759 belong to the vignette on *CT* VI, 386, in which a figure of an enthroned god is enclosed in a series of ovals or encircled by a coiled serpent (Faulkner 1977, 290, n. 1). The entire event occurred after entering the Duat and the purpose of these spells is to know the dangerous roads, full of fire, which the Mehen-serpent encircles, and in this way to come within the circumference of the Mehen-serpent and to be protected by it like Re (*CT* VI, 387a–m; Zandee 1960, 164–5). In *CT* VI, 388h, the deceased does not want to be rejected by Re and to stay within his Mehen. In *BD* 15, the text reads: ‘praise be to you (Re) when you rise wearing Mehen, “the coiled one”, lord

of the sky, foremost who is therein. May you give refreshing breath to Osiris N.’ (Allen 1960, 14, S4). Hu and Sia are travelling on a certain path and there it seems reasonable to identify the seated figure accompanying the text of the spell as Re. On the other hand, the roads by which Hu and Sia travel are specifically located in the vertex (*m wp.t*) of Re. These paths would then be the place of manifestation of Hu and Sia (Nyord 2009, 375) where the deceased wants to be integrated (= Text 11; see below).

R. Faulkner (1969, 62) titled Spell *PT* 251 as ‘The king departs to join the sun god’. In this passage, the deceased king asks the ancestors (or companions?) who are with Re to make a way for him in to assume his own throne. Then he defeats his enemies and reaches the horizon which he will not be hindered from entering. The event continues in *PT* 252 (= Text 3; see below), which is now considered part of the Akhet and represents the third phase of the solar cycle, in which the deceased king becomes the supreme deity, governs men and judges the living within the domain of the sun god. The king moves the sceptre in a threatening manner. Nevertheless, he honours the gods, but they are called upon to beware of his power and to be subject to him, since he himself is the supreme god (Hassan 1934–1935, 285, n. 5; Faulkner 1969, 62, n. 1). Here, the deceased king gains what he desires by joining the crew who rows Re in the Duat. This text was used widely in ordinary funerary services in later times (Kees 1926, 368; Mercer 1952, 126) and the entire speech, in which the deceased king ‘modestly’ identifies himself with Re, is addressed to the gods who accompany Re in the Duat (Hassan 1934–1935, 286). This matter is very clear in *PT* § 953a–c, in which the king takes his place between the sailors of Re, apparently as a helmsman. He commands, and Thoth obeys (Mercer 1952, 127).

Spell *CT* 1128 belongs to the Book of Two Ways, which is considered the precursor of the Amduat (Grapow 1967, 30–3), and this particular excerpt numerates the gods who are surrounding the sun god in his bark; the spell starts with the phrase: *šnw.t sḏ.t*, ‘the entourage of flame’, and probably indicates the resumption of the solar tradition. At the prow stand Seth, Isis, and Horus (= Text 12; see below). Seth not only appears as hostile to Horus and as the slayer of Osiris, but also as a repeller of the Apopi snake (te Velde 1967, 99–101). The appearance of Seth at the prow of the bark in the act of stabbing Apopi with a huge spear is very remarkable (Nagel 1928, Fig. 1). Isis is also mentioned in the Amduat as one of the defenders against Apopi, with Seth as *Hkꜣ Smsw* (Hornung 1991: 111–12) and it is this eldest magician whom we find in *CT* 1127 as the opponent of Apopi. In this quality, he is invoked and adored.

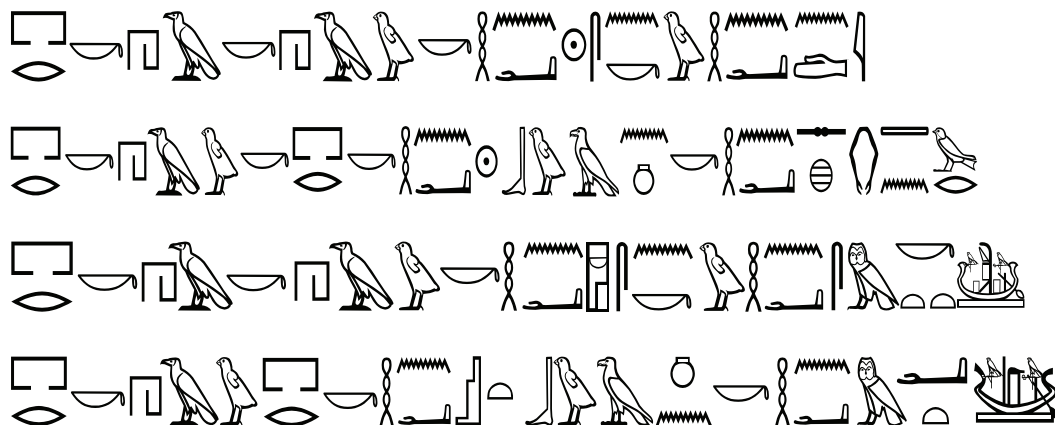
It was a clearly structured idea to divide the accompanying gods into two halves and they were meaningfully distributed. Behind the shrine are Hu and Sia as the personifications of creation, and in the front are Isis, Seth and Horus (= Text 12; see below), the most suitable and capable in the defence against Apopi. Horus is also associated with the aspect of a future glorious rule. The Amduat and the Book of Gates show Sia in the front and Hu in the back. Naming the gods as *šnw.t*, is not coincidental, since the term ‘crew’ is similar to *šnw.t n.t sḏ.t*, ‘crew of fire’ (*CT* 1033). Here the impenetrable environment of the sun god is not presented as a fire or a fiery gateway reinforced by a guardian; instead, he appears among well-known gods on his bark (Hermesen 1991, 125–6; Backes 2005, 423). This entourage received various designations in the *Coffin Texts*. Among other things, they are said to be: ‘those who are around the shrine’ (*CT* I, 394a; *CT* IV, 102f–g, 179b, 224b; *CT* VI, 231b, 236b), ‘the gods who are around the shrine’ (*CT* IV, 225b), ‘the entourage which is around the shrine’ (*CT* I, 386a, 390b, 391b) and ‘those who are around Re’ (*CT* VII 17r). All these texts stress the fact that these gods perform their protection by means of using fire and being around Re in his cabin (Sherbiny 2017, 170). For the term *šnj* and its derivatives (cf. Anthes 1961, 86–91; Ritner 1993, 43).

During the course of sailing in the third phase, the deceased goes on to say that no components of the bark will be damaged or broken on behalf of the crew of Re, and because of his travelling like Isis, he will be able to sail with the bark and row Re himself with his crew of gods (= Text 8; see below). The nautical terms *jmy-tp* and *hry-^cf*, are mentioned in close conjunction with each other in other texts about the ferry. The two occur directly after the sail, the mast and its rigging. Here, the passage forms part of a much less encompassing account of the ships parts, which mentions *hmw*, ‘the helm’, *nwj*, ‘the cable’, and *hpt*, ‘the rudder’ twice (cf. CT V, 169e). If a determinative occurs, both words usually show the wood sign, except A1C and G1T, which have the sign for rope. However, the wood sign occasionally seems to designate rope on the southern Egyptian coffins. Perhaps for this reason, R. Faulkner (Faulkner 1973, 35, n. 47–8) renders *jmy-dp* as ‘stern-post’ and *hr(y)-^c* as ‘tiller’. H. Willems (1996, 441) states that, although this reading has been accepted by some, there is no evidence to support it.

In the third phase and after his enduring arrival – in the presence of the sun god – to the eastern horizon, the deceased receives his clean place at the prow of the sun’s bark using the crew of Re to row him in the bark and propel him around the horizon (= Text 5; see below). Paragraph PT § 713b ends with the phrase: ‘Re purifies me and protects me from what might be evilly done against me’, which means that the purpose of the journey, to join the sun god, has hereby been accomplished.

Sources

Text 1: PT 222 (209a–210c)

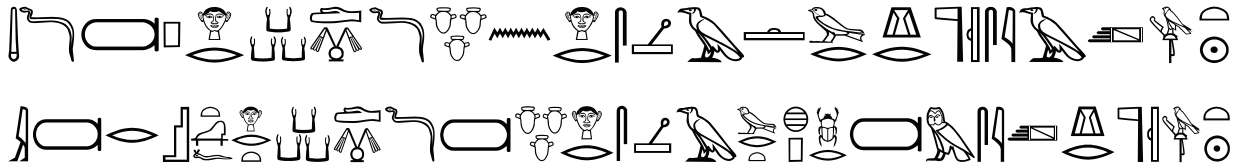


prj=k h3j=k h3w=k hn^c R^c snk.t hn^c Ndj
prj=k h3j=k prj=k hn^c R^c wbn=k hn^c zhⁿ-wr
prj=k h3j=k h3w=k hn^c Nb.t-hw.t snkw hn^c Mskt.t
prj=k h3w=k prj=k hn^c 3s.t wbn=k hn^c M^cnd.t

‘You may go forth and descend; descend with Re, sink into darkness with Nedi. You may go forth and descend; ascend with Re, rise with the great float user. You may go forth and descend, descend with Nephthys, sink into darkness with the night bark. You may go forth and descend, go forth with Isis, you may shine with the day bark.’

(Hassan 1934–1935, 96; Sethe 1935–1962 I, 146–7; Münster 1968, 47; Faulkner 1969, 50; Allen 2005, 40, 155; Allen 2017, 318–9).

Text 2: PT 250 (267a–268d)

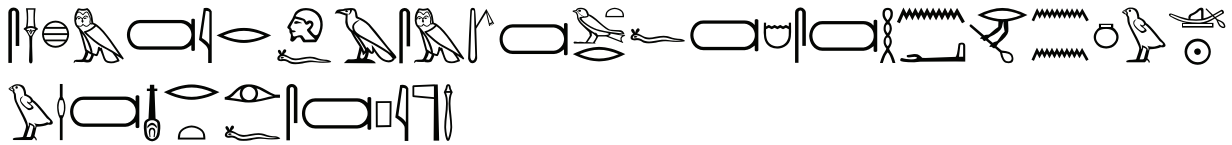


dd mdw: N p(j) hr(y) k3.w dmd jb.w n hr(y) s3 wr hr(y) md3.t-ntr Hj3 wnm.t R^c
jj N r s.t=f hrt k3w dmd N jb.w hr(y) s3 wr.t hpr N m Hj3 hr(y) md3.t-ntr wnm.t R^c

‘Words spoken: NN who is over the ka-spirits, the one who unites hearts for the great one in charge of wisdom, the one who carries the god’s scroll, Sia who is at the right hand of Re. NN has come to his throne which is over the ka-spirits, N unites the hearts, for the one who is the great chief of wisdom. N will become Sia who bears the god’s book, who is at the right hand of Re.’

(Gardiner 1916, 45; Sethe 1935–1962 I, 270–1; Breasted 1959, 121, n. 1; Borghouts 1971, 183, n. 3; Allen 2005, 42, 161; Allen 2017, 326–7).

Text 3: PT 252 (274a–c)



shm N jr dp=f 3ms N wr.t=f N hmsj N hn^c hnnw wj3 R^c
w3 N nfr.t jri=f s N p(j) ntr^c

‘The power of NN is at his head, NN’s sceptre is causing respect for NN. NN will sit with those who row the bark of Re, N will command what is good and he will do it, because N is the great god.’

(Sethe 1935–1962 I, 288–9; Faulkner 1969, 62; Allen 2005, 43, 163; Allen 2017, 326–7).

Text 4: PT 302 (463a–b)

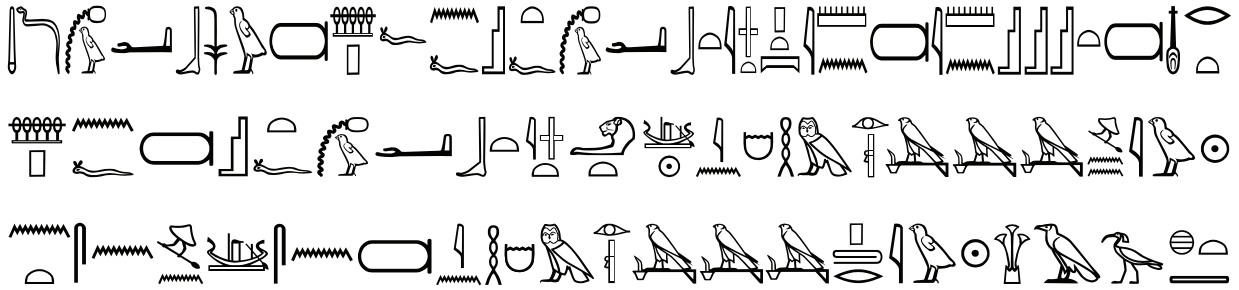


sp3=n Wp-w3.wt N (j) r p.t mm snw=f ntr.w

‘Wepwawet has caused N to fly up to the sky among his brothers, the gods.’

(Sethe 1935–1962 II, 253; Piankoff 1968, 21; Allen 2005, 56, 207; Allen 2017, 350–1).

Text 5: PT 407 (710a–711d)

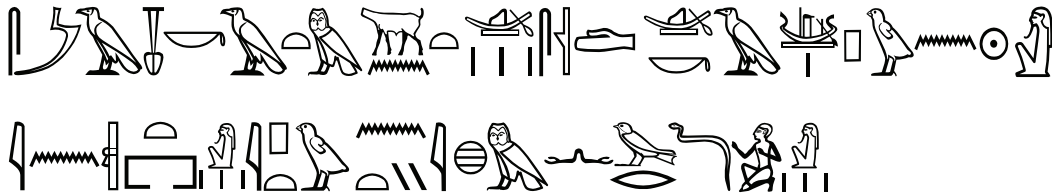


*ḏd mdw w^cb sw N sšp=f n s.t=f w^cb.t jmy.t p.t jmn N jmn sw.t nfr.wt
sšp n=f N s.t=f w^cb.t imyt ḥ3t wj3 R^c jn-ḥm jr(y.w)-js.t ḥnj.w R^c
ntsn ḥn=sn N jn-ḥm jr(y.w)-js.t phrj.w R^c ḥ3 3ḥ.t*

‘Words spoken: NN will purify himself and receive his pure throne which is in the sky, N will endure, and his beautiful thrones will endure. N receives his pure seat at the prow of the bark of Re. It is indeed the crew who rows Re, they are the ones who row N; and they are the crew who conduct Re around the horizon.’

(Sethe 1935–1962 III, 304–5; Faulkner 1969, 133; Krauss 1997, 134; Meurer 2002, 106; Allen 2005, 93, 284).

Text 6: CT 146 (CT II, 198a–b)



*sm3 k3t mḥn.wt sqd k3 wj3 pw n R^c
jn js.wt jptw nty(.w) jḥm wrḏ*

‘The ferry-boats shall be made ready, this bark of Re shall be navigated by this crew of Re. who does not know weariness.’

(Faulkner 1973, 123; Barguet 1986, 265).

Text 7: CT 153 (CT II, 263c–265a) = BD 3

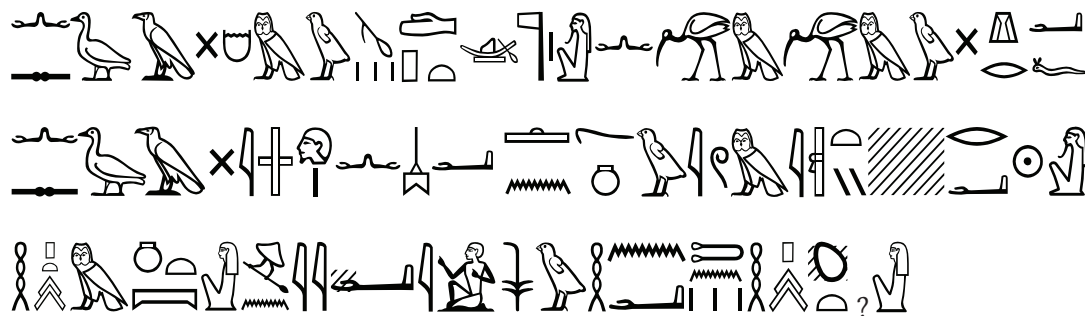


*s^cr wj hnhnw jr wj³.wy ³pr wn=f n=j r³ t³ sn=f n=j ³.w jmy.w j³hw wd md.wt js.wt R^c m mšrw
^cnh=j m-ht mwt mj ^cnh R^c r^c nb*

‘The *hnhnw*-bark raises me up to the two barks of Khepri. It opens for me the mouth (gate) of the earth. It throws open for me the doors which are in the sunshine, and commands are given to the crew of Re in the evening so that I may live after death just as Re lives every day.’

(Faulkner 1973, 132; Hornung 1979, 415; Barguet 1986, 222).

Text 8: CT 182 (CT III, 77e-k)



*nn s³(w) hmw.w dp.t ntr n gmgmw hr(y)-^c=f
 nn s³(w) jm(y) dp nn wd^c(w) nwj m js.ty R^c
 hpt m Nw.t hny=j sw hn^c=tn hpt m ³s.t*

‘The helm of the god’s bark will not be broken, its tiller will not be snapped, the stern-post will not be broken, the cable will not be severed by reason of the two crews of Re. O you who are the rudder in the sky, I will row him with you, you are the rudder as Isis.’

(Faulkner 1973, 153; Barguet 1986, 344).

Text 9: CT 236 (CT III, 304b-d)



šsp=j htp.wt hn^c Wr.w dmj=j sbh.wt ³.wt šnw.t R^c rd=t(w) snm.w

‘I received food offerings with the Great Ones, my abode is at the high portals of the entourage of Re, who gives supplies of food.’

(Faulkner 1973, 185; Barguet 1986, 54).

Text 10: CT 248 (CT III, 342b-k)



Rh.k(w)j tn rh.k(w)j rnw=tn sšm=j tn h³ R^c ts phr
s.t=f s.t=j mk.t=f mk.t=j h^c.k(w)j m jr.t Hr wnm=j ntr:w
sm³=j s^cnh=j snh=j w^ch=j wd=j sdb dr=j sdb jnk R^c 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 can kill him whom I made to live, I can bind him whom I released, I can implant obstacles and remove obstacles, (for) I am Re, I am Hu.’

(Grieshammer 1970, 98; Faulkner 1973, 193; Barguet 1986, 529–30).

Text 11: CT 759 (CT VI, 388h–m)



n hsf=j hr R^c m hnw mhn=f N jmy h.t=f jw=j gr rh.kwj w³.wt
kkj.t ³q.t ċw jm=sn hn^c Hj³ m hf.t 4 kki.t sšt n (j)m(y.w)-h.t=sn dp-^c.wy=sn
³q=j jmytw=sny hr w³.t šb³.t Jm.t wp.t R^c

‘I will not make opposition on account of Re within his *Mhn*-serpent, for I am one who is in his body. Moreover, I knew the dark paths where Hu and Sia come in with the four dark snakes which illuminate for those who are behind them and those who are in front of them. I enter between them under the secret path which is in the vertex of Re.’

(Faulkner 1977, 291; Barguet 1986, 595; Nyord 2009, 372–5).

Text 12: CT 1128 (CT VII, 458e–i)




šnw.t jmy.t h³.t ³s.t Sth Hr šnw.t jmy.t ph.wy Hw Sj³ R^c

‘The entourage which is on the prow: Isis, Seth and Horus. The entourage which is on the stern: Hu, Sia and Re.’

(Lesko 1972, 128; Backes 2005, 117).

Analysis indicating the concept of the divine group of the solar bark

From the study of the solar bark and its contents, we know that one of the most significant implements is the sign *šms*, that could be a characterization of the entire crew. The mention of the term ‘crew’ of the sun bark is attested in ancient Egyptian literature in many variants. The most common word used to refer directly to the crew of the sun bark is  *js.t*. However, the texts may also mention the entourage of Re without directly using the term ‘crew’. We also find that the members of the crew are simply named by their divine quality, and the following table clarifies the variants of the word crew and its designations from *PT* and *CT*.

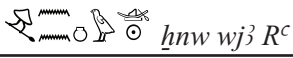

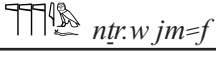



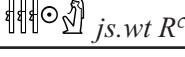

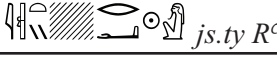



The term	Meaning	Paragraph
 <i>hnw wj³ R^c</i>	The sailors who row the bark of Re.	PT 274a–c
 <i>js.wt hnw R^c</i>	The sailors who row Re.	PT 710a–711d
 <i>ntr.w jm=f</i>	The gods in it (the bark).	PT 2054a–2046c
 <i>šms.w n nb tm</i>	Followers of the lord of All.	CT I, 194f
 <i>js.wt mr.wt wj³</i>	Crews and servants of the bark.	CT I, 195b
 <i>js.t R^c</i>	The crew of Re.	CT II, 139c–140b
 <i>js.wt R^c</i>	Crews of Re.	CT II, 263c–265a
 <i>js.t</i>	The crew.	CT II, 378c–381a
 <i>js.ty R^c</i>	The two crews of Re.	CT III, 77e–k
 <i>šn.wt R^c</i>	The Entourage of Re.	CT III, 304b–d
 <i>šn.wt</i>	The Entourage.	CT VII, 404d–407c
 <i>js.t R^c</i>	The crew of Re.	CT VII, 457a–i

Table 1. The terms for the word ‘crew’ in *PT* and *CT*.

Plenty of texts mention the roles of the sun bark’s crew before the first appearance of the Amduat. These tasks were not assigned to them individually, but also as a group, expressed by the terms: *hnw n R^c*, *Jsw.t R^c*, *šn.wt R^c*, who are responsible for the sailing of the bark, rowing the sun god and of course the deceased and defending the bark against its enemies. Hathor could be Nebetwia, ‘the lady of the bark’, Seth could be Nehes, Sia is Thoth and Isis is Maat. Thus, after making the connection between the older texts and the scenes of the Amduat, the whole crew is doubtlessly a representation of the power and abilities of the principle gods.

Conclusion

This paper seeks to highlight the similarities between the *Pyramid* and the *Coffins Texts* on one hand and the Amduat on the other. This resemblance is clearly established by the tasks and functions delegated to the members of the sun bark. This study addresses this through several excerpts from the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*. The functions may be assigned to the crew of the bark (Texts 3, 5–9, 12) or they could be determined for a specific member of the crew (Texts 1–2, 8, 10–11). The crew as a whole has principle tasks, they row the bark of Re (Text 3) and propel him around the horizon (Text 5) without having any weariness (Text 6). Therefore, no damages or wreckage could affect the bark (Text 8). Then Re gives his commands to his crew in order to continue the circle of rebirth and resurrection by giving life to the deceased (Text 7). One more significant role of the crew is to provide the Great Gods and all those in their presence with supplies of food and offerings (Text 9), and thus ensure that the deceased will not be rejected at their portals. Only one spell in the *Coffin Texts* defined the number of the crew as six (Text 12) while another spell from the same book stated that the number is unknown (CT 1126). As for the members of the crew who are mentioned by name,

Crew Members	Function	Paragraph
Isis and Nephthys	responsible for sailing and travelling in <i>Mskt.t</i> and <i>M^cnd.t</i> ; Speak the deceased name within the sun bark; call the deceased and speak to him to give him a road into horizon; Isis is before the deceased and Nephthys after while ascending to the sky.	<i>PT</i> 210a–c <i>CT</i> 48, 150 <i>PT</i> 755a–c <i>PT</i> 1089a–c
Hu and Sia	the deceased ascend to the shrine of Re and gain his throne by assuming Hu and Sia; Sia is at the right hand of Re the bearer of the god's book and in charge of wisdom; the deceased is Hu, so that he has the power to place himself behind Re; the deceased enters the circuit of Hu and Sia which makes him able to enter the one of the sun god.	<i>PT</i> 300a–c <i>PT</i> 267a–268d <i>CT</i> 248 <i>CT</i> 321
Wepwawet	caused the deceased to fly up to the sky, opens a way for the deceased, open the fair paths.	<i>PT</i> 953a–c <i>PT</i> 1090a <i>CT</i> 10
Mehen	The sun bark named after its name. and he is the protector of the sun god.	<i>CT</i> 758, 759
Nehes	The deceased is Nehes who overcome his enemies when going out to the sky.	<i>CT</i> 96
Seth	With Isis and Horus at the front stern of the bark.	<i>CT</i> 1128
Kherepwia	The sun bark named after him with Hathor as a lady of the bark.	<i>CT</i> 332
Hathor	The one on the bow of the bark. Mistress of the sky who strengthened the bonds in the night (with Isis).	<i>CT</i> 484 <i>CT</i> 332
Maat	The one who travel at the head of the great bark.	<i>CT</i> 1099

Table 2. Members of the sun bark's crew in the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts* with some functions and responsibilities.

Isis and Nephthys are responsible for sailing the day and night barks (Text 1); even the deceased cannot travel in the sky unless he sails like Isis (Text 8). Hu and Sia are the creative powers which help the sun god to renew his work of creation every night. Sia at the right hand of Re, bears his book and acts as his representative (Text 2). Hu parts paths for the deceased to allow him to join the sun's circuit (Text 10). They appear together with Mehen, who can be seen in the Amduat enveloping 'the Flesh of Re', to protect the sun god and the deceased on the dark roads (Text 11). Finally, and based on the events and the responsibilities assigned to the members of the crew, one may say that the texts of the PT and CT represented a solid base for the author of Amduat to choose the members of the crew of the sun bark and put them in this order. I also believe that the events of CT and PT stated more detailed functions and tasks of the crew, both for the entire group and the individual.

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