

SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE

EXCAVATIONS AT GÎZA

THE SOLAR-BOATS OF KHAFRA,
their Origin and Development, together
with the Mythology of the Universe
which they are supposed to traverse

VOL. VI—Part I

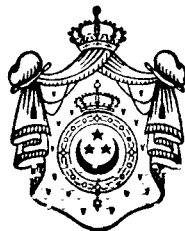
1934 - 1935

by

SELIM HASSAN

Excavations of

THE FACULTY OF ARTS, FOUAD I UNIVERSITY



Government Press, Cairo
1946

إلى ذكرى المغفور له

أحمد كمال باشا

أول أئري مصرى ومؤسس الدراسات المصرية القديمة بين المصريين







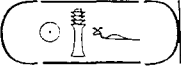
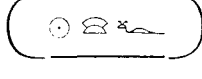
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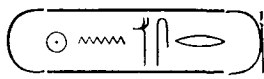



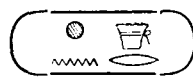
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

the Late AHMAD KAMAL PASHA

*the First Egyptian Archæologist and Founder
of the Science of Egyptology among Egyptians*


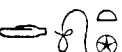
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PREFACE

THE aim of our sixth season's work was the complete clearance of the causeway of the Second Pyramid, (the eastern and western extremities of which had been exposed for a number of years) and also the clearance of that part of the necropolis lying to the south of this causeway (*see* General Plan). As a natural sequence to the complete revelation of the causeway, it was resolved to investigate the area lying to the south and north of the mortuary temple of the Second Pyramid, which had been left untouched by the excavators of the Von Sieglin Expedition, when they cleared and planned this temple. Our work in this spot revealed the unique series of rock-cut solar-boats, the origin, purpose and religious significance of which I have endeavoured to set forth in the following pages.

The staff under my direction for this season's work consisted of Anwar Shukry, assistant, and as in the preceding year's work, Fawzi Ibrahim Eff., architect; Mahmoud Emam Eff. and Ahmed Sidky Eff., draughtsmen. Our trained Kufi, Doktor Ahmed Hassan, was again responsible for the photography, and Reis Saddik Said handled the labouring staff in his usual efficient manner. To all these persons I tender my thanks for their whole-hearted co-operation.

I deeply regret to say that the discovery of this fine series of solar-boats cost the life of one of our workmen, who was crushed to death by a sudden and unexpected fall of rocks from the side of one of the boats. This, however, proved to be the only fatal accident which occurred during all our ten seasons' work in the Giza site.

The results of our sixth season's excavations are of vital importance for the advancement of our knowledge of the religious and funerary ideas and customs of the Egyptians during the Old Kingdom. The discovery of the unique series of solar-boats belonging to the Second Pyramid Complex has added new and startling information on the subject. Furthermore, we have also brought to light many new offering-lists, which are of special interest for the study of this subject during the Old Kingdom, a subject which had been handled a long time ago by Dumichen and Maspero, who laid the foundation for this study, and dealt with the subject in all periods of Egyptian History, with great success considering the state of knowledge attained in their time. Nevertheless, the new excavations carried out in the Old Kingdom sites at *Ṣakkāra* by Firth and Gunn, and in Giza by Junker and Reisner, and our excavations there on behalf of the Egyptian (now Fouad I) University, Cairo, have furnished much fresh material, and made it

incumbant to handle the subject in the light of the new lists and ideas added by the directors of these excavations. Therefore, it is not beside the point to treat these two new subjects, *i.e.* the solar-boats and the offering-lists, each separately in a volume by itself, and making the base of our studies the new facts and material brought to light by our excavations.

Dr. Junker has added much to the study of the offering-lists in his various publications, and this I have utilized to the uttermost.

I have decided to publish the results of this season's excavations in three volumes ; Vol. I dealing with the solar-boats, Vol. II devoted to the study of the offering-lists and the presentation of offerings in the Old Kingdom tombs (a subject which we have already touched upon for the Archaic Period and early Fourth Dynasty in Vol. V of this work). Vol. III is devoted to the study of the mastabas and their contents, discovered during the sixth season's work.

My aim in doing this is to present the results of the excavations in a scientific and comparative manner, and not to set down a series of dry, unrelated facts which do not serve to show relationship to, or influence upon the trend of Egyptian culture.

Thus, on studying the solar-boats in this volume, as the reader will see, we shall tackle the subject from every point of view from the beginning of the Pre-historic period until the end of the Pharaonic regime. In doing this, we shall not only examine all the known examples of actual and model solar-boats, but also deal with the ancient religious literature concerning them, principally the Pyramid Texts for the Old Kingdom, the Coffin Texts for the Middle Kingdom, and the Book of the Dead, *Imj Dwt*, and Book of Gates for the New Kingdom, plus a host of royal and private religious and funerary inscriptions and representations from all periods of Egyptian history. The study of the solar-boats naturally led to the study of the divine crew they carried and the course they were supposed to sail. Thus, we have a special section dealing with the gods found in the solar-boats and a large section treating the component parts of the Egyptian conception of the universe, and the religious and mythological ideas held by the priesthood concerning them.

By this method of study the results of our excavations will be put into relationship with facts previously discovered by others, and will thus, we believe, form a comprehensive whole.

Perhaps some persons may charge us with verbosity or deviation in treating these subjects so fully ; but as a matter of fact, I have already been verbally criticized by some of my colleagues for presenting only the bare facts of our finds in the material of the first and second volumes of

this work. Therefore, as it is impossible to please every individual, I will at least try to satisfy the claims of science! Moreover, I am sure that those persons who are really interested in the culture of Egypt will fully appreciate what we are trying to do, especially when they see that we have utilized all the available material on the subject.

Concerning the actual production of the book, I think the reader will agree that the Egyptian Government Press are again to be congratulated on the high standard of work and materials which they have maintained under very difficult conditions. My especial thanks are again due to William Abdel-Sayed Eff. for the care and pains he has taken over the work, and to Hassan Munib Eff. for carefully reading the first proof-sheets. Concerning the hieroglyphic type, Egyptologists will observe that some signs have been used in the quotations from the Pyramid Texts, which have been copied from Sethe's handwriting in "*Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*", especially for this work. These signs may be recognized in many cases by their large size or uncommon form.

SELIM HASSAN

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INTRODUCTION

SINCE the days of Burton who visited Egypt during the years 1820–1839⁽¹⁾, scholars had been aware of the large rhomboidal depressions lying parallel to the eastern face of the Great Pyramid at Gîza, and which we to-day recognize as being rock-cut boats, but of which the earlier investigators failed to grasp the significance. Petrie, who had also investigated these monuments, refers to them simply as “trenches” in his book, *Pyramids and Temples of Gîza*, (p. 30, etc.), but apparently he did not entirely clear them out (*ibid.* p. 30).

In 1893, de Morgan made his famous discovery of the six large wooden boats near the northern brick pyramid of *Sn-wsr.t* III at Dahshur, and while the nature of these was, of course, recognized yet no parallel was drawn between them and the rock-cut boats of the Great Pyramid⁽²⁾. In 1901, Chassinat discovered a boat-pit beside the pyramid of *Dd.f-R.* at Abu-Roash⁽³⁾, but as he himself seems not to have understood the nature of his discovery, naturally it did not serve to throw any light upon the matter. He did, however, note that his “pit” resembled the two depressions beside the Great Pyramid, but concerning the latter, he says, “their purpose is not known, as is the case here”.

It was not until Borchardt had discovered the great brick-built Solar-boat beside the Sun-temple of *Nj-wsr-R.* at Abusir⁽⁴⁾ that the significance of the previous discoveries seems to have been understood.

Other large boats that have come to light in connection with royal burials are as follows:—

(1) A small rock-cut boat lying beside the Queen’s northern pyramid attached to the Great Pyramid Complex.

(2) A rock-cut boat attached to the Fourth Pyramid Complex discovered by me in 1933⁽⁵⁾.

(3) Five, and a possible unfinished sixth one (?) belonging to the Second Pyramid Complex, which are the reason for this essay, for they have provided the key to the true significance of these monumental boats.

(4) One brick-built boat discovered by Emery in 1937 beside the supposed mastaba of *Hr-ḥ3* at Saqqara⁽⁶⁾.

(5) One partly built and partly rock-cut boat which I located beside the Causeway of *Wn̄is* at Saqqara, in 1938.

(1) BURTON, MSS. (sketch of boat) 25619, 15–19 (British Museum).

(2) DE MORGAN, “*Fouilles à Dahchour*”, Mars-Juin, 1894, pp. 81–83.

(3) CHASSINAT, “*Monuments et Memoires*”, Fondations Piot, p. 57, Vol. XXV.

(4) BORCHARDT, “*Das Re Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re*”, I, Pl. I.

(5) See “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 33.

(6) *Excavations at Saqqara, 1937-1938*, Ḥor-aḥa, p. 18.

(6) A third rock-cut boat belonging to the Great Pyramid Complex, which I fully excavated in 1939 (1).

Thus, with those previously mentioned, we have a series of twenty-one large boats, all connected with royal burials.

Following Borchardt's discovery at Abusir, it became the fashion for scholars to dub all these large vessels—as well as most of the small models—(2) Solar-boats, an appellation not **always** entirely correct.

As we have just seen, these boats vary in number in the different burials, so also do they vary in the direction in which they are orientated. Thus, that of *Hr-h3* is directed east-west; the Great Pyramid boats are: one east-west and two north-south; that beside the Queen's northern pyramid is east-west. The boats of *Hj-f-R* are: four east-west, and one—or possibly two—north-south. The boat of the Fourth Pyramid Complex and that of *Wni's* are both east-west, and so were the six wooden boats of Dahshur and that of Abusir; while the boat of *Dd.f-R* at Abu-Roash is directed north-south (3).

This variation in their orientation, and the fact that they number one, two or more to a single burial, raises an interesting problem to which—by comparison with each other and the examination of contemporary and later evidence—we shall now try, if we can, to find a satisfactory solution.

I think that the boats orientated east-west, whether occurring singly or in pairs, are easily recognized as being Solar-boats following the conventional course of the Sun-god's journey, and before proceeding further it would be well to examine the early religious beliefs, and try, if possible, to ascertain the origin of the cult of these Solar-boats, and see what was their original form, as well as making a very brief survey of Egyptian shipbuilding, in so far as it bears upon our subject. Fortunately, we have several examples of the earliest representations of Egyptian boats from which to make our deductions, and these present us with two distinct types which are clearly defined, as well as a third type which possesses some of the characteristics of the other two combined.

(1) When Petrie examined this boat, which he called a "trench", he found a number of poor-class mummies carelessly buried in the sand and debris filling it, which shows that it must have remained unknown and undisturbed since, at least, the Late Period.

(2) See FIRTH and GUNN, "The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries", Pl. 49.

(3) The boats of Mycerinus have not yet come to light, but most probably they are there under the debris.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS














- A.S.* = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
- A.Z.* = Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
- B.I.F.A.O.* = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- J.E.A.* = The Journal of Egyptian Archæology.
- P.S.B.A.* = The Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.
- Rec. Trav.* = Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.
- T.S.B.A.* = Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

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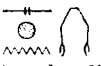
EXCAVATIONS AT GIZA, 1934-1935

THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN BOATS

THE REED-FLOAT

THERE is always a certain amount of hazard in trying to arrive at the comparative ages of pre-dynastic objects, but I think that we may safely say that the very earliest craft navigating on the Nile and in the Delta swamps was the primitive reed-floats, to which the Egyptians gave the name of *shn.wj*  (1). As a matter of fact, we do not, so far as I am aware, find this object depicted in the pre-dynastic representations, though this is the very place where we should expect to find them. But references to them in the *Pyramid Texts* make clear, by their context and the pictorial sign determining the word *shn.wj*, the nature and function of these objects. In most cases, the word, as it occurs in the *Pyramid Texts*, is determined by two cigar-shaped objects, which vary slightly in shape in the different instances where they appear. In the texts of *Wn's* they appear uniformly as elongated ovals:  (line 337 [b]. etc.), and in the texts of *Ttj* they follow the same pattern. In *Ppjj* I they are either  (line 351),  (line 358 [a]. etc.),  (line 933), or  (line 926 [c]) (2). The texts of *Mr-n-R'* give:  (line 926 [a]),  (line 932 [a]),  (line 1206 [c]) and  (line 1084 [c]) (2); while *Nfr-k3-R'* gives  (line 926 [a] [3]),  (line 926 [c]), and  (line 927 [a]) (4).

These texts dealing with the reed-floats are among the oldest of the Utterances in the *Pyramid Texts* which deal with the solar journey, and refer back to prehistoric times, from whence they were handed down by word of mouth, until the perfection of the art of writing crystalized them into the

(1) This name is obviously derived from the verb  "to embrace" or more literally, "an armful", and probably refers to the armful of reeds necessary to form each reed-float or bundle. The expression is still used in modern Egypt for an armful of wheat or reeds: "حوض قمح", etc.

(2) Concerning this form, see below, p. 22.

(3) Note how the form differs in a single line of text.

(4) Compare this form with the object illustrated in Fig. 1.

form in which we now know them. The very fact that we do not see the reed-floats represented on the Naqadian vases proves that they had perhaps passed out of general use, even at that remote period, and remained merely a solar religious tradition. Further proof of their great antiquity is given philologically by the obsolete words and expressions which they contain, words fast passing into oblivion at the time when the oldest written texts were being compiled. The word *shn.wj* is an outstanding example (1). Never again, so far as I am aware, do we find this word applied to a reed-float after its last appearance in the latest *Pyramid Texts*. It is this class of word that Breasted refers to so graphically when speaking of the difficulties of getting an exact understanding of the *Pyramid Texts*. After speaking of the difficulty occasioned by the archaic writing of familiar words, he says (2): “Besides these disguised friends, there is a host of utter strangers, a great company of archaic words which have lived a long and active life in a world now completely lost and forgotten. Hoary with age, like exhausted runners, they totter into sight above our earliest horizon for a brief period, barely surviving in these ancient texts, then to disappear for ever, and hence are never met with again. They vaguely disclose to us a vanished world of thought and speech, the last of the unnumbered æons through which prehistoric man has passed till he finally comes within bailing distance of us as he enters the historic age”.

There is just a possibility that we have a glimpse of a late form of the reed-float, and this occurs on an ivory label found by Amelineau in Tomb No. 22 at Abydos. Here is represented an object which Legge (3) identifies as a kind of boat, but remarks that it differs from other representations of boats occurring in similar situations (*see* Fig. 1). If this is indeed a vessel, then it presents the form of a large raft upon which are two *naos*-shaped cabins and three emblems on standards (?) (4). It is tempting to read into this representation a later (archaic period) development of the reed-float, enlarged to the size of a raft and carrying sacred emblems; perhaps the *shn-wr*, the “Great Reed-float” (or Great Protector), referred to in the *Pyramid Texts*. In a hymn to the Sun-god in which he is addressed by the different names under which he was known and worshipped, we see: *Pyr.*, line 201 (b) (text of *Wnis*):—

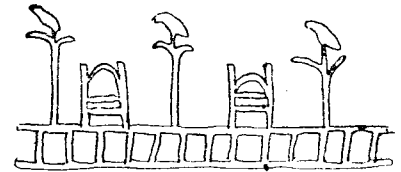


FIG. 1

“He comes to you, O his Father, he comes to you, O *Shn-wr*.”


(1) Before coming into contact with the *Pyramid Texts*, we encounter one example of a priestly title called *Shn* determined by a bound bundle of reeds (*H'j-b1.w-Skr*, MURRAY, “*Sakkara Mastabas*”, Vol. I, Pl. I). Unfortunately the titles of the Old Kingdom are often very laconic, and also a person may bear several unconnected titles. Thus, it is always difficult to give a good explanation of their meanings. Here the title *shn* gives us further difficulty, for it seems to have utterly disappeared, and as far as we know, was not mentioned afterwards. Are we then in a position to connect it directly with the *shn.wj*-floats which also disappeared after the *Pyramid Texts*, and was *H'j-b1.w-Skr* a priest of the *shn.wj*-floats, as later we find priests of the Solar-boats? Perhaps this explanation is very probable (*see* below, p. 68), but on the other hand, we find another plausible explanation of the title written differently in the SETHE'S “*Dramatische texte*”, p. 193, and even here we find that it has something to do with a priest called the *shn.w 3h*; the Seeker of Spirits who had built ladders by which the children of Horus are raised to the sky, an idea similar to the Solar-boats, by which the dead king is raised to the sky (*Dramatische texte*, pp. 223-224).

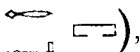
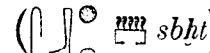


(2) BREASTED, “*Dawn of Conscience*”, p. 69. It would be an interesting subject to trace the gradual or sudden disappearance of such words and study carefully their forms and determinatives.

(3) LEGGE, “*P.S.B.A.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 71.

(4) Legge suggests that these may have been palm-trees (*ibid.*).

Again in line 455 (*a*) (text of *Wnis*) :—

 “Stand there ‘Great Reed-float’ (*shn-wr*) as *Wp.wsw.t* (i.e. as a King) (1).”

The name *Shn-wr* really means “the Great Reed-float”, though later the original meaning seems to have been lost, and the name may have been considered to mean the “Great Embracer” (or Great Protector), referring to the sun in its course encircling or embracing all countries. But it is not difficult to see how the original form of the name arose. *R* was said to use the reed-float for his celestial journey, and by the lapse of time this float became enlarged—no doubt the imagination of the people enlarged the divine float to dimensions far surpassing anything they had ever seen in use on the Nile. Thus, arose the Great Reed-float. It needed but a step to designate the God by his characteristic mode of progression, just as it was considered seemly to refer to the Pharaoh as the “Great House (*pr*:)”, substituting the name of the royal palace for that of the dweller therein. *Shn-wr* as a divine name survived down to the New Kingdom. In the *Book of the Dead* this name is given to the door-keeper of the Xth pylon () of the “House of Osiris” () in the Field of *Isw* () (*m Sh.t-Isw*) (2). In the Pap. *anj* this divinity appears as a ram-headed man crowned with the *stf*-crown and Solar-disk, and holding what appears to be a fly-whisk. Thus, by his head and diadem, both of which are apportioned to the Sun-god in the New-Kingdom, and possibly earlier (see below, p. 121), we see that *Shn-wr* was still regarded as a Solar-god, even though reduced to the humble office of door-keeper (3). But in the later Turin Pap. he has lost his solar individuality and appears in simple human form, and armed with two large knives (4).



But to return again to the reed-floats in their earliest form, we can gather from the determinative signs enumerated above that the *sh.n.wj* was a double object, somewhat of the shape of a cigar and having pointed or blunted ends.

In an interesting article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* (5), Breasted gives a description of the reed-floats still in use upon the Nile in the region of the Second Cataract, and relates his personal experience in voyaging across to the Island of Uronarti on one of these primitive vessels. He says that the form of these modern floats “leaves little doubt in one’s mind as to what the two *shn* were. When we consider further that the Nubian’s conical reed bundles were used in pairs, and that the word (i.e. *shn*) appears prevailing in the dual in the *Pyramid Texts*, the identification is hardly to be questioned”.

(1) *Shn-wr* was also a special designation for the God *Spdw*.

(2) *Pap. Nw.*, BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. II, pp. 238, 242.

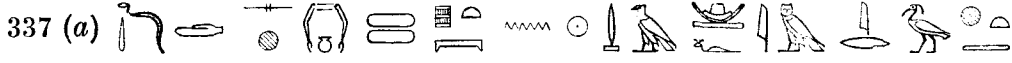
(3) *ibid.* (translation), p. 469.

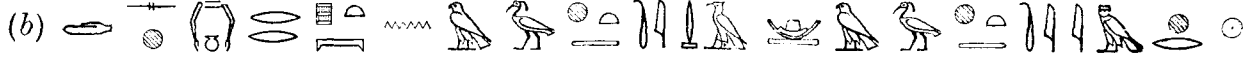
(4) *ibid.* p. 455. In an article in *A.Z.*, Vol. 75, pp. 118, 119, Spiegel suggests that the sign  in the title  should read *shn* “to embrace”, in the meaning of “protect”, a metaphor employed in the Arabic language, “He took him in his embraces”, i.e. took him in his protection (أخذناه في أحضاننا). In this meaning of the word, the position of *Shn-wr* as a door-keeper, or guardian is very logical.

(5) Vol. IV, (1917), pp. 174-176, Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.


As a matter of fact, the modern use of the reed-float is not confined to Nubia, it is still sometimes employed by fishermen on the Bahr Yousef in Middle Egypt; while identical floats are still in use on the western coast of South America (1). At the present day the Nubians sometimes make the simple reed-float larger and stronger by increasing the number of bundles of reeds that are lashed together, and we may assume that the Egyptians did the same, thus evolving the "Great Reed-float" which we have just referred to. But it seems that this humble craft—the precursor of real great Solar-boats—remained for a considerable time their best and only means of navigation, as we may guess by the fact that it was so firmly fixed in their minds as being the traditional means of progression for their supreme god *R'*; and even as late as the Fifth Dynasty, we find it appearing side by side with the fully developed Solar-boat in the *Pyramid Texts* (2). It is the study of the texts concerning the *Shn.wj* which will prepare for us the way to a correct understanding of the real nature and function of the Solar-boats proper. The first mention of them occurs in the texts of *Wnis*, and reads:—

UTTERANCE 263 (text of *Wnis*):—

337 (a)  "Words spoken: Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *R'*, he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon;

(b)  "had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Hr-3h.t.j*, therefore, Horus the inhabitant of the Horizon traverses with them to *R'*;

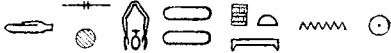
(c)  "had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Wnis*, he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon to *R'*;

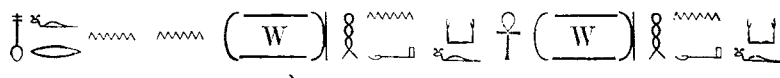
(d)  "had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Wnis*, he, therefore, traverses with them to *Hr-3h.t.j*, to *R'*."


From the above text we can gather some interesting points: Firstly, the very fact that the primitive reed-floats fulfil the role of divine vessels shows that the original Utterance must date from a very remote period. Secondly, we have a later idea which was added when Horus (*Hr*) became amalgamated with *R'*. Although the former god was sometimes represented as a hawk and was therefore able to fly, yet to conform to the Solar-cult professed by the worshippers of the human-bodied *R'*, he must make use of the latter's traditional means of progression, and so we find *Hr-3h.t.j* using the reed-floats in order to cross over to the elder god (*R'*). Thirdly, we see the dead King, who, was identified with Horus (*Hr*) while living and with Osiris (*Wsr*) or (*R'*), when dead, logically using the same means of transport as was adopted by the two great Solar-gods with whom he was identified, and we are told that *Wnis* also used the reed-floats in order to cross to

(1) HIRAM BINGHAM, "American Geographic Magazine", XXIV, No. 4, April, 1913, p. 389.

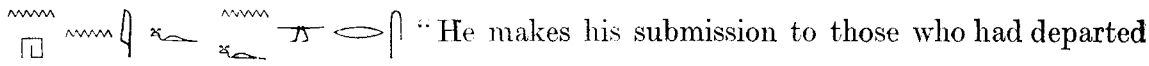
(2) This conservatism of the Ancient Egyptians can also be seen in the continued use of flint implements side by side with copper implements in the Golden Age of Egyptian civilization.


the Horizon to *R'*, and *Hr-ḫ.t.j*, and this is quite in accordance with the laws of sympathetic magic which is a prominent idea in the *Pyramid Texts*. Fourthly, it appears as though the reed-floats were especially made for each passenger, for we see:  “Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *R'*”, etc., and in each case the reed-floats are said to be for *Hr-ḫ.t.j* or for *Wn's*. This shows the extreme antiquity of the Utterance which must have been composed even before the “Great Reed float” had been invented, for in the article just mentioned, Breasted shows that the simple reed float can only carry a single adult passenger. Its personal character being thus established, it is, therefore, not surprising that when—as we shall see later—the reed-floats were replaced by proper Solar-boats, each king had his own personal vessel beside his burial-place, just as previously each god and each king had possessed his own personal reed float. The remainder of the Utterance from which the lines quoted above were taken, makes clear the destination of the dead King to which the reed-floats carried him. It runs as follows:—


338 (a)  “It had fared well with *Wn's* to be with his Ka, and *Wn's* lived (together) with his Ka,

(b)  “his panther-skin apron is upon him, his *ms*-sceptre is in his arm, his '*bs*-sceptre is in his hand.”



Here we are told that not only does the dead King cross on the reed float into the presence of *R'* and *Hr-ḫ.t.j*, but that both he and his Ka—from which he is not separated—are in a state of well-being. Moreover, the King is wearing all his insignia of royalty as a living monarch, and is not to be thought of as a dead and bandaged mummy: he is going to rule in the Other World as he had ruled on earth:—

339 (a)  “He makes his submission to those who had departed from here (¹),


(b)  “and they (*i.e.* the dead) bring him those four spirits, the eldest, who are at the head of the “Lock-carriers,

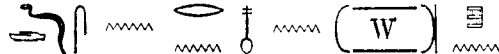
(c)  “who stand in the eastern side of Heaven, and who lean upon their sceptres.”

Having arrived in Heaven, the dead King must first pay his respects to those who had died before him. That is to say, as a new-comer to Heaven he must render homage to those who are already established there, and we may understand these latter to be dead Kings and their families, the predecessors of *Wn's*. The Royal Dead, apparently won over by the King's courtesy, bring to him four spirits who stand in the east of Heaven leaning upon their sceptres, and who are


(¹) *i.e.* those who had predeceased him.  should be  (see SETHE, “Kommentar.”, Vol. II, pp. 38-39).

the leaders of a class of beings called the “Lock-carriers”. These four spirits, or as they are called in line 348 (a) “gods”, may perhaps be the Spirits of Buto—who are also dead Kings—who had built a ship for *R'*, (1209 (b)) and in line 1206 (c) they are the four spirits who had bound the reed-floats.

In this latter capacity they appear as divine shipwrights, but we first see them acting as heralds in the service of *R'*. They may also perhaps be identified with the Four Sons of Horus (*Hr*), who in line 1483 (c) are similar to the spirits who lean upon their sceptres. In our case and in the parallel passages as is shown in 340 (a/c), they are supposed to be in the service of *R'* at the door of Heaven or the guardian of its boundary. The idea of their youthfulness is seen by the fact that they are wearing the childish side-lock, and in line 1104 (c) (text of *Ppjj*) they are called the “four youngsters”  (1):—


340 (a)  “They, therefore, (i.e. the four spirits) say the “Good Name” of this *Wn'is* to *R'* (2),

(b)  “and this *Wn'is* is announced to *Nhb-k3w* (3),

(c)  “the entrance of this *Wn'is* is, therefore, welcomed. Filled are the Fields of *I3rw* (with water),

(d)  “*Wn'is*, therefore, traverses over the Meandering Stream.”

We are now informed that the arrival of *Wn'is* in Heaven is a welcomed event. Then, we see that the Fields of *I3rw*—a part of Heaven, the name of which may mean the “Fields of Reeds”—are flooded with water and *Wn'is*, therefore, can traverse the Meandering Stream, a celestial river.

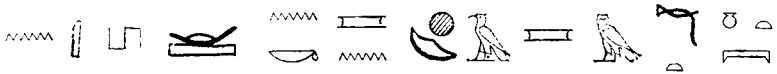
During the Old Kingdom, the Meandering Stream, , was a celestial water which figures largely in the *Pyramid Texts*, particularly in those Utterances dealing with the solar journey and the entry of the dead King into Heaven. In regard to its situation, it would seem

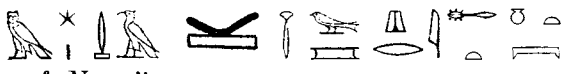
(1) These four spirits may also be the four monkeys who praise the sun at its setting or at its rising and that is perhaps why they are called the “glad ones” (see SETHE, “*Kommentar.*”, Vol. II, p. 351).

(2) The Egyptians recognized three different names for a person, the “Great Name”, which was perhaps his official name, the “Good Name”, or that by which he was usually called, and the “Little Name”, which was a pet or nickname. In any case, the name was regarded as one of the most important entities of which man was composed, and to obliterate the name of a dead person was to seriously imperil his well-being in the Other World, and with this aim in view, malicious persons often mutilated the funerary inscriptions of those whom they hated. But in our case, as in lines 356 (a) and 361, the “Good Name” means an *Epitheton ornans* (i.e. meaning one who bears a good reputation), but concerning the “good name” given by relatives, see SETHE, “*Komm.*”, Vol. II, p. 41 and *Pyr.* 1708 (c/c). See also JUNKER, “*Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 6. For the importance of the name, see also BRUNTON, “*A.S.*”, Vol. XLIII, p. 148.

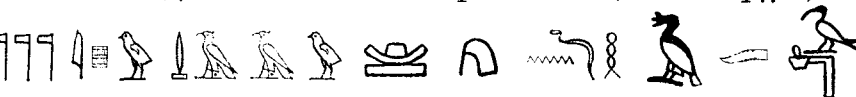
(3) This being appears here as a kind of upper servant of *R'*, perhaps a steward. At any rate, it is necessary that the names of new-comers to Heaven should be announced to him, presumably in order that he may include them on the list of names of those to whom food is to be given, for we shall see that the King will receive his meal from *Nhb-k3w* (line 346 [a]). In some texts, there seems to be an identification of *Nhb-k3w* with *Hr-3h.t.j*; perhaps the latter usurped the functions of the former at some periods. But in line 229 (b) of the *Pyramid Texts*, he is conceived of as a creature hostile to the Heliopolitan Sun-god (SETHE, “*Amon und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*”, par. 129, 182. In *Pyr.*, line 1146 (b) *Nhb-k3w* is identified with the dead, and in line 489 (b) he is said to be the son of the Scorpion Goddess. In line 1708 (c) he receives the dead in heaven. Later, in the Middle Kingdom, we meet him as a guardian demon of the Underworld and in the New Kingdom he appears as a serpent. But for another explanation of *Nhb-k3w*, see GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, Spruch 17, Absch. 25, p. 63, where he is identified with the Sun-god himself. In *Ch.* 15 (a) of the *Book of the Dead*, we have a reference to *Nhb-k3w* in the *Mnd.t*-boat (see NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, Vol. I, Pl. XIV, line 22). For a discussion on this being, see SHORTER, “*J.E.A.*”, Vol. 21, pp. 41-48.


to be a body of water surrounding the celestial paradise, seemingly upon all its sides. Thus, we hear of the deceased crossing the Meandering Stream in the north of Heaven (text of *Ppjj* I):—

802 (a)  “You have traversed the Meandering Stream in the north of *Nwt.* (1)”,


(b)  “as a star traversing the sea which is under the body of *Nwt.*”

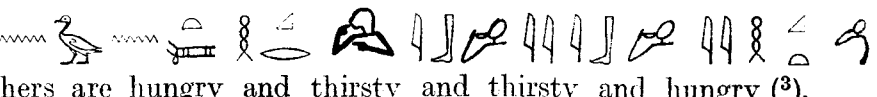
Its position in the east of Heaven is very frequently mentioned and almost forms a refrain in Utterance 359 (2), where, as an example, we see (text of *Ppjj* I):—

595 (a)  “O those Gods who will be crossing on the wing of Thoth (*Dhwtj*),

(b)  “to yonder side of the Meandering Stream, to the eastern side of the sky.”


In Utterance 555 (text of *Mr-n-R'*) the Meandering Stream is said to be in the south of Heaven, for we read:—

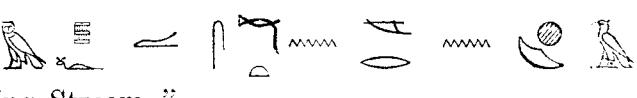
1376 (a)  “The ropes of his ship are tied, the *Mhnt*-boats of *Mr-n-R'* have been put to,

(b)  “for the Son of *Itm*, while others are hungry and thirsty and thirsty and hungry (3),

(c)  “on this southern side of the Meandering Stream.”

1377 (a)  “O *Dhwtj*! who is in the shade (protection) of his tree, (4)

(b)  “place *Mr-n-R'* on the top part of your wing,

(c)  “to yonder northern side of the Meandering Stream.”



Here the deceased is wishing to cross over the celestial water into Heaven, and he is apparently standing upon the southern side of the Meandering Stream searching for a means of accomplishing his purpose. This he may achieve in two ways, he may pass over on a divine ferry-boat (see below, p. 141), or he may be carried over upon the wing of *Dhwtj* who is here thought of as an ibis. In either case, his aim is to reach the northern side of the Meandering Stream, which would necessarily mean the southern part of Heaven. But can we say that this water was also to be found

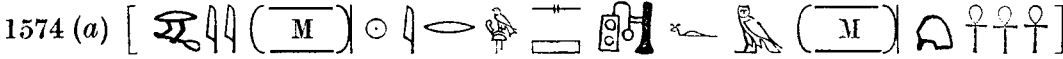
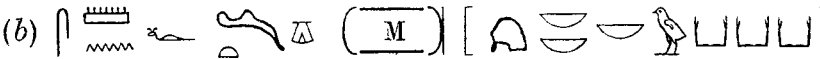

(1) The meaning is that the dead, after he had crossed the “Meandering stream” in the East of Heaven (see SETHE, “*Komm.*”, Vol. II, p. 44,) he took his dwelling-place in the North of Heaven among the polar stars as a star (*Pyr.* 802 [b]).

(2) For an Utterance which relates an adventure of the Eye of Horus (*Hr*), see below, p. 141).







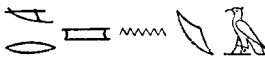


(3) See also line 1742 (b-d). The meaning here is that the boat is equipped with provisions.


(4) See SETHE “*Komm.*”, Vol. II, p. 171.

in the west of Heaven? If we pay attention to the determinative signs of the name of the Meandering Stream, which signs, in the *Pyramid Texts*, are full of real significance, we shall see that they vary in form, and in these variations they give us a clue to both the nature of this body of water and the direction in which it flows. Thus, in speaking of it as being in the south of Heaven, as in the line we have just quoted, the name can be determined thus:  (lines 1376 [c], 1377 [c]), which makes the water curve east-west in a southerly direction. From this line alone we can, therefore, gather that the Meandering Stream appeared in the west, south and east of Heaven. In lines 595 (b), where the water is said to be in the east of Heaven, we find that it can be determined by  which makes it commence in the west, curve downwards south-east, east, and finally south. Therefore, if we accept this evidence there is no doubt that the Egyptians considered the Meandering Stream to be a body of water encircling the celestial Paradise. Finally, we have two texts, which though somewhat mutilated, speak of the Meandering Stream as being in the west of the Field of Offerings which we know to be a part of Heaven. Thus, we read:—

- 1574 (a)  “R’ transports *Mrrj-R’* towards the west [in order that] he inscribes *Mrrj-R’* at the head of the living ;
- (b)  “[in order] to establish the Throne of *Mrrj-R’*, at the head of the masters (or possessors) of Kas ;
- (c)  “[in order] to place *Mrrj-R’* on the banks of the Meandering Stream.”


The other text which seems to place the Meandering Stream in the west occurs in lines 1737–1738, but is too badly mutilated to be used as evidence.

Some writers prefer to call the Meandering Stream a “lake” (1), but the evidence of the *Pyramid Texts* seems to prove definitely that it was a stream rather than a lake. Firstly, we have its name which at once suggests a winding stream, secondly, we have the determinatives. I admit that in its simplest form  line 594 (b) (text of *Nfr-k3-R’*) this sign can be used to determine any body of water and is even employed in line 802 (b) to determine the sea. But the other more carefully wrought signs show us  line 594 (e) (text of *Ppjj*),  594 (f) (text of *Ppjj*),  594 (b) (text of *Ppjj*),  597 (b) (text of *Ppjj*),  1228 (c) (text of *Ppjj*), all of which are suggestive of a stream but not of a lake. Finally, in lines 1228 and 1377, the Meandering Stream is called ; *mr*  having the meaning of an excavated watercourse, which was dug out with the hoe  (2). Furthermore, the Meandering Stream was said to be bounded by river-banks:—

- 2172 (c)  “*Nfr-k3-R’* descends in the boat as *R’* on the banks of the Meandering Stream.”


(1) BREASTED, “*Dawn of Conscience*”, pp. 75, 76, 80, 238.

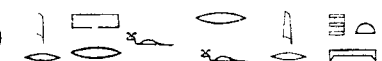
(2) For the Meandering Stream, see also KEES, “*Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der Alten Ägypter*”, p. 110.


1345 (c)  “He descends
in the boat as *R*’ on the of banks the Meandering Stream.”

Here the word has the meaning of “river-banks” (1).

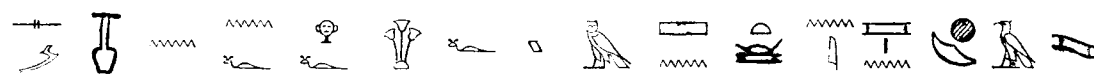
The shallowness of the Meandering Stream is indicated in most of the Utterances concerning the reed-floats, where it is implied that it is only navigable when flooded by the inundation, and this is quite in accordance with the nature of the primitive reed-floats (2). But its shallowness is definitely stated in line 1162 which reads (text of *Ppjj*) :—

1162 (a)  Words spoken: “My father
was allowed to make his heart, after the other was taken away from him. Thus, it is rebellious,

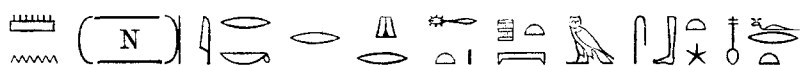
(b)  “when he mounts to Heaven,

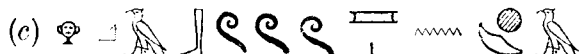
(c)  “he, therefore, wades in the flood
of the Meandering Stream (3).”

Here we are plainly told that even when flooded, the Meandering Stream was so shallow that it could be forded on foot ; unless, of course, this Utterance was especially composed in order to afford a magical protection, in case all the other means of crossing this celestial stream should fail ! On the other hand, lines 1345 (c) and 2172 (c) each show us that the stream was deep enough, at least at certain times, for the Solar-boat to come alongside its banks. While in line 1441 (a) we are told that a ferry-boat was necessary in order to cross it (text of *Ppjj*) :—

1441 (a)  “Turn-face had prepared for him the ferry-boat of the Meandering Stream.”

The reason why the name of this celestial waterway should be translated “Meandering”, instead of “Lily”, as Breasted gives it (see above, p. 8, Note 1), is definitely proved in line 2061, where we read :—


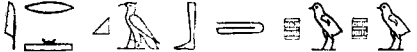
2061 (b)  “*Njr-k3-R*’ rests near
you, under the belly of the sky as a beautiful star,

(c)  “on the bendings of the Meandering Stream”

(1) GARDINER, “*Egyptian Grammar*”, p. 536.


(2) See lines 340, 343, 352, 353, etc.


(3) See SETHE, “*Mélanges Maspero*”, Vol. I. p. 113, ff. for an interesting discussion on this subject.

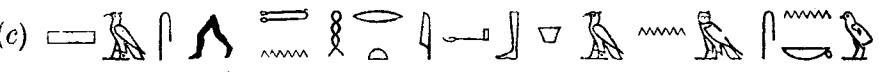

The confirmation of our translation lies in the word  and its determinatives which mean "bending", and further proof is furnished to us by the *Two-Way Book* (1) of the Middle Kingdom, where we see at each bend of the way a fearful guardian inscribed , etc., "this is the guardian of the bend (1)."


This stream continued to play an important part in the Egyptian religious ideas. Apart from its appearance in the *Two-Way Book*, it also occurs in the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts* (2).

Returning again to the text we were discussing, we are told that even the inundation aids the King's journey by flooding the countryside and thus enabling him to continue on his way, gliding smoothly over the Meandering Stream on his light reed-float. It is clear that the reed-floats were only used for short journeys such as crossing from earth to heaven, and navigating the shallow water in the flooded celestial fields, and by their very nature and construction, they were unfit for long voyages such as the Solar-boats were later thought to make. This can be understood from the fact that after he had arrived in the Horizon, the Sun-god was sometimes thought to continue his way on foot, as we may see in Utterance 217:—

152 (a)  Words spoken:
"O *R'-Itm*, this *Wn's* comes to you, an Imperishable Spirit, a Lord of Pretension on the Places of the Four Papyrus Columns (3); (i.e. having power over them),

(b)  "your son comes to you, this *Wn's* comes to you,





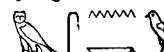


(c)  "you, therefore, traverse
(on foot = ) the way (4) and unite in darkness,

(d)  "and you arise in the
Horizon in the place in which you are satisfied."


(1) LACAU, "Sarcophages Anterieur au Nouvel Empire", Vol. I, pp. 194, 50.

(2) See below, p. 53.


(3) These columns are a version of the four cardinal points.

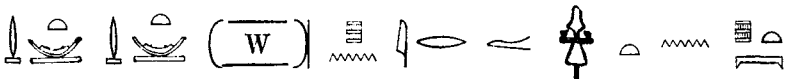
(4)  here still retains its old meaning of "the far" (compare with the Middle Kingdom ) and at the same time has its later meaning of "the high", the above"  and refers to the visible heaven which is above the earth. It relates to the wandering of the dead King and *Itm* on foot, and not as yet using the reed-floats or Solar-boats as in the later Utterances. Moreover, this journey is made by day, as we see in line 152 (d), and not by night, as line 152 (c) seems to suggest. There is also a possibility that  may have a special meaning of "way by day" and  that of "in twilight", and thus the two, i.e. Atum (*Itm*) and the deceased make the journey together in the twilight  and in the Horizon (i.e. in light) . This shows that part of the heavenly journey, at any rate, was made on foot originally, and this point speaks for the very great antiquity of the original Utterance. It also presents to us the idea that there was thought to be a stream of water separating the heavens from the earth, at least in the east.

In the later *Pyramid Texts*, beginning with *Ttj* we get a new detail added to the account of the King's celestial water journey by the reed-floats :—

343 (a)  “Opened is the Nurse Canal, inundated is the Meandering Stream.”

The “Nurse Canal” is an apt name for an irrigation canal which carries the life-giving water to nourish the fields, just as a nurse nourishes her suckling with milk. The inference of the celestial river flowing with milk was caught up by the later religious writers, and one of the attractions of the Christian, and afterwards of the Moslem Paradise is a river *flowing with milk and honey*. This is but one instance of an idea expressed for the first time—so far as we know—in the *Pyramid Texts*, that has been retained through the ages, and is still in current use in modern religious systems and figurative speech :—

341 (a)  “This *Wn's* had traversed a traversing to the eastern side of the Horizon;


(b)  “this *Wn's* had traversed a traversing to the eastern side of Heaven;

(c)  “his sister is Sothis (*Spd.t*)⁽¹⁾, his mother (*mst.w*) is the Morning Star⁽²⁾.”

The lines quoted above are a kind of summary of the whole Utterance, and inform us that *Wn's* had journeyed to the eastern side of the Horizon and of Heaven, where he had become an equal with the star Sothis (*Spd.t*), that is to say, had himself become a star among the stars.

This is the earliest form of this Utterance; but we shall see it in the later pyramids either transposed or containing other and intrusive elements, which we are going to treat chronologically. Thus, in the text of *Ttj*, whose pyramid ranks next to that of *Wn's* in point of date, we read :—

UTTERANCE 264 :—

342 (a)  “Words spoken: Had been placed the two reed-floats of Heaven for Horus (*Hr*), he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon, to *Hr-3h.t.j*;

⁽¹⁾ By the word “sister” we may understand “sister-wife”, his equal and companion. In the “Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, (Ptolemaic Period) Isis says to Osiris: “Thy sacred image, Orion in heaven, rises and sets every day; I am Sothis following after him, and I will not forsake him.” Thus, it would seem that in the *Pyramid Text* the King is perhaps regarded as Osiris, whose sister-wife is Isis (Sothis). See FAULKNER, “*Melanges Maspero*”, Vol. 1, p. 340. For the dead King identified with Orion. see *Pyr.*, line 151, p. 91, below.

⁽²⁾ A form of the Goddess *Ilt-Hr*.

(b) (1)

“had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Ttj*, he, therefore, traverses with them to the horizon, to *Hr-3h.t.j*;

(c)

“had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Šsmtj*, he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon, to *Hr-3h.t.j*;

(d)

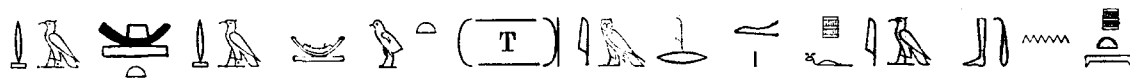
“had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Ttj*, he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon, to *Hr-3h.t.j*.”


Although there is but a matter of a few years between the compilation of this text and that of *Wni's*, which we have just analysed, we find that an important variation has already crept in. In the text of *Wni's* the name of *R'* is prominent, and he is mentioned as the first of the voyagers on the reed-floats, and also as the ultimate goal of the other voyagers. But in this same Utterance in the texts of *Ttj*, *R'* is nowhere mentioned, and *Horus (Hr)* has occupied the first place; while the second place, which in the *Wni's* text was filled by *Hr-3h.t.j*, has been taken by the King. In the older text the third place was occupied by the King, but here it is filled by *Šsmtj*, whose name is sometimes written , and who is a form of *Horus (Hr)* particularly as a god of the morning. The name *Šsmtj* is derived from , *Šsmt*, an old name for an eastern land, and *Hr-Šsmtj* has somewhat the meaning of “*Horus the Inhabitant of the East*”, just as *Hr-3h.t.j* means “*Horus (Hr) the Inhabitant of the Horizon*”. In the parallel text 1085 we find *Hr-Šsmtj* mentioned as a visitor to *R'*. In the *Ttj* text, the ultimate goal of all the voyagers is to the *Horizon* and to *Hr-3h.t.j* but not to *R'*. Are we to see in this neglect of the great Solar-god an indication of a change of religious beliefs brought about by the dynastic change? *Wni's* was the last of the family, who were said to have been descended from *R'* through the medium of a mortal woman, wife of a priest of *R'* at Heliopolis, (see the Westcar Papyrus). It is, therefore, natural that this family should profess the Solar-cult and strive to keep it pure from the Osirian influences, which as the popular cult of the masses, was ever increasing in power. The coming—we know not how—of a new ruling race, may well have resulted in a change of religion, or at least a modification of the erstwhile prevailing beliefs, and from this time onward we shall see how more and more the Osirian ideas and influences crept steadily into what was originally a purely solar conception of the Hereafter:—

343 (a) “Opened is the Nurse Canal, inundated is the Meandering Stream,”

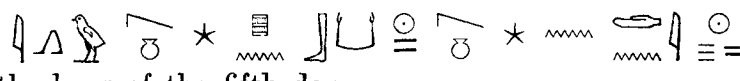
(1) Note the change of the verb from to : “to place”.

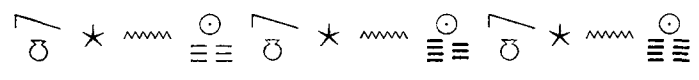
(b)  "filled are the Fields of *I3rw* with water."

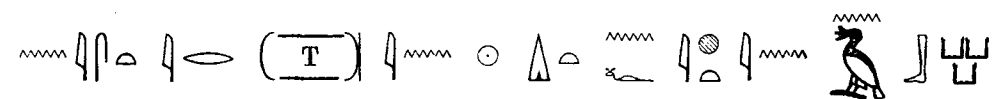
344 (a)  "Ttj has traversed a traversing to the other side of the eastern sky,


(b)  "to the place where the gods made him to be born, and he was born there a birth new and young."

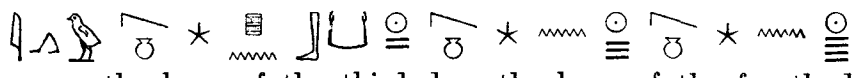
Here we have some more new ideas. In the passage dealing with the inundation we are given clearer details. The mention of the flooding of the Fields of *I3rw* which is placed first in *Wnis*, is here placed last, and seemingly as a result of the opening of the Nurse Canal (a new detail, as remarked above) and the inundation of the Meandering Stream, a point taken for granted in the older text. As in *Wnis*, we learn that *Ttj* made a journey to the far side of the eastern sky, but the mention of the eastern Horizon is omitted, and we are now told in some detail the object of this voyage, which was in order that he may arrive at the place where the gods were to cause him to be reborn (1). This rebirth is said to have taken place, and the King renews his youth and freshness. But we are not told that he becomes a companion of the stars:—

345 (a)  "When comes the hour of to-morrow, the hour of the fifth day,

(b)  "the hour of the sixth day, the hour of the seventh day, the hour of the eighth day.

346 (a)  "Ttj was called by *R'* and a meal was given to him by *Nhb-k3.w*,

(b)  "as *Horus (Hr)*, as the Inhabitant of the Horizon,


(c)  "when comes the hour of to-morrow, the hour of the third day, the hour of the fourth day (2)."


Here we see a very important innovation and the text informs us that *Ttj* was summoned on the mornings of the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth days. *Ttj* was summoned by *R'* who appears for the first time in this Utterance, and is presented with a meal by *Nhb-k3.w* in the same manner that *Hr-3h.t.j* received his meal. This is one of the very early references to the dead

(1) Like the sun, which is born anew every day in the eastern Horizon.


(2) Correctly speaking, this line should precede line No. 345 (a), owing to an error, which Sethe had pointed out in his commentary (Sethe, "Kommentar", Vol. II, p. 56).


receiving their food from the tables of the gods, an idea which speedily became one of the most prevalent in the Egyptian religion. The mention of the days is not explained, perhaps they were the days after *Ttj*'s arrival in Heaven :—

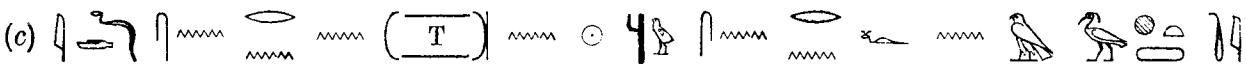
347 (a)  “Then *Ttj* places himself as that star which is in the underpart of the body of the sky,

(b)  “and judges like a god after he had interrogated like a noble (judge).”


Here we get another very important new point. *Ttj* is to act as a judge, apparently of the dead and the unruly spirits, a function in which he is clearly identified with Osiris (*Wsir*) “the star which is on the underpart of the body of the sky” (the sky-goddess *Nut* being the mother of Osiris (*Wsir*)) and he is to exercise the God's office as Judge of the Dead :—

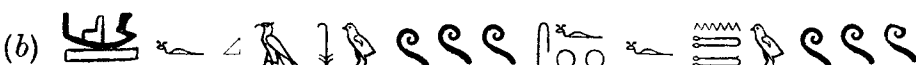
348 (a)  “*Ttj* had called them, and there were brought to him those four gods,

(b)  “who stand on the sceptres of Heaven (1),


(c)  “they, therefore, say the name of *Ttj* to *R*' and announce his name to *Hr-3h.t.j* (2).”

Once more we are upon familiar ground and, as in the text of *Wnis*, are informed of the four spirits (or as they are called here, gods) who herald the arrival of the dead King. But even here changes are made. Firstly, the whole paragraph is illogically delayed. It should have come either before or directly after the mention of the inundation; as it is, we find *Ttj* enjoying all the privileges of an inhabitant of Heaven before his name has even been announced to *R*! Also the four beings whom *Wnis* refers to as spirits, and who were brought to him by the blessed dead, have now become gods, and are summoned by the imperious *Ttj*. These four gods announce the name of *Ttj* to *R*' and then to *Hr-3h.t.j*, who here seems to have usurped the functions of *Nhb-k3.w* (see above, p. 6) :—

349 (a)  “He comes to you, he comes to you,

(b)  “he, therefore, releases from shackles and unties from ropes.”

This is one of the puzzling passages of the text. Are we to understand that *Ttj* comes to some person to release him from some form of bondage, or—and this is perhaps more likely—are we to read in this paragraph a speech said by some god assuring *Ttj* that some powerful being

(1) cf. line 1385 (a), .

(2) SETHE, “Kommentar”, Vol. II, p. 60.

will release him from shackles and ropes ? And if so, what are these bonds ? The context of the following lines all assure us that *Ttj* is not given over to the power of death, we may, therefore, hazard a guess that these lines bear upon the same idea, and see in the release from shackles and bonds, a release from the enswathing mummy wrappings, direct mention of which in connection with the King had been purposely avoided :—

350 (a) “ *Ttj* had delivered himself ⁽¹⁾ from *Hrtj*, he did not give himself up to Osiris (*Wsir*) ;

(b) “ *Ttj* has not died a death ;

(c) “ he has become a spirit in the *Horizon*, he has become lasting in *Ddw* ⁽²⁾.”

The theme of *Ttj*'s deliverance is continued, and we are told that he had been saved from *Hrtj* and was not delivered over to Osiris (*Wsir*) who is here regarded as the personification of Death. Then, as an emphasis we are plainly told that *Ttj* has not died a death, but has become a spirit in the *Horizon*, while his mortal body, made “lasting” by the rites of embalmment, reposes in the Necropolis of Heliopolis. This mention of the Heliopolitan Necropolis is interesting from a topographical point of view, because we know that *Ttj* had built his pyramid at Sak̄kara. We, therefore, may gather that the Sak̄kara Necropoli were considered as belonging to Heliopolis, and not only to Memphis. This fact also reveals how important a burial in the West was considered at this period. Had it been merely a question of a desert soil, the Heliopolitans could easily and more conveniently have made their necropoli in the desert surrounding Heliopolis, but up till now excavation has failed to reveal any extensive burial-ground in the vicinity of Heliopolis, the bulk of the population seeming to have preferred to endure the inconvenience, and doubtless added expense, of a tiresome journey to the traditional western necropoli of the Memphite Pyramid zone, in spite of the fact that the earthly field of offering was supposed to be in Heliopolis (see JUNKER, “ *Giza* ”, IV, p. 18).

The insistence of the King's deliverance from death is new in these Utterances, and it also presents a new idea. The King is no longer so entirely god-like — there is the awful possibility that he might die like any ordinary mortal. Such an idea, and the possibility of its accomplishment must be entirely banished, and the best way to do this was, according to the philosophy of the time, to emphatically deny the possibility of such a calamity taking place :—


UTTERANCE 265 ⁽³⁾ :—


351 (a) “ Words spoken: Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *R*' ; he, therefore, traverses by them to the *Horizon*, to *Hr-sh.t.j* ;


(1) Or, “ He had delivered *Ttj* ” (?).

(2) A necropolis of Heliopolis.

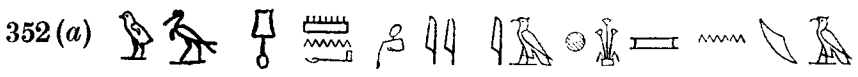
(3) This Utterance is a variant of No. 263.


(b)  “had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Hr-3h.t.j*, he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon to *R*’;

(c)  “had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for this *Ppjj* himself;

(d)  “he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon to *R*’ and to *Hr-3h.t.j*.”


In spite of this Utterance being a parallel to No. 263 of *Wni’s* several changes have been made. In the first line *R*’ is mentioned as the voyager on the reed-floats, but his ultimate goal is not to the Horizon alone, as in the older text, but to *Hr-3h.t.j*, a statement which implies that the latter god was already installed in the Horizon before *R*’ had ascended to Heaven, or in other words, making *Hr-3h.t.j* to be the elder god ⁽¹⁾. The second line is identical with that of *Wni’s*; while the ultimate goal of the King in the third and fourth lines of *Wni’s* is here condensed into one line, and we are told that *Ppjj* traversed to the Horizon to *R*’ and to *Hr-3h.t.j*:—

352 (a)  “Opened is the Nurse Canal, inundated is the Meandering Stream,

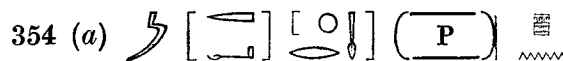
(b)  “the Fields of *I3rw* are filled (with water).”

353 (a)  “*Ppjj*, therefore, traverses a traversing to the eastern side of Heaven,


(b)  “to this place where the gods are born,

(c)  “and *Ppjj* is born his birth there with them like *Horus* (*Hr*), like the Inhabitant of the Horizon.”

Here again we are told how the inundation had appeared to assist the King upon his watery journey, but we get an added detail. The text of *Wni’s* does not state explicitly where the King was going. *Ttj* says he was going to the eastern side of Heaven, to the place where the gods would make him to be re-born; but *Ppjj* tells us that this was also the place where the gods themselves were born, and that he, like *Hr* and *Hr-3h.t.j*, was re-born along with them. That is to say, the King, like these Sun-gods, was daily born anew in the eastern part of the sky, an idea much stressed upon later:—

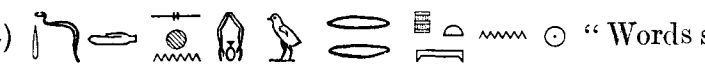
354 (a)  “Justified is this *Ppjj*!

(1) In reality, we cannot tell who is the older god, for the Egyptians were always fond of making exaggerated statements about their gods, especially when we remember that all these deities were at first local, and that each locality wished to make its god the eldest of the gods. Thus, the truth as to who is really the eldest deity is almost impossible to know for certain.

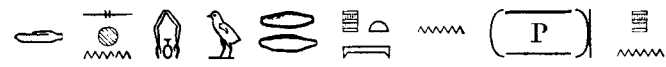
(d)  "jubilate to this *Ppjj*, jubilate to the Ka of this *Ppjj*!"


We are now told, as in *Wnis*, that the star Sothis (*Spl.t*) is the sister of the King, and that his mother is the Morning Star. As in the text of *Ttj*, the King is identified with the star which is in the underside of the body of the sky, but we do not hear of him exercising the functions of the God Osiris (*Wsr*), as in the latter text. The Utterance ends with the assurance that *Ppjj* is justified and gives the refrain of jubilation for *Ppjj* and his Ka :—

UTTERANCE 266 :—


358 (a)  "Words spoken: Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *R'*,


(b)  "*R'*, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon, to *Hr-3h.t.j*,


(c)  "had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for this *Ppjj*,


(d)  "he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon, to *Hr-3h.t.j*,

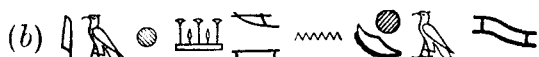
(e)  "had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Hr-3h.t.j*,

(f)  "he, therefore, traverses with them to the Horizon, to *R'*,

(g)  "had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for this *Ppjj*,

(h)  "he, therefore traverses with them to the Horizon, to *R'*."

359 (a)  "Opened is the Nurse Canal, filled is the Field of *I3rw* (with water),

(b)  "inundated is the Meandering Stream."

360 (a) "This *Ppjj*, therefore, traverses a traversing to the Horizon, to *Hr-3h.t.j*,

This Utterance is nothing but another version of the preceding one of *Wni's* (No. 263). In the opening paragraph we are told that *R'* traverses on the reed-floats to the Horizon, and also to *Hr-3h.t.j*. Then, it is *Ppjj* who traverses on the reed-floats to the Horizon and to *Hr-3h.t.j*. Next, it is *Hr-3h.t.j* himself who uses the reed-floats in order to traverse to the Horizon, to *R'*; then *Ppjj* makes the same voyage, also to the Horizon to *R'*. Afterwards, we have the theme of the inundation, which takes place in order that *Ppjj* may traverse to the Horizon to *Hr-3h.t.j*.

(b) "bring to this *Ppjj* those four Friendly, (or brotherly) Ones,

(c) "the watchers of the passers-by, the Lock-carriers,

(d) "who sit upon their sceptres in the eastern side of Heaven."

361 (a) "You say also the 'Good Name' of this *Ppjj* to *Nhb-k3.w* (*R'* ?),

Ppjj now calls for the four Lock-carriers who watch the roads and who sit upon their sceptres in the east of Heaven, and he orders them to announce his 'Good Name' to *Nhb-k3.w* who is here apparently *R'* himself (?).

(b) "jubilate to this *Ppjj* jubilate to his Ka!

(c) "justified is this *Ppjj*, justified is the Ka of this *Ppjj* before God."

362 (a) "*R'* had (taken) this *Ppjj* to Heaven, to the eastern side of Heaven,

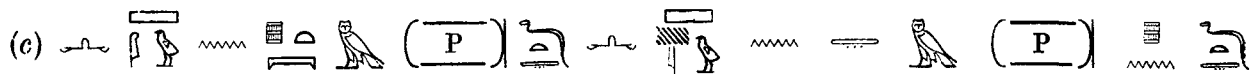
(b) "verily, he is *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*, he is that star which shines in Heaven."

363 (a) "The sister of this *Ppjj* is Sothis (*Spd.t*), (his mother is the Morning Star) . . .

(b) ". . . them,


(4) For this . see SETHE, "Kommentar", Vol. II, p. 76.

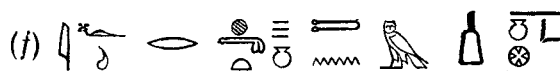
We now come to some new points. Firstly, we see that *Ppjj* and his *Ka* are justified before God — presumably *R'*. Secondly, we are told that *R'* himself had taken *Ppjj* to Heaven; then the King is identified with (*Hr*) of the *Dst* ⁽¹⁾ and with a star which illumines Heaven⁽²⁾. Then, we get the familiar assurance that Sothis (*Spd.t*) is the King's sister, after which is a lacuna. We may guess by analogy with the other texts that the missing words related that the mother of *Ppjj* was the Morning Star, but there was also some new point concerning them which has unfortunately been lost.

(c) 

“the sky will never again be free from *Ppjj*, the earth will never again be free from this *Ppjj*,

(d)  “by order of . . . ,

(e)  “. . . bring these to this *Ppjj*,

(f)  “he will be your third as Heliopolitan.”

Finally, we are given a whole group of new ideas, the first of which is very interesting but can be interpreted in two ways: “The sky will never again be free from *Ppjj*, the earth will never again be free from this *Ppjj*”. This may be a development of the idea expressed in the text of *Ttj*, namely that the King's spirit will remain in Heaven, while his body endures in the Necropolis. On the other hand, it may mean that *Ppjj* will never be removed from Heaven, and his memory will endure for ever upon earth, and this is one of the finest allusions to the death of the King (*cf.* Pyr. 1455 [*c*]).

Next we are told that certain things or persons are to be brought to *Ppjj* by order of some being, but unfortunately the text is badly mutilated at this point. However, it may only be a variant of the passage, wherein the King is said to have been called by *R'* to receive his meal from *Nhb-k3.w*. The final sentence seems to go back to the subject mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. There we find a mention of the two great Solar-gods, *R'* and *Hr-3h.t.j*; *Ppjj* is identified with them in his solar journeys and continues to claim identification with them all through the utterance. Finally, he claims to be a third Solar-god —“He will be your third as Heliopolitan”. That is to say, *R'* and *Hr-3h.t.j*, who are already existing in the Heliopolitan theology, will be joined by *Ppjj*, who thus makes himself the third person of the Heliopolitan triad of male gods.

In spite of the fact that these Utterances dealing with the reed-floats are, in their original composition, undeniably among the most ancient chapters of the *Pyramid Texts*, yet in the

⁽¹⁾ For further discussion of this passage, see below, p. 238.

⁽²⁾ Here is a salient example of the way in which the two ideas of the solar and stellar Hereafter are fused together in the *Pyramid Texts* (see p. 46 ff.).

written form, in which they have come down to us, they are none of them older than the end of the Fifth Dynasty. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that some “modern improvements” had crept in, as we shall see below :—

UTTERANCE 473 :—

926 (a) “Words spoken: Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven in the [Day-boat] to R’,”

(b) “he, therefore, traverses on them to Hr-*sh.t.j* to the Horizon.”

(c) “had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven in the Night-boat to Hr-*sh.t.j*,

(d) “Hr-*sh.t.j*, therefore, traverses upon them to R’, to the Horizon.”

927 (a) “Had been put down for P*ppj* the reed-floats of Heaven in the Day-boat,

(b) “this P*ppj*, therefore, mounts upon them to R’, to the Horizon;

(c) “had been put down the reed-floats of Heaven in the Night-boat,

(d) “this P*ppj*, therefore, mounts upon them to Hr-*sh.t.j*.”

928 (a) “This P*ppj* mounts to this eastern side of the sky where the Gods are born;


(b) “this P*ppj* is born like H*orus* (H*r*), like the Inhabitant of the Horizon.”

We are here faced with an entirely new theme. No longer is the dead King compelled to rely solely upon the primitive reed-float, and the idea of a proper boat is introduced; in fact there are two boats, one for the day journey and one for the night journey⁽¹⁾. Nevertheless, the

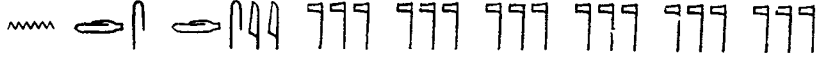
⁽¹⁾ There is a possibility that the duality of the Solar-boats was originally made to conform to the original conception of the duality of the reed-floats which do not seem to appear except in the dual form. But what was logical in the reed-floats was illogical in the case of developed boats, therefore the Egyptians apportioned one vessel for the day and one for the night journey thus retaining their duality and at the same time assigning a logical reason for it.


traditional reed-floats could not be entirely dispensed with, therefore they were placed in the Solar-boats, where we may suppose that they were employed as a kind of tender to carry passengers to and from the boat, and generally navigate the shallow celestial waters where the larger vessel could not pass.


In view of the well-known archaistic tendencies of the Saitic Period, it is not very surprising to find that we have what seems to be a representation of the reed-floats placed in the Solar-boat, where, moreover, they are represented in their original simple form. This representation occurs upon an unnamed coffin in the Cairo Museum (No. 41040) and dates from the Saitic Period ⁽¹⁾ (see Fig. 38 b). Here we see the reed-floats placed within a large Solar-disk in the middle of the Solar-boat. They are set upright upon a post, which is supported by two dwarf-like figures of men.

In the tomb of Rameses *R^c-ms-sw* VI (PIANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, Pls. I, IV, we see a later development of the reed-float, where they are given the form of small papyrus boats and are represented as turning upwards to go to the Day-boat and turned downwards to go to the Night-boat. This bending of the reed-floats is first seen in the *Pyramid Texts* in the determinative sign of the *Shn.wj* in the very text of *Ppjj* which we have just discussed ⁽²⁾, line 926 (c), where they are shown bent *downwards*  and are mentioned in connection with the Night-boat, and also they appear in the text of *Mr-n-R^c*, line 1084 (c), where they are turned *upwards* and are spoken of in connection with a journey made by *Horus (Hr)* to *R^c* in the *Horizon*, which must be a day journey. This bending of the reed-float has also another very significant point; it seems as though it was intended to stress that epoch in the history of Egyptian shipbuilding when the simple reed-float, after perhaps being enlarged into a raft, was by the genius of some long-forgotten inventor, curved fore and aft, and thus became a graceful boat. The Egyptians themselves seemed to have recognized the importance of this transition from the reed-float to the reed-boat, for they had a special Utterance in the *Pyramid Texts* mentioning it:—

UTTERANCE 519 :—


1204 (d)  “Jubilate, O Double Ennead !”

1205 (a)  “Because this *Ppjj* is the soul which passes among you, O Gods.

(b)  “Had been opened the Lake of *Pst*, and had been filled the *Pst* with water,

(c)  “and the Field of *I3rw* had been inundated .

⁽¹⁾ MORET, “*Sarcophages de l'Epoque Bubastite à l'Epoque Saite*”, pp. 318–320, Pl. XXXIX.

⁽²⁾ In the Third Dynasty tomb of *H^c'j-b3.w-Skr*, the sign determining the title  is also slightly bent (see above, p. 2).

Instead of the familiar idea that Sothis (*Spd.t*) is the King's sister, we get a new note introduced, namely that his brother is the moon, which is here perhaps identified with Thoth (*Dhwtj*); and again the familiar assertion that the King's mother is the Morning Star. It would seem that this divine brother is commanded to give his arm to *Nfr-k3-R'* in order that he may live; that is to say, to give him aid and support.

UTTERANCE 507 :—

1102 (a) (1) (2) " Said by *Ihmtj* (ferryman): ' I say to that which has possessions, and that which has no possessions, to me belongs the door (?),

(b) " opened is the canal,

(c) " flooded is the Field of *I3ru*,

(d) " filled is the Meandering Stream with water."

1103 (a) " Had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *Horus (Hr)*, he, therefore, traverses with them to *R'*;

(b) " had been placed the reed-floats of Heaven for *R'*, he traverses, therefore, with them to *Hr-3h.t.j.*"

1104 (a) " He (*i.e.* Ra') sends *Mrrj-R'* (*Ppjj I*) to his father, the Moon,

(b) "[and] to the mother of *Mrrj-R'*, who is the Morning Star,

(c) " he (*R'*) sends *Mrrj-R'* to the four youngsters,

(d) " who sit upon the eastern side of Heaven."

In this chapter we have the record of the inundation placed first, followed immediately and logically by the placing of the reed-floats for *Horus (Hr)*, in order that he may traverse to *R'*. Now *Horus (Hr)* here should refer to the King who was commonly identified with that god, for

(1) See = poor. *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 46,

(2) *Var.* . (N. 1102a).

Naqada Type, a development of the primitive reed-float, widened, lengthened and altogether improved. One of the most important innovations, after a mere increase in bulk, is the upraising of the ends, transforming what was a mere float, or at the best a clumsy raft, liable to overturn at the slightest untoward movement of its passenger, into a graceful, stable boat. The upraised prow protected its occupant from the wavelets of the river, and offering less resistance to the water, made for both increase of speed and ease of propulsion. A typical boat of the Naqada type is shown in Fig. 2 which is from a Naqadian vase in the Cairo Museum (No. 11569) ⁽¹⁾.

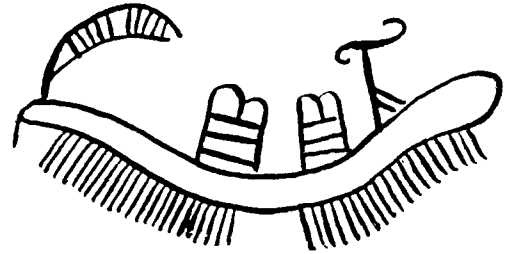


FIG. 2.—A BOAT FROM A NAQADA VASE

Characteristic features of the Naqada boats are :—

- (1) A crescent-shaped hull.
- (2) A branch set upright on the prow.
- (3) Double cabins.
- (4) Multiple oars (sometimes steering-oars are represented in the stern) ⁽²⁾.
- (5) Masts supporting various emblems.
- (6) A hanging object of varying length depending from the extremity of the bow.

Boreux is of the opinion that these more developed reed-boats were an importation from the East ⁽³⁾, but at a date so remote that he is content to call them Naqadian and consider them as a native type of vessel. But when we remember that reeds always have, and still do, grow abundantly beside the Nile and the canals, to say nothing of in the Delta swamps, it seems illogical to try and prove that it needed a foreign invasion in order to teach the Egyptians the art of making reed-boats ; they were the necessarily natural outcome of a physical feature of the country. This then, is the first appearance of the vessel that was destined to a long and useful career upon the Nile, for we find it surviving down to the historic epoch, when though apparently reduced in size, it was the favourite vessel of hunters, fishermen and fowlers when navigating the shallow, marshy lakes and lagoons. That the Naqadian boat was really in its inception constructed of reeds may be proved by the comparison of the vase-paintings with contemporary models of clay and stone, the latter, while retaining the characteristic form of the boats of the vase paintings, give the relief details which denote that the hull was composed of bundles of reeds lashed tightly together (Fig. 3) ⁽⁴⁾. Moreover, the supple, graceful lines of the Naqadian boats

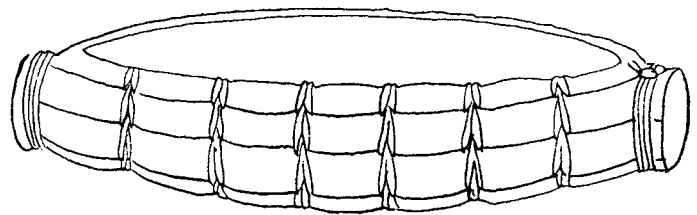


FIG. 3.—A BOWL IN THE FORM OF A REED-BOAT

⁽¹⁾ QUIBELL, "Archaic Objects", Pl. 24.

⁽²⁾ Some scholars are of the opinion that these supposed oars are in reality sand-dunes or fortifications and that the boat is in reality a fortified village. See READ, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. XIII, p. 145, ff.

⁽³⁾ BOREUX, "La Nautique Egyptienne", p. 8, ff.

⁽⁴⁾ PETRIE, "Abydos", Vol. I, Pl. IX.

indicate that they were originally formed of a flexible material. By the time of the Old Kingdom, we see actual scenes on the walls of the mastabas showing these boats in their different stages of construction, beginning with the cutting and transport of the reeds (a subject usually treated in a humorous manner) and ending with the completed vessel (1).

THE HORIAN BOAT

The great fresco in Green's tomb at Hierakonpolis (2) again presents us with the Naqadian boat, plus one that appears to be an innovation, and which is shown in Fig 4. Notice the new form of the vertical bow-post. Returning again to Naqada, to a somewhat later part of the necropolis, we see a still further development (Fig. 5) (3). It is also to Naqada that we must go

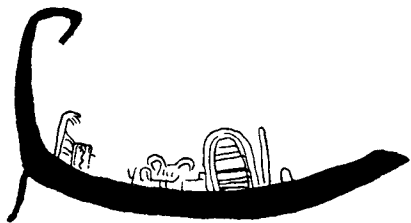


FIG. 4.—A BOAT FROM THE HIERAKONPOLIS FRESCO



FIG. 5.—A BOAT FROM NAQADA

in order to find an explanation for this innovation. This is provided by a model boat of clay, which is now in the Berlin Museum (4). It was discovered in that part of the necropolis excavated by de Morgan in 1897, and represents a heavy wooden vessel of a type hitherto unknown in Egypt (Fig. 6). Its characteristic features are :—

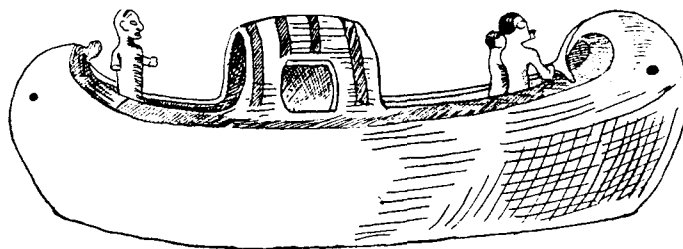


FIG. 6.—A CLAY MODEL OF A "HORIAN" BOAT

- (1) A deep, rounded hull, in contact with the water along its entire length.
- (2) An upraised and incurving prow and stern.
- (3) A small, barrel-shaped cabin.

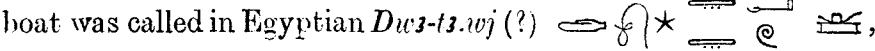
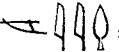



The model in question is manned by three figures of unbaked clay ; two of these represent men, naked and ithyphallic, (compare with the figure of the man in the boat in Fig. 5), and one

(1) DAVIES, "The Mastaba of Ptah hetep and Akhet hetep", Vol. I, Pl. XXI; "The Rock-tombs of Sheikh Said", Pl. XII.

(2) QUIBELL, "Hierakonpolis", Vol. II, Pl. LXXV.

(3) QUIBELL, "Archaic Objects", Pl. 22 (Vase No. 11557).

(4) SCHAFER, "A.Z.", XXXIV, p. 161, Fig. 10.

is of a woman who stands in a large jar, the rim of which she holds with her left hand (now broken off at the wrist) while her right hand is placed upon her hip. The form of this vessel at once suggests that the original from which it was copied was made of wood, and its heavy, clumsy lines, are in distinct contrast to the light and graceful Naqadian boats. Nevertheless, it may be considered to be more seaworthy than these latter. Basing his theory upon the Abydos tablet of *Hr-hs*, and an inscription on the Palermo Stone relating to King *Snfru*, Boreux deduces that the name of this type of boat was called in Egyptian *Dw3-t3.wj* (?) *, and that it was made of *mr*-wood, , or 's'-wood  (1). The existence of a stone vase in the form of a boat of this type which was found by Banks at Bismya (2) and which—in the opinion of Boreux—seems to antedate the Egyptian example, may perhaps be accepted as proof that these vessels were first in use upon the Tigris and Euphrates, and are, in fact, of Mesopotamian origin. Therefore, their sudden appearance in Egypt should mean that they were introduced by a foreign invasion, which many historians now agree took place near the end of the prehistoric period. These people were almost certainly from Asia, and were worshippers of the God *Horus (Hr)*, a Sun-god who was also a type of warrior-god (3). His disciples were known as the “Followers of *Horus (Hr)*”  and their especial badge was the sign . According to Boreux (4), this symbol represents a long staff with a hooked end, perhaps of metal, around which is wrapped a packet bound in place by a lasso (?), and from which protrudes a knife. In short, the typical weapons of the conquering god which his servants carried for him, and from this service which they rendered, it became their distinguishing badge, and was later one of the emblems most frequently seen in the Solar-boat, and it is in this capacity that we shall discuss it more fully later (see below, pp. 72-74).

It would seem that these “Followers of *Horus (Hr)*”, thanks to their superior ships, were able to land upon the western coast of the Red Sea, and by means of their superior arms (5) overcame the resistance of the Egyptians, and by degrees made themselves masters of Upper Egypt, where they founded *Nhn* as their capital city. Here they set up temples and organized the worship of their God, *Horus (Hr)*. Not content with their initial success, these *Horian* kings determined to conquer the whole of Egypt. Again their superior arms and vessels brought them success, and Middle Egypt first fell into their power. Irresistably the powerful fleet swept down the Nile, the emblems of the God *Horus (Hr)* set upright upon the decks to bring them victory. The Egyptians, with their weapons of wood and stone and their light reed vessels, were no match for the *Southerners*, and Lower Egypt and the Delta fell before the might of the *Horian* kings. Their victory finally resulted in the unification of the Two Kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt (6), and at this point

(1) *ibid.* p. 75, *f.*

(2) BANKS, “*The Open Court*”, XX, (1906), p. 692.

(3) In “*The Hermes of Egypt*”, p. 29, Note 2, Patrick Boylan says: “The two aspects of *Horus*, as god of light, and as warrior god or god of battles, are close enough to be regarded merely as different aspects of the same divinity arising naturally from the transformation of a cosmic into a political or semi-political legend.”

(4) *ibid.* p. 94, *f.*

(5) Later tradition calls the “Followers of *Horus (Hr)*” blacksmiths, because they made and used weapons and chains of metal with which to slay or capture their enemies (see MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 101).

(6) For a full treatment of this subject in Prehistoric Egypt, see PIRENNE, “*Histoire des Institutions de l’Ancienne Egypte*”, Vol. I, pp. 25-114; also SETHE, “*Urgeschichte*”, Ch. VI, where a somewhat different opinion is stated. See also JUNKER, “*Giza*”, II, p. 48, *f.*

the history of Egypt emerges from the realms of pure theory to the realms of fact. As the Nile had always been the main highway of Egypt before the coming of the railways, and even to this day forms the most important route for the transport of heavy goods, we may safely assume that the triumphal progress of the H̄orians was made upon the Nile, and that their heavy ships played an important part in their conquest; and to this point we shall refer again later.

THE NAQADA-HORIAN BOAT

Although the so-called H̄orian conquerers owed so much to their heavy vessels, their form in its purity was quickly destined to disappear from the waters of the Nile, though it is retained to this day in the Far East. Articles for practical use, such as boats, must be adapted to the conditions under which they are to be used, and the H̄orians were not slow to see that the graceful Naqada hull was better adapted to Nile navigation in the Delta than their own original pattern. They therefore adopted this hull, but retained their old characteristic bow and stern in pious memory of the fleet of H̄orus (*Hr*) that had brought them victory. Another factor which may have contributed to this modification of type is the shortage of heavy timber, from which Egypt has always suffered. As early as the reign of *Snfrw* we hear how that monarch was obliged to send, presumably to Syria, for forty shiploads of cedar-wood⁽¹⁾. A very famous later instance is the journey of *Wn-ḫmn* to the Lebanon in order to get timber for the construction of a sacred bark for *Imn-R'*, and whose startling adventures and misfortunes are so humorously set down in the Hermitage Papyrus⁽²⁾.

Deprived of large planks of wood, the H̄orians were forced to build their ships of local material, which chiefly consisted of reeds and light wood. These materials imposed the Naqadian type of hull, for which they had long been so successfully used. Nor were the Egyptians on their part slow to adopt the new-fashioned prow and stern for boats of a special significance. But for all the uses of every day life the Naqadian boat continued to hold its own, and finally, by its essential adaptability to local conditions, ousted the exotic H̄orian boat out of the daily traffic upon the Nile. By the beginning of the Archaic Period we find the Naqadian boat triumphant in the world of trade and commerce, while the modified H̄orian type was destined to a limited but exalted career as a divine boat, a career which it held unopposed from the time of the unification of Egypt until the coming of Christianity, and it is in this role that we will now commence to study it⁽³⁾.

THE CULT OF RA' VERSUS THE CULT OF H̄ORUS (*Hr*)

With the conquest of the Delta, the probable history of which we have just attempted theoretically to reconstruct, arose a theological problem. The god of the conquered Northerners was also a Sun-god, *R'*, who was also worshipped at Heliopolis under the name of *Itm*. It must then

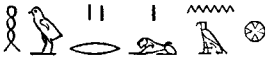
⁽¹⁾ BAIKE, "A History of Egypt", Vol. I, p. 105.

⁽²⁾ WEIGALL, "The Treasury of Ancient Egypt", pp. 112-137.

⁽³⁾ The cult of the divine ship is not yet dead in Egypt. A large boat is carried in procession through the streets of Luxor on the occasion of the Moulid (Feast) of Sheikh Haggag. A large bronze boat also exists on the summit of the dome of the Mosque of Imam-el-Shafi' in Cairo; while small model boats are often hung in the tombs of Holy Men in different parts of Egypt.

have become a problem as to which religion should hold sway, and the powerful god of the conquering Southerners was opposed to a god of a similar nature to himself, who, although he was the deity of a conquered people according to one theory (1), yet by the very strength of the antiquity of his cult could not be ignored or swept away. The result of this impasse seems to have been a moderate one of compromise. *R'* was accustomed to sail across the sky upon a reed-float, as we have just proved from certain passages in the *Pyramid Texts*. Horus (*Hr*) also adopted this celestial voyage, and the means of accomplishing it, but it was not long before he had replaced the simple reed-floats by one of the superior vessels of his followers. But according to Breasted (2) the change from the reed-float to the Solar-boat took place when men began to imagine their god as a kind of Pharaoh, and attached to him all the material splendour which they were accustomed to see surrounding their earthly Pharaoh.

On his part, *R'* seems to have adopted the hawk's head of Horus (*Hr*), and compromised as to the form of the divine boat. If this is true, then we have a case of history repeating itself, and we find another occasion occurring when a hawk-god was imported from Western Asia into Egypt, and was assimilated to or identified with Ra' and the other forms of the Egyptian Solar-gods. But in this latter case the circumstances of his introduction were reversed!

In the early Eighteenth Dynasty, when Egypt's foreign conquests opened up the outside world, it also resulted in the introduction of large numbers of foreign people into Egypt, either as prisoners of war, hostages, or who were brought there by the press of diplomatic or commercial relations. Thus, it happened that a colony of Canaanites resided in Lower Egypt and brought with them the worship of the god *Hwr3n* (3), who was a solar deity worshipped as a hawk. His cult must have been long established in his native land, and was centred in the city which still bears the name of Beth Huran, while other place-names in the Syrian desert and Arabia are compounded with the name of this god, as Wady Harun in the Syrian Desert, and Wady Harun in the Nejd (4). At the time of which we are speaking, this god owned several city estates which paid him tribute, thus subsidizing his worship. On settling in Egypt, the Canaanitish worshippers of the hawk *Hwr3n* were struck by the resemblance between the Egyptian Solar-gods and their own deity, and promptly identified the latter with his hosts, particularly with *R'* and *Hr-3h.t.j*. As we have said, they formed a settlement in Lower Egypt at a spot not far from Giza and called their township *Hwrn3* . This we know from a votive stele which one of these foreigners dedicated to the Great Sphinx and which I discovered—among a number of others—when clearing the Sphinx Depression during our eighth season's work. It would seem that the site

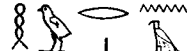
(1) For a full development of this subject, see JUNKER, "Giza", Vol. II, p. 48, ff., where he narrates that the original home of Horus was the Delta, and that he then extended his power over all Egypt, from the sea to the First Cataract.

(2) *The Dawn of Conscience*, p. 27.


(3) For particulars concerning this god, see the following : ALLBRIGHT, "The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature", Vol. LIII, pp. 1-12.







MONTEP, "Rev. Bibl.", 1935; EDGAR, "Annales du Service", Vol. XXII, p. 79.; GARDINER, "Journal of Egyptian Archaeology", Vol. V, pp. 267-268.; DARESSY, "Le Dieu Hérôn sur les Monnaies du Nome Diospolite", Annales du Service, Vol. XXI, p. 7.; LEFEBURE, "Bas-reliefs du Dieu Haron", Annales du Service, Vol. XXIV, pp. 89-90; LEFEBURE, "Le Dieu Haron d'Egypte", Annales du Service, Vol. XX, p. 237.

(4) YAQUT, "Wustensfeld", II, 358.

of this settlement is represented by the two villages lying to the south of Giza, which bear the name of North and South Harronia. As the Egyptians themselves regarded the Sphinx of Giza as an image of the Sun-god, and at this period addressed him both as *R'* and *Hr-ḫ.t.j*, the Canaanites identified him also with their Hawk-god, and sometimes addressed him as  *Hwrn* (1). The cult of *Hwrn* must have been widespread in the Delta, and owing to the similarity of both nature and appearance between the Asiatic Hawk and the Egyptian Solar-gods, the latter readily adopted the stranger into their religious system, assimilating him to their own gods *R'* and *Hr-ḫ.t.j*, as easily as the Canaanites had done. Thus, it comes that we find *R'-ms-sw* II, representing himself in a colossus of gray granite in the form of a child crouching under the protecting bosom of a huge divine hawk. Were the monument uninscribed, we should be tempted to identify this hawk as *Horus (Hr)* or *Hr-ḫ.t.j* but we should be wrong! An inscription on the base of the monument tells us that he is no other than the god *Hwrn* (2)!

This later instance shows the tolerant attitude of the Egyptians towards strange gods, especially if they were in any way resembling their own divinities, and it serves to explain the apparent ease with which the first amalgamation of the Asiatic hawk-warrior-god and *R'* was brought about. In this ancient fusion, if *Horus (Hr)* had conformed to some of the characteristics of *R'*, the latter, on his part, seems to have adopted the hawk's head of *Horus (Hr)* and compromised as to the form of the Solar-boat.

It seems also that the cult of the divine boat was developed for its own sake, and if we allow that the *Horians* owed their conquest of the Delta to their superior fleet, then there may have been a political motive in this fact, for according to the evidence of the Palermo Stone, they seem to have instituted certain feasts, held at regular intervals, which bore the name of  "The Feast of the Followers of *Horus (Hr)*" (3). Thus, was combined a religious and political motive. The composite Sun-god was honoured by the sailing of the divine bark, and at the same time, the memory of the conquering *Horian* kings was kept alive by the *Horian* form of the boat. At different epochs minor variations and modifications crept into the form of the divine vessel, but also, at all periods, there was a return to what we may almost call the "official form". It must be remembered that here we are in the domain of "plausible theory" and that any day new facts may come to light which will destroy the whole fabric given above; or perhaps they already exist, but have escaped research!

(1) It is from this form of the name that the modern Arabic name of the Sphinx "*Abu-el-Hol*—أبو الهول" is derived. In Egyptian the signs  and  were interchangeable and had the value of "r" or "l". Thus, we found several stelæ giving a shortened variant of the name *Hwrn* as  *Hwl*, or  (where the lion-sign is replaced by a sphinx), or  (where it is determined by a sphinx). In one example the name was determined by a hawk, showing that the scribe had the god *Hwrn* in mind. This form of the name was pronounced *Hwl*, and the Arabic name of the Sphinx is simply a corruption of  *bw Hwl* "the Place of *Hwl*", and does not at all mean "Father of Terror", as is generally supposed. It would be digressing too far to discuss this subject more fully here, moreover, I have treated it in full detail in my forthcoming book on the Great Sphinx of Giza.

(2) This monument was discovered by Montet at Tanis in 1933-1934.



(3) BREASTED, "*Ancient Records*", Vol. I, p. 57, ff. The name of this festival may also be translated: "*Feast of the Worshipers of Horus*".

THE EARLY DIVINE BOATS

Let us now examine the earliest of these divine boats, that is to say, boats combining the Horian bow and stern with the Naqadian hull, and containing those emblems which later evidence will show us were associated with the Solar-boat. But firstly we must bear in mind that though this particular form of boat occurs frequently on the archaic monuments, yet we have not one dated inscription, which definitely gives us the name of the Solar-boats until the Pyramid Age.

THE BOAT OF NARMER

As Narmer is perhaps to be identified with *Mnj*, the traditional Uniter of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the first historical King of Egypt in the second Union, we will first of all examine the small boat which occurs on the obverse of his famous slate palette from Hierakonpolis (Fig. 7) ⁽¹⁾. This little vessel is unmistakably of the type we are now considering, but its identity as a Solar-boat is by no means established.

Boreux would see in the sign-group  placed above it a variant of the group  "Followers of Horus (*Hr*)" ⁽²⁾, but even if his theory is correct, it does not necessarily prove that the vessel in question is a Solar-boat. It is just as likely that this group, which with the boat, occurs over a group of decapitated prisoners, is referring to a feast, which we have seen recorded upon the Palermo Stone as "Feast of the Followers of Horus (*Hr*)", that is to say, a festival perhaps instituted to commemorate the victory of the Horians over the Delta. As the whole decoration of the Narmer Palette seems to be a record of the conquest of Lower Egypt and the unification of the Two Kingdoms, we may perhaps see in the boat group the record of the first inauguration of these water festivals ⁽³⁾.

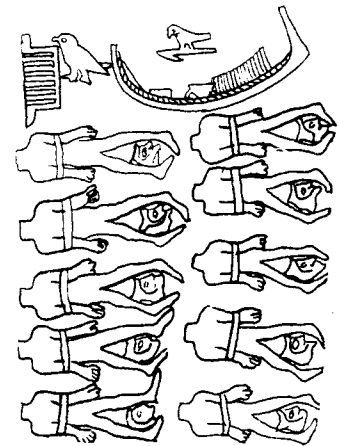


FIG. 7.—PART OF A SCENE FROM THE NARMER PALETTE

THE BOAT OF HR-*h3*

The same label of *Hr-h3* which bears the representation of the Horian boats referred to on p. 32, also shows in the right-hand corner of its upper register two boats represented side by side, and drawn in a perfectly natural manner, that is to say, free from the conventions of later Egyptian Art, which ordained that objects intended to be shown side by side should be arranged one above the other, or one in front of the other. (This freedom from convention is also a notable feature of the archaic ivory carvings in the round from Abydos.)

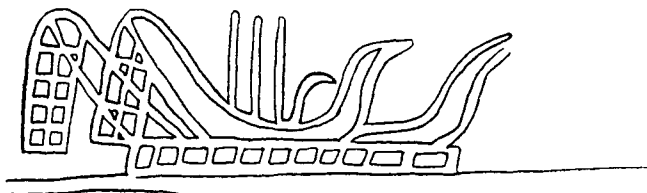



FIG. 8.—THE BOATS FROM THE HR-*h3* LABEL

These boats are each possessed of a high prow and stern, and from the former depends a long mat or curtain (Fig. 8) and which we

⁽¹⁾ QUIBELL, "A.Z.", XXXVI (1898), Pl. XII.

⁽²⁾ BOREUX, *ibid.* p. 90.

⁽³⁾ For other explanations of the group , see NEWBERRY, "Notes on Some Egyptian Nome-signs (Ancient Egypt)", 1914, p. 6; SETHE, "Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne."; PETRIE in "Hierakonpolis", Vol. I, p. 10.

will discuss in detail later. It is a lucky chance that has preserved to us a duplicate of this label, and in each example the main features of the representation tally with each other. In the best preserved specimen (1) each of the boats displays two tall posts set upright amidships, immediately behind them is a small cabin. On the damaged label (2) only three posts are shown; suggesting that one ship possessed a pair of these emblems, while the other had only a single specimen; the cabin is also shown behind them. Petrie refers to these representations as the “two sacred barks”(3). Legge, in his article on the tablets of Naqada and Abydos (4), contradicts this theory and suggests that in reality they are funerary boats—one for the mummy and one for the mourners—backing up his argument with an extract from the Anastasi Papyrus which says in reference to the deceased: “You mount into the bark of cedar-wood with high prow and stern”. But, as our evidence will prove, Petrie’s statement is most likely true, especially in view of the duality of the vessels, while Legge’s quotation from the Anastasi papyrus can hardly be used as evidence for the nature of an archaic representation without any contemporary and intermediate evidence to back it up.

Another label of *Hr-ḥ3*, this time from Naqada (5) where it was found by de Morgan in the supposed mastaba of Mena (*Mnj*) in 1897, gives an interesting representation of a boat (Fig. 9). Here we see the characteristic high prow and stern, and hanging from the prow a pendant object which seems to be a compromise between the short rope-like object of the old Naqadian vase-paintings, and the large mat or curtain which we have just seen. Perhaps it represents the transition stage between the two forms. At the top and back of the bow-post are what appears to be projecting pegs. Amidships

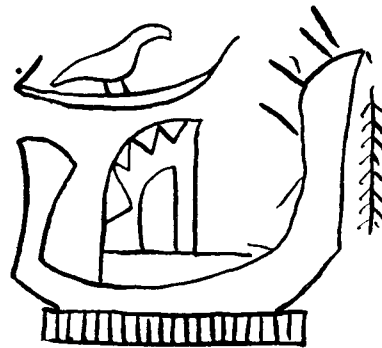



FIG. 9.—A BOAT OF *Hr-ḥ3*

is a cabin, apparently placed upon a false deck. In shape it resembles a naos, and is decorated with a zigzag line which reminds us of the serpent *Mhn*, who occupies this very position in the Solar-boats of the New Kingdom (see below, p. 120). Above the ship is a group which seems to be a hawk perching in a small boat, but which is not very clear, and may be only a variant of the group  of the Narmer Palette. On the other hand, this may be a very early representation of the God *'ntj* in his capacity as divine ferryman. According to Gardiner, he is twice mentioned in this function in the *Pyramid Texts* (lines 1358 [*d*]-1359 [*a*], 791 [*c*]-792 [*a*]). For the role of *'ntj* as ferryman in the New Kingdom, see GARDINER, “*The Chester Beatty Papyrus*”, pp. 17, 18. Concerning the register in which the above-mentioned boat occurs, Newberry would read into it an allusion to the funeral ceremonies performed by *Hr-ḥ3*, on the occasion of the death of *Mnj* (6). He says: “The scene suggests that we may have here a picture of offerings being made at a royal funeral ceremony . . . If this interpretation is correct, then it may explain the curious fact that the *Nebti*-name Men (*i.e.* *Mnj*) is placed within a booth or building beside the *Horus*-name *Aḥa*. There is no parallel for such a booth or building enclosing a name on any later monument”.

(1) PETRIE, “*Royal Tombs*”, Vol. II, Pl. X.

(2) *ibid.* Pl. XI.

(3) *ibid.* p. 21.

(4) *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 20.

(5) NEWBERRY, in MRS. BRUNTON’S, “*Great Ones of Ancient Egypt*”, p. 45, Fig. 5. A damaged duplicate was found by Garstang.

(6) NEWBERRY. *ibid.*, p. 49.

If this is so and the label really represents the funeral rites of *Mnj*, then we may perhaps suggest that the boat is waiting to receive the dead King's soul, as we shall see was the case later. On the other hand, it may be merely the funerary boat which conveyed his body to the western necropolis⁽¹⁾.

Apparently *Hr-ḥ3* has provided us with yet another type of boat, and that is the large brick-built structure which lies beside his supposed mastaba at Saqqara⁽²⁾ (Fig. 10). This curious construction measures 19·30 m. long by 3·20 wide m. by 1·00 m. high (when found). Width of wall at base is 0·65 m.

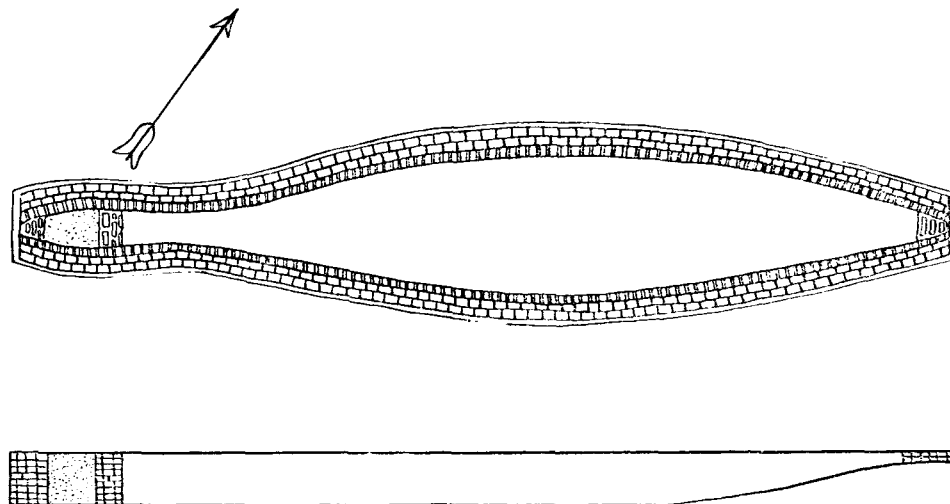


FIG. 10.—BRICK-BUILT BOAT OF *Hr-ḥ3*

It is entirely constructed of mud-bricks, each of which has an average measurement of 23·0 × 12·0 × 7·0 cm. It is situated at a distance of 35·00 m. from the northern wall of the *Hr-ḥ3* mastaba, and lies more or less parallel to this wall, thus orientating it east-west, with the prow (?) directed to the west. Its foundations are laid upon the original mud-brick pavement belonging to the *Hr-ḥ3* mastaba, and it was found to be partly buried under a construction of the Second Dynasty. It, therefore, should be contemporary with the *Hr-ḥ3* mastaba. Its outer walls, which have a batter of 1 in 4, were once cased with whitened mud-plaster⁽³⁾, but the inner surfaces were left in a rough state, which causes Emery to suggest that in reality it is a boat-grave. The presence of fragments of wood and rope in the eastern end of the interior makes this almost a certainty. He describes this structure as⁽⁴⁾: “a brick grave or casing for a wooden solar-bark”. Though there is no definite evidence to prove its solar origin, yet analogy with the rock-cut boats of *Hwfw* and *Hj-f-R*, and the similarity of its form to the wooden model Solar-boats of the Middle Kingdom (see Figs. 69, 70), together with its east-west orientation, makes this identification almost


(1) An ivory comb bearing the name of King *Dt* (First Dynasty) is decorated with a representation of a Solar-boat, manned by a hawk, and sailing upon a pair of hawk's wings, which here represent the sky. The boat has a high prow, with the pendant object, and somewhat resembles that of the *Hr-ḥ3* label but lacks the cabin and high stern-post of this latter boat. (See GARDINER, “*J.E.A.*”, Vol. 30, Pl. VI, 4).

(2) EMERY, “*Excavations at Saqqara, 1937-1938*”, “*Hor-Aha*”, pp. 8, 18, Pl. 3.

(3) According to the painted wooden models of the Middle Kingdom, white was the usual colour for the hull and deck of the Solar-boat (see below, p. 154).

(4) EMERY, *ibid.* p. 8.


certain. Concerning its attribution to *Hr-ḥ3*, Mr. Emery very cautiously declines to say definitely ⁽¹⁾ that the mastaba in question is certainly that of *Hr-ḥ3*, despite the mass of jar-sealings that bear his name *and no other*. But we can be almost certain that this boat is contemporary with and belonging to this mastaba, and as later finds seem to prove that during the Old Kingdom only reigning kings and queens possessed Solar-boats ⁽²⁾, we may not be stretching theory too far if we assume that this brick structure really represents the Solar-boat of *Hr-ḥ3*, and if this is so then it is a monument of great interest and importance for the study of early religious thought.

THE BOAT OF KING DN ⁽³⁾ 

A fragment of an engraved vase of rock-crystal, found by Petrie in the mastaba of King *Dn* at Abydos, bears an interesting representation of a boat (Fig. 11). The bow-post is ornamented with a curtain surmounted by a peg, in front of which is perched a hawk wearing the double crown ⁽⁴⁾. Immediately behind the bow-post is a small bird resembling a swallow, standing upon the deck, and behind it are two cabins with vaulted roofs, the second being higher than the first. The stern-post ascends almost vertically after a curve. Above



FIG. 11.—THE BOAT OF KING DN

the boat, a group of hieroglyphs reads:  "Gold and Silver

Horus (*Hr*)." This boat is of great importance to us by reason of the emblems which it contains, and we shall have occasion to return to it later during a discussion upon the meaning of the divine emblems (see below, p. 69).

THE BOATS OF KING SMR-ḤT ⁽⁵⁾ 

The ivory label of King *Smr-ḥt* (or *Mr.s-ḥ*) bears a representation of two boats (Fig. 12).

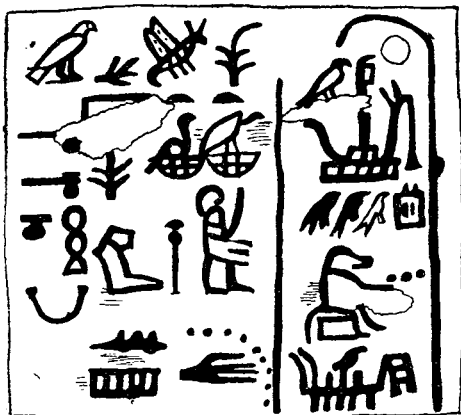




FIG. 12.—THE BOATS OF KING SMR-ḤT

The upper one has an abnormally high bow-post surmounted by two pegs and from it depends a long rope (?) terminating in an object, perhaps an anchor or fender. Amidships is a cabin, apparently a mere framework, enclosing the butt end of a huge club or post which pierces its roof and towers above it. Over the boat is the sign-group , and below the boat is  under which is a large ape seated upon a stool. The lower boat has the curtained bow-post, while amidships is a large hawk perched upon a club, to the fore and aft of which is a small cabin with a vaulted roof. A significant point about these boats is their duality, as we shall see later in the *Pyramid Texts*.

⁽¹⁾ *ibid.* p. 3.



⁽²⁾ PETRIE, "*Naqada and Ballas*", pp. 13, 16, mentions the discovery of a clay model boat lying to the west of a body in an archaic grave, apparently of a private person, but he does not give a photograph or a detailed description of it.

⁽³⁾ PETRIE, "*Abydos*", II, Pl. XII.

⁽⁴⁾ Compare with the vignette of Pap. *Nb.-sn-j* (Fig. 59; see p. 132).

⁽⁵⁾ PETRIE, "*Royal Tombs*", Vol. I, Pl. XVII.

THE BOAT OF KING K' (1) 

The label of King K' also bears a representation of a boat, but the drawing of it is somewhat lacking in detail (Fig. 13). Amidships is a rectangular cabin, in front of which is the emblem  which we shall presently see on the Palermo Stone. The bow-post is abnormally high. Above the boat is the sign-group . Other representations of this type of vessel occur in the rock-drawings of Nubia (2) and though we have no definite evidence as to their age beyond that afforded by patination, yet we can say that they are certainly very ancient, and we shall have occasion to treat them more fully in connection with the meaning of the sacred emblems.

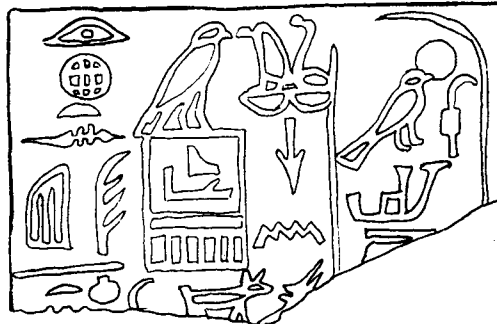


FIG. 13.—THE BOAT OF KING K'

THE BOATS OF THE PYRAMID-BUILDERS

The Boat of Hwfw 

Passing from the Archaic Period to the Old Kingdom, that is to say, the epoch of the Pyramid-builders of the Fourth Dynasty—we are no longer forced to rely chiefly upon engraved representations for our boats, but we find actual monumental specimens predominating, and this brings us to our discoveries in the Pyramid zone of Gîza.

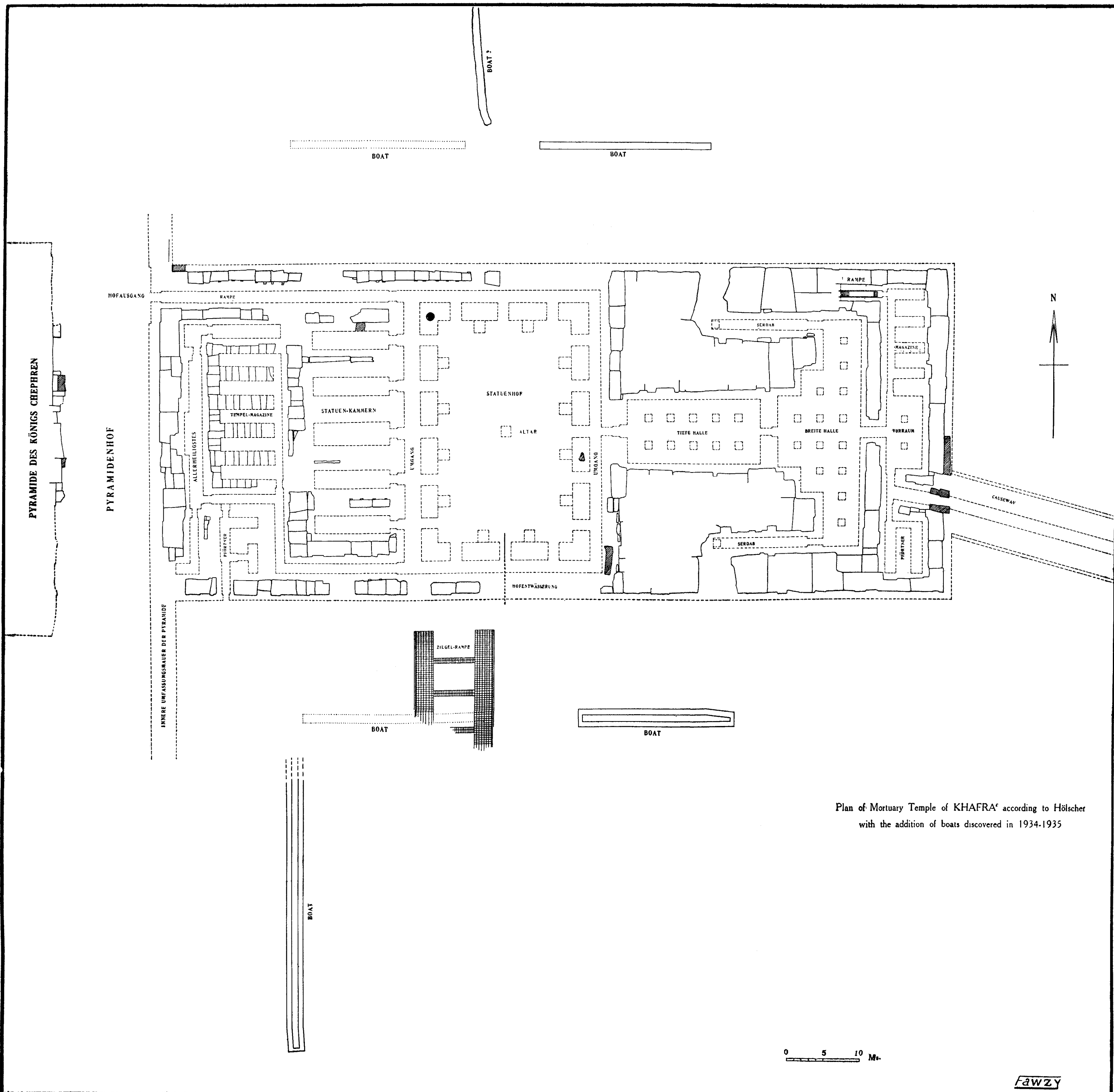
Although actually it was one of the last discoveries that I made in this area, we will deal first with the boats of Hwfw, as chronologically they are the oldest of this particular group. These boats of Hwfw are three in number, and are cut in the living rock of the plateau, two being directed north-south and one directed east-west (see Fig. 14).

The Conventional Solar-Boat

This vessel lies parallel to the causeway of the Great Pyramid, and is the one that is directed east-west, with the prow to the east. The prow is vertical in form and seems to represent the curtained bow-post which we have seen represented in the Archaic boats. The stern slopes upwards in a series of broad, shallow steps, but following a line suggestive of the sweeping curve of the stern in the older vessels (Fig. 14). Around the upper, outer edge of the boat is a rebate

(1) PETRIE, *ibid.* Pl. XII.

(2) DUNBAR, "The Rock Pictures of Lower Nubia".



Plan of Mortuary Temple of KHAFRA^a according to Hölscher
with the addition of boats discovered in 1934-1935

In the bottom of the hull is cut a deep boat-shaped depression measuring 25 m. long by 7·00 m. deep, which Dr. Reisner thought may have contained a gilded wooden model boat. The measurement of the whole vessel is 43·00 m. long by 5·00 m. wide by 7·00 m. deep.

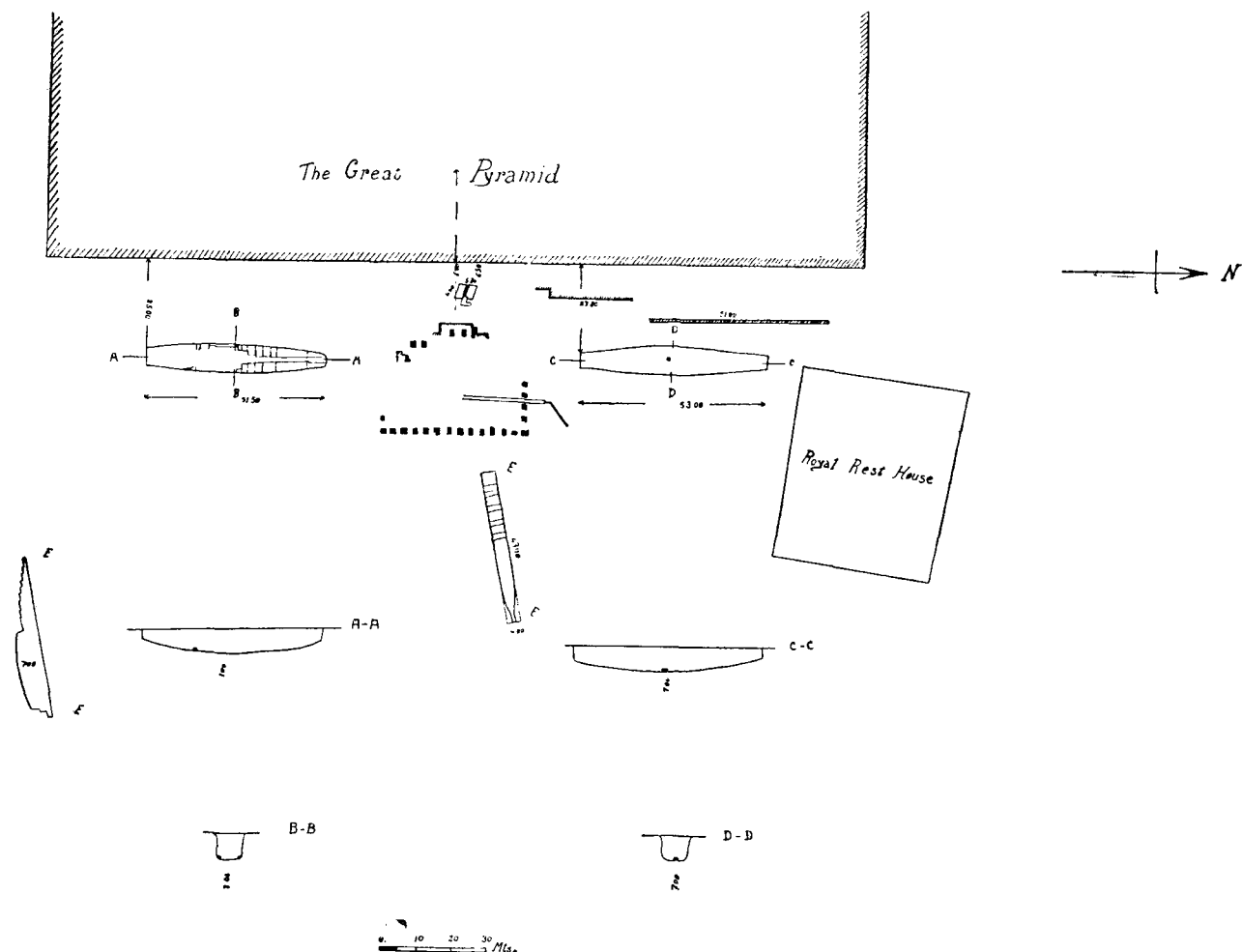

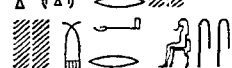


FIG. 14.—THE BOATS OF HWFW


From the debris filling the interior of this vessel we recovered the following objects, but they were most probably flung there when the Giza Necropolis was plundered during the First Intermediate Period, and must not be confused with the original contents of the boat which — if any ever existed — have totally disappeared :—

- (1) A fragment of limestone measuring 38·0 × 30·0 cm. Inscribed with the following signs :
 . . . *shd hm-k3 Hr*. “ . . . Inspector of the *Ka*-servants, *Hr* . . . ”
 and  . . . *'pr šps* “ . . . Equipped Noble . . . ”


- (2) A finely carved head of a lion in brown sandstone.

The Northern Boat (Fig. 14, C)

Lying parallel to the eastern face of the Great Pyramid are two large rock-cut boats directed north-south, and as I have already mentioned, they have been observed, but unrecognized, for over a century, moreover they were being repeatedly filled in with an accumulation of sand and rubbish. At the time when I was excavating this area (tenth season, 1939), the northern boat was almost completely filled up⁽¹⁾, and from the debris which we removed from it, were recovered the following objects:—

(1) A fragment of limestone measuring about 27·0 × 25·0 cm., bearing the following hieroglyphs in a delicate low relief :  *zht* . . . which suggests the name of the Great Pyramid “*zht-Hwfw*” (the Horizon of *Hwfw*) and was undoubtedly part of the reliefs of the Funerary Temple, of which we have recovered some other fragments.

(2) A jug of red-ware. Height : 12·0 cm.

(3) A fragment of limestone sculptured with the sign .

(4) A fragment of a granite statue, comprising the right shoulder, perhaps from a statue of *Hwfw* (?). Dimensions : 22·0 × 25·0 cm.

This northern boat measures 53·00 m. long by 7·00 m. wide by 7·00 m. deep. Its sides were originally cased with fine Turah limestone, some blocks of which still remained in place, while traces of mortar appear on many parts of the rock wall, from whence the casing has been stripped away. It had apparently never been roofed over.

The Southern Boat (Fig. 14, A)

This splendid monument measures 51·50 m. long by 7·00 m wide by 7·00 m deep.

It differs somewhat in shape from the boats of Khafra (*H^c.j-f-R^c*), as we shall see, it being wider in proportion to its length, and having the ends somewhat blunted. The prow, moreover, is rounded off, instead of being cut square. In the bottom of the boat is a shallow cutting, narrow fore and aft and widening in the middle to suggest a rectangular cabin amidships. This cutting may have been intended to form a bedding to support casing-stones, but the fine cutting of the sides of the boat and the excellent quality of the vein of the rock in which it is hewn, seem to make casing unnecessary. Perhaps this cutting was the foundation of a cabin interpreted in masonry. There is no sign that this boat was ever roofed over, and indeed, its great width in the middle would make this a matter of some difficulty, even to an Egyptian architect of the Old Kingdom unless he used pillars for support, of which there are no traces.

⁽¹⁾ At the time of writing, this northern boat has again been filled in, in order, I believe, to give more space to the roadway passing this side of the Great Pyramid, although there is much space to spare.

The Identification of the Larger Boats of *Hwfw*

It is a strange fact that these large north-south-going boats of *Hwfw*, the first of their kind to be known, should have been fated to be so completely misunderstood, that even after they were at last recognized as boats, their true nature has remained until now a subject for discussion. Budge had even suggested ⁽¹⁾ that they may have been warships intended to provide an armed escort for the King on his journey to the Other World. He also seems to have confused them with the wooden boats of Dahshur, for he says ⁽²⁾: "Thus, three large boats were found buried in the sand near the Great Pyramid of Khufu, the largest being, according to M. Daressy (*Bull. Inst. Egypte*, Tome V, Ser. 3, p. 37, ff.), about 195 ft. long, 16 ft. beam and 16 ft. deep. Such 'models', were, in truth, veritable river-going boats, and would have carried a large crew".

This statement cannot possibly be applied to a rock-cut boat such as those we are discussing ⁽³⁾!

In reality, these vessels of *Hwfw* can be explained by induction, and comparison with a certain class of Utterances occurring in the *Pyramid Texts*, as well as other texts and representations dating from the end of the Old Kingdom and onwards.

At some remote period in the history of Egyptian religious thought, there was a belief that after death the soul of the King became a star among the stars of Heaven, and sometimes more particularly among the polar stars in the northern sky. For this reason the royal pyramids of the Old Kingdom were—with the exception of that of Queen *Hnt-k3.w.s* ⁽⁴⁾—orientated north, that the King's soul might fly uninterrupted to the northern Heaven. That this belief was shared by some of the near members of the Royal Family may be seen by the northern orientation of the princely tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, as for instance that of Prince *Hnm.w-b3.f*, which I discovered intact in the Giza Necropolis during our 7th season's work ⁽⁵⁾. But it must be admitted that these mastabas and rock-cut tombs are not reliable evidence for our subject, as the position of their entrances was largely governed by necessity, especially in the case of rock-cut tombs. Nevertheless, *Hnm.w-b3.f* must have deliberately orientated his mastaba north, as he had free access to it from every side. But as we have already said, apart from the one exception of Queen *Hnt-k3.w.s*, all the Old Kingdom pyramids open to the north. During the Middle Kingdom, however, this rule was not so strictly adhered to. Of the Dahshur group of pyramids, that of *Sn-wsr.t* III opens north-east, *Imn-m-h3.t* II opens due north; while that of *Imn-m-h3.t* III has northern and eastern entrances ⁽⁶⁾. The Hawara Pyramid opens south ⁽⁷⁾, and that of Lahun (*Sn-wsr.t* II) is orientated south ⁽⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, "*The Mummy*", p. 465.

⁽²⁾ *ibid.* p. 464.

⁽³⁾ Referring to my discovery of the five boats of the *H'j-f-R'* Pyramid Complex, Prof. Junker ("*Giza*", IV, p. 74) expresses an opinion, that the boats, other than the night and Day Solar-boats, were representing vessels in which the King travelled in order to visit the different parts of his Kingdom.

⁽⁴⁾ For the probable reasons of this departure from established custom, see "*Excavations at Giza*", Vol. IV, p. 65.


⁽⁵⁾ Prof. JUNKER in "*Giza*", Vol. II, p. 53, was also of the opinion that the cult of *R'* was not the oldest one in Egypt, and that the "stellar cult" existed before it: "In old time the doorway of the burial-chamber was always to the north, thus the soul of the dead may fly to join the Imperishable Stars, and from there may come back and join the body. Only at the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the Sixth Dynasty the direction was transferred to the east and thus the dead could see the rising sun" (see also JUNKER, "*Vorbericht*", 1929, p. 123).


⁽⁶⁾ See PORTER and MOSS, "*Memphis*", pp. 230, 232, 236.

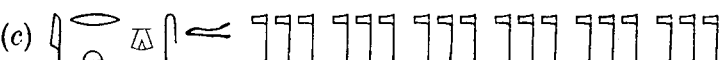
⁽⁷⁾ BEDEKER, "*Egypt*", p. 206.

⁽⁸⁾ BRUNTON, "*Lahun, the Treasure*", pp. 11, 41.

As far as we can prove at present, the Step Pyramid of *Dsr* at Saqqara is the oldest Pyramid we have, and here the northern orientation is very prominent, and is displayed not only in the entrance to the monument, but also in the situation of the serdab in the northern casing of the structure and which also has a squint opening north, suggesting that the life-sized statue found within it was originally facing in the same direction. *Dsr* also had a small temple erected upon a terrace against the northern face of his pyramid, and the tombs of his two daughters possess northern chapels. Jumping to the Fifth Dynasty, we find that *Ttj* also had a northern chapel erected over the entrance to his pyramid⁽¹⁾. The fact that the northern orientation is so much stressed upon in the oldest pyramid we have, suggested that in these early days the stellar creed was given more prominence than was later accorded to it, but to the end of the Pharaonic Regime the belief in the King's stellar destiny was never completely forgotten, but at a very early date, perhaps even before the reign of *Dsr*, it had become merged into the Solar-cult⁽²⁾. In the *Pyramid Texts* we can clearly trace this amalgamation. We have already seen in the oldest solar-texts—those dealing with the reed-floats—that the King is spoken of as a star among the stars (p. 26). Also, in line 341 (c) we read: "His sister is Sothis (*Spd.t*), his mother is the Morning Star". The same theme is almost endlessly repeated⁽³⁾. In line 1707 (a) we get in addition (texts of *Mr-n-R'*):—

1707 (a)  "Your sister is Sothis, your mother is the Morning Star,"

(b)  "you sit among them upon the Great Throne,"

(c)  "which is beside the Double Ennead."

In line 347⁽⁴⁾ we read: "Then, *Ttj* places himself as that star which is in the under-part of the body of the sky, and judges like a god after he had interrogated like a noble (judge [5])." While in line 802 we see: "You have traversed the Meandering Stream in the north of *Nwt*, as a star traversing the sea which is under the body of *Nwt* (see p. 7)." Line 1000 (c) is more explicit, it reads: "And *Nfr-k3-R'* always traverses until he stands upon the eastern side of Heaven, and in its northern part (of the sky) among the Imperishable Stars, who stand upon their sceptres and who sit upon their eastern standard. *Nfr-k3-R'* had stood among them."

Now the Imperishable Stars were, of course, the fixed polar stars which form such a brilliant feature of the northern sky in Egypt, and their association here with the East, though they

(1) FIRTH, "Annales du Service", Vol. XXV, p. 150.


(2) If we can accept that the Step Pyramid is, indeed, a true pyramid and not a series of superposed mastabas, then *Dsr* himself was clearly influenced by the Solar-cult, as the pyramid is nothing but a gigantic *Bn-bn*, an ancient solar-symbol.

(3) See lines 357 (a), 363 (a), 929 (b), 935 (c), 1001 (b), 1104 (b), etc.

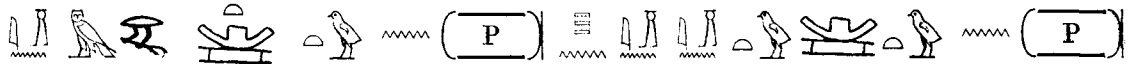
(4) See also p. 14.

(5) See also line 1384 (a).


themselves are in the north, is very significant, and I shall have occasion to refer to it again later. The identification of the King with the Imperishable Stars is also seen in line 1301 (a) of the texts of *Ppjj* :—

1301 (a)  “You mount as Horus of the *Dst* (*Hr-Dst*) among the Imperishable Stars.”

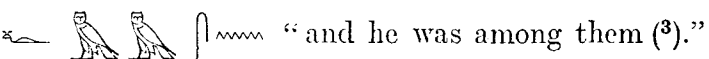
These stars were primarily the ones with which the dead King's soul was identified, and this connection is further stressed in the following lines :—


1222 (a) 

“Bring the ferry to this *Ppjj*, bring to *Ppjj* this ‘bringer’ (1),

(b)  “by the ferryman, and this *Ppjj* conducts it with ‘Turn face’ (2),

(c)  “and he crossed to this side, in which are the Imperishable Stars,

(d)  “and he was among them (3).”

From the foregoing texts I think it cannot possibly be denied that, at one period in their history, the Egyptians believed that the souls of their Kings either mingled with the stars, or became a star in the north of Heaven, and this tradition never entirely died out. Moreover the association of the Giza Pyramids with the stellar cult was long maintained by tradition and those of *Hwfw* and *H'j-f-R'* retained the reputation of being connected with star-worship as late as the Arab Period. In the Geographical Dictionary, “*Mo'gam-el-Buldān*, by YAQŪT-EL-HAMAWĪ المعجم البلدان لياقوت الحموى”, Vol. VIII, p. 457 (Cairo Edition), it is said, after giving the dimensions of the two largest of the Giza Pyramids : “To both of them the Sabians made their pilgrimage (4).” Now, of course, these Sabians were star-worshippers, and if I guess rightly they had derived their name from the Egyptian word *sbj*  * “Star”. According to Webster's Dictionary the Sabians were followers of an ancient religion in Persia and Chaldea, and as worshippers of the hosts of Heaven, the heavenly bodies, derived their names from the Hebrew word “Saba” meaning “host”. Whatever the origin of their name may have been, the fact remains that they fully recognized the Pyramids of *Hwfw* and *H'j-f-R'* as being monuments connected with the stellar cult, and revered them as places of pilgrimage (5).

(1) “Bringer” is a name for a ferry-boat.

(2) See above, pp. 9, 25, 26 and below, p. 146.

(3) See also line 148 (c) where the King is actually addressed as an Imperishable Star (p. 195).

(4) واليهما تخرج الصابئة (أى الهرمان)، راجع لياقوت معجم البلدان، ج. ٢٨، ص ٤٥٧.


(5) For the stellar belief, see “*L'Égypte Céleste*”, by GEORGE DARESSY, *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XII, p. 1, ff., and FOUICART, *ibid.* XXIV, p. 131, ff., *Les Précurseurs du Soleil*. See also BREASTED, “*The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*”, p. 102, ff.

The Amalgamation of the Stellar and Solar-Cults, and its Effect upon the Traditions concerning the Solar-Boats and their Journey

It is well known that the Solar-cult had a tendency to absorb to itself the dominant features of other cults, an example being the way in which it adopted some of the salient features of the Osirian faith. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that at an early date it had amalgamated with the stellar faith, gradually ousting it out of prominence, but not without itself being influenced by stellar beliefs, some of which even affected the Solar-boat itself. The Egyptian mind liked concrete facts, and the Egyptian was also a keen observer of nature, therefore when the ideas concerning the solar journey by boat developed, and it became a question as to what course the boats pursued, the priests, apparently long since accustomed to observing the movements of the heavenly bodies in connection with the old stellar faith⁽¹⁾, had observed that in its journey from east to west, the sun took a southerly course. They, therefore, maintained that the Day-boat, starting from the eastern mountain of sunrise, was directed south, taking a sweeping curve until it reached the zenith⁽²⁾, from whence it descended in a curve to the western mountain of sunset. This fact their own eyes had daily proved to them to be true, therefore they argued that the Night-boat must make a similar journey, starting from the western mountain of sunset and directing its course northwards, where according to some beliefs it sailed in the *Nwnt* or "other Sky"⁽³⁾. Taking a curving course it reached the deepest part (*mdt*) of the *Nwnt*, and rose in another curve to the east, where the Day-boat waited to receive it.


It is perhaps in accordance with these beliefs that the north-south directed boats of *Hwfw*, *Dd.f-R'* and *H'j-f-R'* were made.

But we have also the boats directed east-west, and these may perhaps be considered a purely solar conception concerned entirely with the daily journey from east to west and the nightly journey from west to east, and this latter orientation seems, on the whole, to have been the one most usually adopted after the early part of the Fourth Dynasty. But the north-south journey of the Solar-boat was not allowed to die out and be forgotten; on the contrary, we find it in evidence in the Middle and New Kingdom texts, where it is described in nautical terms used to denote journeys north and south upon the Nile. The following is an extract from a *Middle Kingdom Coffin Text*⁽⁴⁾ in which the roles of the two boats have been reversed⁽⁵⁾ :—



“May you be rowed southwards in the Night-boat, may you be rowed northwards in the Day-boat of the sun. May your soul be assigned to you in that far Heaven, and the flesh of your corpse be in Heliopolis⁽⁶⁾.”

⁽¹⁾ Concerning the Egyptians' skill in astronomy and their observations upon the stars, see ERMAN, "Life in Ancient Egypt", p. 348, ff.

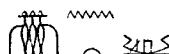
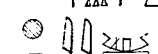
⁽²⁾ For mention of the zenith in the *Pyramid Texts*, see line 496 (b) : "I know the Hall of the King's high throne, which is in the middle of the stand of the zenith (?), () from which you are accustomed to go out, (497[a]), in order that you descend in the Night-boat" (see also line 1016 [c], p. 191).


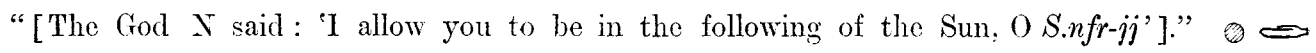

⁽³⁾ See *Pyramid Texts*, line 1691 (b) which places *Nwnt* in the north (see below, p. 167).



⁽⁴⁾ DE BUCK, "The Egyptian Coffin Texts", Vol. I, p. 184, B 12 C.

⁽⁵⁾ For the reversal of the roles of the Solar-boats, see p. 90.

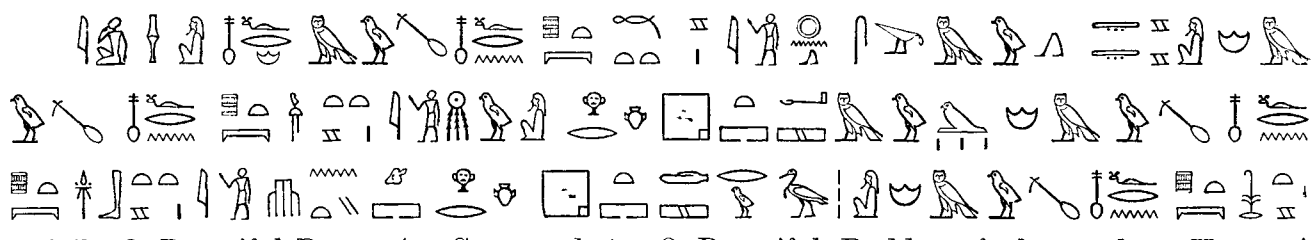
⁽⁶⁾ See also *Pyramid Texts*, line 350 (b), (c).

Notice the nautical terms  *hnt* “to row upstream”, that is to say, southwards against the current; and  *hdj* “to row downstream”, that is to say northwards with the current. Later the north and south journeys by boat were thought to be made to the celestial fields of *Irw* and *Htp*, as we may see in the following: (PLEYTE, “A.Z.”, Vol. 6., p. 17)

 The terms *hdj* and *hnt* were applied in everyday navigation upon the Nile, from the time of the Middle Kingdom onwards⁽¹⁾. Coming to the New Kingdom, we find a normal text from the tomb of a certain *S.nfr-jj* in Western Thebes (time of *Dhutj-ms* [Thothmes] III) which reads⁽²⁾: “[The God N said: ‘I allow you to be in the following of the Sun, O *S.nfr-jj*’].”  “Your soul, therefore, sails northward in the Night-boat, and I let it sail southward in the Day-boat, [O *S.nfr-jj*].” 

Another inscription on an ell measure in the Berlin Museum (No. 7358) reads⁽³⁾: “[He sails northward in the night in the Night-boat]⁽⁴⁾.  “He sails southwards by day in the Day-boat.” 

It would seem that for each quarter of Heaven over which the Solar-boat sailed, there was a special oar or rudder to be used. These are enumerated in *Ch. CXLVIII* of the *Book of the Dead*⁽⁵⁾:—

 “Hail, O Beautiful Power (or Commander). O Beautiful Rudder of the northern Heaven! Hail, you who revolve, ‘Pilot of the Two Lands’⁽⁶⁾, O Beautiful Rudder of the western Heaven! Hail, Shining One who dwells in the Temple of *hmw*,⁽⁷⁾ O Beautiful Rudder of the eastern Heaven! Hail, O Dweller within the Temple of the Blood of Souls (Sun-god), O Beautiful Rudder of the southern Heaven!”

In the vignette of the Papyrus of *Nw*⁽⁸⁾ each rudder is represented in front of an altar, behind which are three mummiform gods. In the Berlin Papyrus No. 2⁽⁹⁾ each rudder is accompanied by a large *wst*-eye, presumably a variation to the eye usually painted upon the blade of the rudder to guide it on the right course.

⁽¹⁾ It also occurs, but rarely, during the Old Kingdom, see BLACKMAN, “*Meir*”, Vol. IV, Pl. IV a, line 9.


⁽²⁾ GARDINER and WEIGALL, “*Topographical Catalogue of Private Tombs at Thebes*”, No. 99.

⁽³⁾ ROEDER, “*Inscriptens*”, Vol. II, p. 310.

⁽⁴⁾ The determinative of the boat remains.

⁽⁵⁾ BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. II, p. 262.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ssm.w tswj* is a name given to *Horus (Hr)*, or a name of one of the Pilot-rowers of Heaven (*W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 283).

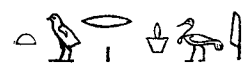
⁽⁷⁾ *h.t hmw*  “a place in Heaven”, *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 226.

⁽⁸⁾ BUDGE, *ibid.* (translation), pp. 482, 483.

⁽⁹⁾ RENOUF, “*Life-work*”, Vol. IV, Pl. L1.


The Pyramidion of Tw-r3-b3i


An interesting little monument from the New Kingdom shows us that the west and north were well established as being connected with the night-sun and its boat, just as the east and south were connected with the day-sun and its boat. This monument is the pyramidion of

 *Tw-r3-b3i* ⁽¹⁾ which was found at Deir-el-Medineh, and dates from the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty. It measures 0·34 m. high, and each of its four faces is inscribed and sculptured. Now, as we shall see later in the case of the pyramidion of King *Hu-dr* (see p. 147, ff.), these monuments are carefully orientated, and usually the eastern face bears inscriptions or scenes relating to the sunrise. In the monument which we are about to examine, this rule holds good, and the texts and representations on each side only serve to confirm what we know about the Solar-boats and their divine occupants, and also show the association between the north and the night-sun, the south and the day-sun. Concerning this monument, Bruyere says ⁽²⁾ :—

“ One sees that each face of a pyramidion is orientated towards one of the cardinal points ; as a pyramid is equivalent to a sacred stone raised to the sun, and of which the number of its faces correspond absolutely to the daily and nightly courses of the sun, each personified by a different effigy or emblem showing graphically a phase or moment of this eternal movement, that is to say of the perpetual cycle which is the life of the Sun-god Ra' ; each of these faces is like a stela . . . dedicated to one of the four forms of the god. In the attribution of each face we have here for our guides : firstly, the nature of the solar effigies and symbols ; secondly, the way the bark of *R'* is navigating ; thirdly, the formula which in two registers indicates the moment of the course of the planet. ”

The Eastern Face (Fig. 15)

In the upper register is the Solar-boat turned to the right and sailing on the sign of Heaven . The Sun-god represented in human form and crowned with a huge Solar-disk is seated amidships.

The accompanying inscription reads : 
“ *R'* at his rising. ”

Thus, we have very appropriately a reference to the sunrise on the eastern face of the monument. In the lower register is a large figure of the deceased, also turned to the right and kneeling in adoration. Surrounding him are eight vertical lines of text which read :—

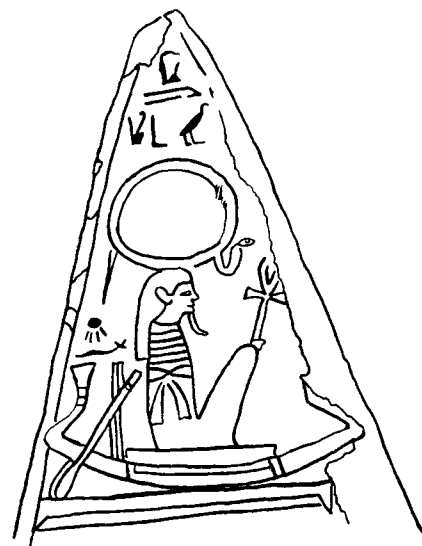
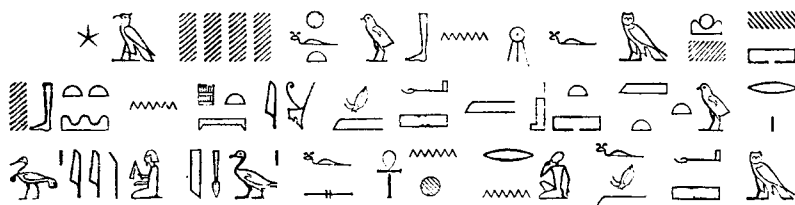
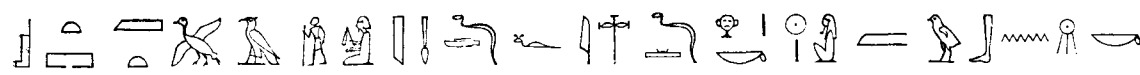


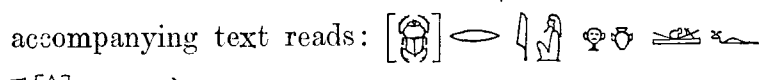
FIG. 15.—THE EASTERN FACE OF THE PYRAMIDION OF TW-R3-B3I

⁽¹⁾ BRUYERE, “ *Les Fouilles de Deir-el-Medineh* ”, p. 27, ff., Pls. VIII, IX.

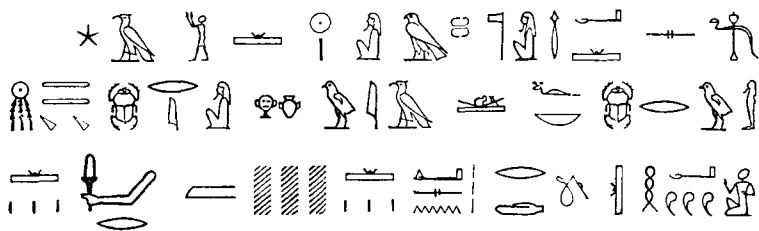
⁽²⁾ *ibid.* p. 28.


 “Adoration [to *R'*] when he rises in the eastern Horizon of Heaven, by the Servant of the Place of Truth, *Tw-r3-b3j*, justified. His son, who makes his name to live [is] the Servant of the Place of Truth, *P3-sr*, justified. He says: ‘Hail to your face O *R'*, when you rise’.”

The Southern Face (Fig. 16)

On the upper register of the southern face is depicted the Solar-boat turned to the right and also sailing upon the sign of Heaven. Amidships is *Hpri*, the morning Sun-god, in the form of a large scarab placed upright over the sign \odot . In the bows of the boat stands a large $\overline{\text{H}}$ emblem, and the accompanying text reads:  $\overline{\text{H}}$ [] “*Hpri* who is in his boat, the Great God.”

Below is a figure of the deceased similar to that upon the eastern face, and the eight vertical lines of text surrounding him read:—



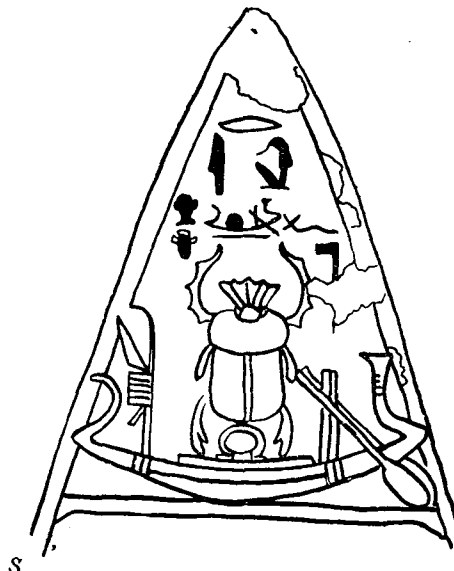
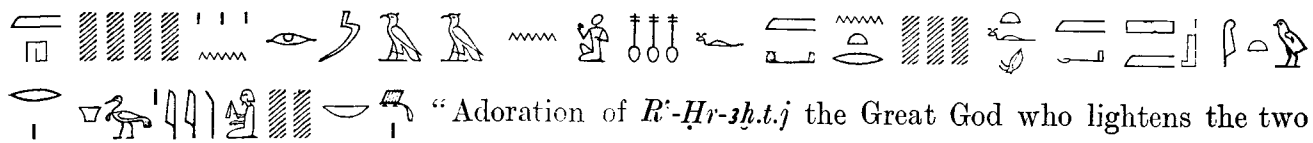
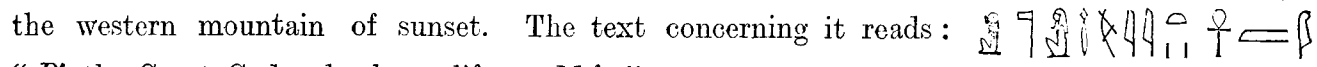


FIG. 16.—THE SOUTHERN FACE OF THE PYRAMIDION OF *Tw-r3-b3j*


 “Adoration of *R'-Hr-3h.t.j* the Great God who lightens the two lands *Hpri* in the middle of his divine boat, Lord of splendid manifestations in . . . Grant that my body may flourish in . . . that I may see his beauties, in the possession of the Servant of the Place of Truth, *Tw-r3-b3j*, justified, the Lord of Honour.”

Thus, on these two faces, the eastern and southern, we have texts and representations alluding to the Sun-god in his day form and as these directions are those taken by the sun during his day's course, the orientation of these representations is perfectly logical.

The Western Face (Fig. 17)

On the upper register of the western face, the representation of the Solar-boat is replaced by a large sun-disk resting upon the sign of the Horizon \ominus , which represents here more exactly the western mountain of sunset. The text concerning it reads:  “*R'*, the Great God, who loves life as *M3'.t.*”

In the lower register is the figure of the deceased in the same attitude as before. The seven vertical lines of text which accompany him read:—

* 
 N 
 (1) 
 “Adoration of R’

who is the possessor of every day, by the Osiris (*Wsr*) N. Hail to you . . . You have created all in all your places in which you are Grant that I give you my praises to the face which . . . for the Ka of his son, *P3-sr*.”

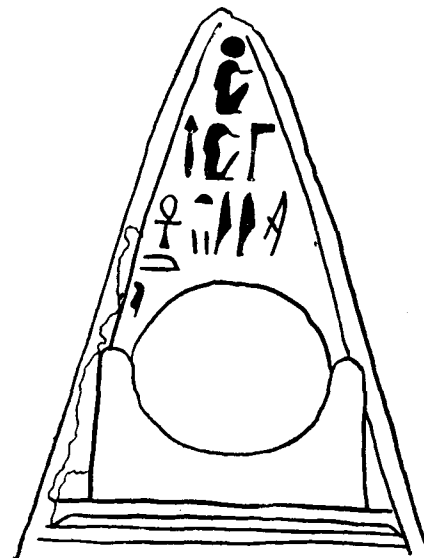


FIG 17.—THE WESTERN FACE OF THE PYRAMIDION OF TW-R3-B3J

The Northern Face (Fig. 18)



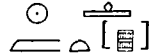

On the upper register of the northern face is a representation of the Solar-boat sailing upon the sign . In it is seated the Sun-god in the form of a hawk-headed man crowned with a large Solar-disk, while in the bows stands the emblem . The accompanying text reads:  “R’ at his setting . . .” And here Bruyere explains (2): “Mythologically the north is the region where Ra’ rests amid the darkness which hides the transformation of his form preceding the dawn of another day”. But it is also the northern sky where the Solar-boat makes its nightly voyage. In the lower register kneels the deceased, and the accompanying text is arranged in seven vertical lines and reads:—



FIG. 18.—THE NORTHERN FACE OF THE PYRAMIDION OF TW-R3-B3J

* 
 N 
 *  

“Adoration of R’ when he sets in the western Horizon of Heaven, by the Osiris (*Wsr*) N. He says: ‘Hail to your face, O *Itm* who is in the West, making light the Underworld (*Dst*) for the Glorified Spirits’ and Offerings . . . ”

(1) See W.B. III, p. 29.

(2) *ibid.* p. 29.


Here we have a text definitely naming the sunset, the west and *Itm*, all occurring upon the northern face of the monument. This shows, as indeed do all the faces of the pyramidion, that the sculptor was perfectly familiar with the belief which made the west and north the special domain of the sun by night, just as its daily provenance lay in the east and south. The reference to *Itm* as the night-sun making light in the darkness of the *Dst* is a reference to a widespread belief of the New Kingdom and I shall deal with it more fully elsewhere (*see* below, p. 307).

The question of the course of the Solar-boats has been admirably set forth by SETHE in his “*Altägyptische Vorstellungen von Lauf der Sonne*”. Maspero (¹) also recognized the fact that the sun journeyed on an oblique course from east to south and from south to west. He says: “A first bark, the *Saktit* awaited him at his birth (²) and carried him from the Eastern to the Southern extremity of the world. *Mazit*, the second bark received him at noon, and bore him into the land of Manu, which is at the entrance into Hades; other barks with which we are less familiar, conveyed him by night, from his setting until his rising at morn. Sometimes he was supposed to enter the barks alone and then they were magic and self-directed, having neither oars, sails, nor helm . . . Day after day he made his oblique ascent from east to south, thence to descend obliquely towards the west”.

Thus, Maspero had rightly recognized part of the sun’s daily course, but he seems to have ignored the northern night journey, and moreover, he completely misunderstood the roles of the two Solar-boats, wishing to employ both *Mskt.t* and *M’nd.t* for the day journey, and making the change of boats take place at noon. But as Sethe has pointed out (²), this is altogether wrong, and the line 1479 (a) of the *Pyramid Texts* (*see* p. 89) is sufficient proof for the nightly character of the *Mskt.t* boat, beside the etymological meanings of the names of the two boats (*see* p. 90). Moreover, both Old and New Kingdom texts are full of references to the changing of the Solar-boats at dawn and sunset, a matter which is fully discussed elsewhere (*see* below, pp. 98, 99).

The Imperishable and Indefatigable Stars

Another way in which the stellar faith had influenced the Solar-cult was in the beliefs concerning the mariners of the Solar-boats. In the Old Kingdom we find evidence that the Egyptians believed the Day-boat to have been rowed by the Imperishable Stars and that the crew of the Night-boat were the Indefatigable Stars. Proof of this belief is forthcoming from the *Pyramid Texts*, where we read (text of *Ppjj*):—

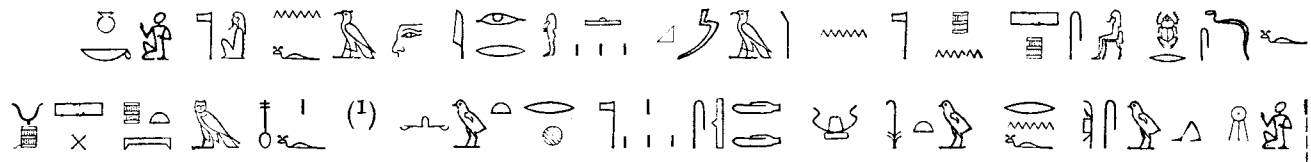
1439 (a) 

“The Pilots of the Imperishable Stars will be forbidden to row you.”

⁽¹⁾ *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 90, ff.

⁽²⁾ *ibid.*

longest of the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts*, in which the dead identifies himself with Šw, we have the crew of the Solar-boats simply referred to as “gods” :—



“I am the god who sneezed the forms (or images) and who created this splendid god himself, who split the sky with his beauties, and whom the gods, who continually row him, do not know his name, the followers of R’.”

In the Ramesseum we have a text which includes the Indefatigable and Imperishable Stars among a list of Gods and Goddesses to whom offerings are to be presented, and here the two groups of Stars are personified in human form (see CHAMPOLLION, “*Monuments de l’Egypte et de l’Nubie*”, p. 906.

In Spell 80 (2) we again find a reversion to the direct mention of the Indefatigable Stars, this time as pilots of the Solar-boat.


When, as in the Græco-Roman texts quoted above, we see the polar stars rowing the Day-boat, it does not mean that they did this in the northern sky. During the day they row the divine ship across the southern sky until the time of sunset, when they disembark, and return to their places in the north of Heaven, while the waiting Indefatigable Stars take up their places as mariners in the Night-boat. The fact that the Imperishable Stars were able to leave the northern sky by day, is clearly seen in a Middle Kingdom text (3):—



“The face of the Eldest of the Chamber, Snb-f. is opened (4) that he may see the Lord of the Sky who traverses the firmament, and shows himself as a Great God, Master of Eternity, on the eastern side of the sky among the Imperishable Stars.”

This is the clearest possible statement that the Imperishable Stars were thought to leave their places in the northern sky by day, in order to take up their duties of rowing the Sun-god by day.

A study of the later texts will show us that the stars had become one of the principal features of the Solar-boats. In the *Book of Day*, as seen in the tomb of Rameses (R’-ms-sw) VI (5), we find the Imperishable Stars mentioned as the crew of the Solar-boat (see below, p. 55); while in the *Book of Gates* they appear in the tenth hour of the night armed with their oars, and march beside the Solar-boat, but they do not come aboard until they reach the eastern Horizon, where they enter the Day-boat in order to transport R’ across the sky (6).

(1) Var. B3C 

(2) DE BUCK, “*Egyptian Coffin Texts*”, Vol. II, p. 36.

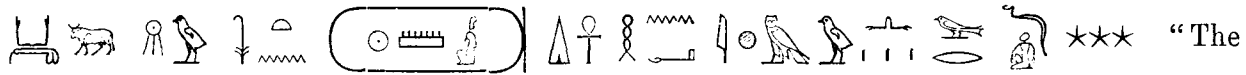
(3) BERGMANN, “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. 7, p. 188.

(4) For the expression “to open the face”, see “*W.B.*”, Vol. I, p. 313.

(5) PIANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, p. 24.

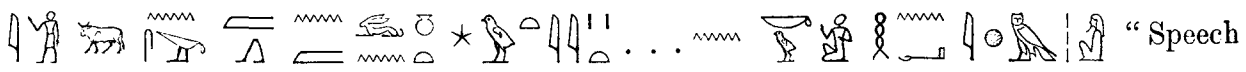
(6) BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”, Vol. II, p. 274.

Similarly in the tomb of Ramceses (*R^c-ms-siw*) VI ⁽¹⁾ the Indefatigable stars are represented as towing the Solar-boat during the hours of the night. In the Cenotaph of Seti (*Stj*) I at Abydos ⁽²⁾ the King is represented among the beings towing the Night-boat, and the accompanying inscription reads:—



Shining Bull, King *Mn-m3.t-R'* (*Stj I*), gifted with life, is with the Indefatigable Stars.”

And again on the same monument, and referring to the passage of the Solar-boat during the second hour of the night ⁽³⁾:—



of the King: ‘O Bull which is the guide of this hour ⁽⁴⁾. Behold! I am with the Indefatigable Stars ⁽⁵⁾!’”

CONCLUSIONS

From a study of the above-mentioned texts we may form the following conclusions:—

(1) At a remote period the Egyptians believed that the souls of their Kings enjoyed a stellar hereafter, and became identified with the polar stars in the northern sky.

(2) Perhaps under the influence of stellar traditions the Day-solar-boat was said to take a southward course in order to reach the west, while the Night-boat travelled north in order to reach the east.

(3) The rock-cut Solar-boats directed north-south were designed to illustrate this theory of the sun's northern and southern courses.

(4) The crews that navigated the Day-boat were composed of the Imperishable Stars.

(5) The crews that navigated the Night-boat were the Indefatigable Stars.

(6) The King was proud to be numbered among these stellar crews and at the same time to be their commander.


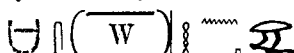
⁽¹⁾ PIANKOFF, *ibid.* p. 33.


⁽²⁾ FRANKFORT, “*The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*”, Vol. II, Pl. LXXXVI.

⁽³⁾ *ibid.* Pl. LXXXVII.

⁽⁴⁾ The name of the god of the second hour of the night is here given as “Bull of the Two-lands”.

⁽⁵⁾ See also NEWBERRY, “*Rekhmara*”, Pl. 8 (XVIII Dyn.), where we see that the glorified dead is informed that he ought to look for the night kingdom of the sun under the earth in the middle of the *ihm w. wrj* the Indefatigable Stars.

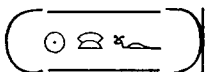
We have the same idea of the King acting as a member of the crew of the Solar-boat in the *Pyramid Texts*, Utterance 252, in which the King is identified with the stars, the “Tremblers”  (?). Line 274 (b) says: 

 “*Wnis* sits together with those who row R’.”

THE BOAT OF DD.F-R 

While investigating the necropolis of Abu-Roash, Chassinat uncovered a large boat in connection with the Pyramid of Dd.f-R. It measures 35.00 m. long, 3.75 m. broad and 9.20 m. deep.

This boat is situated very near to the mortuary temple of the pyramid, lying about 5.00 m. to the south-east of the court. As it is directed north-south, it must be classed with the larger boats of Hwfw which we have just described. As mentioned on p. XIII, Chassinat was at a loss to identify his discovery, and so far away from his mind was the idea of a boat that he described it as a "trench in the form of a shuttle" (navette) ⁽¹⁾.

THE BOATS OF KHAFRA (H'J.F-R) 

We now come to the monuments which have given us the clue to the true meaning of this class of boat. These are the boats attached to the Pyramid Complex of H'j.f-R. Although these are among the latest examples of their kind to be discovered, they are the first to be found in a complete and comprehensive entity. Moreover, they are the first examples of which we can definitely identify their nature by comparison with the irrefutable evidence of the *Pyramid Texts*, from the viewpoint of representations ⁽²⁾ and inscriptions, by which, when combined, we can also identify those boats previously discovered, but which had remained imperfectly recognized.

When the Von Sieglin Expedition excavated the Mortuary Temple of H'j.f-R in 1909-1912 ⁽³⁾, they confined their efforts to the actual structure itself, and did not make a thorough examination of the surrounding site. I, therefore, determined to make an investigation in this place as a natural sequence to our clearance of the Causeway of the Second Pyramid. A complete clearance of the area to the north and south of the Mortuary Temple of H'j.f-R revealed the presence of five of these large rock-cut boats, as well as a deep cleft in the rock, running north-south, which is almost certainly a sixth, unfinished vessel. These boats are arranged according to the following plan (Fig. 19).

This is the first time that we have encountered six of these large boats in connection with a single royal burial of the Old Kingdom, and though they all resembled each other in their main form, there were differences of detail, as well as in the direction in which they were orientated, that aroused speculation.

It will be observed that four of the boats are disposed in two pairs, each vessel lying in line with the long axis of its fellow, and situated to the north and south of the temple. These boats are orientated east-west and are, therefore, to be classed as conventional Solar-boats. In each case

⁽¹⁾ CHASSINAT, "Monuments et Memoires", Fondations Piot, Vol. 25, p. 57.

⁽²⁾ By representations I refer to the determinative signs which in the *Pyramid Texts* are given some importance, as we gather from the carefully detailed way in which they are treated. There are, of course, no actual illustrations in the *Pyramid Texts*.

⁽³⁾ HÖLSCHER and STEINDORFF, "Die Ausgrabung des Totentemples der Chephrenpyramide durch die Sieglin Expedition", 1909, A.Z., Vol. XLVI, p. 1 ff, Pl. I, abb. 1, 2.

the western vessel is roofed with heavy slabs of white limestone, making the interior dark, therefore we may identify them with the Night-boats of the Sun-god. The presence of a cabin in each of them, and the fact that they are larger than the eastern boats, all goes to support this theory.

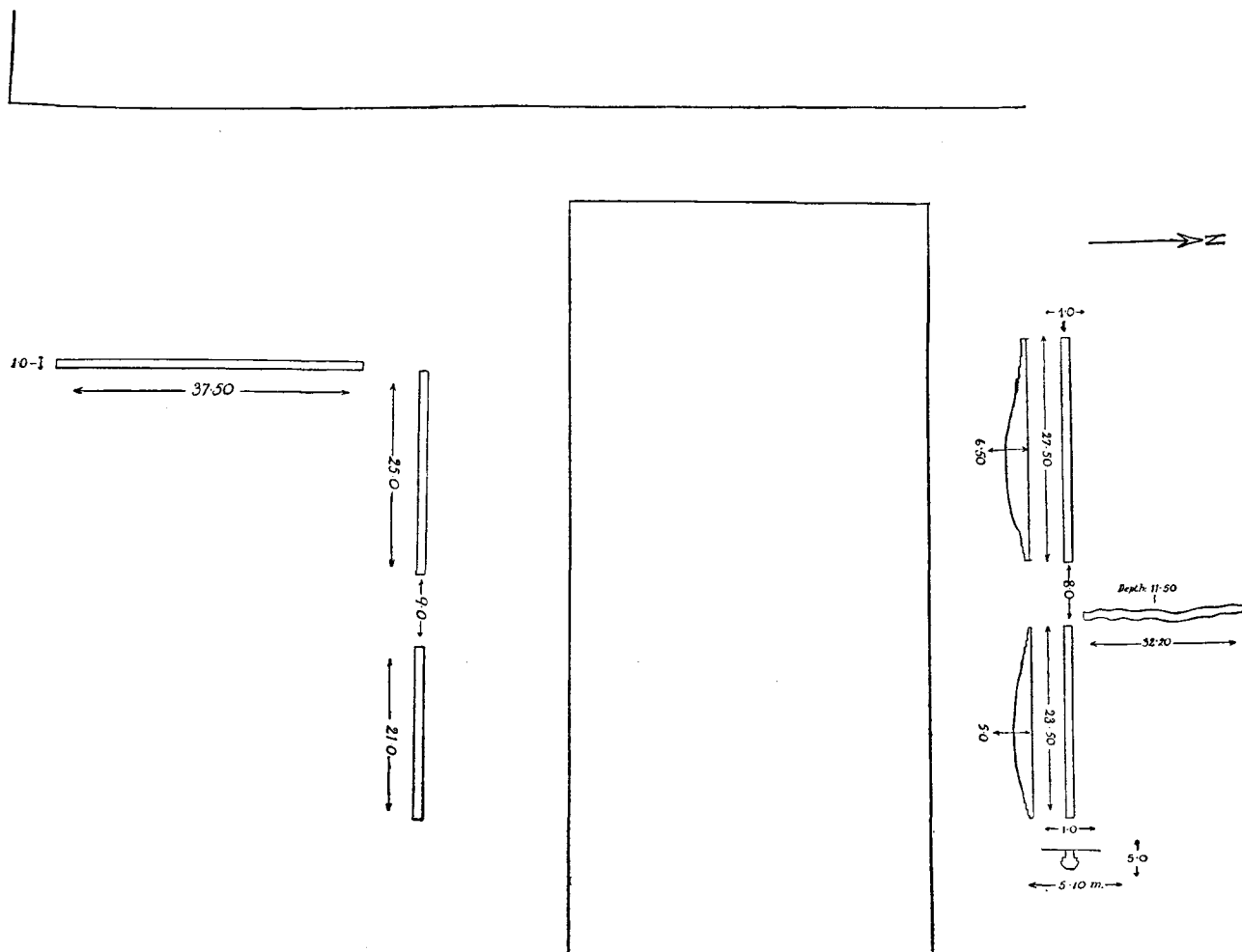







FIG. 19.—THE BOATS OF KHAFRA (H'J.F-R')


The eastern boats were found to be roofless in each case, nor did we find in or near them so much as a single slab which might have formed such a covering. Moreover, when compared with the western boats, they were in a very bad state of preservation, which shows that they had always been more exposed to the effects of the weather and man's depredations. Being open to the sky, we may infer that they represent the Day-boats of the Sun-god. Finally, each pair is so disposed that the two boats are prow to prow (Fig. 19) and this is an arrangement in which the Solar-boats were frequently depicted, as we shall presently see (*see pp. 121, 147*).


The occurrence of these boats in pairs is an interesting example of the ancient Egyptian habit of dualizing all things appertaining to the Pharaoh. Although the unification of Egypt had been an accomplished fact since the reign of *Mnj*, apparently they could never forget that originally the land had been the Two Kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt (¹). Until the end of the

(¹) This habit of thought persists to this day among the majority of Egyptians, who always regard Upper Egypt and the Delta as being very distinct from each other. Moreover, the inhabitants of each part are inclined to despise those of the other.

Pharaonic Regime, the Pharaoh was styled  “King of Upper and Lower Egypt”, and wore the red crown of Lower Egypt  or the white crown of Upper Egypt , or the two crowns combined . Therefore, as the King possessed this “dual-nature”, the logical outcome of it, according to the Egyptian mind, was the duality of everything appertaining to him. Thus, for example, we find the treasury referred to as “the Double House of Silver” or “the Double House of Gold”; while the royal palace possessed two main entrances and also the temples. In fact, these latter were usually divided longitudinally down their main axis and, thus, in reality, formed two temples, as can be plainly seen from the Middle Kingdom onwards by their wall-scenes, where on one side the Pharaoh is represented performing the sacred rites in his capacity as King of Upper Egypt, while on the opposite side of the building the scenes may be duplicated to show him performing the same ceremonies as King of Lower Egypt⁽¹⁾. Judging by the symmetrical plan of his two pyramid temples, and also that of the Temple of the Sphinx, which recent excavations have shown was also built by him, *H'j.f-R'* laid much stress upon this symbolic dualism. It is, therefore, not surprising to find him carrying out the idea to its fullest extent, and providing himself with two pairs of Solar-boats, one pair for Upper and one pair for Lower Egypt. As a matter of fact, Sethe thought there was a possibility that the Egyptians believed that Upper and Lower Egypt each had its own distinctive sky⁽²⁾ and gives as evidence the following lines⁽³⁾ from the *Pyramid Texts* of *Wni's* :—

406 (c)  “He has wandered through the two Heavens completely, he has travelled through the Two River-banks (i.e. Upper and Lower Egypt).”

514 (b)  “*Wni's* had united the heavens, *Wni's* commands the lands, the southern and the northern,

(c)  “(as) the God of those who were here before.”

As mentioned before, the two pairs of conventional Solar-boats are both alike as to their general form, and vary only in size, and some details which are, however, important. Their main form follows that of some of the oldest representations of boats that we have⁽⁴⁾. The stern-post, however, does not follow that which we shall presently see on the “Official” type of Solar-boat in the *Pyramid Texts*, that is to say, they lack the sharply incurved stern-post which is such a feature of these latter vessels, and the boats of the Palermo Stone, as well as the long line of Solar- and funerary-boats that followed them. This sharp incurving of the stern-post is only faintly

⁽¹⁾ See MASPERO, “*Manual of Egyptian Archaeology*”, p. 114, for an interesting account of this custom.

⁽²⁾ *Kommentar*, Vol. II, p. 164.

⁽³⁾ See below, p. 194.

⁽⁴⁾ Compare with the boats on the label of *Hr-ḥ3* (Fig. 9) and *Smr-ht* (Fig. 12).

suggested in the boat of the $Hr-h3$ label from Naqada (Fig. 9), and is entirely absent in the other archaic boats, so far as I am aware. Apparently it did not come into fashion in its developed form until the Fifth Dynasty when we see it prominently displayed upon the boats of the Palermo Stone.

The Southern Night-Boat (Pl. I.)

This boat, which is cut in a very fine quality vein of rock, is in a perfect state of preservation. It measures 25.00 m. long, 3.70 m. wide and 7.50 m. deep.

As mentioned before, its prow is directed east, and it is intended to represent a vessel of the form shown in Fig. 20. This form combines the vertical Horian prow with a modified Naqadian

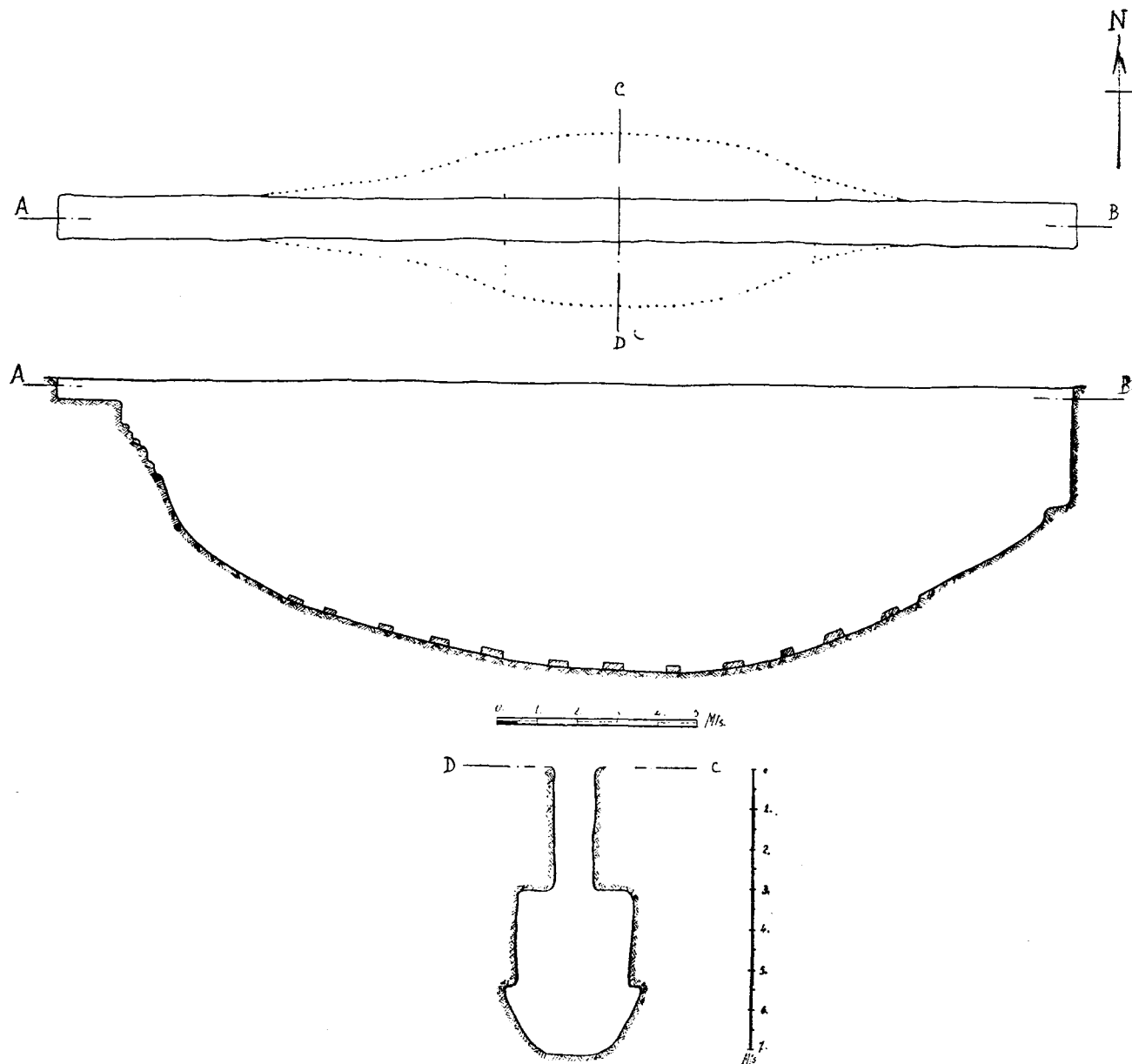
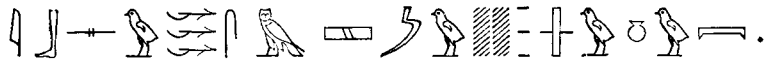


FIG. 20.—THE SOUTHERN NIGHT-BOAT OF $H^cJ.F-R^s$

hull. Amidships is a large rectangular cabin, represented by an intaglio cutting in the rock-walls, while the massive thwarts are realistically represented in the rock at the bottom of the

hull. In a Middle Kingdom text which mentions the various parts of the divine boat, these thwarts are described as follows (GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, [Text and Translation] p. 189):—

. “Its *ibs.w*-wood are the *sm.w* which are in Nwn.”

The vein of rock in which this boat is hewn happens to be of a fine hard quality, close-grained and almost white in colour, much resembling the famous Turah limestone. This is one of the reasons why it has survived in such an excellent state of preservation. Despite the fact that its roofing slabs were all intact when we discovered it, the interior of the boat was filled with sand and debris which had entered from an aperture situated in the topmost extremity of the bow-post, and which opens into a gully leading from the Embalming-house of *Hj-f-R* (1).

From the filling of this boat we recovered the following objects:—

(1) The forelegs of a limestone sphinx. As we shall see later, the sphinx is sometimes seen occupying a place in the Solar-boat. In the wooden model boat of Amenhotep (*Imn-htp*) II, it appears on the side of the hull as a painted decoration, and symbolizes the King trampling upon his enemies (2). A sphinx placed upon a standard set up upon the deck of the Solar-boat is very frequently seen from the New Kingdom onwards (Fig. 62) and is specially noteworthy on the Saitic Coffin scenes, as for instance on Coffin No. 41040, Cairo Museum (3). In these latter examples the sphinx would personify the Sun-god.

(2) A large plate of fine red-ware. Diameter: 20·0 cm.

(3) A similar plate of red-ware. Diameter: 19·0 cm.

(4) A green basalt roller used in moving heavy objects.

It has sometimes been rightly surmised that these underground boats either contained actual wooden vessels of the type of those discovered at Dahshur, or were lined with wood. But this does not seem to have been the case with these boats of *Hj-f-R*. The details of the woodwork are carefully represented in the rock, therefore our boat does not seem to have been a mere “boat grave” like that of *Hr-h'hs*, while the absence of peg-holes or traces of mortar upon the rock walls precludes the possibility that it was ever lined with wood. Finally, no traces of woodwork were found in the filling of the boat. There are, however, two rectangular holes cut in each side of the boat at the beginning of the rise of the prow. These might have served to hold the ends of rectangular beams placed transversely across the hull, but no traces of any such beams remained, neither are these holes repeated in the stern of the boat. Perhaps they served some practical purpose during the construction of the boat.

The Southern Day-Boat (Fig. 21)

This vessel lies in an exact line with the Night-boat just described, the two being separated from each other by a wall of living rock about 11·00 m. thick. This boat measures 22·00 m. long, 3·90 m. wide and 6·00 m. deep.

(1) For the reasons which led me to identify this part of the Mortuary Temple with *Hj-f-R*'s Embalming-house, see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 91.

(2) REISNER “*Models of Ships and Boats*”, p. 97. (It is not certain, however, that this is really a Solar-boat.)

(3) MORET, “*Sarcophages de l'Époque Bubastite à l'Époque Saïte*”, Pl. XXXIX.

The fact that its prow is directed west, that is to say, as though it were coming from the east, proclaims it as the Day-boat of the sun, and its smaller size ⁽¹⁾ also seems to be in keeping with the identification. In general, its form resembles that of its companion vessel, but it has no cabin, an omission frequently noticed in connection with the Day-solar-boats, but which is not, however, a regular rule. Around the upper edge of this boat is a sunken rebate measuring about

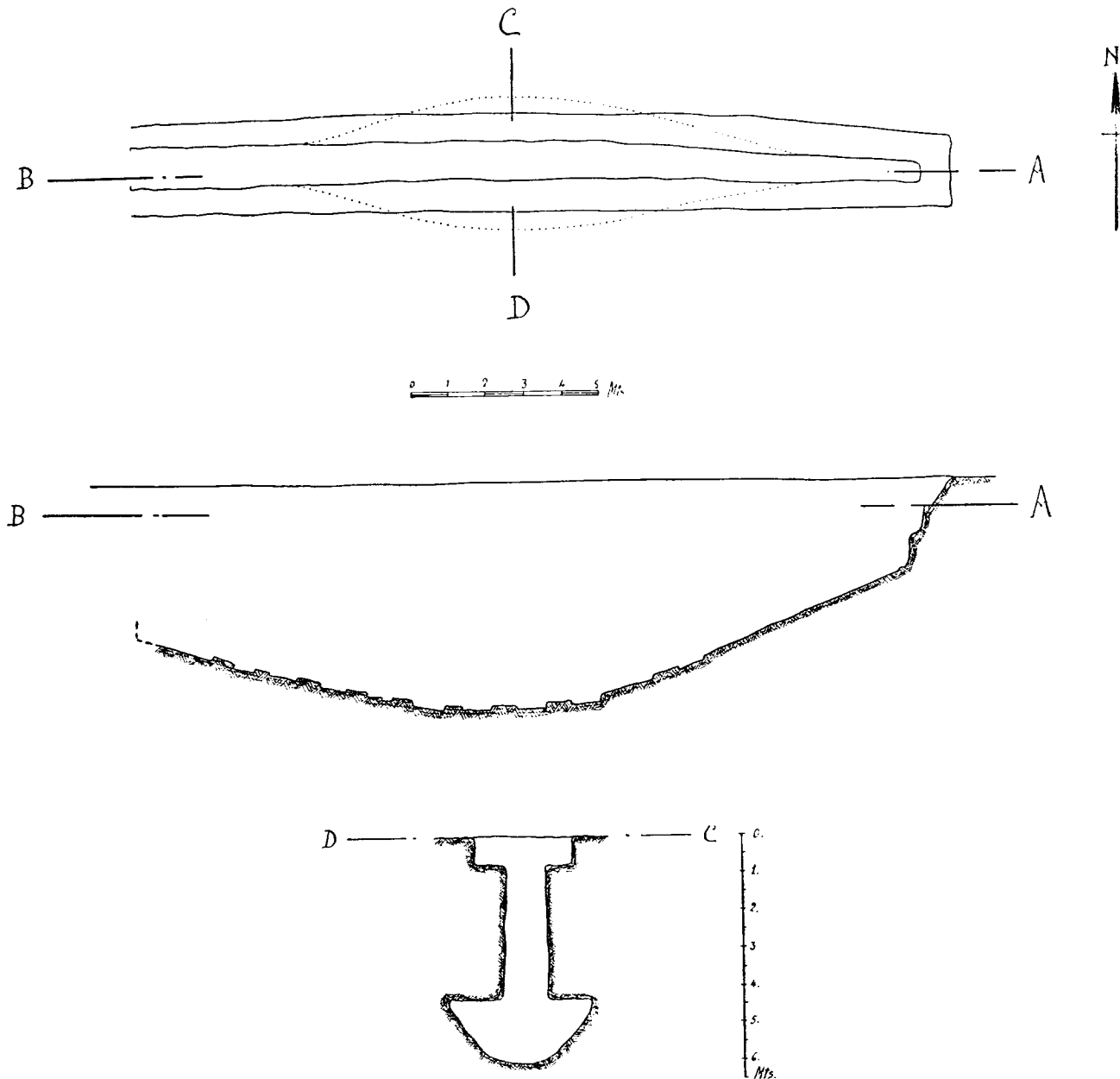


FIG. 21.—THE SOUTHERN DAY-BOAT OF H'J.F-R'

0.50 m. deep, which was perhaps intended to form the foundations of a low protective wall surrounding the boat. As in the Night-boat, the thwarts are represented cut in the rock at the bottom of the hull, proving that the vessel was complete in itself and was not merely a boat-grave. From the filling of this boat we recovered many fragments of royal statues of diorite and alabaster. In fact, the whole of the surrounding site was absolutely littered with such fragments which must represent the destruction of from 300 to 400 statues of the finest workmanship.

⁽¹⁾ As the Night-boat was the all-important vessel in which the King's soul made its initial journey to Heaven, it was naturally made larger and finer than the more ritualistic Day-boat.

The Northern Night-Boat (Fig. 22)

This vessel measures 27·50 m. long, 3·60 wide and 7·00 m. deep.

Like its southern counterpart, it is roofed with massive slabs of white limestone, all of which were found intact. The boat also has a cabin, but of a different type to that of the southern vessel. The cabin is situated a little aft of dead centre and takes the form of a rectangular naos, a type frequently seen in the archaic boats, in the *Pyramid Texts*,⁽¹⁾ and most commonly of all in the Solar-boats of the Middle Kingdom and onwards.

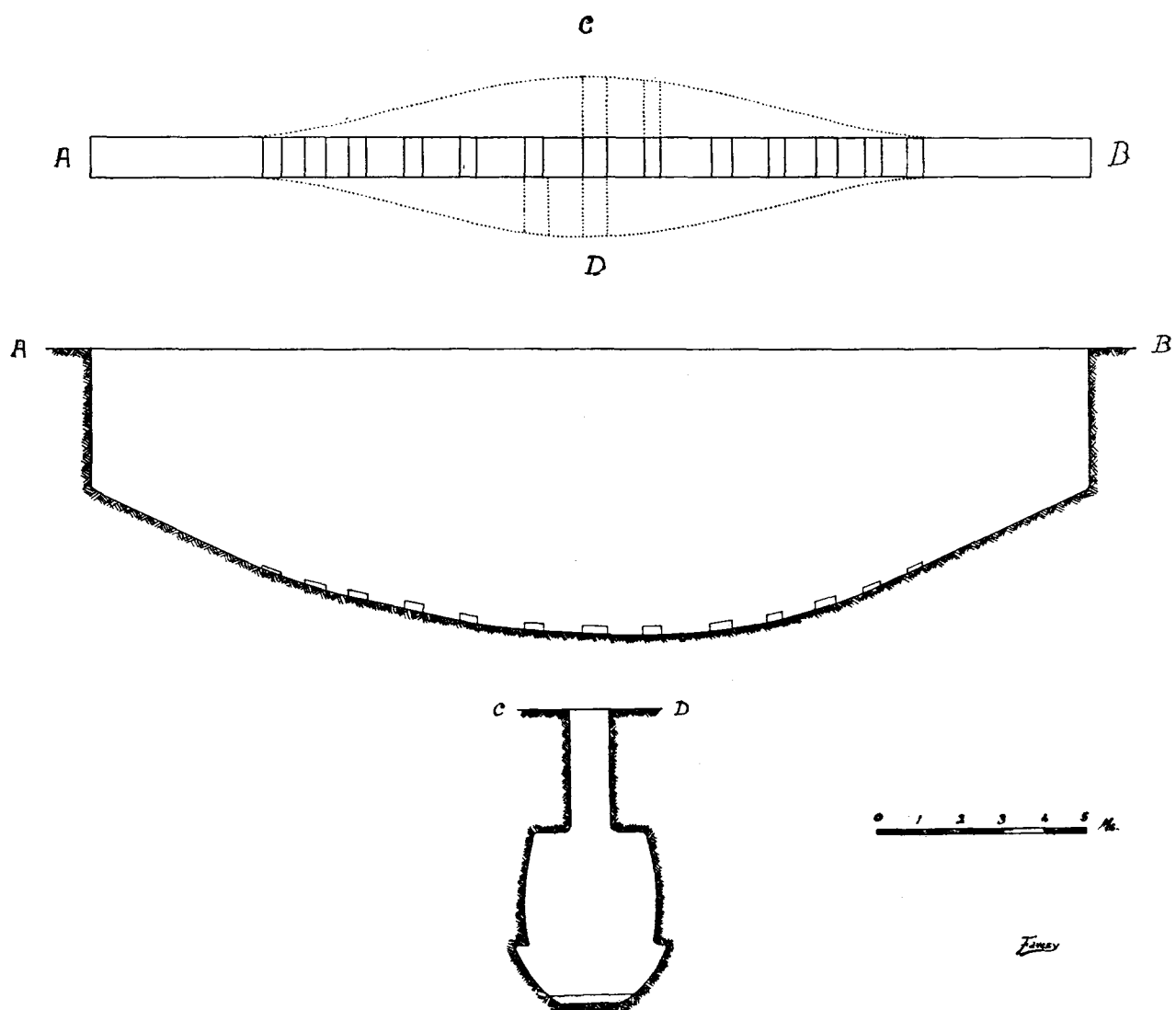


FIG. 22.—THE NORTHERN NIGHT-BOAT OF H'J.F-R'

From the debris filling this boat, we recovered the following objects:—

(1) A very large drop-shaped bead of blue faience. This bead measures about 8·0 cm. long. Such beads were usually employed to form the "lash" of ceremonial flails (see PETRIE, "*Riggeh and Memphis*", Pl. XXII, No. 8, where, however, the lower drop beads are lacking; see also CARTER, "*The Tomb of Tut'ankhamen*", Pls. LXVIII, LXXI) and DE MORGAN, "*Fouilles à Dahchour*", Pl. XXXIX.

(2) An incense-burner of red-ware.


(3) A small flask of red-ware with a long neck, a pointed base and one handle.

⁽¹⁾ Out of thirty-three Day-boats figured in the *Pyramid Texts*, sixteen are undoubtedly without cabins, while a further two are doubtful.

- (4) An alabaster model vase. Height : 6·2 cm.
- (5) A shell.
- (6) Several rectangular blocks of dressed limestone. Average dimensions : 15·0 × 9·0 cm.
- (7) A fragment of an alabaster plate.
- (8) A large globular pot of red-ware. Height : 30·0 cm.
- (9) The bones of an ox lying in the sand at the eastern end of the boat.

These bones, together with the incense-burner, remind us of *Ch. CXLI* of the *Book of the Dead*, where the deceased is said to present offerings, including oxen and incense, to the Day and Night Solar-boats (*see below*, p. 98). Moreover, the presence of these objects becomes still clearer when we remember that during the Old Kingdom the Solar-boats were served by special priests, and must have had ceremonies performed in them, or in connection with them at stated intervals.

This we may see by the title of a certain *S'nh-Pth* (1) who was 

 "Director of the *Msktt* boat and Director of the *M'ndt*-boat." From this we may gather that just as the Pyramids and Mastaba tombs were served by a special class of priests who performed the daily cult ceremonies and those appertaining to special feasts, so also were these boats ministered to in the same manner, and were not merely constructed to serve a single ceremonial purpose at the King's interment. This is quite logical as the King, like *R'*, was supposed to make a daily voyage in the Solar-boat.

The Northern Day-Boat

This boat measures : 23·50 m. long, 5·00 m. wide and 5·00 m. deep.

It is the worst-preserved of the four conventional Solar-boats, partly by reason of the poor quality of the vein of rock in which it is cut. Like the southern Day-boat, it was never roofed, but has the same sunken rebate round its upper edge. In its general form it resembles the other boats of *H'j-f-R'*, but possesses a long rectangular cutting in its side walls which occupies nearly all the centre of the hull (Fig. 19). If this is intended to represent a cabin, then it has a slightly concave roof, but it may be intended to represent a sail. If the latter supposition is correct, then it is a unique example, for up till now I am not aware of any representation of a Solar-boat which shows sails or oars during the Old Kingdom. This fact led Dr. Reisner to state (2): "The divine barks, being guided by magic or the divine, will require no other means of propulsion nor of guidance". But as we shall see by the evidence of the *Pyramids Texts*, this was in reality not the case. But it is by no means sure that a sail is intended in our boat, most probably it is an awning or a light cabin. In any case, we can see that these two pairs of boats differ slightly from each other in their interior details. In the southern pair, the Night-boat has a rectangular central cabin, and

(1) MASPERO, "Trois Années de Fouilles", p. 205.

(2) "Models of Ships and Boats", p. XXVI.

the Day-boat has no cabin nor any interior fittings ; while in the northern pair the Night-boat has a high, *naos*-shaped cabin set more towards the stern, and the Day-boat has a long, low cabin (or a sail) (?). Are we to infer that these divergences represent the locally-accepted types of Solar-boats of Upper and Lower Egypt ? In the later representations we shall see that most of the night-boats possessed cabins, and the bulk of this evidence comes from Upper Egypt. This may logically be explained that a boat intended for a night journey should provide some kind of protection for its passengers. On the other hand, the Day-boat in Lower Egypt ought also to possess a cabin for protection against the cold north wind and occasional heavy showers which occur in this region. From the filling of this boat we recovered the following objects :—

(1) The bones of an ox.

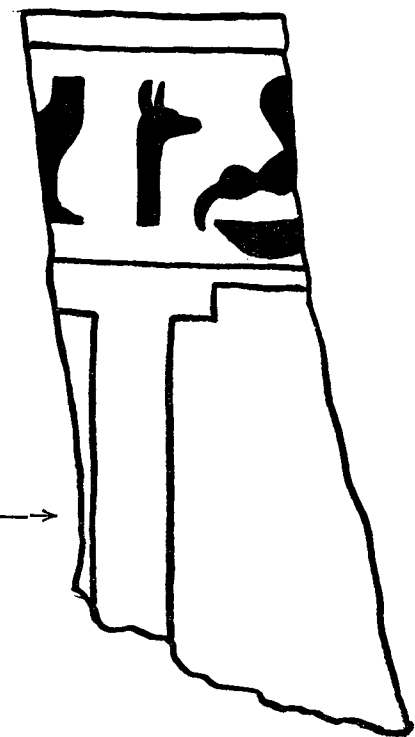
(2) An incense-burner of fine red-ware. It was found overturned, and beneath it lay some of the charcoal which it had contained. Diameter : 17·5 cm. (1).

(3) The upper part of the head of an alabaster statue. It wears the royal uræus, and undoubtedly represents *H'j-f-R'* himself.

(4) A small dish of dark green glazed pottery. It is slightly pointed at one side, and is perhaps a lamp (?). Diameter : 5·0 cm.

(5) A fragment of alabaster incised like this —————→
The signs retain a filling of greenish-blue paint.

(6) Several fragments of an alabaster statue.



The Southern "North-South" Solar-Boat

This vessel measures 37·50 m. long and 7·00 m. deep.





It is directed north-south, with the prow to south, and is the largest of all the boats of the *H'j-f-R'* Pyramid Complex. It is cut in a vein of rock of a poor quality and its sides are badly eroded, but there is no trace of it ever having a cabin or other interior features, and there is a possibility that it lacks the final finishing touches of completion. Around its upper edge is a sunken rebate measuring about 50 cm. wide, but there is no sign that it was ever roofed over and the bad state of its preservation seems to preclude any such protection.

(1) It is significant that both the ox bones and an incense-burner were found also in the northern Night-boat. In view of *Ch. CXLI* of the *Book of the Dead*, one is tempted to recognize these articles as cult objects, either contemporary with the boat or placed there when the worship of the Pyramid Builders was revived during the Saitic Period.

The Construction of the Rock-cut Boats of H'j.f-R'



The methods by which these rock-cut boats were constructed is plain to see from the evidence of the unfinished boat which lies to the north of the mortuary temple and is directed north-south. But after the initial cutting had been made, the work was abandoned, perhaps on account of a serious flaw occurring at the northern end of the eastern wall, but more likely on account of the death of the King, as this flaw could have been filled with masonry as in the boat of *Wn's* and in many rock-cut mastabas. But its unfinished state shows clearly the method by which these boats were constructed.

The first excavation was a long trench about 1.00 m. wide at the top, and widening gradually as it descended. Having made this trench as long and deep as required, the masons then widened it at the bottom and gave it the form of a boat, adding such details as were considered necessary. The work was undertaken with a pointed pick, the marks of which can be seen on all parts. In the case of the Night-boats, the roofing slabs were then placed in position and bedded down in a rebate at the top of the trench, and the boat was then complete as far as the masons were concerned. As to their equipment, we cannot say definitely what these boats may have contained, but a study of the Solar-boats of the *Pyramid Texts* and a comparison of their emblems, with those of the archaic boats, the wooden models of the Middle Kingdom, and the later representations, suggest that the Solar-boats of the Old Kingdom should contain one or more of the following emblems (1):—

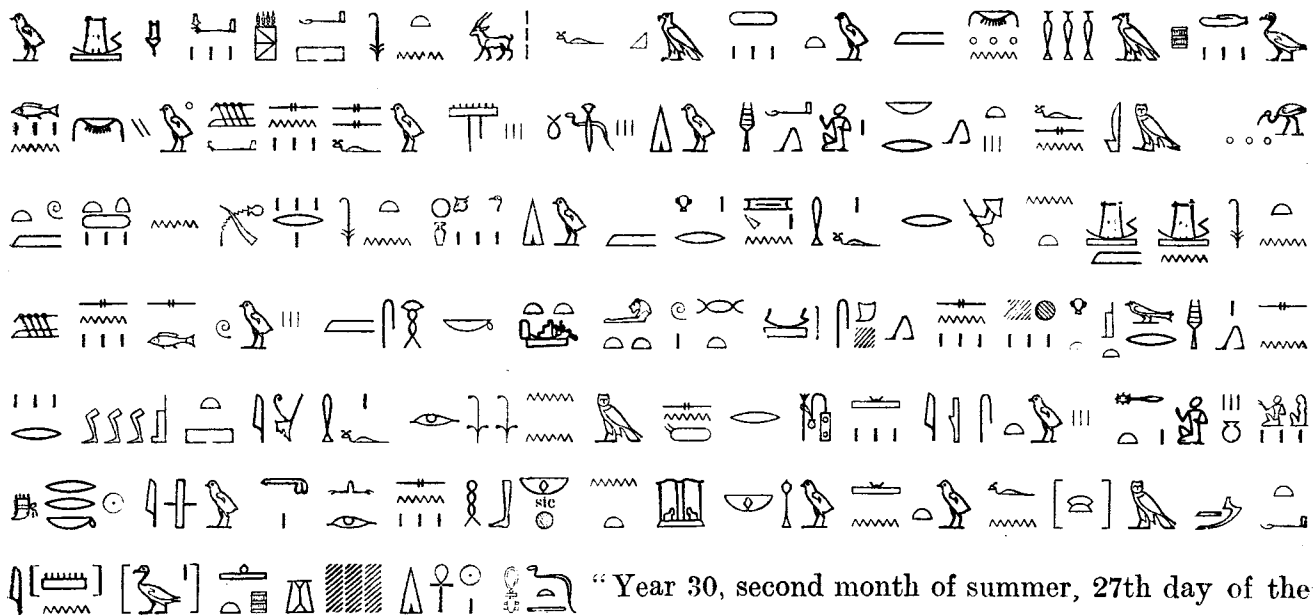
- (1) A mat or curtain hanging from the prow.
- (2) Pegs surmounting the bow-post.
- (3) A crowned hawk surmounting the bow-post.
- (4) A hawk perched upon a club.
- (5) One or more large clubs set upright.
- (6) A small swallow (?).
- (7) The emblem  (a lotus-flower) (?).
- (8) The emblem  (a variant of the above) (?).
- (9) The emblem .
- (10) A seat or throne .
- (11) One or two rectangular, *naos*-shaped or vaulted cabins.

(1) See below, p. 69, for the names and beliefs concerning some of these emblems. Also GRAPOW, "*Religiose Urkunden*", p. 183, ff.

In these boats of $\overline{H}^c j.f-R^c$ we have the mat or curtain on the bow-post represented by the square cutting of the prow, while the rectangular and *naos*-shaped cabins we have already remarked upon. But as to the other emblems, if they ever really existed, they have vanished without leaving a trace. The evidence of broken statuary in the filling of these boats proves nothing more than that they had shared the same fate as nearly all the other monuments of the Giza necropolis, which were despoiled at the end of the Old Kingdom.

There is reason to believe that these large monumental boats played a part in the *Hb-sd* festival during the lifetime of the King. The *Hb-sd* festival, which aimed at the rejuvenation of the King, and through him the rejuvenation of the whole kingdom, was certainly a very ancient ceremony. It consisted of a number of rites, the significance of all of which are not yet fully understood by us, but an inscription in the tomb of $\overline{H}r.w.f$ at Thebes with its reference to the Solar-boats, supported by our knowledge of the function of these boats as set forth in the *Pyramid Texts*, makes clear to us the meaning of one of these hitherto unexplained rites, namely, the ceremonial death and re-birth of the King, symbolized by his identification with the Sun-god, his journey in the Night-boat, and his return to this life in the Day-boat. An important scene in the tomb of $\overline{H}r.w.f$ (FAKHRY, "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes", *Annales du Service des Antiquities*, Vol. XLII, pp. 449, ff., Pl. XL) depicts the different ceremonies which took place on the occasion of the *Hb-sd* festival of *Imn-htp* III. At the right-hand end of the scene, the King, clad in his *Hb-sd* robes, and accompanied by Queen *Tjj* and the Goddess *Ht-hr*, is seated on his throne under a canopy, and supervising the distribution of golden collars, birds and fishes to his favourite nobles. The next episode shows the King and Queen issuing from the great double doors of the Palace, preceded by ten priests carrying ancient sacred emblems set upon standards, and a band of princesses carrying baskets and shaking sistrums. At the left-hand end of the scene is a representation (now mostly destroyed) of the Solar-boat being towed by twenty men, high officials of the Palace. The vessel, which a damaged inscription tells us is the Night-boat of the Sun-god , is of the conventional type, and carries a large *naos*-cabin amidships. The bow-post, from which hangs a bead curtain, is surmounted by a figure of Horus (*Hr*) the Child and three pegs. Immediately behind the bow-post is the feather emblem, which here only supports six feathers instead of nine. Within the *naos*-cabin stands the King, clad in his *Hb-sd* robes and carrying the flail and crook (?). Behind him is a damaged female figure, most probably the Queen. In front of the *naos* are five persons, the foremost of whom is the tomb-owner himself, $\overline{H}r.w.f$. The second and third men hold the rank of  Judge and Vizier. The inscription concerning the fourth man is destroyed, while the fifth man stands behind the *naos* and is in charge of the steering-oars. Below is an interesting scene showing a number of girls performing a ceremonial dance. The text describing this scene reads as follows (FAKHRY, *ibid.* p. 491):—






“Year 30, second month of summer, 27th day of the month, in the reign of the Majesty of Horus *Ks-nht H'-m-Ms't*, given life. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nb-Ms't-R'*, the Son of *R'*, his beloved, *Imn-htp Hsk Ws*, given life. When the *Hb-sd* feast was celebrated by His Majesty, the King appeared at the great double doors of the Palace, and caused to enter the office the Princes and Royal Acquaintances who were at the head of the people, namely the King's Relatives, the Officials of the Solar-boat, the Directors of the Palace, the Royal Nobles. They were rewarded with the Gold of Praise in the form of birds and fishes made of gold, and received the clothes *ssf* and *w₃dw*. Then everyone was made to stand to follow his procession (*i.e.* perhaps meaning that they were assigned their places in the procession in order to avoid confusion). Afterwards, they ate the bread of breakfast and the royal offering and later they were charged to the Lake of His Majesty to rowing the royal ships. They held the stern ropes of the *Mskt.t* and the bow-rope of the *M'ndt*-boats, they towed “He Who is on His Great Throne”, and stood at the steps of the throne of His Majesty. This was done to equal to the archives of Antiquity. Since the time of the past, the people did not celebrate such a *Hb-sd* festival as that . . .”

This very interesting text informs us of the part played by the Solar-boats in the *Hb-sd* feast. Thus, it would seem that after rewarding and feasting his chosen Nobles, the King proceeded in a procession to the lake, which in this case may well be the lake *D'r-w₃h'* which *Imn-htp* III caused to be excavated especially as a pleasure lake for Queen *Tj* (*see* the commemorative scarab, BREASTED, “*Ancient Records*”, Vol. II, p. 348). Here the King embarks in the Solar-boats which are towed by the high officials, including a special class called the “Officials of the Solar-boats”. As the *Hb-sd* feast symbolized the death and re-birth of the King, we may suppose that he first entered the Night-boat, which act typified his death and identification with the dead Sun-god. After being towed round the lake, he probably changed over to the Day-boat, thus symbolizing his re-birth as the rejuvenated Sun-god, and was again towed round the lake. In this ceremony, the persons towing the boat would, of course, symbolize the Imperishable and Indefatigable Stars, while those persons who actually travelled in the boat with the King, replaced the Gods, who, as we shall see in the later representations, also occupied the Solar-boat. (For mention of the Gods of the *Hb-sd* rowing the Solar-boat, *see* the damaged inscription in this same tomb, FAKHRY, *ibid.*, p. 495.)

An interesting point in the inscription which we have been discussing, is that in which it says that the ceremony was performed in accordance with an ancient tradition. That the Solar-boats were employed in connection with the *Hb-sd* festival during the Archaic Period seems to be proved by a fragmentary relief discovered by Firth and Quibell in a passage under the Step Pyramid at Sakḳara. This little fragment preserves the foot of the King, part of the ceremonial tail attached to his girdle, and part of the boat which he is towing (FIRTH AND QUIBELL, “*The Step Pyramid*”, Vol. I, p. 139, Vol. II, Pl. 109; I). Now, up till the present, no Solar-boats have been discovered in connection with the Step Pyramid; however, it may be that they exist, but are still hidden away. Nevertheless, the *Hb-sd* monuments are a prominent feature of this Pyramid Complex. Therefore, as the Solar-boats were said to have had an important part in the *Hb-sd* ceremonies in the ancient times, and as the Step Pyramid Complex proves to us that the *Hb-sd* monuments could form part of a Pyramid Complex, further proof for which I found in connection with the Great Pyramid, when I recovered a fragmentary relief depicting part of the *Hb-sd* ceremonies of King *Hwfw*, we may hazard a guess that the monumental Solar-boats had perhaps served this purpose during the King’s lifetime, and were also intended to perpetuate his *Hb-sd* feasts in the future life. An objection to this theory is that in the tomb of *Hr.w.f* the vessels impersonating the Solar-boats were real boats, capable of floating upon a lake, and were not rock-cut or masonry structures. This, however, may well have been a “modern innovation”, quite in keeping with the spirit of the time of *Imn-ḥtp* III, just as the rock-cut boats are in keeping with the spirit of the Pyramid Builders, who preferred to eternalize their monuments in solid rock and massive masonry. Moreover, it is not impossible that at this period the great rock-cut boats of the Fourth Dynasty were all sanded up and their existence forgotten, and it was perhaps honestly thought that the boats employed in the ancient days were practical wooden vessels, capable of traversing real water.

The title of the “Officials of the Solar-boat”  reminds us that there was also a class of priestly officials attached to the Solar-boats during the Old Kingdom, as we may see by the title of *S'nh-Pth* (Director of the *M'nd.t* and Director of the *Mskt.t*-Boats (see p. 63). Although *Hr-w.f* says that the ceremony was carried out in accordance with ancient tradition, we have evidence that they made at least one error. In the Old Kingdom no private person ever travelled in the Solar-boat, (at least so far as our present evidence tells us) but here we have the tomb-owner himself standing in the very front of the *Mskt.t*-boat. On the other hand, he may be impersonating a god, perhaps Thoth (*Dḥwtj*) or Ḥorus (*Hr*), as although we do not find representations of Solar-boats carrying a crew or passengers during the Old Kingdom, yet the texts of the period make it very clear that they did so.

THE BOAT OF QUEEN *HNT-K3.W.S*


While excavating the Pyramid of Queen *Hnt-k3.w.s* ⁽¹⁾, I located a rock-cut Solar-boat lying to the south-west of the mud-brick girdle wall of the pyramid. It measures : 30·25 m. long by 4·25 m. deep.

(1) For further details of this monument and the circumstances of its discovery, see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 33.

It is directed east-west and seems to have been roofed over, therefore it represented the Night-boat of the sun. I do not know whether there is a boat to represent the day journey or not, but perhaps further research in this spot may reveal another boat, because there is plenty of room that would suggest that idea. At any rate, it seems that the most important boat in all these groups of Solar-boat was the Night-boat, as may be seen by the prominence given to them during the new Empire, in the the so-called book of *Imj Dwt*,

The Divine Emblems in the Solar-boats⁽¹⁾

As from now onwards the Solar-boats will be found to contain a number of divine emblems, many of which I have just referred to on p. 65, we will here digress a moment from the study of the actual Solar-boats of the Old Kingdom in order to gain some understanding of these emblems, because it is from these that we are able to identify the nature of the boats we shall meet with. Mere form is not enough, for we have seen boats on the Hierakonpolis fresco which in form resemble the later Solar-boats, while from the Middle Kingdom onwards we shall see funerary boats also possessing the sacred form. But when we find a boat having a Horian prow and stern allied to a Naqadian hull and containing one or more of the emblems enumerated below, then we may consider it to be a true Solar-boat. First of all, we will take the object hanging from the prow, apparently attached to a frame at the top of the bow-post. This frame may be either plain at the top or surmounted by one or more pegs to the number of four. Sometimes this frame serves as a pedestal for a crowned hawk (see Figs. 11, 59) or later for a small bird (Figs. 53, 61) which in the boat of King *Dn* is shown standing upon the deck (Fig. 11). Maspero was of the opinion⁽²⁾ that this bird is identical with a small green bird common in Upper Egypt which has the habit of running and fluttering swiftly along in front of travellers, as though it were guiding them upon their way. He suggests that when seated upon the prow of the Solar-boat, it is performing the duties of a guide or "look-out" and that the alternative figure of the hawk fulfils the same function. This explanation is plausible concerning the small bird, but the hawk is more likely to represent either the King or one of the Solar-gods. In the later representations we also see the place at the top of the bow-post occupied by Horus (*Hr*) the Child, a fact which led Renouf to name it the Seat of Horus (*Hr*) and identify it with the "sarekh"⁽³⁾. As far as I know, there are no Solar-boats of the Old Kingdom in which Horus (*Hr*) the Child is actually represented occupying this position, but that he was known to do so may be seen by Utterance 267 of the *Pyramid Texts*, where after speaking of the dead King taking his place in the Solar-boat, we read:—

367 (a)  (4). "Stand up, avaunt, you who do not know the Sudd! (i.e. masses of floating reed),

⁽¹⁾ A Middle Kingdom text which was later incorporated in the *Book of the Dead*, as *Ch. 99* mentions the various parts of the divine boat and gives a mythological explanation for each part. Among the objects mentioned are several of the divine emblems, and these passages I have quoted when describing the Solar-boats of the Middle Kingdom (see below, p. 149). For the complete text, see GRAPOW, "Religiose Urkunden", p. 146, f.

⁽²⁾ MASPERO, "Dawn of Civilization", pp. 184, 197.

⁽³⁾ RENOUF, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. IX, pp. 17-21, Fig. 1-12.

⁽⁴⁾ Var.  (text of *Nfr-k3-R'*).

reed mats⁽¹⁾, but the stone model Solar-boat from Mitrahinah now in the Cairo Museum (No. 4924)⁽²⁾ bears a detailed carving of this object which clearly shows that it was a hanging curtain of bead-work. This identification is further born out by the wooden model Solar-boat of the Middle Kingdom, now in the Cairo Museum (No. 4860)⁽³⁾, which has a series of holes pierced through the bow-post still containing fragments of thread. Concerning these, Dr. Reisner said: “I am inclined to believe that these strings carried a sort of bead-work curtain falling along the sides of the bow pieces and presenting a box-like appearance”. Muller⁽⁴⁾ is of the opinion that this object may be a “carpet or mat on which the god is seated, often thus duplicating a second figure of himself in the cabin”. In a note on p. 363 of the same book, Muller also says: “Very late art even tries to make it a curtain of beads or an ornament symbolizing the rays of the sun (*e.g.* BENDITE, ‘*Philæ*’, Pl. XLIII), or it may appear as a black tablet adorned with stars (*Ani Papyrus*)”.

In addition to the bead-work curtain the Solar-boats of this period may, as we have already seen, carry one or two cabins. Thus, the Solar-boats of the *Pyramid Texts* may show two rectangular cabins⁽⁵⁾, a rectangular and a *naos*-shaped cabin⁽⁶⁾, a single rectangular cabin, a single *naos*-shaped cabin, or no cabin at all (Fig. 26).

Occasionally we see a great throne occupying the place of a cabin in the Solar-boat (Fig. 26). Just such a throne was found in actual fact in the Solar-boat of *Wni's* (*see* pp. 81, 82). Its presence in the boat is accounted for by the following lines of the *Pyramid Texts* which read :—



926 Δ

FIG. 26

366 (a) “This *Wni's* flies up like a bird and planes as a scarab,

(b) “he flies high as a bird and planes as a scarab,

(c) “on the vacant throne which is in your ship,
O R.”

⁽¹⁾ SPHINX X, p. 190.


⁽²⁾ REISNER, “*Models of Ships and Boats*”, p. 83, Fig. 307, Pl. XIX.


⁽³⁾ *ibid.* p. 44.

⁽⁴⁾ *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 26.

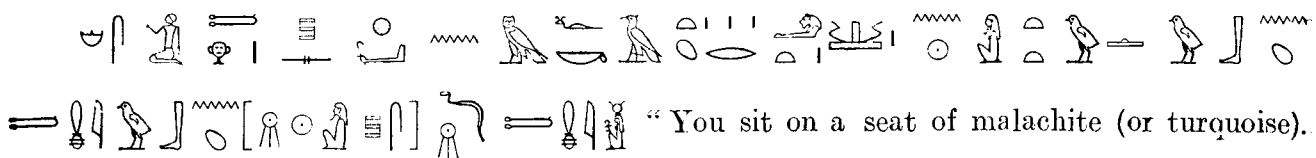
⁽⁵⁾ Sometimes the rectangular cabins are surmounted by sacred emblems, in which case they may in reality be pedestals and not cabins. Later, evidence from the Middle Kingdom seems to support this theory.

⁽⁶⁾ For the special name of this cabin, *see* p. 124.

Here, in the boat determinative signs, as in our actual example, the throne is vacant, thus fulfilling the exact words of the text. It is to be remarked in connection with these lines that when the deceased is said to fly to Heaven, he rises from earth as a bird, a creature able to raise itself high up in the sky. But when he is about to land in Heaven, his flight is compared to that of a scarab, which is unable to soar up high away from the earth. This scarab-form should also be considered as symbolizing the Sun-god. The bird is, therefore, the indispensable form by means of which the deceased may rise from the earth to Heaven, where on his arrival, he takes the desired form of the scarab, in order to identify himself with the Sun-god and take a place in the Solar-boat. (See also line 2206 (*f*) where the deceased is compared to a hawk which flies high, and descends as  *Hpr.i* in the Solar-boat.) The mention of the throne in the Solar-boat was retained in the Middle Kingdom where it occurs in the *Coffin Texts*. Thus, we see in Spell 61 (DE BUCK, “*Egyptian Coffin Texts*”, Vol. I, p. 258) B 10 C:—

 “Wide is your throne in the boat, and you sit in the interior of the divine boat.”

And again in the same Spell (*ibid.* p. 260) B 4 C:—

 “You sit on a seat of malachite (or turquoise). in the bows of the Boat of *R'*, and you rise like the rising of *R'*, and you shine like *Ht-Hr*”

Another prominent emblem is a hawk upon a perch either with or without a food-dish (Fig. 27*a*) ⁽¹⁾ or perched upon a club (Fig. 27*b*) ⁽²⁾. The presence of the food-dish on the hawk's perch occurs most frequently in the oldest texts, and is perhaps an echo of the time when the hawk-emblem consisted of a living bird chained or similarly attached to its perch. This hawk may be either a symbol of the god *Horus* (*Hr*) (its original significance) or it may represent the King, who was identified with *Horus* (*Hr*).

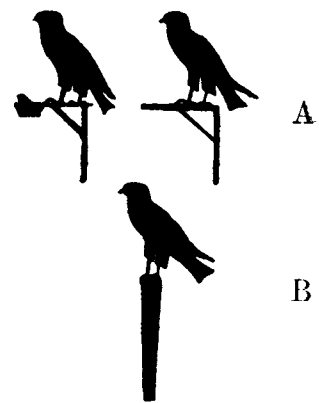





FIG. 27.—THE HAWK-EMBLEM

Another emblem, we have already seen in the archaic boats, is the sign , which may have originally represented the characteristic weapons of the “Followers of *Horus* (*Hr*)” and their god. But whatever the remote meaning of this sign may have been, by the time of the historic period, it was clearly

⁽¹⁾ *Pyramid Texts*, lines 210 (*a*), 210 (*c*), etc.

⁽²⁾ *ibid.* lines 932, etc.

regarded as an instrument of execution, a kind of primitive guillotine. If the group  on the Narmer Palette is really the same as  (see p. 36), when it is the earliest example of this emblem so far discovered, and its presence above the representations of decapitated prisoners suggests that it was a weapon or instrument of execution. One of the earliest detailed representations of this emblem that we have is seen on a fragment of alabaster bearing the name of King *Dn*, which was found by Petrie at Abydos⁽¹⁾. Here the emblem is shown in connection with the Lynx Goddess *M3fd.t* (Fig. 28). A line in the *Pyramid Texts* describing the weapon wherewith King Pepy executes his enemies, says :—

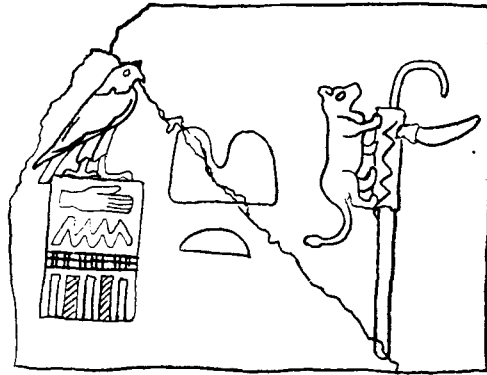
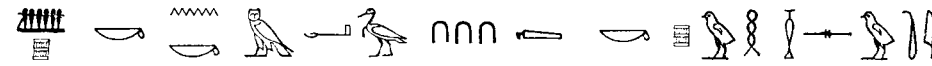
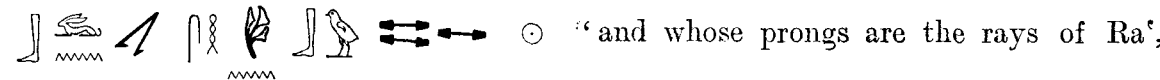
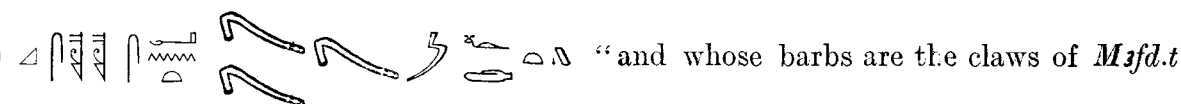


FIG. 28

1212 (a)  “When you take your favourite harpoon,

(b)  “and your baton which spans the canals,

(c)  “and whose prongs are the rays of Ra’,

(d)  “and whose barbs are the claws of *M3fd.t*,

(e)  “by which *Ppjj* cuts off the heads (of his enemies”).

This would suggest that the knife attached to the cylinder of the emblem was called the “Claws of *M3fd.t*”, and we are plainly told that it was the weapon used to cut off the heads of the King’s

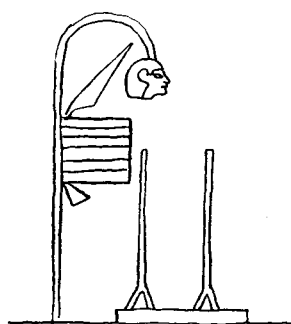


FIG. 29

enemies. In the tomb of Seti (*St.j*) I, we see this emblem actually functioning as an instrument of execution (Fig. 29). We cannot say definitely how this primitive guillotine worked, but the representations of *St.j* would suggest that the long crook was made of bamboo or some such springy wood, and that the head of the victim was attached to its extremity. Then, presumably the knife “Claws of *M3fd.t*” severed the neck, and the head, released from the weight of the body, was automatically jerked up by the bamboo and remained attached to it⁽²⁾. In the emblem on the Narmer Palette the curved bamboo staff is absent, but the knife is prominent, therefore, not being attached to the staff, the heads of the victims would have fallen to the ground and remained lying between their feet as depicted in the scene.

⁽¹⁾ PETRIE, “*Royal Tombs*”, Vol. II, Pl. VII, p. 25.

⁽²⁾ See CAPART, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 125, 126,, who gives a modern instance of such an instrument being in use in the Congo, and describes the method of its employment (see also MASPERO, “*Etudes de Mythologie et Archæologie*”, Vol. II, p. 111).

The next emblem to be considered is the bent staff \int resembling the sign $= \int$ 'sm, which Boreux⁽¹⁾ and Gardiner⁽²⁾ identify as a boomerang or throw-stick, and which was used to determine the names of foreign peoples or localities. If this sign really represents such a weapon, then we must remember that it was one commonly used by the nomadic tribes inhabiting the deserts to the east and west of the Delta, and doubtless also, it was the favourite weapon of the Delta marsh-dwellers themselves⁽³⁾, as we find it constantly employed throughout the historic period as a weapon for fowling in the marshes. That it is shown as being used by nobles at a time when bows and arrows and bird traps had been perfected proves that its use was an archaism retained only for the purpose of sport, if it was not indeed surviving as a mere religious or artistic convention a possibility, when we remember that several of these weapons were found in the tomb of Tutankhamen (*Twt-nh-Imn*) and were made of faience⁽⁴⁾ a material that could never have been employed for such an article if destined to a practical use. Boreux suggests⁽⁵⁾ that this weapon may have been used as an emblem to symbolize the people of the conquered Delta, just as he thought the \int was used to symbolize the conquering Horians, and it seems that his idea is plausible.

An emblem that also occurs in the Solar-boats, though less frequently, is the sign \int ntr⁽⁶⁾, the significance of which is easy to follow. We may explain it as symbolizing either the god or the king, as in ordinary inscriptions the signs \int and \int are interchangeable and signify or determine either "god" or "king".

Another divine emblem of the Solar-boat is the sign \int , perhaps the 'bs-sceptre often mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts* as being part of the King's regalia⁽⁷⁾. Boreux suggests⁽⁸⁾ that this sign may be interpreted as the god Horus (*Hr*), for in later times we find his name sometimes written with three maces: \int (9); and he would like to see in the two emblems \int and \int which surmount some of the determinative boats of the Palermo Stone, variations of the mace \int . But the sign \int is more likely to be a variant of \int as we shall presently see. As to the identification of the sign \int with the mace \int in the variant writing of the name of Horus (*Hr*) just quoted, it does not seem at all feasible, as both emblems appear in a single representation of King *Smr-ht* at Wadi Maghara⁽¹⁰⁾, showing that they were considered as two separate objects

(1) BOREUX, *ibid.* p. 110.

(2) GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", p. 498.

(3) Some New Kingdom ostraca from Deir-el-Medineh show this weapon in the hands of men and boys who are in charge of cattle or of large pet apes. Their ragged unkempt appearance denotes that they are the despised "Marsh-dwellers". See D'ABBADIE, "Ostraca Figures de Deir el-Medineh", Pls. IV, V, VI, IX, XI, XII.

(4) See "A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments", (Cairo Museum), No. 640.

(5) *ibid.* p. 110.

(6) *Pyramid Texts*, line 1479 (a). (For the origin of the sign, see GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", p. 489.)

(7) *Pyr.* 338 (b).

(8) BOREUX, *ibid.* p. 93.

(9) BERGMANN, "Hist. Insc.", Pl. XXVIII.

(10) BREASTED, "History of Egypt", Fig. 28.

and not the variant of one. Perhaps the most reasonable explanation of the 𓆣 (1) is that it is the 𓆣 b3 -sceptre, and as an emblem of royal dignity its presence in the Solar-boat symbolized the presence of the King.

As far back as the boats of *Hr-h3* we have seen the simple emblem of a club set upright upon the deck (Fig. 8) and at first glance it is not easy to explain its meaning. A label of King *Hnt.(j)* from Abydos (2) bears the signs shown in Fig. 30, and our club is prominently displayed in the centre, where it looks suggestively like a policeman's truncheon. A label of King *Dn* in the McGregor collection proves that it really is a club or truncheon (Fig. 31). The label in question bears a spirited scene representing the King slaying a Bedouin (3). In one hand he grasps the pear-shaped mace, uplifted to deliver the fatal blow, and with the other hand he grasps his wretched enemy by the hair, and is at the same time apparently holding the identical club in the same hand. But the confused drawings of the hands of the King and the Bedouin raises a doubt as to who is really holding the weapon. Newberry (4) refers to this club as a "Bedāwi spear", but it does not in the least resemble a spear, though it may well belong to the



FIG. 31.—KING DN SLAYING
A BEDOUIN

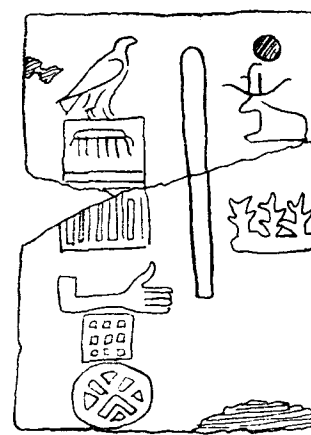


FIG. 30.—THE LABEL
OF KING HNT.J

Bedouin. A similar scene sculptured on the rocks at Wadi Maghara shows King *Smr-ht* also slaying a Bedouin (5). He is in the same attitude as *Dn* on the McGregor label, and the club is prominently displayed in his grasp ; but the Bedouin is also clutching the lower end of it, and it is again not very clear to whom the weapon belongs. But in a similar rock-carving of *Hwfw* (6), also at Wadi Maghara, and depicting the same subject, the club is certainly in the sole grasp of the King. This group was a popular one in Egyptian art and was repeated by nearly every king throughout the Pharaonic regime. Finally, we see Ptolemy XII slaughtering a bunch of prisoners before the Goddess Isis (*3s.t*) (7) and the club, simplified to a mere wand, is in his sole grasp. In my opinion this club is one of the weapons of the King, and its presence in the Solar-boat symbolized the presence of the King. On the other hand, if the club is to be considered as the weapon of the Bedouin, then we may see in it an alternative to the sign 𓆣 , but this is improbable as the

(1) See the *Pyramid Texts*, and *Middle Kingdom Texts*.

(2) PETRIE, "Royal Tombs", Vol. II, Pl. V, 1.

(3) NEWBERRY, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXXIV, Pl. XXXI, 6.

(4) *ibid.* p. 285.

(5) BREASTED, "History of Egypt", Fig. 28.

(6) MASPERO, "Dawn of Civilization", p. 365.

(7) BUDGE, "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection", Vol. I, p. 213.

boats of the *Pyramid Texts* (line 950, etc.) gives the two emblems \updownarrow and \downarrow in conjunction with each other, twice repeated in the same boat, which shows that they possessed different meanings. Like the \updownarrow and the hawk, these clubs remained a feature of the Solar-boats long after the Old Kingdom has passed away.

Concerning the sign \downarrow which occurs very frequently in the Solar-boats, we are again faced with a problem. At first glance we may explain it as a simplification of \updownarrow , but a small label found by Garstang at Naqada⁽¹⁾ seems to disprove this.

This label bears the following inscription (Fig. 32), which Newberry translates as⁽²⁾ "Necklace of 1,400 beads", thus identifying the sign \downarrow with $\updownarrow = 1,000$. If this is so, then the numeral 1,000 does not seem to have any connection with the Solar-boat; while if we assume that \downarrow is a simplification of \updownarrow , then an instrument of execution seems inappropriate to an inscription concerning a necklace! Moreover, a numeral seems to be demanded by the context. What really seems to be the truth is that $\updownarrow = 1,000$, represents a conventional drawing of a lotus⁽³⁾, \downarrow is a variant of this sign still more simplified, and is thus also a lotus. Evidence for this may be seen on the Palermo Stone where one boat (see below, p. 77, Fig. 33) has the stern terminating in the sign \downarrow , just as in the later boats we shall see both prow and stern terminating in lotus-flowers. Moreover, on the boats of the Palermo Stone \downarrow alternates with \updownarrow which is clearly a lotus-flower⁽⁴⁾, but in only one example do the two emblems appear on the same boat, which seems proof that they were both but variants of a single emblem—the lotus⁽⁵⁾. There is also a sign \downarrow which occurs in the boats of the *Pyramid Texts* (line 1398, etc.), but it is probably only a variant of \downarrow or \updownarrow .



FIG. 32

These, then, are the emblems which we may expect to see in the Solar-boats of the Old Kingdom, some of which had appeared at the dawn of the Archaic Period and were destined to retain their places to the end of Paganism in Egypt. Later we shall see new emblems appear in the Solar-boats of the Middle Kingdom and some of the old ones will reappear under a new arrangement or grouping. There is a possibility that one of these later emblems had already appeared in the Old Kingdom, though unfortunately both our supposed examples of it are damaged. This is a narrow board supporting a row of nine feathers \updownarrow set upright upon it and it will be discussed in full in pp. 86, 87, where we seem to have an ancient example of it.

(1) NEWBERRY, "P.S.B.A.", Vol. XXXIV, p. 284. Pl. XXXI, 2.


(2) NEWBERRY, *ibid.* p. 284.

(3) GARDINER, "Egyptian Grammar", p. 470; 12.

(4) See also the boat of King K' (p. 40, Fig. 13).

(5) The occurrence of this sign in the determinative \downarrow in the *Pyramid Texts* (line 1579 = Nt 10-12; JEQUIER, "Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit", Pl. VIII, line 11), where it signifies "to uproot" (as of weeds), proves that it was regarded as a plant of some kind.

The Boats of the Palermo Stone⁽¹⁾

Although the Palermo Stone cannot be classed as an “illustrated” monument, the care and precision of the draughtsman who prepared it and the artist who engraved it have provided us with an interesting series of miniature representations of boats, and these are the signs used to determine the writing of the name of a festival which occurred periodically and was called the “*Feast of the Followers of Horus (Hr)*” (see above, p. 35) . (Fig. 33) shows the

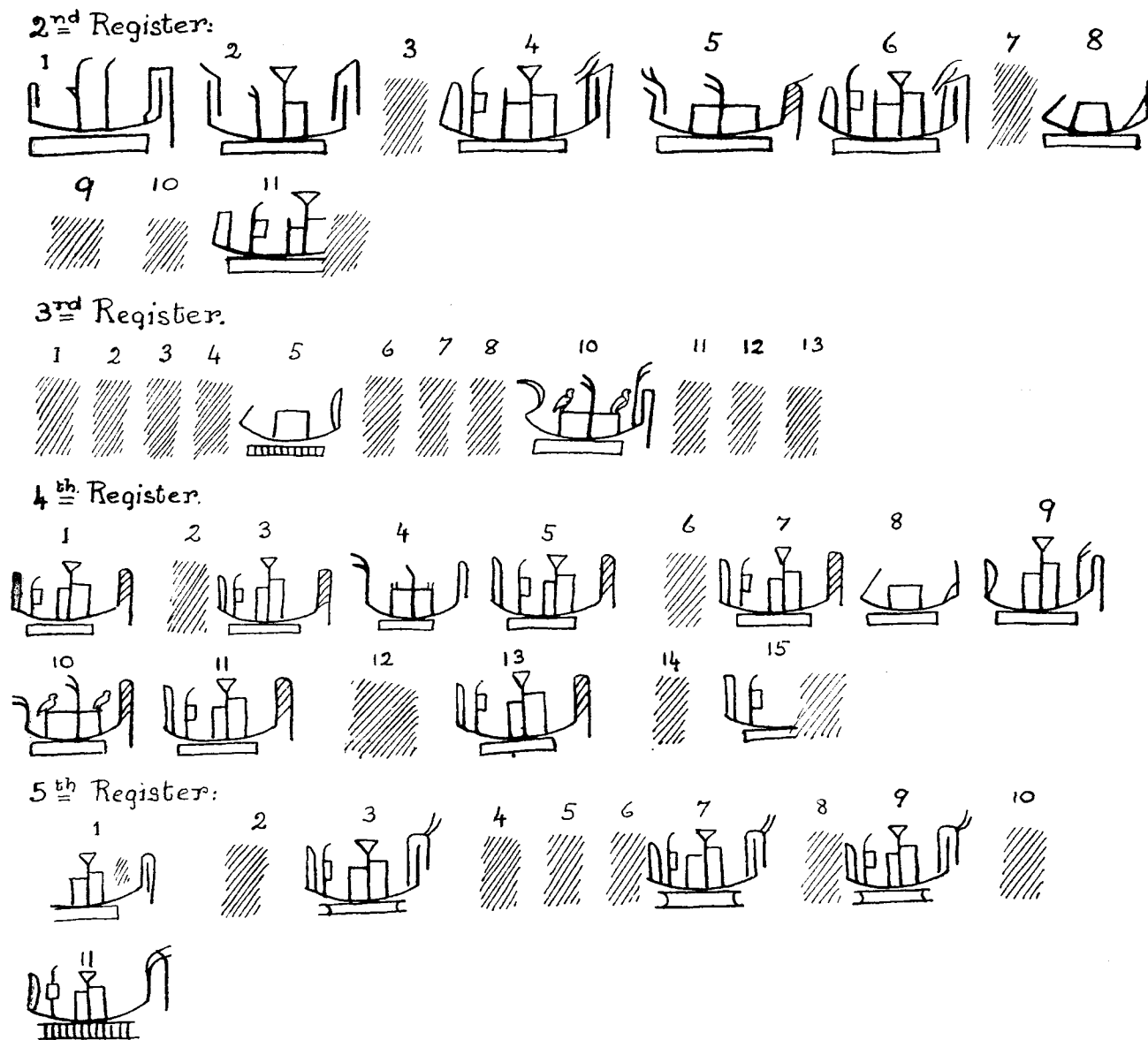






FIG. 33.—THE BOATS OF THE PALERMO STONE

type of these boats and records their position on the original monument. As will be seen, their form is that of the boats we have been discussing, while their use as determinatives for what is clearly a solar-festival is sufficient proof as to their nature. In nearly all these examples

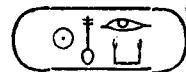
⁽¹⁾ For an excellent reproduction of this monument, see “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. XXV, pp. 64-81, Pls. I and II.

the prow is decorated with the hanging mat or curtain, but the stern shows a greater tendency to curve inwards than we have seen hitherto, especially in No. 10 (3rd Register), where it assumes the double bend which became one of the characteristics of the divine boats. The cabins also present some interesting variations. In Nos. 8 (2nd Register), 5 (3rd Register) and 8 (4th Register) it presents a simple rectangular form, and resembles that of the southern Night-boat of *H^cj.f-R^c*; while No. 10 (3rd Register) resembles the cabin of *H^cj.f-R^c*'s northern Day-boat. In Nos. 2, 5, 11 (2nd Register), and No. 10 (3rd register), and 4 and 10 (4th Register), this single cabin serves to support sacred emblems. Nos. 4 and 6 (2nd Register), 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 13 (4th Register), and 1, 3, 7, 9 and 11 (5th Register), all contain double cabins of unequal heights; while in No. 1 (2nd Register), the cabin is entirely absent.

With regard to the sacred emblems, these boats may carry the following :—

- (1) The boomerang } Nos. 1 (2nd Register); 4 (4th Register).
- (2) The "palm-branch" or "year-sign"; No. 1 (2nd Register).
- (3) The lotus } Nos. 2, 5 (2nd Register); 10, (3rd Register) 9, 10 (4th Register). In addition to its occurrence as an independent emblem, this sign also appears as a termination of the stern-post in Nos. 5 (?) (2nd Register), 4 and 10 (4th Register) (*see above, p. 76*).
- (4) The  (also a lotus and perhaps a variant of ) (?) Nos. 2, 4, 6 and 11 (2nd Register); 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 13 (4th Register); 1, 3, 7, 9 and 11 (5th Register).
- (5) The  Nos. 4, 6, 11 (2nd Register); 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15 (4th Register); 3, 7, 9, 11 (5th register). Hitherto we have only seen this sign appearing *above* the boats; *see* Narmer (Fig. 7), *Hr-h3* (?) (Fig. 9) and *Smr-ht* (Fig. 12), but now we find it, apparently for the first time, actually standing upon the deck of the Solar-boat.
- (6) The divine hawk  Nos. 4 (?), 6 (2nd Register), 10 (3rd Register), 10 (4th Register).

THE BOATS OF KING NFR-IR-K3-R^c



Not only does the Palermo Stone furnish us with representations of boats, but it also provides us with some very interesting information on our subject. In the 2nd year Register of the 5th row (reverse), we are told that King *Nfr-ir-k3-R^c*— who seems by the light of contemporary evidence to have been a very pious and democratic monarch—⁽¹⁾ bestowed certain gifts upon the Sun-god. Among these benefits is mentioned :—



Sun-temple 'Heart's Desire of *R^c*', (of) copper, 8 ells—the Night-boat and the Day-boat ⁽²⁾.

(1) *See* the biographical inscription of *R^c-w^c*, (*"Excavations at Giza"*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19) and the inscription of *W3t-Pt4*, (BREASTED, *"Ancient Records"*, Vol I, p. III, f.).

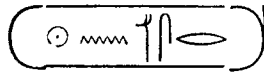
(2) SETHE, *"Journal of Egyptian Archaeology"*, Vol. I, pp. 235-236.

This inscription evidently refers to the dedication of two copper model Solar-boats, probably cult objects. It would be interesting to know if these metal vessels were ever actually launched upon a sacred lake or canal; or is it too much to assume that the Egyptians of the Fifth Dynasty understood a principal of shipbuilding which has but lately received recognition in modern Europe, and then only after much official opposition and misgiving. I refer to the invention of metal-plated and all-metal ships.

The same inscription on the Palermo Stone, but in the previous line, informs us that King *Nfr-ir-k3-R* also erected a large brick-built boat at the southern corner of the same Sun-temple. It reads (1): “*kd m3.t r knb.t rs.[t nt is.t-ib-R]*”. “Building (*lit.* walling) a Day-boat at the southern corner of the Sun-temple named Heart’s Desire of R”.

To gain an idea of what this latter vessel was like, we must look to the monument left us by one of *Nfr-ir-k3-R*’s successors, and that brings us to a Solar-boat placed in a situation hitherto unknown to us except by the reference in the inscription just referred to.

THE SOLAR-BOAT OF KING NJ-WSR-R



By the above-mentioned remark, I mean the gigantic brick-built Solar-boat which King *Nj-wsr-R* erected beside his Sun-temple at Abusir (2). This curious structure was discovered by



FIG. 34.—THE BRICK-BUILT SOLAR-BOAT OF KING NJ-WSR-R

Borchardt in 1900-1901. Its present length is over 30·00 m. and it lies about 100·00 m. far from the western wall of the temple. It is directed east-west with the prow to the east, therefore, it must represent the Night-boat of the sun. The stern is completely ruined. Borchardt’s restoration (3) completely reverses the destination and role of this boat by directing the prow to the west. He also adds steering oars in the stern, a feature which up to the present has not been proved for the Solar-boats of the Old Kingdom (4). The construction of the boat is ingenious,

(1) SETHE, “*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*”, Vol. I, p. 236.

(2) This locality is also called Abu-Gorab by some writers.

(3) See the restoration in MASPERO’S “*Manual of Archaeology*”, Fig. 79, where the erroneous direction of the Solar-boat in relation to the orientation of the temple, facing east, is clearly shown. See also *A.Z.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 95.

(4) BISSING and BORCHARDT, “*Das Re’ Heiligtum*”, Vol. I, Pl. I.

and the architect has endeavoured to imitate the form of a wooden construction by sloping the courses of the bricks, a method which Foucart comments upon in his article in the "Sphinx" ⁽¹⁾ where he says: "It is a building in bricks measuring more than 30·00 m. in length which imitates with incomparable ability the technique of wooden boats. The man who conceived and executed this boat . . . knew how to scientifically bend the rows of bricks with a subtleness . . . that gives an almost illusionary impression of the flexible lines of a vessel".

On the other hand, Borchardt did not admire this method of construction, and says that the desire on the part of the architect to imitate the technique of woodwork had led him to give the courses of brickwork an improbable bend which at first seems to be nonsensical building. Truly "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" ⁽²⁾!

The situation of this boat beside the Sun-temple and its east-west orientation would have been a sufficient guide as to its character as a conventional Solar boat, but we are given further proof as to its nature by a series of brickwork pedestals, which it contains and which by the evidence of their forms and disposition, show us that they were destined to support the sacred emblems. Mlle Chatelet thought that these pedestals were to support and strengthen the deck under the places where the actual emblems had originally stood, but on the contrary, it is practically certain that these rectangular and circular masses of brickwork are the actual pedestals themselves, from which the emblems they supported have long since disappeared. In the prow is a long narrow structure which strongly suggests the board supporting the nine feathers, which is a prominent feature in the Solar-boats of the Middle Kingdom. This emblem also seems to appear in a damaged state on a fragmentary relief of *Ppjj* II (see p. 87, Fig. 37), and is perhaps represented in a simplified form in some of the boats of the *Pyramid Texts* (lines 933 [a] and 950 [a]). Behind this narrow pedestal comes a tall rectangular pier, which could have been a *naos*-like cabin. It is followed by a large rectangular pedestal supporting a cylindrical column. This we may say was perhaps a rectangular cabin surmounted by a stout club or post(?) and placed amidships, as in the boat of King *Smr-ht* (Fig. 12). Perhaps it was topped by a divine hawk (*Pyramid Texts*, line 150, etc.). Behind this is a stout circular pedestal, certainly the base of the group of emblems which has hitherto only appeared on boats of the Middle Kingdom and onwards and which will be discussed in detail later. Finally we have a badly ruined structure which may have been the cabin or *naos*, in front of which was erected the emblem 𓏏 . Apparently no trace of the actual emblems had been discovered, as has always been the case with these large boats, so far as I know.

This boat possesses a two-fold interest for us, firstly it appears quite logically beside a Solar-temple, whereas up till now all the boats we have examined have been in connection with Royal Burials. We may say that it was the Night-boat waiting on the edge of the desert in order to receive the Sun-god as he set, and convey him through the night to the eastern horizon, where its prow is directed, and which contemporary and later texts tell us was the ultimate goal of the Sun-god and the dead king. Secondly, the form of the pedestals within the boat all coincide with the form and disposition of the emblems, as they appear in the wooden model Solar-boats of the

⁽¹⁾ Vol. X, p. 184, *f*.

⁽²⁾ For a full description of this boat, see BORCHARDT, "Das Re' Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re", pp. 52-53; FOUCCART, "Sphinx", Vol. X, p. 160, *f*.; Mlle CHATELET, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. XV, pp. 139-152.

Middle Kingdom, and though most of them are known from the early examples of boats as we have already seen, yet this is apparently the first boat which presents this arrangement of them in a form hitherto considered characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. Compare the existing remains of this boat (Fig. 34 a) with Fig. 69 which shows the typical form and arrangement of a Middle

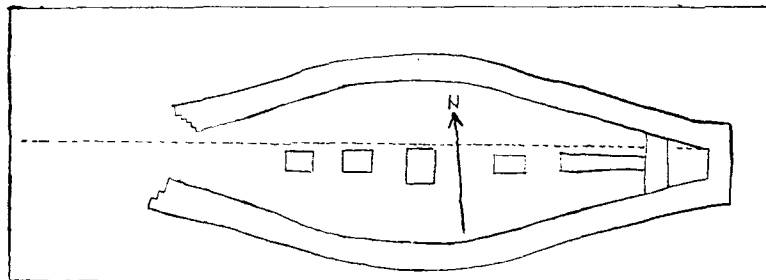



FIG. 34 a

Kingdom Solar-boat according to the evidence of the wooden models from El-Bersheh and Meir. Apparently Borchardt did not find any Solar-boats in connection with the Pyramid of King *Nj-wsr-R*, and unless it had escaped his notice and still lies buried under the sands, we may infer that the King perhaps intended the boat we have just described to be for the joint use of the Sun-god and himself, as the *Pyramid Texts* will presently show us was permissible. This is not surprising when we remember that according to the tradition preserved in the Westcar Papyrus, the kings of the Fifth Dynasty were supposed to be the actual decedents of the Sun-god and a mortal woman, wife of a Heliopolitan priest, and it is from the time of this dynasty onwards that the use of the royal title , son of *R* became a general one for kings, although it had apparently

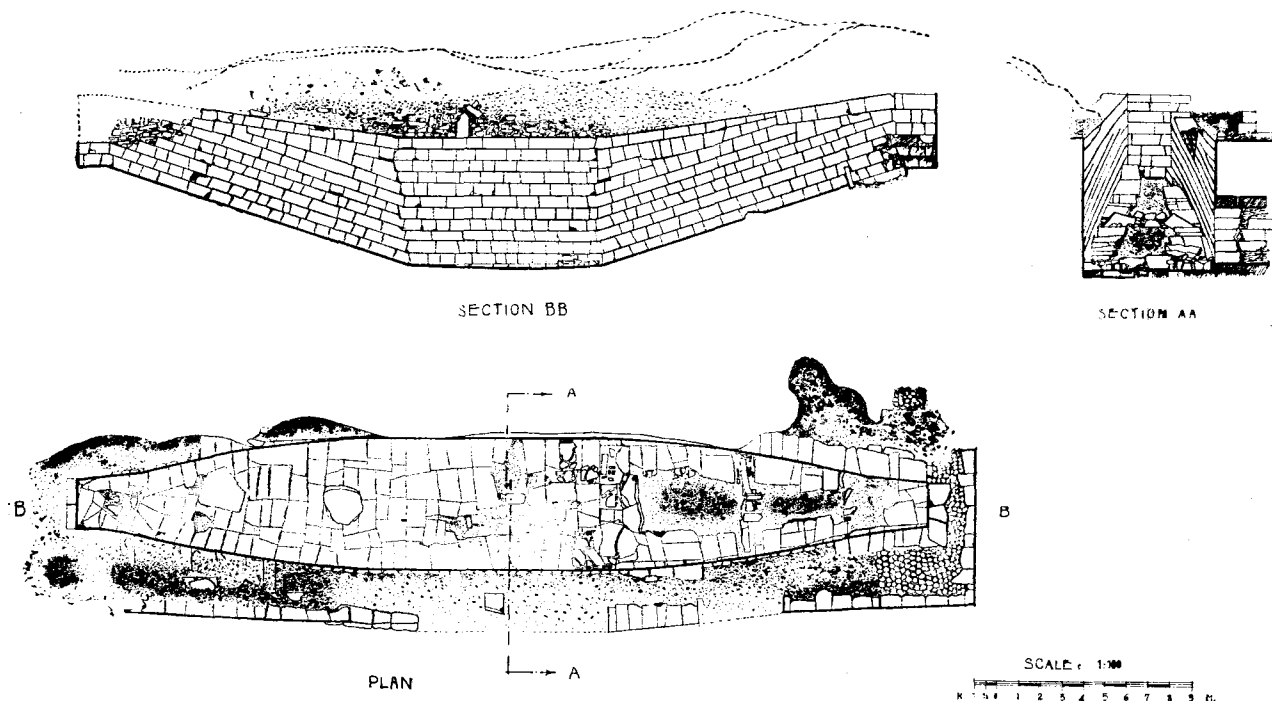


FIG. 35.—THE BOAT OF Wn'is

been used by *Mn-k3.w-R* in the Fourth Dynasty. the son, therefore, might be expected to have a place in his father's ship as well as a share of his offerings; and in building a Solar-boat for *R*, *Nj-wsr-R* probably had his own welfare also in mind!

THE SOLAR-BOAT OF WNIS  (Fig. 35) (Pls. II, III)



The boat of *Wnis* lies parallel to the southern side of the causeway leading to his Pyramid at Sakḳara. It measures 36·50 m. long by 7·15 m. deep by 6·10 m. broad.



It is cut in the rock, but is cased with white limestone masonry, the courses being laid in sloping lines to imitate the forms of a wooden hull, just as we have seen in the case of the brick-built boat of *Nj-wsr-R* (see above, pp. 79, 80). The bottom of the hull was also paved with limestone, much of which still remains, but those places where the pavement is now lacking suggest that here were the pedestals of the sacred emblems. A feature of this boat is a large throne carved from a single block of white limestone, and having the primitive, almost cubical form. The presence of this throne is explained by line 366 of the *Pyramid Texts* (see above, p. 71). This is the only boat belonging to the *Wnis* Pyramid Complex which I was able to locate at that time, but perhaps subsequent excavations in the surroundings may reveal others.


THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SOLAR-BOATS IN THE PYRAMID-TEXTS



The Form of the Boats

If we cannot claim that the *Pyramid Texts* are illustrated documents in the exact sense of the word, yet the small boats determining the names of the Solar-boats are so carefully and minutely wrought and so full of varied details that they serve as illustrations in themselves for the type of vessel to which they refer. In their main form the boats of the *Pyramid Texts* do not vary very much. The typical vessel has a Horian prow and stern, though the latter assumes an intraversed form that has not been observed in either the archaic boats or the rock-cut boats of *Hwfw* and *H'j.f-R*. The bow-post is usually decorated with the hanging curtain, either


quite plain (line 335 [b]):  or surmounted by two pegs:  (line 717 [c]), three

pegs:  (line 926 [c]); or four pegs:  (line 932 [a]):


Or it may be ornamented by four pegs at the top and fringed at the bottom like a bundle of sticks:  (line 210 [a]). Sometimes the hanging curtain is absent, and the

bow-post is vertical:  (line 933 [c]). Or slightly intraversed:  (line 927 [c]).


The following forms may be considered as abnormal:—


 (line 1172 [a]).—Here the curtain seems to be hanging from the stern, for in only one other example do we see the divine emblems facing backwards! (See line 927 [c].)


 (line 1398 [a]).


 (line 1479 [a]).

 (line 932 [a]).


 (line 950[a]).—This may be a simplification of the feather-emblem.


 (line 1194[a]).—This seems to be a combination of the curtained bow-post and the feather emblem (see also line 933[a]).


 (line 1982[a]).


 (line 1982[a]).


The Solar-boats of the *Pyramid Texts* may also possess cabins, and these may be single or in groups of two, and may vary in shape and size. Below are some typical examples :—


 (line 1194 [a]).— A simple rectangular cabin. (Compare with the southern Night-boat of *H'.f-R'.*)


 (line 210[c]).—A single elongated rectangular cabin supporting divine emblems. On the other hand, this may be merely a pedestal for the support of the emblems.


 (line 932 [c]).—A single naos-shaped cabin placed aft.


 (line 933[c]).—An elongated rectangular cabin (or pedestal (?)) supporting emblems, and a naos.


 (line 210[c]).—A rectangular cabin and a naos with a vaulted roof.


 (line 927[a]).—Two rectangular cabins separated by an emblem.


 (line 496[a]).—Two naos-shaped cabins separated and flanked by emblems.


 (line 926[c]).—A pair of emblems surmounting a cabin.


 (line 926[c]).—Two different emblems in front of a cabin.

 (line 932[c]).—A group of three identical emblems. Naos-cabin.


 (line 932[c]).—A pair of emblems with a single one between them. Naos-cabin.


 (line 1982 [a]).—A pair of emblems flanking a single emblem and all placed upon a rectangular cabin (?).


 (line 1172 [a]).—A single emblem surmounting a cabin (?), flanked by a pair of emblems placed upon the deck.


 (line 932 [a]).—A pair of emblems flanking a single one, placed on the deck in front of a naos.


The following forms are abnormal:—


 (line 1479 [a])⁽¹⁾.

 (line 485 [b]).


 (line 926 [c]).—These three fanciful forms are all from the texts of *Ppjj* I.


 (line 661 [c]).—This example is doubtful, it may well be a feather-emblem and not a cabin, though in this case the emblems should not be placed above it.


 (line 927 [c]).—Note the projecting cornice on the roof of the after cabin. This example is also from the texts of *Ppjj* I.


 (line 1479 [a]).—No cabin at all.


We have already discussed the forms of the emblems found in these Solar-boats, there remains now only to remark upon their disposition, though in this matter there does not appear to have been any set rule, as the following examples will show:—


 (line 485 [b]).—A pair of emblems behind a single one.


 (line 335 [b]).—A pair of emblems in front of a single one.


 (line 927 [a]).—A group of three emblems, all different.


 (line 717 [c]).—Two pairs of emblems arranged alternately, no cabin.


 (line 496 [a]).—A pair of emblems and two odd ones.


 (line 210 [c]).—A group of three identical emblems surmounting a cabin, and an odd one on the deck behind.


 (line 661 [c]).—Two pairs of emblems and a single one.


⁽¹⁾ It is possible that the object amidships is not a cabin, but the sign  "offerings" (*Pyramid Texts* 310 [b]). As the boat in question is that of the night, a cargo of offerings would be quite in order, as in line 1172 [a].


 (line 150[a]).—Two *naos*-shaped cabins, the foremost serving to support an emblem. (Compare with the Middle Kingdom model boats where the 𓏏 is supported in a similar manner.) Two identical emblems and two odd ones.


 (line 932[a]).—A single emblem placed in front of the cabin.

 (line 1194[a]).—A single emblem placed behind the cabin.

 (line 927[a]).—A single emblem placed between two cabins.

 (line 335[b]).—A pair of emblems and no cabin occurs in the boat determinatives of *Ppjj-Nfr-k3-R*.

 (line 926[a]).

 (line 927[c]).—Here, as in 1172[a] the emblems in the boat seem to be reversed.

In line 1982 (a) (*Ppjj-Nfr-k3-R*) there is a slight difference in form between the Day and Night-boats. The line in question reads:—

 “The Night-boat and the Day-boat.”

The emblems are identical in each case, but their arrangement and the form of the boats differ. The occurrence of other examples of differentiation of the Day and Night-boats in the *Pyramid Texts* suggests that this variation is intentional and not due to a whim or carelessness on the part of the scribe. This theory is further born out by what we have found in the case of the rock-cut boats of *H'j.f-R*. Below are some examples of the two Solar-boats, each pair taken from a single line of the same text (Fig. 36):—
















<i>m</i> sktt (<i>Night-boat</i>)	<i>m'</i> ndt (<i>Day-boat</i>)
 210 (a)	 210 (c)
 485 (b)	 485 (b)
 1479 (a)	 1479 (a)
 926 (c)	 926 (a)
 927 (c)	 927 (a)
 932 (c)	 932 (a)
 933 (c)	 933 (a)

FIG. 36.—VARIATION IN FORM OF THE DAY AND NIGHT-BOATS

The Egyptians themselves likened the form of the Solar-boats to the human buttocks  as in *Utterance 539* which refers to the deification of the members of the dead King, each limb or part of the body being given an apt parallel with a god or divine object :—


1313 (a) 

“The two buttocks of this *Mrrj-R*^c are like the Night-boat and the Day-boat.”


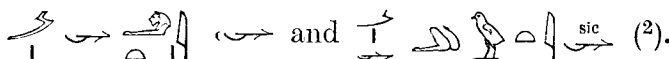
Or they could be compared to a pair of sandals, as in line 1315 (a) :—

1315 (a)  “The two sandals of

Mrrj-R^c are like the Two Solar-boats (the *Mj̄.t*-boats [1]).”

In line 1306 (c) we read : 

“The tongue of this *Ppjj* is like that of the Truthful going to the Solar-boat (*Mj̄.t*-boat).”

Here the tongue is likened to the “Truthful”, that is to say, to the Justified King, on his way to the Solar-boat, which it seems he could only enter if he had been found righteous in some judgment. The reference may also be to the form of the boat itself which resembles the hieroglyph *Mj̄t* , and in this respect we may remark that the Egyptian names for the bow and stern-post respectively were  (2).

THE SOLAR-BOATS OF PPJJ II



Up till now no large Solar-boats have been found in connection with the Pyramids of the Sixth Dynasty kings, but we do not know if the sands of the Memphite necropolis are still guarding their secret. When excavating the Pyramid Complex of *Ppjj* II, Jequier found some sculptured fragments appertaining to the mortuary temple of that King (3). Among these fragments were three pieces bearing parts of the representations of two Solar-boats. These two boats were each orientated in a different direction, that is to say, they were confronting each other, and Jequier is of the opinion that their original position was over one of the doorways that occur in the eastern and western walls of the sanctuary. In this disposal of them, he refers to the temple of Deir-el-Bahari (4) where the same motif occurs in a similar situation. Concerning the theme of the two Solar-boats confronting each other, he says that this is the earliest representation of these vessels so disposed, and at the time of which he was writing, this statement was correct; but our discovery of the boats of the *H̄j̄.f-R*^c Pyramid Complex shows by actual fact that the arrangement of the Solar-boats prow to prow was well recognized in the early Fourth Dynasty. The fragments of the sculptured Solar-boats of *Ppjj* II are shown here in Fig. 37. No. 1 is particularly worthy of note, because it seems to figure for the first time in detail, the emblem of the feathers(?) which we find in the Middle

(1) For the explanation of this name of the Solar-boat, see p. 90.

(2) See JEQUIER, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. IX, p. 44.

(3) JEQUIER, “*Le Monuments Funeraires de Pepi II*”, Vol. II, Pl. 105.

(4) NAVILLE, “*Deir-el-Bahari*”, Vol. IV, Pl. CXV.

Kingdom boats (and later) (*see also p. 149*). We have first seen that perhaps this emblem has appeared in the boats of the *Pyramid Texts* and the lines where it occurs happen to be from the texts of *Ppjj II*, moreover, it only appears upon the Day-boat (lines 933, 950). In the fragmentary relief of *Ppjj II* (*Nfr-k3-R'*), it appears only upon that boat which is turned to the left. This seems to be another proof that at this period there was a variation in the forms of the Day and Night Solar-boats. As we shall see this emblem of the feathers appearing more and more frequently from the Middle Kingdom onwards, we may ask what was its significance. In shape the feathers at once recall the form of the symbol 𓂏 *m3't* "Right, Truth, Justice", etc. On the other hand, a similar feather was also the emblem of the god *Šw*, and from the New Kingdom onwards we often find both *Šw* and *M3't* occupying a place in the Solar-boat (*see pp. 125, 131*).

Also in the later representations we find the nine gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead as passengers in the Solar-boat, while in line 1250 of the *Pyramid Texts* they are said to act as the crew of the Solar-boat (*see p. 111*).

Dare we then read into the emblem of the nine feathers a symbol for the nine gods of the Ennead? That the feather 𓂏 was associated with other gods than *Šw* and *M3't* may be seen by the vignettes of the *Book of the Dead*, Papyrus *Nb.sn.j*⁽¹⁾ and Papyrus *In-ḥ3.j*^(?)⁽²⁾, but we have no direct evidence that the Heliopolitan Ennead was so symbolized; nevertheless such a theory is not impossible.

Private Solar-Boats

Until now all the Solar-boats we have studied have been in connection with royal monuments, which is only to be expected when we remember the exclusively royal character of the Solar-cult during the Old Kingdom. Model Solar-boats occur fairly often in private tombs from the time of the Middle Kingdom, as we shall see, but so far no definite example can be proved for their

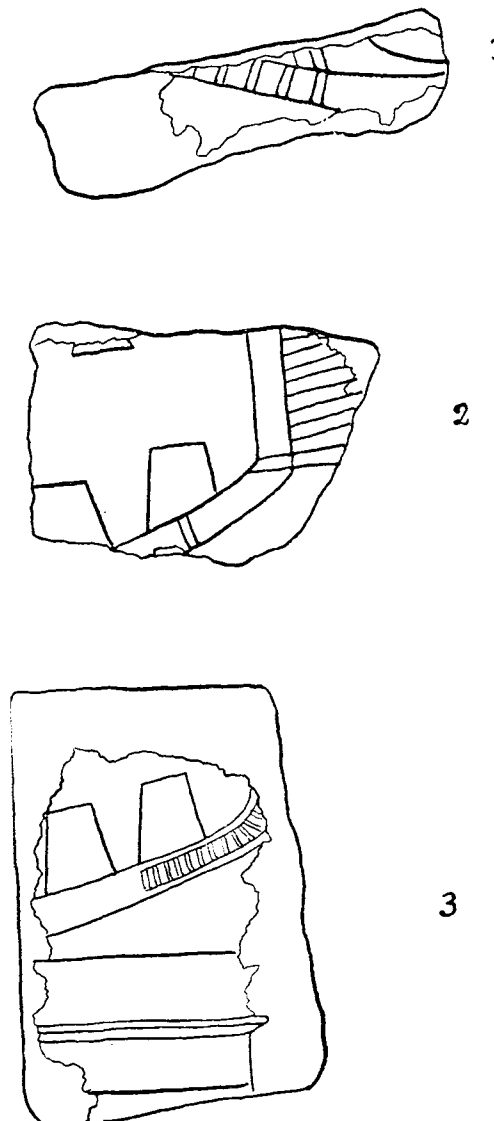


FIG. 37.—FRAGMENTARY RELIEF OF THE SOLAR-BOAT OF PpJJ II

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", p. 363.

⁽²⁾ *ibid.* pp. 366, 369.

occurrence in connection with private burials of the Old Kingdom. Nevertheless, there are one or two discoveries which should be mentioned in this connection, for though they prove nothing in our present state of knowledge, future discoveries may cause them to fall into line and assume their proper places in the history of Egyptian religious ideas.

The Supposed Solar-Boats of $K_3(.j)-gm(.w).n.j$

When making excavations in the neighbourhood of the Pyramid of *Ttj* at Saqqara, Messrs. Firth and Gunn had occasion to make a thorough investigation of the famous mastaba of $K_3(.j)-gm(.w).n.j$, and record the presence of two long, narrow chambers situated on top of the mastaba ⁽¹⁾. These chambers measure 11·00 m. long and 2·00 m. wide in the middle, tapering towards the ends.

From their shape, the excavators suggest: "these rooms were built to contain or imitate solar-barques. They were quite empty, and the rough limestone slabs which roofed them do not seem to have been displaced". On a block of stone found at the same level was a sculptured scene representing one of the processes of shipbuilding. The same excavators also record ⁽²⁾ the finding of eleven small model boats of wood, with oars, masts, etc., at the mouth of a Sixth Dynasty burial-shaft (No. 240), in the mastaba of $K_3.j-m-sn.w$. Referring to these boats the finders say:—

"Group of model solar-barques, oars and mooring-pegs, from the edge of Shaft No. 240 in the mastaba of Kaemsenu. These boats had never had oarsmen and they are entirely distinct from the passenger boats placed in the tombs of the Heracleopolitan and Middle Kingdom Periods. Kaemsenu, as priest of the Abusir Pyramids would profess the solar rather than the Osirian worship."

But as a matter of fact, only one of these boats really fulfils the requirements of a true Solar-boat ⁽³⁾, all the others being funerary or pilgrimage boats. Firth also reports ⁽⁴⁾ in connection with his discoveries: "In the filling on the north side of a mastaba (at Saqqara) of the Sixth Dynasty were found two solar-barques, the timbers of which were fastened together with ropes". As these have not been published, we take leave to doubt if they really are true Solar-boats.

The Mention of the Solar-Boats in the Pyramid Texts

Having already discussed the forms of the boats appearing in the *Pyramid Texts*, as well as the emblems they contain, let us now examine the material of the texts themselves in order to gather some idea as to what the Egyptians actually believed concerning these vessels, and see if

⁽¹⁾ FIRTH and GUNN, "Teti Pyramid Cemeteries", p. 21.

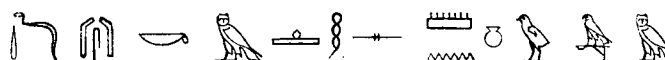
⁽²⁾ *ibid.* p. 33, Pl. 49.

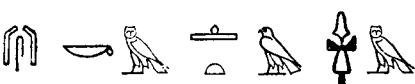
⁽³⁾ *ibid.* Pl. 49, No. 1.

⁽⁴⁾ *Annales du Service*, Vol. XXVI, p. 101.


these beliefs confirm the theories we have made concerning the boats discovered. At the risk of being criticized for verbosity or deviation, I intend to treat this matter somewhat fully, for it is sometimes necessary to give the whole utterance in order to understand the meaning of a single line and to follow out the development of an idea. Moreover, it is not always an easy matter to grasp immediately the meaning of these texts, for they are a mixture of very primitive ideas, so old that they must have been formulated long before the invention of writing and have been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and with them we get the more sophisticated beliefs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. An example of such a mixture is line 926 which mentions the reed-floats along with the developed Solar-boats; and Utterance 222, l. 202 (c) (see below, p. 94) which bears evidence of a prehistoric origin mingled with religious ideas of the Pyramid Age. Furthermore, we see in these texts the traditions of at least three or four conflicting beliefs. The belief in a solar-destiny for the dead King, the belief in a stellar destiny and the beliefs of the Osirian cult, etc., all these different ideas may be mingled together in a single Utterance⁽¹⁾. We have already seen the Solar-boats occurring in pairs, either in actual fact or in representations, and have referred to them as Day and Night-boats. This nomination is clearly borne out by the texts themselves, the simplest of which reads:—


UTTERANCE 573 (Text of Pepy):—

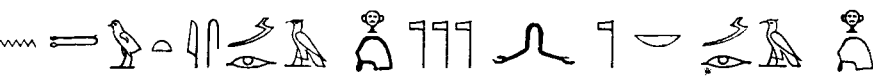
1478 (a)  "Words spoken: Awake thou in peace, 'Cleansed One', in peace *hsm nw!* (the Sun-god)

(b)  "Awake thou in peace, Eastern HORUS (*Hr-ib.t*) (?), in peace!

(c)  "Awake thou in peace, Eastern SOUL, in peace!

(d)  "Awake thou in peace, *Hr-ah.t.j*, in peace!"

1479 (a)  "Thou sleepest in the Night-boat (*mskt*), thou awakenest in the Day-boat (*m'ndt*),

(b)  "for thou art he that overlooketh the Gods, there is no God that overlooketh thee."

This short hymn, which Erman considers was sung every morning in the Palace⁽²⁾ in order to awaken the King, tells us four interesting things. Firstly, it shows beyond any doubt that the two boats are intended to be used one for the day and one for the night. Secondly,

(1) The reader will notice that throughout all the book I have indicated that these translations are only tentative. This is partly due to the difficulties mentioned above, and also to the fact that our knowledge of Egyptian grammar and vocabulary is still in its infancy.

(2) ERMAN, "Literature of the Ancient Egyptians", p. 12.

we are told what the special names were for these vessels. The ordinary name for a Solar-boat was *wis* ⁽¹⁾.

But from this and other texts we see that during the Old Kingdom the Night-boat is called *msktt* ⁽²⁾ which seems to signify "beaten", "destroyed" or "cast down"; while that of the day is called *m'ndt* ⁽³⁾ meaning "whole", "wholesome", "healthy" ⁽⁴⁾. The meaning of this name clearly refers to the condition of the sun by day; while *msktt* which seems to be derived from the verb *sk* "to destroy" or "overthrow" ⁽⁵⁾ or "go down" is perhaps intended to show a contrast to the powerful sun of the daytime, and means the weak or destroyed sun of the night ⁽⁶⁾. We also see that the King was supposed, as one identified with *R'*, to make use of these divine vessels, while finally the fact that the King uses these boats because of his identification with *R'* shows us unmistakably that the latter was the original navigator of these vessels. In Utterance 215 we get even more information:—

150 (a) Words spoken:
"I come to you Nephys (*Nb.t-ht*), I come to you Night-boat;

⁽¹⁾ *Var.* (see *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 271). It is also called *wis* "The Great Ship" (see CHAMPOLLION, "Notices", p. 642). This name might also be applied to the ship of the King (see SETHE, "Dramatischetexte", p. 125). Sometimes they were called *M3't*-boats *Pyramid Texts*, line 1785 (b) *M3't* "guides with *R'* the two '*M3't*' (right traversing) boats" (see KEES, "Totenglauben", p. 156) who is of the opinion that the Solar-boat was identified with *M3't* the daughter of *R'*, on account of the similarity of the name and because it sailed a course of established regularity and order on account of the right wind which filled its sails, that is to say the exact wind needed to make it arrive at its destination, and thus it was also called "He who sails with rectitude". In one way this explanation is not very sound, because in the *Pyramid Texts* we have only a single reference to the Day-boat being propelled by means of a sail. In the Middle Kingdom also, it is only the Day-boat which is said to "sail upstream" *m3'* "Right, Truth, Justice, etc." And this is further borne out by the fact that the Justified King's tongue is likened to the *M3't*-boat in line 1306 (see p. 86), which shows that the ethical meaning was in the writer's mind in a double sense, for the word *M3't* can also be written with which strongly resembles a human tongue. Compare also the meaning given to the sign for the fore and aft of the boat in *Ch.* 99 of the "Religiose Urkunden", p. 183, ff.; Other names for the Solar-boat are as follows:— *Sint* (see PAP. LOUVRE No. 3292, *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 47. See also PAP. 3njj 1.15. BUDGE, "The Book of the Dead", (Text), Vol. I, p. 2. *m'k* (PAP. LOUVRE No. 3292, *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 62).

⁽²⁾ *Var.* (with varied boat determinatives as we have seen (pp. 82-85). Sometimes the names of the boats are written without any determinative sign, as for example in *Ch.* 130 of the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE, "Totenbuch", Vol. II, *Ch.* 130, Col. Ba, p. 338).

⁽³⁾ *Var.* Sometimes the determinatives are omitted.

⁽⁴⁾ *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 237. For *m'ndt* and its corresponding word in Arabic, see BROCKELMANN, "Zur Semito-Agyptischen Etymologie", "Mélanges Maspero", Vol. I, p. 381.

⁽⁵⁾ *W.B.*, Vol. IV, p. 311.

⁽⁶⁾ From the Middle Kingdom onwards we shall see that sometimes the roles of the Solar-boats are reversed and *msktt* becomes the Day-boat and *m'ndt* the Night-boat. In the Græco-Roman Period this reversal is always adopted. See CHASSINAT, "Temple d'Edfu", III, pp. 10, 30, 129, 199, 209, 260, 273, etc.; see also CHASSINAT, "Temple de Denderah", Vol. I, pp. 9, 34; Vol. II, pp. 19, 184, 194, etc. This reversal, which also occurs in "The Lamentations of Isis and Nephys" in the line, "Thoth is thy protection; he causes thy soul to arise within the Day-boat in this thy name of 'Moon'"; was misunderstood by Faulkner, who says: "moon is clearly inappropriate here, since the moon should be in the Night-bark" (FAULKNER, "Mélanges Maspero", Vol. I, p. 343).

201 (a) "He comes to you, O his Father, he come to you, O *Sm3-wr* (1)!"

(b) "He comes to you, O his Father, he comes to you, O *Shn-wr* (2)!"

(c) "He comes to you, O his Father, he comes to you, O *Spdw* (3)!"

(d) "He comes to you, O his Father, he comes to you O *Spdw-bhw* (4)."

In this hymn the priest addresses the Sun-god under the various names by which he was known, each of which appears to be an epithet for one of his attributes, or represents a side of his character. Thus, he is called *Dndn*, the Wanderer, in reference to his journeys across the sky, *Ndj* (5) on account of his descent into the *Dst* at sunset. He is *Shn-wr* on account of the fact that he had been accustomed to navigate on the great reed-float (*shn-wr*) (or the great protector). This custom of adoring the divinity under a plurality of names became a common feature in Egyptian religious texts, and remains in use in Islam (6), where God is adored under ninety-nine different names, all formed of words describing His Nature and Attributes. But to return to our hymn, it is remarkable to see that in the list of names of the Sun-god, those of *Itm* and *Hpri* are omitted, and it would seem that at the time when this Utterance was composed, these two gods were regarded as separate deities and had not yet been assimilated to *R'*, though perhaps they were in some way associated with him. In the previously quoted Utterance 215, line 151 (e), it seems clear that *Itm* was a separate deity to *R'*, but perhaps connected with him as being a form of the Night-sun.

Our text continues:—

202 (a) "May you grant that this *Wn's* seizes Heaven, and that he grasps the Horizon;

(b) "may you allow that this *Wn's* commands the Nine (Bows) and that he provides the Ennead of the Gods with (food) offerings;

(1) *Sm3-wr* "the Great Bull".

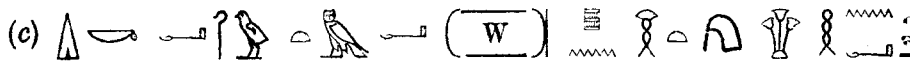
(2) For the meaning of the name *Shn-wr*, see above, pp. 2, 3.

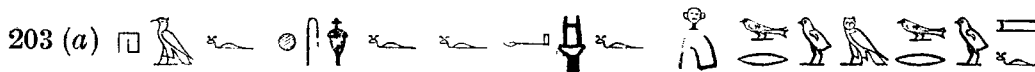
(3) *Spdw* of the modern Saft-el-Henna, an equivalent of the Sun-god, later a form of *Šw*.


(4) *Spdw-bhw* "Sharp-teeth", perhaps in allusion to the burning rays of the sun being likened to a sharp bite.

(5) Most probably the name of the place *Ndj.t* where Osiris (*Wsr*) was supposed to be killed, comes from this word.


(6) *Lit.* the Good Names of God "أسماء الله الحسنى".

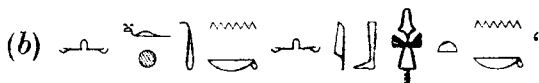
(c)  "may you give the Shepherd's Crook into the hand of this *Wnis*, in order that Lower and Upper Egypt will bow their heads in submission."


203 (a)  "He seizes his opponent, and stands up to the Great Chief, in his Great Domain ;

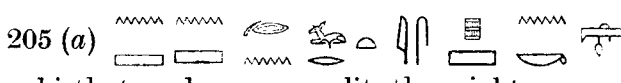
(b)  "Nephtys (*Nb.t-ht*) had praised him after he had taken his enemy (prisoner)."

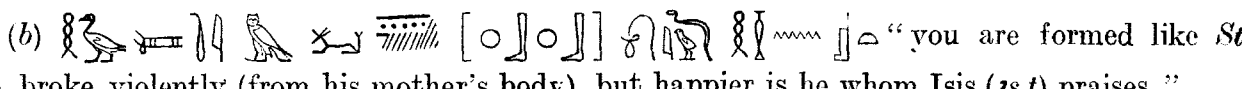
These lines provide yet another example of the intermingling of periods and beliefs which is such a notable feature of the *Pyramid Texts*. The unusual mention of Lower before Upper Egypt shows the extreme antiquity of the original Utterance, which was clearly composed before the Unification of Egypt and at a time when the Delta was the superior power. It also shows that it is of Heliopolitan origin. Then, immediately following this theme, we get a reference to the Osirian cult and find the King identified with Horus (*Hr*), and being praised by Nephty (*Nb.t-ht*) for having taken his enemy, *St*, prisoner. Having thus introduced this newer element the text continues with an address to the dead King :—

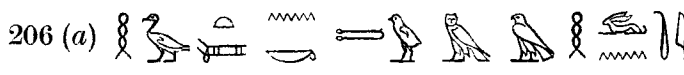
204 (a)  "You had equipped yourself as the Magician who is in Ombos (*i.e. St*), the Master of the Upper Egyptian Lands ;

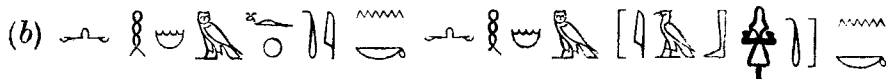
(b)  "you will not be lost (?), you will not be finished (?).

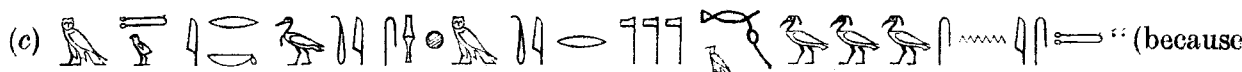
(c)  "(because) look, you are more famous and powerful than the Gods of Upper Egypt and their spirits!"

205 (a)  "you whom the Pregnant in him (*Nwt*) had given birth to when you split the night ;

(b)  "you are formed like *St*, who broke violently (from his mother's body), but happier is he whom Isis (*Is.t*) praises."

206 (a)  "You have modelled yourself as Horus (*Hr*) with the two pupils (of the eyes [?]);

(b)  "and you will not be lost also you will not be finished (?);

(c)  "(because) look, you are famous and you are powerful, more than the Northern Gods and their Spirits!"

Here the King is likened to the gods *St* and *Horus (Hr)* in their capacities of Masters of Upper and Lower Egypt. These two rival deities were supposed to be incarnate in the King, as we may see by the usual Old Kingdom Queen's title⁽¹⁾ "She who sees *Horus (Hr)* and *St* (2)." We then get a passage which seems to be purely Heliopolitan in character :—

207 (a) "You will get rid of your dirt (that which is in you to be purified) for *Itm* in Heliopolis (2) and you will descend with him ;

(b) "you put right the urgent affairs of the Underworld (*Nun.t*) (3), and you stand (as King) in the places of *Njw* (4) ;

(c) "you become (King) with your father *Itm* and you are high with your father *Itm* ;

(d) "you rise with your father *Itm*, the affairs of the underworld (*Nwn*) are facilitated for you ;

(e) "your head is bound by the Heliopolitan Midwife (5). (*Rpw.t*, the Goddess of birth, later).")"

208 (a) "You mount, and your way is opened for you through the bones of *Šw* (6) ;

(b) "you are received by the embrace of your mother *Nwt* ;

(1) See also the *Srh* name of *H'j-Šhm.wj* (PETRIE, "History of Egypt", Vol. I, p. 38, Fig. 28, and *Pr-ib-sn*, p. 32, Fig. 23,



(2) A reference to the purification of the Sun-god.


(3) The sky of the Other World, the opposite of (see below, pp. 176, ff.).


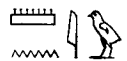
(4) Also , later , the Primeval Ocean (see p. 159).

(5) Can this refer to a practice of binding the heads of newly-born infants in order to conform them to a special shape, forming a kind of tribal badge, a custom still in use among certain uncivilized peoples even at the present day ? If so, this argues a very remote date for the original text, for as far as we know, no such custom existed in Egypt during the historic period, the strange form of the human heads seen in the Amarna art being more likely a freakish artistic fashion rather than an actual fact. On the other hand, this passage may be of more recent date and refer to the bandaging of the head of the mummy (*Osiris=Wsir*) by *Isis (Is.t)* or *Nepthys, (Nb.t-ht)* both of whom, according to the Westcar Papyrus acted as midwives at the birth of the first three Kings of the Fifth Dynasty, the event taking place at Heliopolis. See ERMAN, "Literature of the Ancient Egyptians", p. 45.


(6) The clouds or mist, the most solid part of the atmosphere.

Here the word  which I have translated “to advance” really has the meaning of advancing in a triumphant manner, as of troops marching to victory, an apt description of the triumphal progress of the all-powerful Egyptian sun by day. The word  meaning “to come into port” is a delicate way of saying to die, and in its occurrence here, gives the meaning of the downward passage of the Night-boat, the descent of the scribe Ani into death, as well as the literal meaning of the deceased reaching the end of his journey (*i.e.* the realms of the Dead) in the Night-boat. This same text, containing the same expressions, was retained in the Saitic Period as well, as we may see in the following text from a coffin of this period in the Cairo Museum (No. 41001) ⁽¹⁾ :—

 “The soul of the Osiris (*Wsir*) N mounts with you to Heaven, journeying in the Day-boat and coming to port as a strong god ⁽²⁾ in the Night-boat, and he joins the Indefatigable Stars in the sky.”

Here again we see the two eloquent expressions  and . In our Utterance from the *Pyramid Texts*, the daily and nightly functions of the Solar-boats are clearly stated and once more we see the Night-boat associated with Nephtys (*Nb.t-ht*), Goddess of the Twilight.

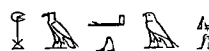



On the other hand, the Day-boat is associated with Isis (*Is.t*), making her a Goddess of the Dawn, which role is particularly suited to her as Mother of Horus (*Hr*) the Child, the young Sun-god. As in line 150 (*a*) we see the Night-boat clearly personified as Nephtys, (*Nb.t-ht*), so in Utterance 518 we see the Day-boat personified as Isis (*Is.t*) ⁽³⁾ :—

1194 (*a*)  “He (the King) is the son of the Day-boat, to whom she gave birth over against the earth—his unblemished birth.

(*b*)  “whereby the Two Lands live on this west side of Osiris (*Wsir*).”

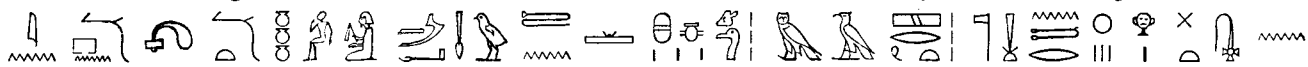
In the Middle Kingdom we find the idea of the personification of the two Solar-boats carried still further, and the names of the boats are given two determinatives, the first being the usual

⁽¹⁾ MORET, “*Sarcophages de l'Epoque Bubastite à l'Epoque Saïte*”, p. 18.

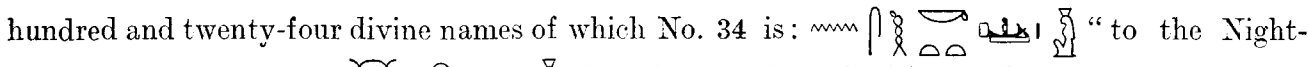
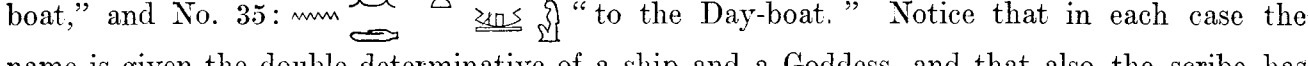
⁽²⁾ The sarcophagus of  (*ibid.* p. 217) gives an abridged version of this text, but substitutes the sign  for  and places it immediately after the word  to which it perhaps forms a determinative in the meaning of a mooring-post.

⁽³⁾ See BENDITE, “*Temple de Philae*”, Pl. L., where Isis (*Is.t*) receives the Day-boat into her hands, and Nephtys (*Nb.t-ht*) similarly receives the Night-boat.

one of a divine ship, while the second is the figure of a woman or goddess (1). In the New Kingdom the personification of the Solar-boats is so far developed that they had become like Goddesses, and as such are presented with divine offerings. This may be seen in the *Book of the Dead* (2) where a list is given of the gods to whom the deceased should present offerings. It reads:




“Behold, the Osiris Nw, the Overseer of the House of the Overseer of the Seal, Justified, presents offerings of bread, beer, oxen and geese, and burns incense to . . .” Here follows a list of one

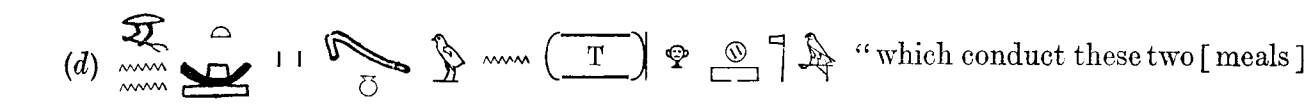
hundred and twenty-four divine names of which No. 34 is:  “to the Night-boat,” and No. 35:  “to the Day-boat.” Notice that in each case the name is given the double determinative of a ship and a Goddess, and that also the scribe has


differentiated between the forms of the two boats, a difference which we have already observed in regard to the boats of *Hj.f-R*. From the foregoing texts we can see that without the least doubt, the Egyptians believed in the existence of two Solar-boats one for day and one for night use, but at what particular hours of the day and night did this change of boats take place? The most usually accepted theory is that the transfer took place at the moments of sunrise and sunset, and this is indeed the most logical explanation (3). From the line 1479 of the *Pyramid Texts* quoted above, we have seen that the King passed the night sleeping in the Night-boat and that he was awake by day in the Day-boat, which is in favour of the theory that the change of vessels took place at dawn and sunset. Utterance 409 seems to throw further light upon the question; it reads:—

717 (a)  “Words spoken: This *Ttj* is the Bull of the Ennead;

(b)  “Lord of the things of five meals, three meals in Heaven and two meals on earth; [*cf.* lines 1072 (b) and 2156 (c)];

(c)  “it is the Night-boat and the Day-boat,

(d)  “which conduct these two [meals] to *Ttj*, from the Round *nhn*-building of the God (4).”

(1) See the sarcophagus of  (LACAU, “*Sarcophages Antérieur au Nouvel Empire*”, p. 174. For the New Kingdom, see CHAMPOLLION, “*Monument de l’Égypte, et de l’Nubie*”, p. 906.

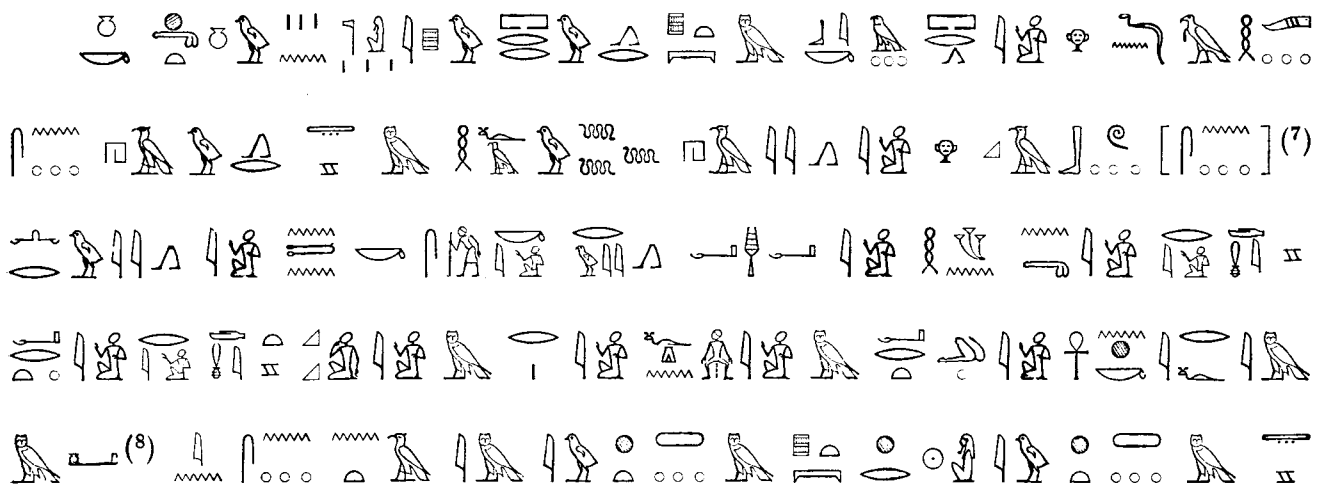
(2) Pap. *Nw. Ch.* CXLI. BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. II, p. 204, *f.*

(3) MULLER, (“*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 27) says that sometimes the Sun-god entered his Night-boat in the afternoon. This was not the case and his mistake is due to a misreading of the texts. Maspero also laboured under the same error, (see MASPERO, “*Dawn of Civilization*”, p. 90. This theory is contradicted and disproved by M. Chatelet (“*La Role des Deux Barques Solaires*”, B.I.F.A.O., Vol. XV, pp. 139–152). See also SETHE, “*Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne*”.

(4) That is from an earthly cult-city of the Sun-god, who is here simply referred to as “the God”, which is probably in Heliopolis, (SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. III, pp. 326, 327). We have a New Kingdom text which confirms Sethe’s opinion, and clearly states that this place is in Heliopolis (see below, p 100).

Here *Ttj* is promised five meals, perhaps customary to the Egyptians at that period. Of these meals, three were to be taken in Heaven, that is while travelling in the Solar-boat, and two were to be taken upon earth, and these latter, which were to be brought by the Day and Night boats give us a further proof for the answer to our question. It would seem that the Solar-boats when reaching the eastern and western mountains paused for a while⁽¹⁾. It was at these two points, then, when the boats touched the earth⁽²⁾ that the two earthly meals were taken, and we may reasonably suppose that it was also at this moment that the transference of the Sun-god from one boat to the other took place. This would explain the presence of the great monumental boats situated beside the royal pyramids, particularly those of *Hj-f-R*^c which are disposed prow to prow on the edge of the desert as though waiting in readiness for the transference to take place. It is in this very position that they later appear in those representations which depict this change taking place⁽³⁾. Of course, the New Kingdom scenes contain many allusions to the change of boats and the preparations made for it and exactly fix the hour at which these changes were made, namely during the twelfth hour of the day and the twelfth hour of the night⁽⁴⁾, the moments of sunrise and sunset, and this exactly confirms our theory for the Old Kingdom.

The texts concerning the presentation of the divine meals was evidently considered to be an important one for we find it retained in the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts*, where it occurs, for example, on the wooden sarcophagi of *Nht-j*⁽⁵⁾ and *Ht-ij*⁽⁶⁾ in the Cairo Museum. The text of *Nht-j* reads:—



(1) For a reference to the stoppage of the Solar-boat see the legend of the death of Horus (*Hr*) on the Metternich Stele. MULLER, "Egyptian Mythology", pp. 210, 211.

(2) See also the above-mentioned line (No. 1194), where the boat is said to have given birth to the King "over against the earth".

(3) See the Pyramidion of King *Hn-dr* (p. 148, Fig. 66) also in the tomb of Rameses VI. (PIANKOFF, "Le Livre du Jour. et de la Nuit", Pls. I, VIII.)

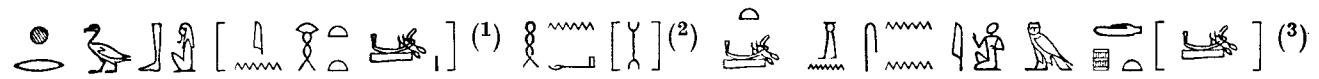
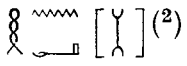


(4) See the sarcophagus of Seti (*St-j*) I, BUDGE, "Egyptian Heaven and Hell", Vol. II, p. 303.

(5) CHASSINAT, "Fouilles d'Assiout", p. 100.


(6) *ibid.* p. 130.

(7) Restored from the text of *Ht-ij*.

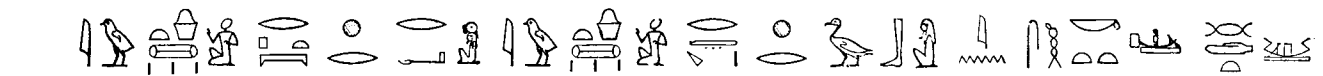
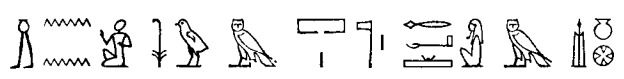
(8) The text of *Ht-ij* gives: 


⁽¹⁾  ⁽²⁾  ⁽³⁾
 "I am the third of those gods who mount always to the sky as falcons, (I mount on their wings), and who descend to the earth as serpents (I descend on their coils). I do not go to you bowing, I go to you while I am standing. My phallus is with me. I chew a chewing (?), I eat with my mouth, I evacuate with my hind parts ⁽⁴⁾. I live from where? It is those who are there (*i.e.* the dead) who have three meals in Heaven near *R'* and they have three meals on earth near *Gb*. They are the Night-boat and the Day-boat which bring them to me as the two divine boats belonging to *R'* every day."

The text of *Ht.jj* is almost similar, but mentions eight meals instead of six. Coming to the New Kingdom, we find the idea of the divine meals still retained, and many references to them occur in the *Book of the Dead* (as well as in other funerary literature). For instance, in *Ch.* LII B we read ⁽⁵⁾:—

 "I live from the seven meals that had been brought to me, four meals near *Horus (Hr)* and three meals near *Thoth (Dhwtj)*."


Here the meals near *Horus (Hr)*, a Solar-god, would be those taken by day, while those taken near *Thoth (Dhwtj)*, who was identified with the moon, would be the night meals. The Papyrus of *Nw (Ch.* LIII) goes back nearer to the ancient original, and gives (*ibid.* p. 165):—


 "My three meals are in Heaven with *R'*, my three meals are upon earth with *Gb*, for the Night-boat and the Day-boat have brought them to me from the House of the Great God who is in Heliopolis." A text on the Twelfth Dynasty stele of *Nhj* in the Cairo Museum mentions five meals, three of which are to be taken in heaven near *R'*, and two upon earth near the Ennead. This text has a parallel in *Ch.* 148 of the *Book of the Dead* (Eighteenth Dynasty); see BRUGSCH, "A.Z.", Vol. VI, pp. 17, 18).

Here the general idea remains the same, but the number of meals is increased from the ancient text, but varies in the different versions. We will now return again to the *Pyramid Texts*:—

UTTERANCE 262:—

333 (a)  "See! *Wnis*'s comes! See! *Wnis*'s comes! See! *Wnis*'s had mounted!"

(b)  "but *Wnis*'s came not of himself,

⁽¹⁾ Restored from the text of *M3't* line 22 (CHASSINAT, *ibid.* p. 120).

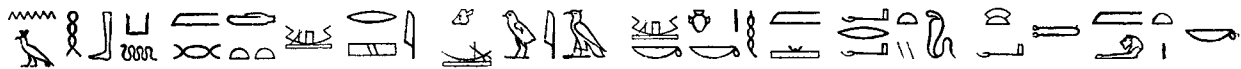
⁽²⁾ *ibid.* line 23.

⁽³⁾ *ibid.* line 23.

⁽⁴⁾ These two sentences are omitted from the text of *Ht.jj*.

⁽⁵⁾ BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", (Text), Vol. I, p. 161.

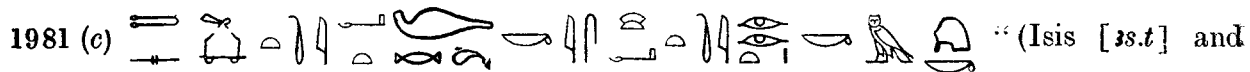
These lines are open to more than one interpretation. The two *Uraei*-serpents may be either the royal uraei which adorned the King's brow as emblems of royalty, as would seem to be their meaning in a New Kingdom text (1):—



“*Nhb-k3.w* is in the Day-boat being glad and your heart rejoices, and the two *Uraei*-Goddesses (Isis [*3s.t*] and Nephthys [*Nb.t-ht*]) appear upon your brow.”

On the other hand, the two serpents may mean the two eyes of the King or the God. In respect to this idea, Muller says (2): “Understood as a symbol of fire, this serpent (the uraeus) was originally thought to deck the forehead or occupy the ship of the solar or celestial god, but it was soon so closely identified with his flaming eye that ‘eye’ and ‘asp’ became synonymous. Thus, both eyes of the celestial god were identified with asps.”

Sometimes the Solar-boats themselves were thought of as being the eyes of the Sun-god as we may see from the following Utterance (No. 670) (text of *Nfr-k3-R*) :—



1981 (c) “(Isis [*3s.t*] and Nephthys [*Nb.t-ht*] will) fasten your limbs, and make your two eyes shine in your head,



1982 (a) “(which are) the Night-boat and the Day-boat.”

The connection between the eye, the uraeus and the Solar-boat is seen in a New Kingdom stele dedicated to the Goddess *Shm.t* (3) :—



Adoration, adoration to thy beautiful face, O Venerable Woman of the House of *Pth*, *Shm.t*, Great One, Mistress of the Sky, who is on the brow of *R* when she transports his Eye in the Great House of the [White] Wall (4). His Uraeus is in the House of Fire, who is on his seat (brow ?) in the Night-boat, who is with him in the Day-boat when she puts a stop to the return of *Neka* ? (5) approaching at the head of those who are with him (his companions). She has grasped the spear—*Shm.t*, Great One, loved by *Pth*, Mistress of the sky, Ruler of the Two Lands.”

(1) BUDGE, *ibid.* p. 5.

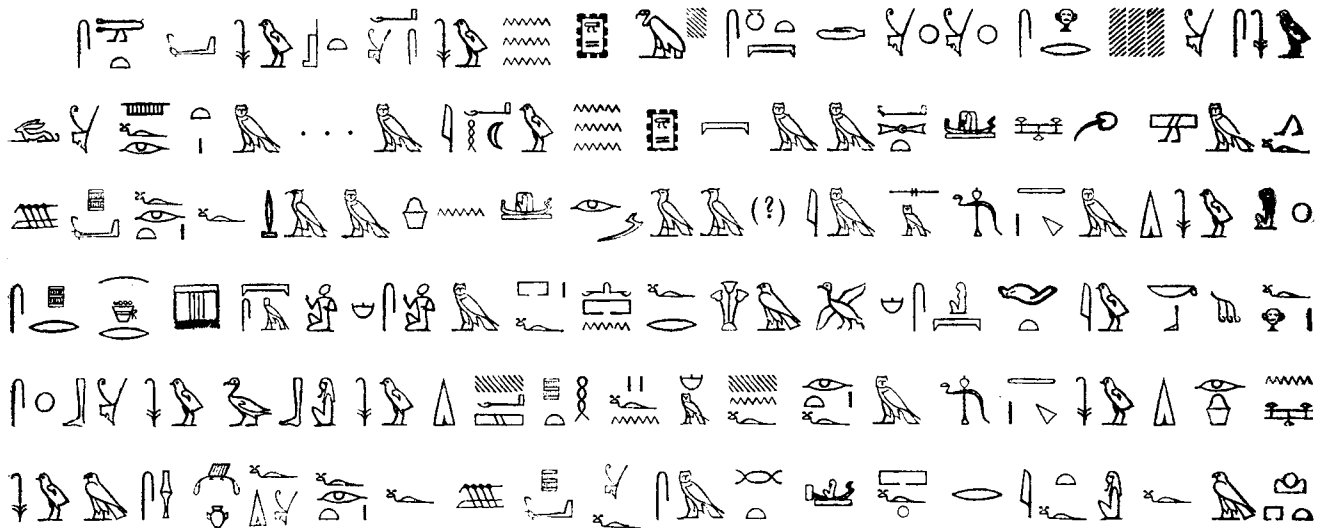
(2) MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, pp. 26, 29.

(3) PLATT, “*P.S.B.A.*”, Vol. XXXV, pp. 130, 131, Pl. XXXI.

(4) Memphis.

(5) A Serpent.

The connection between the divine eye and the Solar-boat was also incorporated into the legends of Horus (*Hr*). A fragment of one of these occurs on the Cenotaph of Seti (*St.j*) I at Abydos, and reads as follows ⁽¹⁾ :—



“Then Isis (*Is.t*) took him (*Horus*); she put him in her mother *Nwt* that she might protect [him]. She . . . him that he might open his eye . . . in the sky, in the morning-bark. It was that *Horus* (*Hr*) went that he might receive his eye in a sound condition in the morning-bark, that [he] might see with it in the morning when *R* showed himself . . . Then *Horus* (*Hr*) was mighty and his heart was glad (after his eye was given to him). He received it in (or as) the morning-bark that he might go forth to his father *Horakhty* ⁽²⁾.”

But to return to line 335 of the *Pyramid Texts* which we were discussing, it may bear yet another, and entirely different meaning. The first serpent, which is mentioned in connection with the Night-boat is the passive reptile, and this word $\overline{\text{sn}}$ *dt* can also mean a dead body. Therefore, when the text says that the King has seen his *uraeus*-serpent in the Night-boat, it may mean that he had seen his dead self travelling as the night-sun; while the erected serpent, determined by the active reptile reared up with outspread hood, may symbolize the living personality of the King in the Day-boat ⁽²⁾, and the remainder of the line fits this theory. In the first place the King merely travels passively in the Night-boat, but in the Day-boat he is actively engaged in the somewhat undignified task of bailing the water out of it, an action hardly befitting either the sanctity of the Solar-boat or the dignity of the royal passenger. In fact this line perhaps dates back to the time when the reed-float was just beginning to develop into the first primitive Naqadian boats, and no doubt these early attempts at shipbuilding were sadly unseaworthy, both from the flimsiness of their material and the simplicity of their design. As Breasted hints ⁽³⁾, it was probably quite usual for passengers who had not paid their fare to “work a passage” over the ferry by bailing out the water, while the ferryman managed the craft.

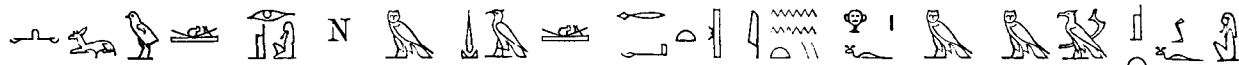
⁽¹⁾ FRANKFORT, “*The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*”, Vol. I, pp. 84, 85, Vol. II, Pls. LXXXIV, LXXXV and also translation.

⁽²⁾ This interpretation also agrees with the Old Kingdom names of the boats themselves.

⁽³⁾ BREASTED, “*The Dawn of Conscience*”, p. 67.

But the very idea that the divine ferry-boat needed bailing out shows us that like ordinary vessels, it was considered to be somewhat at the mercy of the elements (1). This idea is further developed in the New Kingdom where we find references to the Solar-boats threatened with shipwreck.

In *Ch. CXXX* of the *Book of the Dead* we see (2) :—



“ Let not the Osiris (*Wsr*) N be shipwrecked on the Great Voyage by “ He-whose-face-is-in-his-own-lap.”

This line, which deals with the natural perils of any ship, is not to be confused with the perils encountered in the *Dst* from the attacks of giant serpents, such as *ʿpp* and his legions of demons. These adventures, which formed a favourite theme with the Editors of the Middle and New Kingdom texts, occur mostly to the Night-boat. In this connection we have a passage in a magic spell which mentions the dire possibility that the Solar-boat may founder upon the spine of *ʿpp*. (See GARDINER, “*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*”, Vol. I, p. 59). Our *Pyramid Texts* continue :—

336 (a) “The Glorified Men had testified him,

(b) “the showers of hail of heaven had taken him away with them, therefore, they let *Wnis* mount to *R*.”

Here is another inference that the deceased was subjected to some kind of scrutiny before he could be admitted to the Solar-boat. In this case he has to obtain the favourable recognition of the Glorified Men, who may be his courtiers, ministers and relatives, who had known him during his life (3). In Utterance 270 *Wnis* puts forth several good reasons why he should be granted a passage to Heaven, and for one of them he says :—

386 (a) “There is no accuser among the living against *Wnis*, there is no accuser among the dead against *Wnis* ;

(b) “there is no accuser among the geese against *Wnis*, there is no accuser among the oxen against *Wnis* (4).”


(1) It shows, moreover, that there is no wonder that in the beginning the King was using the simple reed-floats of which this ferry was a poor development.


(2) BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 167.

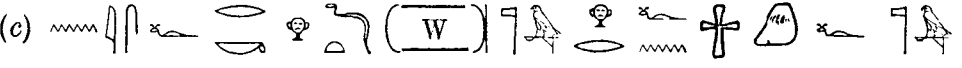
(3) This seems to be another confirmation of the classical tradition which states that the dead King's actions were judged upon earth before he was granted the right of burial (see also p. 105).

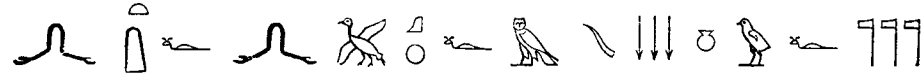
(4) Here the goose, the commonest bird in the Egyptian farmyard perhaps represents domestic fowl in general, while the ox, the most familiar of the domestic animals, may symbolize tame animals in general. In the Westcar Papyrus it is these same two creatures which were demanded by the magician *Dd-j* when he wished to perform his famous trick of replacing a decapitated head before King *Hwfw*. After refusing the offer of a human subject, *Dd-j* first asked for a goose, and after successfully performing his miracle upon it, repeated the experiment upon an ox, with the same success. Here again the ox and goose seem to represent the brute creation in general (see ERMAN, “*Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*”, pp. 42, 43). These creatures are also the traditional sources of the principal flesh foods in the offering-lists, from very ancient times (see “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. V, pp. 116, 117).


From this it seems clear that some kind of test of character was required from the intending passenger ; and it recalls the statement made by Diodorus (I, 72) that at a royal funeral any person was at liberty to make accusation against the dead King, and that only if he was proved to have been a good and blameless ruler, his body could receive honourable burial. This statement has been generally discredited by scholars, nevertheless this line would suggest that such a custom was not entirely unknown to the Egyptians ; for here we are plainly told that *Wni's* had not been accused by the living, the dead or the brute creation. If the foregoing line suggests that only the righteous could embark upon the Solar-boat, the following Utterance (No. 307) plainly shows that the wrong-doer would be denied a passage :—


484 (a)  “ Every god who would hinder his (the King's) arm to be outstretched,

(b)  “ when the face of *Wni's* is turned in order to praise you at morn,

(c)  “ and to call you by himself, O God, while he is alive (1), O God,

(d)  “ he (2) should have no bread, he should have no cakes, together with his brothers the gods ;”

485 (a)  “ who should not dart a darting, who should not mount (a woman) in passion, together with his brothers,

(b)  “ to whom will not be opened the doors of the Night-boat, to whom will not be opened the doors of the Day-boat,

(1) *Lit.* “ by means of his nose ”, the nose being regarded as the important organ, by means of which we draw in the breath of life.

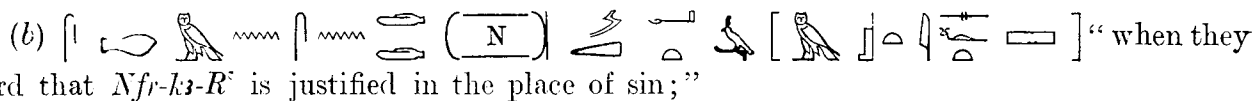
(2) The hostile God is meant here.

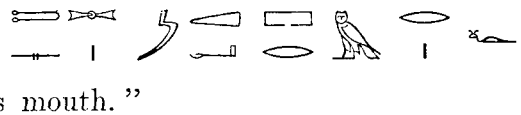
to you there as *Rurwtj*. I mount in the Night-boat and I descend in the Day-boat (1), and I judge those sailors of *R* who are in the Day-boat at the time of evening."

The same idea is seen in another text of the same period (DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 201, Spell 46).

Finally, although they do not connect the Judgment with the Solar-boats, the following passages from the *Pyramid Texts*, make quite clear that there was a Judgment which took place in the Other World and to which the King was subjected and in which he was forced to defend himself like any ordinary accused person. Thus, we read in Utterance 627:—

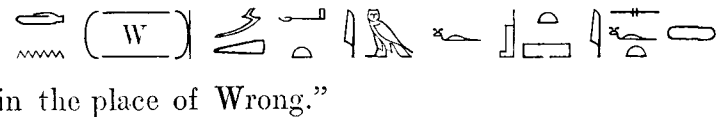
1775 (a)  "The sky is in joy, the earth is in pleasure,

(b)  "when they heard that *Nfr-k3-R* is justified in the place of sin;"

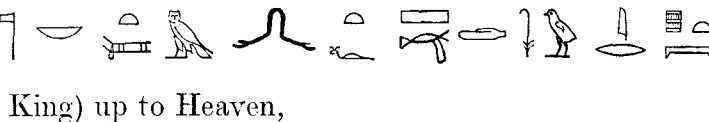
1776 (b)  "because of the justified speeches that came out of his mouth."

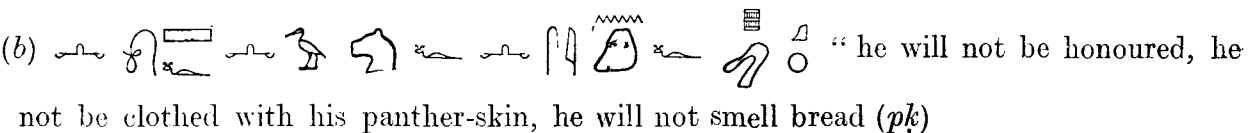
And the same theme appears in Utterance 249:—

265 (b)  "*Wni's* came out of the Island of Flame (2),

(c)  "after *Wni's* had placed in it the Right in the place of Wrong."

Here the Judgment seems to take place in a locality called the "Island of Flame" which is the place where the sun first came into being in order to give light to the world, according to the teachings of the Hermopolitan priesthood (3). The following texts place the Judgment in the Palace of *Horus* (*Hr*) and confirm what we have already seen in line 484 concerning a trial and punishment for churlish, unruly gods or spirits. Thus, in Utterance 485 we see:—

1027 (a)  "Every god who will not take him (the King) up to Heaven,

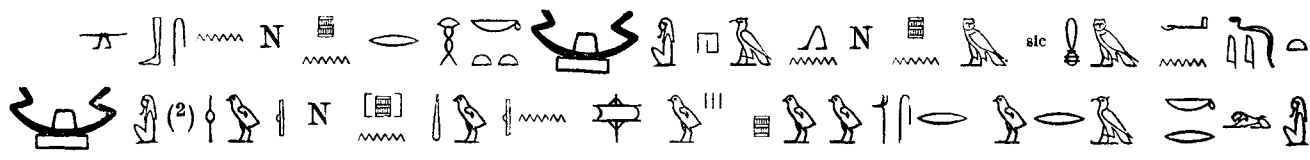
(b)  "he will not be honoured, he will not be clothed with his panther-skin, he will not smell bread (*pk*)


(1) This is another example of the reversal of the roles of the Solar-boats.

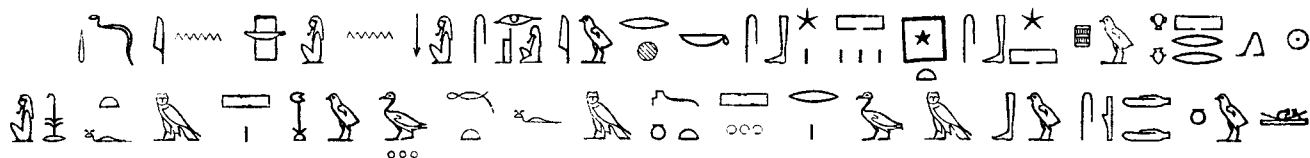
(2) For later ideas concerning the "Island of Flames", see p. 304.

(3) See SETHE, "Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis", Par. 95, pp. 49, 50.


At first glance this utterance seems confused, but in reality it is not so. The deceased is benefiting the crew and passengers of both Solar-boats by claiming to bring them the wind. For the Day-boat the wind needs no explanation, it is to propel the boat. But this is evidently a conventional solar-text and thus the wind mentioned is from the east which will propel the Day-boat directly across the sky to the western mountain of sunset. On the other hand, the cooler west wind is for the benefit of the Night-boat which is to travel in the windless, airless underworld. Here the wind is not so much for the means of navigating the boat as for the refreshment of the denizens of the Underworld, even of the great god *Itm* himself. This latter idea is still more clearly set forth in another Coffin Text of the same period ⁽¹⁾:—

 "This N went into the Night-boat, this N descends in the Day-boat; this N ordered this strong wind into the *skr* ⁽²⁾ in order to live after death like *R*^c every day."

From this text we can see that the Underworld was devoid of air which had to be introduced into it from outside, and thus the Night-boat had no need or use for sails (therefore, it was said to ). Another Coffin Text from the Middle Kingdom is even more explicit on this subject (SETHE, "A.Z.", Vol. 58, Pl. 33):—

 "Said by Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*) to her brother Osiris (*Wsir*): 'I know this door of the *Dst*, this middle door from which *R*^c always comes forth, whose south is the Lake of Thousands of Geese, and whose north is the flood of the *R3* geese, in the place where *R*^c has navigated with oars and sail.'"

In the foregoing quoted text, *R*^c is said to require oars and sail to propel the Solar-boat when once it has left *Dst*, where it has presumably been towed. In the New Kingdom this idea is still maintained, and in the Papyrus *Knn3* we read ⁽⁴⁾:—

 "O Night-boat, go down! *R*^c advances in the Day-boat with fair winds."

⁽¹⁾ *ibid.* p. 176, Spell 143.


⁽²⁾ Notice that the Solar-boat has two determinatives, a ship and a divine being (see above, p. 98).

⁽³⁾ The *skr* is here used to denote the *Dwt* or Underworld.

⁽⁴⁾ BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", (Text), Vol. I, pp. 3-4.

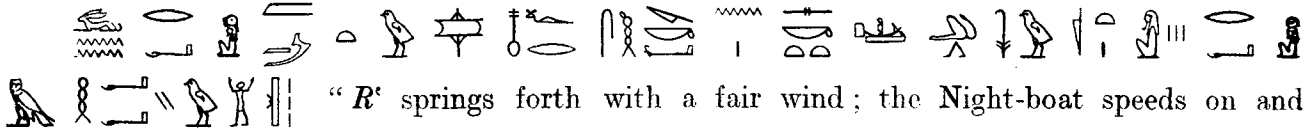
⁽⁵⁾ Here is a play upon the name of the boat and the verb *sk* "to go down" and this gives us further proof of the real meaning of the name of the Night-boat.

This text tells us that the Night-boat is to go down to the meeting-place, presumably to the western mountain, to meet *R'* who is sailing thither in the Day-boat before a fair wind. Again we read, this time in the Papyrus *snjj* ⁽¹⁾ :—



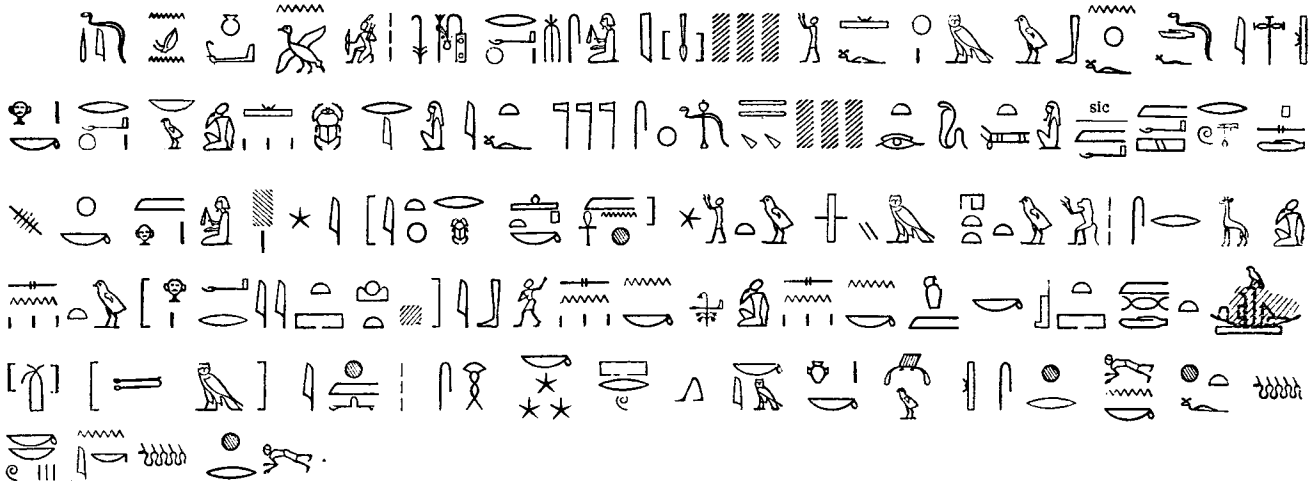
“ You journey to your setting in the Night-boat, and your heart is glad ; the Day-boat has fair winds, its heart is rejoiced. ”

The same idea is expressed further on in the papyrus of *snjj* ⁽²⁾ :—



“ *R'* springs forth with a fair wind ; the Night-boat speeds on and reaches the haven, the crew of *R'* are in exultation. ”

We have just seen that there was no wind in the Underworld, and that in any case, the Night-boat was said to travel in a direction contrary to the prevailing wind of the north, therefore, we may ask by what means it was propelled ? Of course, the most obvious answer supplied by the *Pyramid Texts* is that it was rowed by the Indefatigable Stars, as we have already seen. But this is a combined Stellar-solar idea, and we have indications that the believers in the Osirian faith thought otherwise. In line 1347(a), (b)—which is clearly of Osirian origin — we are told that the Solar-boat was towed by Isis (*is.t*). Now this is an unseemly occupation for a Goddess and we do not find such an idea stressed upon ; nevertheless, the conception of a crew towing the Night-solar boat was retained and much developed in the later periods, and we find that it is said to be towed by the Indefatigable and Imperishable Stars, by jackals, by jackals assisted by Gods and by various gods. We have already seen *Ppjj* I assisting the Imperishable Stars to row the Solar-boat through the night, ⁽³⁾ now we shall see them on a stele in the Berlin Museum ⁽⁴⁾ :—



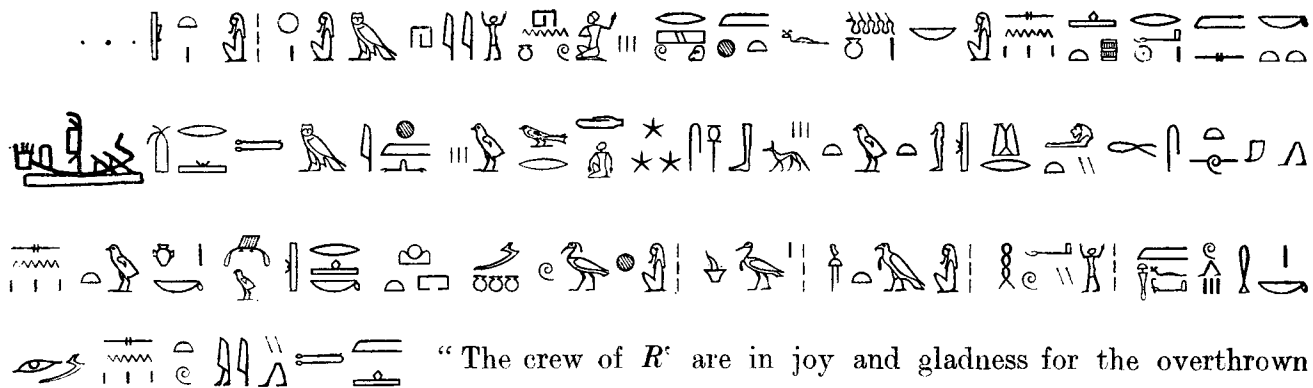
After an opening address of adoration to the Sun-god, the text reads : “ The Apes (the spirits of the Horizon) praise you, they announce you at the gate of the Horizon, they dance for you, they sing for you when you take your place in the Day-boat which is equipped with the Imperishable Stars. You go, glad of heart, after you had cast down all your enemies . . . ”

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, *ibid.* p. 36.

⁽²⁾ BUDGE, *ibid.* p. 45.

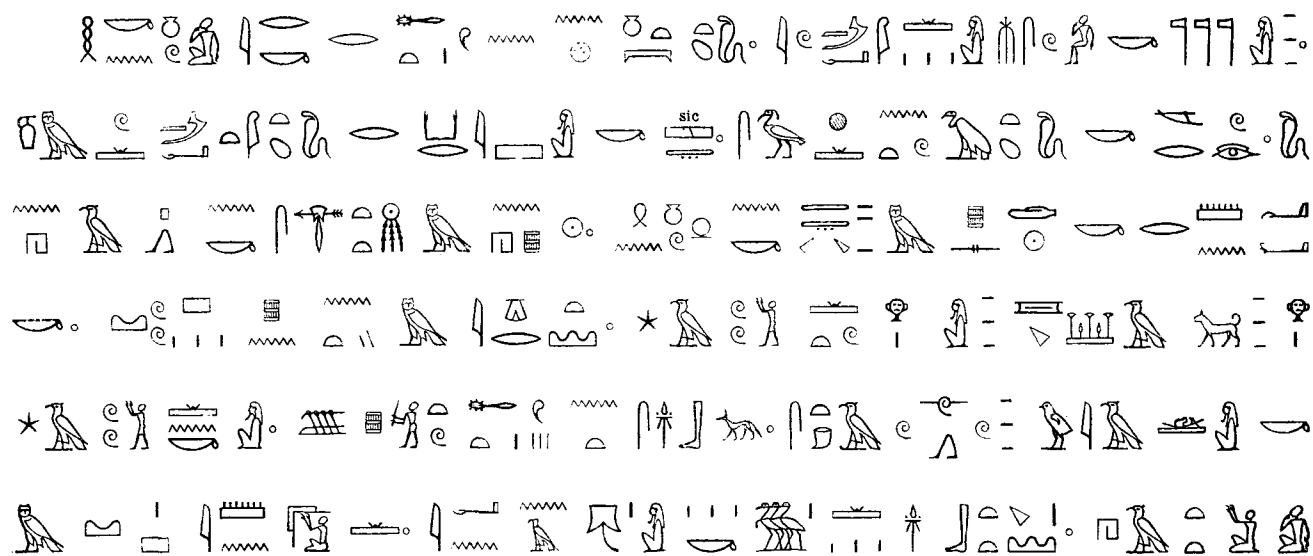
⁽³⁾ See above, p. 45.

⁽⁴⁾ ROEDER, “ *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* ”, Vol. II, pp. 132-133.



“The crew of *R'* are in joy and gladness for the overthrown enemy of their Master (*R'*), when *R'* descends in the Night-boat, which is equipped with the Indefatigable Stars. The jackals which ought to haul (the ship by night) are gathered together under the prow-rope (of the ship); they tow you, thus your heart is glad, until you go down in the Horizon of the *Mnw*-Mountain. The Spirits, the Souls and the Westerners ⁽¹⁾ are joyful when Your Majesty draws near and they see you arrive happy.”

From this text it is clear that the jackals are only supposed to tow the boat at the beginning of the night journey, that is to say, from the moment that *R'* descends into the Night-boat, until it disappears below the western mountain of *Mnw*. In the *Book of Gates*, according to the version appearing on the sarcophagus of Seti I (*Stj*) ⁽²⁾, this western mountain figures in the first division of the night, but does not properly belong to the Underworld and is a region of twilight—neither darkness nor daylight, in fact just such a locality as one would expect to find jackals inhabiting. In the representation of Seti (*Stj*) no jackals are accompanying the Solar-boat, but a jackal-headed standard is set up upon one end of the mountain. The Harris Magical Papyrus V states that during the night the Solar-boat was drawn by jackals in a mountain to a hidden place. This statement occurs in a long hymn to *R'* which reads (LANGE, “*Der Magische Papyrus Harris*”, p. 39):—



(1) Notice the distinction made between the Spirits $\text{Ⓞ} \text{Ⓜ}$ *šw*, Souls $\text{Ⓞ} \text{Ⓜ}$ *Bšw*, and Westerners $\text{Ⓜ} \text{Ⓜ}$ *imntjw*.
 (2) BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”, Vol. II, p. 81.

CONCLUSIONS

From a study of the above-mentioned texts and representations we can say that:—

(1) From the time of the Old Kingdom onwards, the Solar-boats were thought to need propulsion like any ordinary vessel.

(2) Both Day and Night-boats were sometimes rowed by means of oars, this operation being carried out by the King (the deceased), the Imperishable Stars (for the Day-boat), the Indefatigable Stars (for the Night-boat), or by the Ennead, or even by *R'* himself.


(3) Sometimes the Day-boat was fitted with a sail.

(4) In the *Pyramid Texts* the Solar-boat is towed by Isis (*ist*) and steered by Neptlys (*Nb.t-ht*); in the New Kingdom both Solar-boats could be towed by the Indefatigable and Imperishable Stars (assisted by the King), by jackals, by jackals and gods, or by the Four Sons of Horus (*Hr*), and the steering is in the charge of Horus (*Hr*)⁽¹⁾, *Hk3* or *Hrp-wi3*.

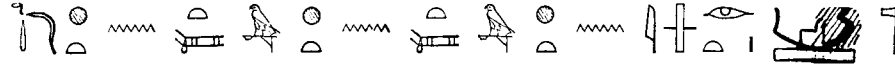
The Cargo of the Solar-Boat

In addition to the Divine passengers (*see* p. 119, *ff.*) and crew, the Solar-boats also carried a cargo as we may see by the following Utterance (No. 513) (text of *Ppjj*):—

1172 (a)  “You take the cargo of the Night-boat,

(b)  “and you become a spirit in the *Dst*.”

Now of what did this cargo consist? Utterance 409 has already told us that the Solar-boat had brought the deceased two meals from the Round *nhn*-Building of the God (*see* p. 98), and in Utterance 208 we see (text of *Nfr-k3-R'*):—



124 (e)  “Words spoken: A meal for me, O *Itm*, a meal for me, O *Itm*! A meal for me from what is in the Divine *Imj-ir.t* ship⁽²⁾.”

We can, therefore, have no doubt that the cargo referred to above consisted of food and drink offerings, and this supposition is amply borne out by the later texts, for in addition

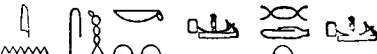
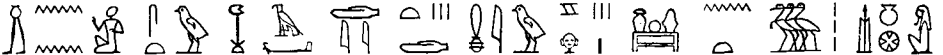
⁽¹⁾ For a text mentioning Horus (*Hr*) as a helmsman, *see* p. 126.

⁽²⁾ *See* SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. I, p. 307.

to those texts of the Middle and New Kingdoms dealing with the earthly and heavenly meals (which we have already discussed above), we read in the Papyrus *Nw* (1):—


 “For my bread is of the white corn and my beer is of the red corn. It is the Night-boat and the Day-boat which bring them to me, and I feed upon them under the foliage of the tamarisk.”

Another line from the same papyrus reads (2):—

“My bread is from the white corn, my beer is from the red corn 
 “It is the Night-boat and the Day-boat which have brought me the food and clothing which are upon the altar of the Souls of Heliopolis.”

This final line is very significant, for it would suggest that the offerings made on earth to the Souls of Heliopolis (ancient dead kings) were transferred to the Solar-boat, where they provided food and clothing for the deceased. Perhaps this was also the ultimate destiny of offerings presented to the Solar-boats themselves (see p. 98). We, therefore, may say both Night and Day-boats carried a cargo consisting of food, drink and clothing for the refreshment and use of the passengers who travelled therein.

THE GODS FOUND IN THE SOLAR-BOATS

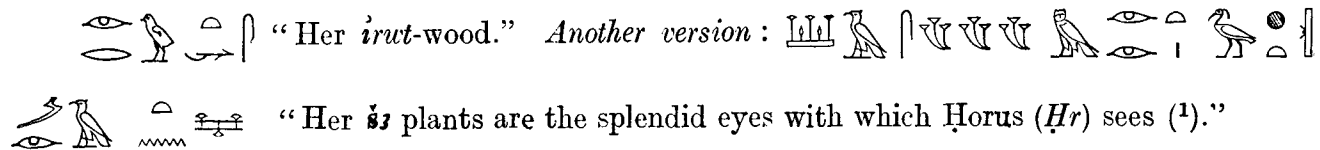
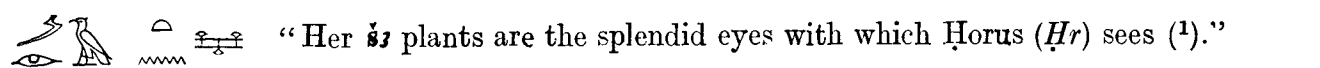
R'.—Naturally, the god most frequently mentioned as a passenger in the Solar-boats during the Old Kingdom is *R'*, but nevertheless he is never, so far as we know at present, represented there in anthropomorphic form. We may hazard a guess that he, as well as *Horus (Hr)* and *Hr-sh.t-j* are symbolized by each or any of the sacred emblems in the boats, which we have already studied. Apparently the first time that we see *R'* actually represented in connection with the Solar-boat is upon the Pyramidion of King *Hn-dr* (see pp. 147, 148), (3) where he is represented in human form and is—according to Jequier's restoration, which is almost certainly correct—hawk-headed. But coming to the New Kingdom we find countless representations of *R'* in the Solar-boat, in fact they are almost too numerous to need special mention, and I merely give a few examples in order to show the different forms under which this great God was imagined in his connection with the Solar-boat.


(1) BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. II, p. 116.

(2) BUDGE, *ibid.* p. 84.

(3) JEQUIER, “*Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire*”, p. 21 (see also Fig. 66, of this volume).

Sometimes the eye is painted upon the hull of the boat, as in Figs. 40, 46, 51; these eyes are explained in the *Middle Kingdom Text* of Ch. 99 of the *Book of the Dead* (GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 186) as being:—


 “Her *irwt*-wood.” Another version: 
 “Her *sz* plants are the splendid eyes with which Horus (*Hr*) sees (1).”

But to return again to the tangible forms of *R'*, we may see him as the night Sun-god—when he is called  *Ifw*, the dead flesh of *R'*—(see BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”, III, p. 106) represented as a ram-headed man crowned with a Solar-disk and standing within a

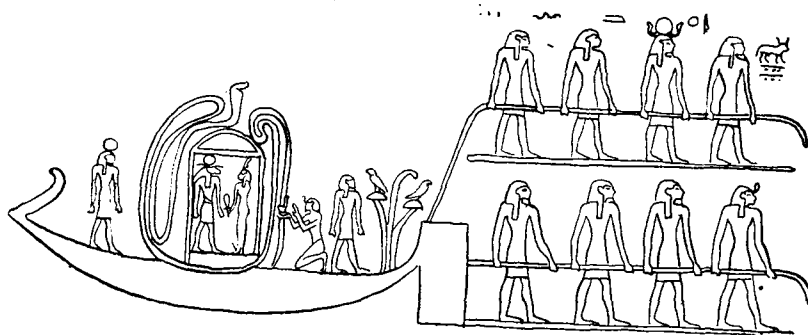


FIG. 43.—*R'* AS A RAM-HEADED MAN IN THE SOLAR-BOAT

naos (Fig. 43) (2), or without the Solar-disk and seated (Fig. 44) (3). The night Sun-god may also appear as a mummified hawk lying upon—supposedly in—a sarcophagus (4). On the other hand, some persons preferred to represent the Sun-god as a simple Solar-disk placed amidships in the

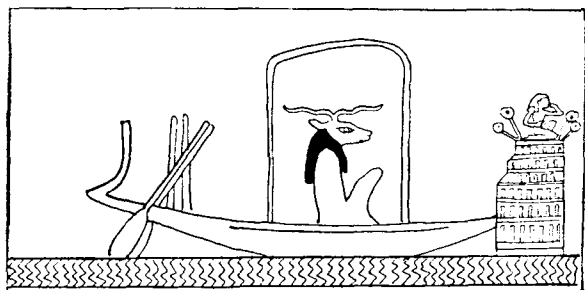


FIG. 44.—*R'* AS A RAM-HEADED MAN IN THE SOLAR-BOAT



FIG. 45

boat, as we see in Fig. 45 (5), where the Solar-boats are also arranged prow to prow in the classical manner. Sometimes we get a double representation which shows the god as a hawk-headed man

(1) For these eyes upon the hull of the boat, see *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XIX, p. 213.

(2) LEPEBURE, “*Hypogees Royaux de Thebes*”, Vol. II, Pl. XXVII.

(3) PAP. *Mut-hip*, NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, Vol. I, Pl. CLXXXVII, A, f.

(4) MORET, “*Sarcophages de l'Epoque Bubastite à l'Epoque Saite*”, Pl. XXXIX.

(5) PAP. *Nw.*, BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (translation), p. 390.

crowned with a Solar-disk, and before him in the boat is a large disk (Fig. 46) (1). Or the Solar-disk may be used to replace the cabin amidships as in Fig. 48. Sometimes the boat may contain one large disk, the sun, and a smaller one, the moon, as in Fig. 47 (2).

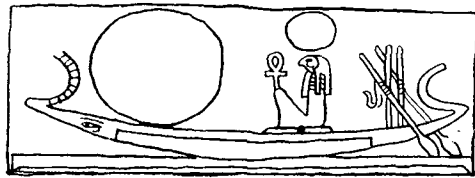



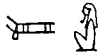

FIG. 46



FIG. 47

Itm.—We have seen in line 1982 (a) and (b) of the *Pyramid Texts* that *Itm* had given the Solar-boats to Osiris (*Wsir*) after they had been made by the Ennead. A further connection between *Itm* and these vessels is also noticeable in line 124 (e), where the dead is praying to *Itm* for a meal from the divine boat. Thus, we find *Itm* connected with the Solar-boats in the *Pyramid Texts*, although he is not expressly mentioned as a passenger therein. Nevertheless, in his character as god of the Night-sun, we should at least expect to find him occupying the Night-boat. This omission seems to be a further proof that *Itm* was originally a separate deity to *R*. But with the characteristic inconsistency of the Egyptian religious texts in general, we see that though the *Pyramid Texts* fail to expressly name *Itm* as a passenger in the Solar-boat, he, by inference, was said to travel therein, for, as we have already seen above, line 1250 tells us that the King will be rowed by the Ennead, and as *Itm* was their chief, then he must also be in the ship with them! Perhaps we may say that as *Itm* was originally a different god, to *R* there was no question of him occupying the Solar-boat. But as he gradually became fused with *R*, particularly in his character of the Night-sun, he also became connected with the Solar-boats, until in the Middle Kingdom he is found represented in an interesting scene, where he appears as the sole occupant of the Night-boat on the Pyramidion of King *Hn-dr* (see p. 148, Fig. 66). From the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts*, we get the following line (3) :—



 "The Goddess *Wn-nwt* will make firm your head; you take your  sceptre in the Night-boat, and *Itm* announces to you all the ways."

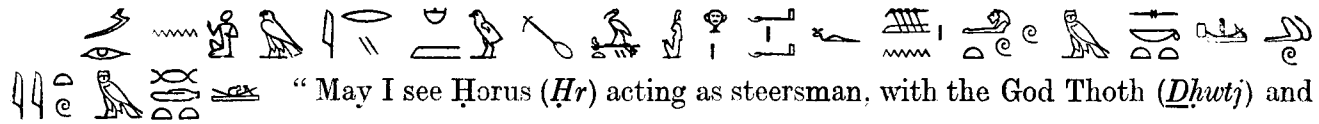
By the time of the New Kingdom the fusion of *R* and *Itm* was quite complete, therefore it is not surprising to find him appearing as sole occupant of the Solar-boat. A vignette from the

(1) BUDGE, *ibid.* (translation), p. 404.


(2) TURIN PAP., BUDGE, *ibid.* p. 439.

(3) DE BUCK, "The Egyptian Coffin Texts", Vol. I, p. 210, Spell 47, B 16 C.


Sun-god's rule, but more probably means the unvarying, ordered course of the vessel. For instance, in the Papyrus of *mnj* we read (1):—

 “ May I see Hōrus (*Hr*) acting as steersman, with the God Thoth (*Dhwtj*) and the Goddess *M̄s't* one on each side of him; may I grasp the bows of the Night-boat and the stern of the Day-boat.”

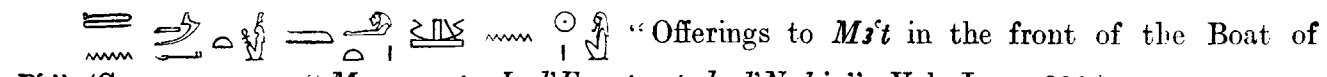
In another line from the same Papyrus we are told the functions of Thoth (*Dhwtj*) and *M̄s't* in the Solar-boats (2):—

 “ Adore ye him in his beautiful form at his rising in the Day-boat. They who dwell in Heaven and they who dwell on earth praise you. The God Thoth (*Dhwtj*) and the Goddess *M̄s't* have written down what is necessary for you daily and every day.”

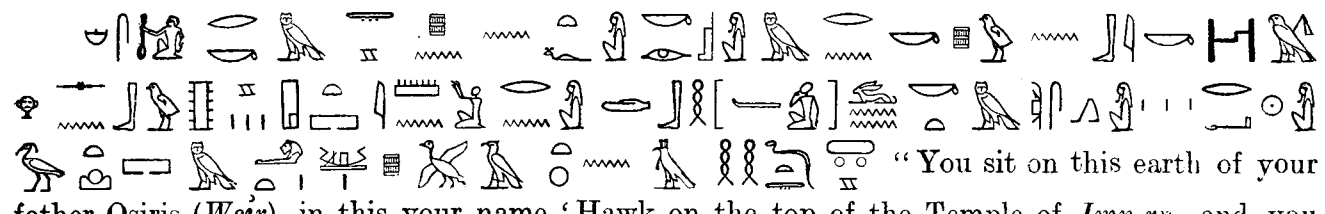
According to the ideas expressed in the Papyrus of *mnj*, the course of the Solar-boat was mapped out by Wisdom (personified by the wise god Thoth (*Dhwtj*) and Righteousness and Established Order (personified by *M̄s't*), an idea which beautifully expresses the unswerving regularity and beneficial influence of the Sun's course across the Heavens, and occurring in this place, affords a glimpse of profound thinking and poetical expression among the jumble of superstitious magical texts which largely make up the *Book of the Dead*. Yet another text from the same work reads(3):—

 “ It is granted that the Osiris (*Wsir*) N shall accompany *M̄s't* at the front part of the Great Boat, and hold up *M̄s't* (4) among the Council of Gods.”

A text in the Ramesseum, giving a list of Gods and divine beings to whom offerings are to be presented, mentions:—

 “ Offerings to *M̄s't* in the front of the Boat of *R*.” (CHAMPOLLION, “*Monuments de l'Egypte et de l'Nubie*”, Vol. I, p. 906.)

In the Middle Kingdom the deceased had also coveted a place in the bows of the divine ship, but instead of being in the company of *M̄s't* he mentions the followers of *R* in general (5):—

 “ You sit on this earth of your father Osiris (*Wsir*), in this your name ‘Hawk on the top of the Temple of *Imn-rn*, and you pray to be a young man among the followers of *R* of the Horizon in the front part of the ship of the Primeval, for ever eternally.”

(1) BUDGE, *ibid.* (Text), Vol. I, pp. 2, 3.

(2) BUDGE, *ibid.* p. 2.

(3) NAVILLE. *Ch. XXX, Lc.* p. 340.

(4) *M̄s't* is here to be understood in the abstract quality of righteousness.

(5) LACAU, “*Textes Religieux Egyptiens*”, p. 41.

The representations of the New Kingdom and late periods frequently show us *M3̄.t* occupying a prominent place in bows of the Solar-boat, as mentioned above. On a sarcophagus from Deir-el-Bahari⁽¹⁾ we get two representations of Solar-boats, and in each of them *M3̄.t* is represented standing in the bows. In a representation from the Temple of Edfu (Fig 49)⁽²⁾, we see Horus (*Hr*) the Child upon the summit of the bow-post, and immediately behind him Horus (*Hr*) the Elder. Then comes *M3̄.t* who stands behind a sphinx upon a standard. She is followed by Isis (*3s.t*) or *Ht-Hr* (?)⁽³⁾, while Thoth (*Dhwtj*) faces the Solar-disk which contains *Hpr* in the form of a scarab. On a sarcophagus of the Saitic Period (Cairo Museum, No. 41029)⁽⁴⁾, *M3̄.t* and Thoth (*Dhwtj*) appear together in the Solar-boat (Fig 53). In the Brocklehurst



Sarcophagus of  No 41029.

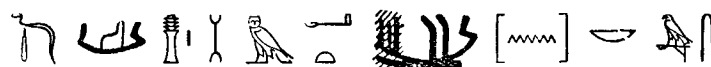
FIG. 53


Pap. No. 2 (Fig. 54)⁽⁵⁾, we see an unnamed goddess kneeling in the bows of the boat and holding the old symbol of the boomerang.



FIG. 54

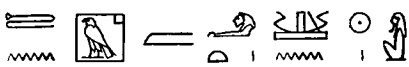
Isis (*3st.*) and Nephys. (*Nb.t-ht*)—We have already seen Isis (*3st*) and Nephys (*Nb.t-ht*) identified with the Solar-boats (Utterances 216, 222), but in Utterance 532 the two Goddesses are described as using the Day-boat in their search for the body of Osiris (*Wsr*). The passage reads (text of *Nfr-k3-R*):—

1255 (a)  “Words spoken: The pillar of the Day-boat is unfastened by its Master;

(b)  “the pillar of the Day-boat is unfastened by He who is behind it;

⁽¹⁾ CHASSINAT, “*La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*”, Pls. XI, XII.

⁽²⁾ CHASSINAT, “*La Temple d'Edjou*”, Vol. III, Pl. XLVII.

⁽³⁾ The text from the Ramesseum quoted above also gives:  “Offerings to *Ht-Hr* ... the front of the Boat of *R*”; CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* p. 906).

⁽⁴⁾ MORET, “*Sarcophages de l'Époque Bubastite à l'Époque Saïte*”, Pls. XXXI, XXXII.

⁽⁵⁾ RENOUF, “*Life Work*”, Vol. IV, Pl. XXVII.

quoted above, we have additional evidence in the Papyrus of *Swtj-ms*, where, in a hymn to Osiris (*Wsir*), we read (1):—



“Homage to thee, O Thou august God, thou mighty and beneficent Being, thou Prince of Eternity, who art in thy place in the Night-boat, thou whose risings are manifold in the Day-boat, to thee are praises rendered in Heaven and upon earth.”

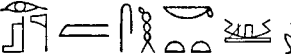
Here we see Osiris (*Wsir*) completely filling the role of *R'* in the Solar-boat and to such an extent that we might almost mistake the hymn for a Solar one. In a papyrus of the Saitic Period (2), we have a chapter of the *Book of the Dead* (*Ch. CXLII*) which—among other things—would enable the deceased to “know the names of Osiris (*Wsir*) in every place where he chooses to be (3)”. The text, which is divided into six sections, each containing twenty-four lines, enumerates the various names of Osiris (*Wsir*), one of which is:  “Osiris (*Wsir*) in the Night-boat (4).”

Fig. 58 shows an illustration from the Turin Papyrus in which the deceased is poling along the Solar-boat towards Osiris (*Wsir*) (5). This should be the Day-boat, in which the Sun-god is represented merely by a hawk's head in the bows, but is accompanied by his soul, in the form of the sacred *Bnmw*-bird of Heliopolis. Here Osiris (*Wsir*) typifies the ultimate goal of the god and the deceased, and at the same time symbolizes the West and the Underworld in which the two travellers will descend.

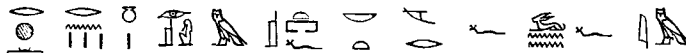


FIG. 58.—SOLAR-BOAT PROPELLED BY THE DECEASED TOWARDS OSIRIS (*Wsir*)

The Heliopolitan Ennead.—In addition to the gods already mentioned, we have seen the Ennead described in the *Pyramid Texts* as rowing the divine boat, and in the New Kingdom we find these gods represented as occupying the Solar-boat, though not actually rowing it. But this means that for the Old Kingdom we must also include as occupants of the Solar-boat, not only *R'*, *Itm Hpri*, *Hr-3h.t.j*, *Horus (Hr)*, *Hw*, *Sis*, Osiris (*Wsir*), Isis (*Is.t*), Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*) and *Nht-ntw* (Wish of the Gods), but also *Sw*, *Tfn.t*, *Gb*, *Nwt* and *St*, the latter divinities being the remainder of the Heliopolitan Ennead. For obvious reasons, the last-named was usually excluded when these gods are represented in the New-Kingdom scenes, but not always, as we shall see presently. In the Papyrus *Nb-sn-j* (5) we have a representation of the deceased and his wife in adoration before the Solar-boat, on the bow-post of which is perched a crowned hawk, as we have already seen

(1) BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. III, pp. 109-110.

(2) *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 206, ff.

(3)  (*ibid.* p. 212).

(4) *ibid.* p. 214, No. 54.

(5) BUDGE, *ibid.* (translation), p. 389.

(6) BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Translation), Pl. IV.

upon the archaic fragment (1) (Fig. 59). In the boat are the gods *Sw*, *Tfn.t*, *Gb*, *Nwt*, Osiris (*Wsr*), Isis (*Is.t*), Horus (*Hr*) and *Ht-Hr*. A similar scene occurs upon a papyrus of the Saitic Period (2), where in addition to the deceased the crowned hawk and the gods, the boat also

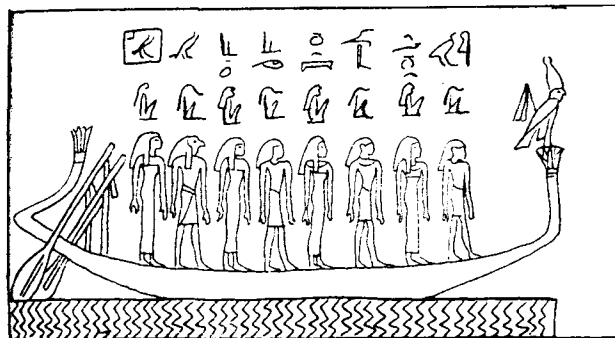


FIG. 59.—THE ENNEAD IN THE SOLAR-BOAT

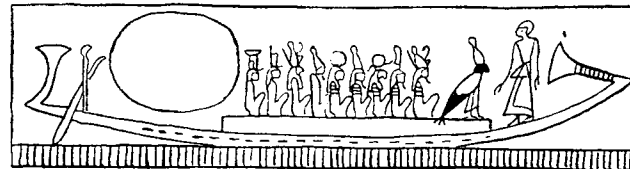
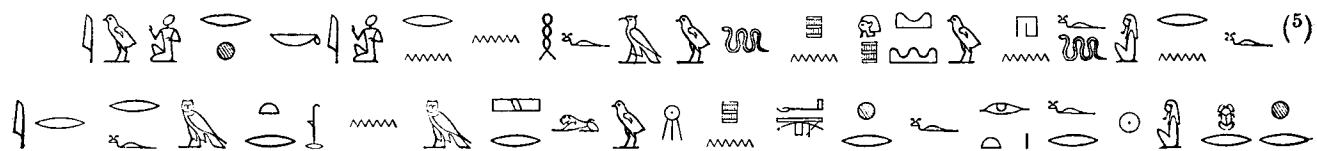


FIG. 60

contains a large Solar-disk (Fig. 60). Here the gods are not named but from the evidence of their characteristic headdresses, we may gather that they are *Itm*, *M3't*, *R'*, *Šw* (?), *Tfn.t*, *Gb* (?), Osiris (*Wsr*), Isis (*Is.t*) and Nephys (*Nb.t-ht*). In both of these examples the rascally *St* is excluded from the divine company.

St as a Defender of the Solar-Boat.—Curiously enough, however, we do occasionally find *St* in the unusual role of defender of the Solar-boat, and friend and protector of *R'*. Naturally most of these references date from the New Kingdom, when for a limited time *St* enjoyed a certain amount of popularity in his aspect of a war-like god; but we also have an example of this class of text which dates from the Middle Kingdom, and was also retained in the later writings. Occurring as it does before *St*'s wave of temporary popularity, we can only conclude that it has its origin in a still more remote period, and refers to a time before enmity had arisen between Osiris (*Wsr*) and *St*, which also may explain the reason for certain passages in the *Pyramid Texts*, where *St* is regarded in a benificent light. The text in question was incorporated in the *Book of the Dead*, during the Eighteenth Dynasty, as *Ch. CVIII*, and with slight variations as *Ch. CIX*, while from the Nineteenth–Twenty-first Dynasties a variant of it appeared as *Ch. CXLIX d*, all of which had been thoroughly studied by Sethe (3). The Middle Kingdom version of this text reads as follows (4):—




(1) As the crowned hawk in the Archaic fragment most probably represents the King, its presence in a private Solar-boat is meaningless and shows that its original significance was forgotten. If, on the other hand, it symbolizes one of forms of Horus (*Hr*) then he is reduplicated in the boat (see Fig. 11).

(2) LEPSIUS, "Totenbuch", Bl. 55.

(3) SETHE, "A.Z.", Vol. 59, Pls. 46–51, 53–54, 56–59, also DE BUCK, II, p. 378, f.

(4) SETHE, *ibid.* Pls. 46–51; L1.

(5) Later var.  (Ea).

— [Hieroglyphs] —

“ I know the name of this serpent, ‘He who is on his Mountain’, ‘ He who is in His Fire’ is his name. But during the time of night, he turns his eye against *R*’, thus, a standstill takes place among the two crews, and a great astonishment in the inside of the vessel. . . Then, *St* inclined himself towards him (*i.e.* the serpent).”
The Utterance which he (*i.e.* *St*) said as a magician :—

— [Hieroglyphs] —

“ I oppose you !” Therefore the journey is put right (again). You whom I saw from afar, shut your eye. I have bound you . . . I am the manly one who covered your head, (2) therefore you are healthy. I am healthy. I am the Great of Magic. It is given to me against you. What is that ! It is power, O you who goes on his belly. Your power belongs to your mountain ; look, I go ! Therefore, your power is with me ! I am he who raises up the power. I have come, therefore, I repulse the *skr.w*, and ‘ He who is in his evening’ will be gracious to me when we traverse the Heaven. But you are in shackles, that is what had been ordered against you formerly, then the eye of *R*’ goes to rest out of life.”

The Eighteenth Dynasty version reads as follows (3) :—

— [Hieroglyphs] —

(1) Later var [Hieroglyphs] (F 6).

(2) For this, see *Pyramid Texts*, line 233 (a), where it occurs in a spell directed against the *n’w*-serpent.

(3) *SETHE*, *ibid.* Pls. 53-55 (Ta).

(4) Restored from *Ga*, *ibid.*

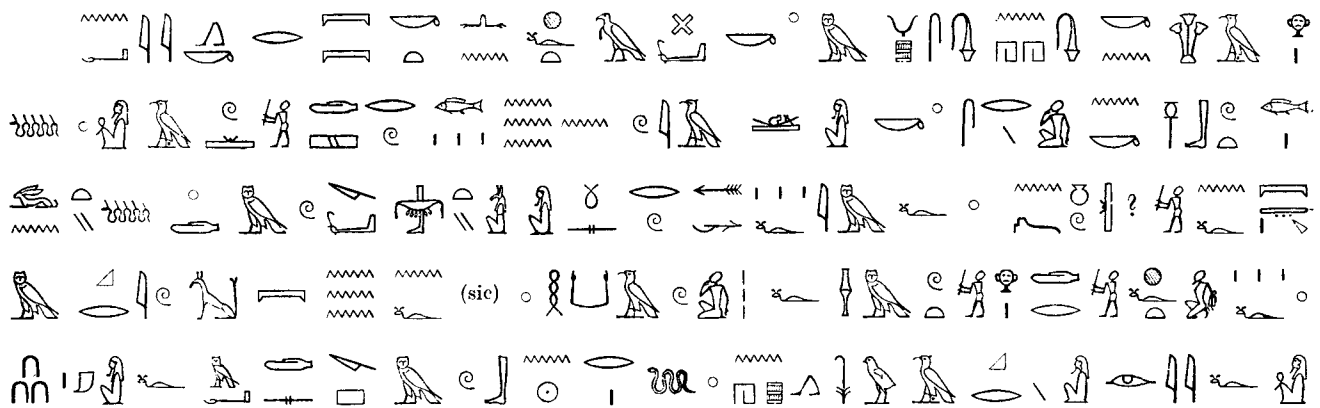
(5) Restored from *Eg*.

In the Sallier Calendar of the lucky and unlucky days we get the following entry for the 4th of Mechir (1):—



“Do not go out in this day at sunrise, it is the day in which *Sbk* was seen and killed by *St* at the prow of the Great Boat, on this day.”


In the Harris Magical Papyrus is the following address to the Sun-god, describing the Triumphant voyage of the Solar-boat (2):—




“You navigate over your two Skies without enemies, while you blow fire to devour the serpent *Nh3-hr*. The fish *Dsr* guards the waters of your bark, at the time when the fish *sbdu* has announced the serpent *Wntj*. *Nwbtj* (3) has stricken with his arrows when he has . . . the sky and the earth of his storms. His magic is powerful to repulse his enemies, his lance is thrust into the mouth of the serpent *Wbn-r3* (Shining-mouth) and *skr* guards him, and makes his protections after he had seized him and pushed him back in his cavern.”

This text was incorporated into a hymn inscribed on a wall of the temple of Hibe, during the reign of Darius II, but the copyist could not imagine *St* in a beneficent role, so to accommodate his religious scruples, he replaced him by *Horus (Hr)* (4). The reason for the arch enemy of Osiris (*Wsr*) and *R* appearing in the paradoxical role of defender of the Solar-boat is not so far to seek. *St* was also regarded as a god of war, and with the wave of military enthusiasm which swept over Egypt in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, *St* the war-god gained a certain amount of popularity, for which after all some of the ancient texts had given sanction.

(1) Pap. SALLIER, IV, Pl. XVII, 3, 4. “British Museum, Select Papyri”, Pl. CLX; BUDGE “Facsimile of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum”, IInd series, Pl. CIV.
 (2) LANGE, “Der Magische Papyrus Harris”, V, 8-10, (p. 40)
 (3) i.e. *St*. so called from his ancient seat of worship *Nwb* or Ombo.
 (4) It is *Horus (Hr)* who is usually seen in such a situation, but in the Pap. Louvre No. 3292 the role of defender of the boat s played by a being called “the Watcher” who slays the enemies of *R* with his knife (see NAGEL, “B.I.P.A.O.”, Vol. XXIX, pp. 40, 41, 43).

In this respect he was honoured along with other war-gods such as *Stḥ* with whom he was identified, and *Ršp*, warrior-gods borrowed from Egypt's Asiatic allies. Thus, the royal family of the Nineteenth Dynasty did not hesitate to incorporate the name of *St* with their personal names, and we find among them *St.j*, *St-nḥt*, and even in the case of one of the sons of Rameses (*R' ms-sw*) II: *St-m-wi3*  "St in the Solar-boat (1)." Nevertheless, there was still lingering misgivings concerning *St* and his bad reputation was not forgotten, even by those who bore his name. Thus, we find that Seti (*St-j*) I, who did not hesitate to use his ill-omened name in his historical records, preferred when possible to use his pre-nomen Men-Ma't-Ra' (*Mn-M3't-R'*) in his tomb or to replace the figure of *St* in his personal name by that of Osiris (*Wsr*). However, in a few instances his personal name is allowed its *St*-form. There may have been a "practical" reason for the substitution of the figure of Osiris (*Wsr*) for that of *St* in this King's cartouches. As some of the spells in his funerary texts were intended to bring about the destruction of *St* and his serpent allies, perhaps it was feared that they would also destroy the *St* animal in the royal cartouche and thus obliterate the King's name, a very serious matter according to the Egyptian beliefs.

Thus, we may say that during the Old Kingdom, the Solar-boats were thought to carry not only one of the forms of the Sun-god, (*R'*, *Itm*, *Hpri*, *Horus* [*Hr*] or *Hr-3ḥ-t-j*) but also one or more of the following gods: *Hw*, *S3*, Osiris (*Wsr*) Isis (*3s.t*), *Horus* (*Hr*) the Child, *St*, Nephthys (*Nb.t-ḥt*), *Gb*, *Nwt*, *Šw*, *Tfn.t* and *Nḥt-ntr.w* (Wish of the Gods) (2) and also the Imperishable and Indefatigable Stars and the dead King himself, the latter three being indispensable to the navigation of the vessel. The later representations show us the gods in the Solar-boat in two groups fore and aft of the cabin; according to a Middle Kingdom text they would seem to have had their appointed places there, as we may see in the following (DE BUCK, "Egyptian Coffin Texts", Vol. I, p. 235, Spell 51) B12C^b :—


 "R' appears in the East of Heaven when he sees the beauties of your boat; acclamations in its bow and in its stern by the gods who are in it."

Coming to the New Kingdom, we find all these gods retained in connection with the Solar-boats (with the exception of *Nḥt-ntr.w*—unless she is really to be identified with *M3't*), plus some additions, as for instance Thoth (*Dḥwtj*), whom we have seen accompanying *M3't* or Isis (*3s.t*) (Figs. 53, 55, 52, 50, 49, etc.).

Imn.—Sometimes the occupant of the New Kingdom Solar-boat may naturally be *Imn* who replaces *R'* in the local Theban beliefs which were destined to become universal. We have *Imn* represented in the Solar-boat in a scene from the Luxor Temple, dating from the reign of

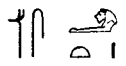


(1) GAUTHIER, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. XV, p. 94. But there is another reason for the incorporation of the names of *St* in the personal name of Seti (*St.j*) I, and this is because the family of Seti (*St.j*) sprang from the Setroite nome which is in the Delta and where *St* was worshipped.

(2) Who is perhaps to be identified with *M3't*.

Amenhotep III (*Imn-ḥtp*)⁽¹⁾. Here we see *Imn* enthroned amidships, while behind him is a small figure of a man working the steering oars, and before him a sphinx placed upon a nome standard⁽²⁾. Behind *Imn* is the 'nh-sign of life furnished with human arms, and grasping the "boomerang" emblem (Fig. 62).




FIG. 62.—IMN IN THE SOLAR-BOAT



But during the New Kingdom *Imn-R'* usually had his own special Solar-boat, the form and equipment of which was based on, without actually copying, that of the traditional Solar-boat of *R'*. This barque of Amon had an earthly representative in the form of an actual vessel, named *Wsr-ḥ3.t*  which was also referred to as *W3*, and played a prominent part in the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley"  which was celebrated at Thebes. In this feast the sacred boat traversed the Nile from the eastern bank to the west, and returned again, thus symbolizing the course of the sun on its daily journey from east to west, and its nightly journey from west to east. The reliefs on the walls of the temples of Karnak show us the form of this boat of *Imn-R'*. The main form of the hull differs from that of the old traditional Solar-boats, and is of the same shape as those boats employed upon the Nile in everyday life, namely . The upraised prow and stern lack the high posts of the Horian boats, and bear instead figure-heads fashioned in the likeness of the head of the sacred ram of *Imn-R'* adorned with a wide necklace and crowned with the *stf* diadem or a Solar-disk. Amidships is a large *naos*-cabin, which in detailed scenes has elaborately pannelled sides, and seems to represent a miniature temple, for it has two tall masts and an obelisk before the doors. Behind the prow stands a sphinx upon a pedestal, and before and behind it a papyrus column on one of which rests a cartouche, while upon the other perches a hawk, which is, of course, one of the characteristic symbols in the old Solar-boats. In the stern are the two steering-oars. In some examples these boats seem to have carried a crew of gods and goddesses, represented by statuettes (see FOUcart, "Le Belle Fête de la Vallée", *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XXIV, Pl. III). In a scene on the Third Pylon at Karnak (Eastern face) this boat of *Imn-R'* is shown with a crew of thirty rowers, and as there

(1) GAYET, "Le Temple de Luxor", Pl. I.

(2) In Gayet's Plate (*ibid.* Pl. I) the sphinx is a restoration but the bottom of the post supporting the standard remains in the original and other examples of the period (see p. 60) are a warrant for its accuracy. This sphinx which is one of the forms of *R'* is here placed in the boat to stress the solar character of the Theban *Imn-R'*.

must have been a corresponding thirty men on the opposite side of the boat, this means that the *Wsr-h3.t* was large enough to carry a crew of sixty oarsmen. For a full study of this boat of Amon and the ceremonies concerning it. see FOUCAUT, *ibid.*, pp. 1-209.)

Khonsw (Hnsw).—As *Imn-R* was thought to travel in a Solar-boat, it is not surprising to find *Hnsw* the third God of the Theban triad doing the same as we may see in the Ramesseum text
 “Offering to *Hnsw* in the front of the Boat of R”,
 CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.*, p. 906.

The Four Sons of Horus (Hr).—On a New-Kingdom stele in the Cairo Museum (1), we have a curious representation of the Solar-boat manned by the Four Sons of Horus, (*Hr*) (Fig. 63). In the *Book of Day* (2), we see that during the first hour of the day the Sons of Horus (*Hr*) are said to tow the Solar-boat, assisted by  *Hr-wr* and  *Hr-smsw* (3).

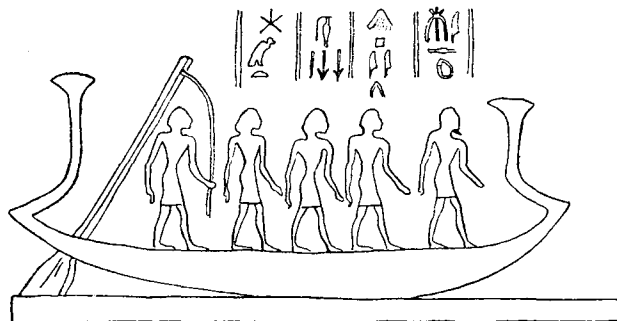


FIG. 63.—THE FOUR SONS OF HORUS (*Hr*)
 IN THE SOLAR-BOAT

Anubis (Inpw).—A rare scene (Fig. 64) shows Anubis (*Inpw*) as a passenger in the Solar-boat, where he shares a position of distinction with a hawk-headed Horus (*Hr*) (3).

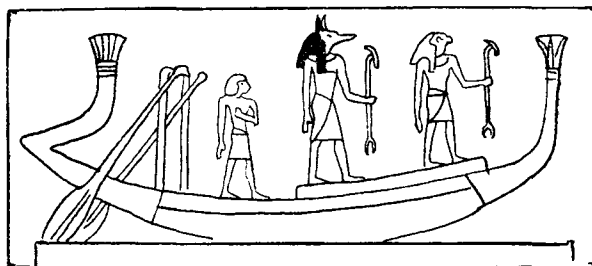


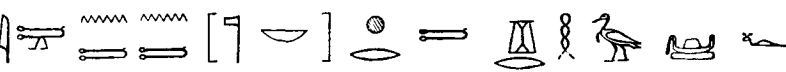
FIG. 64.—ANUBIS (*Inpw*) IN THE SOLAR-BOAT

(1) LACAU, “*Stèles du Nouvel Empire*”, Pl. XLII (No. 34083).

(2) PIANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, p. 8.


(3) NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, Vol. I, Pl. CXIV, P.a.

Although we see all these gods appearing as passengers in the Solar-boat, we have two paragraphs in the *Pyramid Texts*, which show us that each god possessed his own ship in which he sailed the heavenly ocean ; thus we see in Utterance 434 (text of *Ppjj*):—

785 (a)  “Take you for yourself every god near you with his own ship.”

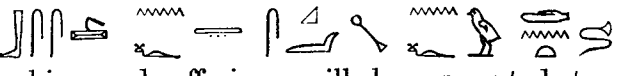
And again in Utterance 539 :—


1325 (a)  “Every god who constructs a stairway for *Ppjj*,

(b)  “when he mounts and elevates *Mrrj-R'* (*Ppjj*) to Heaven,


(c)  “every god who decorates his throne in his own ship,

(d)  “when he mounts and elevates this *Ppjj* to Heaven.”

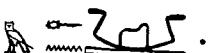
1326 (a)  “The Feast of Digging the Earth will be made to him and offerings will be presented to him.

(b)  “and will be made to him *nmtt*-vases.”

The *Mhn.t* Boat (1)

Since the time when the reed-floats of *R'* were replaced by the first Solar-boats, we find a hint that two kinds of vessels were employed. As we have already seen, the reed-floats were retained side by side with the Solar-boats, and were apparently thought to serve the latter as a kind of tender to navigate shallow water, and particularly to navigate the Meandering Stream. But even here progress had appeared, and we sometimes find the reed-float alternating with a small ferry-boat called  *Mhnt* (2), which was probably the usual name of this class of vessel in every-day life. A noteworthy feature of this vessel is that the signs used to determine it represent boats of an ordinary character showing that it was originally considered to be quite

(1) See GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 146, for Ch. 99 of the *Book of the Dead*, which deals with the *Mhn.t* boat.

(2) Var. .

different from the Solar-boat itself, though it seems that gradually a confusion of ideas crept in as we shall presently see. This ferry-boat was propelled by a boatman called "Turn-face"

whom we have already become acquainted with (*see above*, pp. 9, 25, 26, 45), and our further knowledge of him will do nothing to raise him in our estimation, for he is a surly fellow, always unwilling to take his passengers on board, and even likely to refuse them altogether! In Utterance 270, the King calls out to the ferryman who is asleep in his craft (text of *Wnis*):—

383 (a) "Words spoken: May you awake in peace, Turn-face, in peace! You who sees behind him, in peace!"

(b) "Ferryman of Heaven, in peace! Ferryman of *Nwt*, in peace!"

(c) "Ferryman of the Gods, in peace!"

384 (a) "Wnis comes to you,

(b) "thus you ferry him in that ferry-boat in which the Gods are ferried."



Here we see that Turn-face is described as the ferryman of Heaven and ferryman of the gods who plies his craft to and fro over the celestial waters. But apparently the King's courteous salutation has no effect upon the boatman's surly nature, for in Utterance 359 the King has to resort to more subtle means of attracting the ferryman's attention. To this end he begins to recite an apt incident from the story of Horus (*Hr*), as follows (text of *Ttj*):—


594 (a) "Words spoken: Horus (*Hr*) had sobbed for his eye, had sobbed *St* for his testicles⁽¹⁾;


(b) "the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) sprang out, but it had fallen on yonder side of the Meandering Stream;

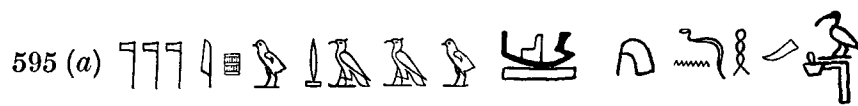
(c) "he, therefore, freed it from *St*;


⁽¹⁾ This refers to the injuries suffered by these two gods during one of their combats. *St* put out the eye of Horus (*Hr*), while Horus (*Hr*) tore off the testicles of *St* (*see Pyramid Texts*, line 535).

(d)  (var. ) “Thoth (Dhwtj) had seen it on yonder side of the Meandering Stream;

(e)  “the Eye of Horus (Hr) sprang up on yonder side of the Meandering Stream;


(f)  “and fell upon the wing of Thoth (Dhwtj)⁽¹⁾, on yonder side of the Meandering Stream.”


595 (a)  “O those gods who will be crossing⁽²⁾ on the wing of Thoth (Dhwtj),

(b)  “to yonder side of the Meandering Stream, to the eastern side of the sky,

(c)  “and speak⁽³⁾ with *St* concerning the Eye of Horus (Hr).”

596 (a)  “May *Ttj* also cross with you on the wing of Thoth (Dhwtj),

(b)  “to yonder side of the Meandering Stream, to the eastern side of the sky,

(c)  “*Ttj* had spoken⁽³⁾ with *St* concerning the Eye of Horus (Hr).”

Now *Ttj* has stated that he too had taken the part of Horus (Hr) in the quarrel between him and *St*, and that therefore the request he is about to make should not be disregarded:—

597 (a)  “May you awake in peace you who sees behind him⁽⁴⁾ in peace!

(1) Thoth is here visualized in his ibis form.

(2) In this Utterance the boat-determinative is consistently drawn in a reverse direction to all the other signs in the text, with the exception of this one instance.

(3) The meaning of “speak” here is in the sense of “to blame” or “upbraid”.

(4) “Turn-face.”

(b) “May you awake in peace, you who are in *Nwt*, in peace! Pilot of the Meandering Stream;

(c) “say the name of *Ttj* to *R'*, announce *Ttj* to *R'*.”

598 (a) “*Ttj* is on the way to yonder distant Palace of the Masters of their *Kas* ⁽¹⁾,

(b) “where *R'* is hailed in the morning in the Places of *Horus (Hr)* ⁽²⁾ and the Places of *St* ⁽³⁾,

(c) “as that God of those who went to their *Kas* ⁽⁴⁾.”

Such a plea cannot pass unnoticed, and we see that *R'* himself intervenes between the King and the unwilling Ferryman :—

599 (a) “*R'* recommends *Ttj* to ‘He who-sees-behind-him’, to the Pilot of the Meandering Stream,

(b) “he, therefore, brings to *Ttj* yonder ferry-boat of the Meandering Stream,

(c) “in which he ferries the Gods,

(d) “to yonder side of the Meandering Stream, to the eastern side of the sky;”

600 (a) “and he ferries *Ttj*,

(b) “to yonder side of the Meandering Stream, to the eastern side of the sky.”

(1) The Gods, or the Elect Dead.

(2) Lower Egypt.

(3) Upper Egypt.

(4) Those who have “gone to their *Kas*” are the Dead.

Thus, it would appear that in spite of *Ttj*'s eloquence and his zeal in the cause of *Horus (Hr)*, the obstinate "Turn-face" only consents to carry him as a passenger, because he is especially recommended by *R'*. Thus, there would seem to be certain conditions to fulfil before one could enter the *Mhnt*-boat, just as there were as a prelude to embarking in the Solar-boat. Sometimes it is the messenger of *R'* who commands the boatman to perform his office for the King, as in Utterance 569, where at the end of a long list of disasters about which the King seems apprehensive, we get the following reassurance:—

1440 (c) "I am *Sk-sn*, the Messenger of *R'* !

(d) "This *Ppjj* will not be forbidden to the Heavens ;

(e) "the Tree had given her two arms to this *Ppjj* ⁽¹⁾ which is (*i.e.* the tree) the Doerkeeper of Heaven."

1441 (a) "The *Mhnt*-boat of the Meandering Stream had been brought to him by 'Turn-face',

(b) "this *Mrrj-R'* (*Ppjj*) is not repelled, for there is no doer of hinderance to this *Ppjj*,

(c) "because this *Mrrj-R'* is one among you, O gods"

Sometimes the King did not address himself directly to the Ferryman, he might send the Lock-carriers to him, the same young spirits whom we have seen in connection with the reed-floats. In Utterance 520 they are ordered by the King to bring the boat:—

1222 (a) (P) "Bring this *Mhnt*-boat to this *Ppjj*, bring to *Ppjj* this 'bringer' ⁽²⁾."

But apparently there was a risk that the Lock-carriers would follow the bad example of Turn-face, for in the next line *Ppjj* threatens them that if they refuse to bring the boat, he will reveal their names to the ignorant, thus placing them at the mercy of anyone who should choose to call upon them. At the same time he warns them that he will not hesitate to use personal violence against them, by plucking out their locks and so depriving them of the characteristic feature from which they derive their name of "Lock-carriers". In the previously quoted Utterance 359

⁽¹⁾ For this line, see p. 188.

⁽²⁾ "Bringer" is another name for a ferry-boat.

the oft-repeated refrain of “yonder side of the Meandering Stream, to the eastern side of the sky” would suggest that this was the part of Heaven to which the King wished to traverse in the *Mhnt*-boat. But in Utterance 555 we get the destination of the ferry-boat more clearly stated:—

1375 (a) “The mother of *Ppjj* is Isis (*Is.t*), his nurse is Nephtys (*Nb.t-h.t*);

(b) “*Ppjj* is suckled by *Shst-Hr* (1);

(c) “*Nt* is behind him and *Srkt* is in front of him.”

1376 (a) “The ropes of his ship are tied, his *Mhnt*-boats have been put to,

(b) “for the Son of *Itm*, while others are hungry and thirsty and thirsty and hungry (2),

(c) “on this southern side of the Meandering Stream.”

Here we are told of the divine descent and nurture of *Ppjj*, after which comes a somewhat obscure passage. Here the *Mhnt*-boats are spoken of in the plural and apparently as auxiliaries to *Ppjj*'s own ship—probably the Solar-boat. It is not clear who the Son of *Itm* is, perhaps it refers to the King. What concerns us is that these preparations are being made upon the southern side of the Meandering Stream which implies that the King was aiming to reach the north of the sky. But apparently a difficulty arises, and *Ppjj* is unable to gain possession of the *Mhnt*-boats, so he turns to the wise Thoth for aid (text of *Ppjj*):—

1377 (a) “O Thoth (*Dhwtj*), who is in the shade of his tree (3),

(b) “place *Ppjj* on the top part of your wing,


(c) “(and carry him) to yonder northern side of the Meandering Stream.”

(1) “The one who thinks of Horus” (*Hr*), a cow-goddess worshipped in the 3rd Nome of Lower Egypt, because of her name she is often identified with Isis (*Is.t*) (see MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 146).

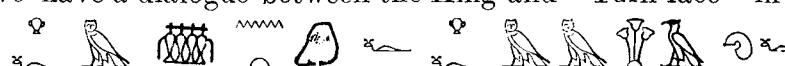
(2) See also *Pyr.* 553 (a-d), SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. III, p. 41.

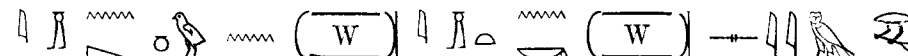
(3) Perhaps the celestial tree, upon whose leaves Thoth (*Dhwtj*) registers the name of the King, in the later representations.

(4) Text of *Mr-n-R*'.

1378 (a)  "Ppjj, therefore, will be healthy, his flesh will be healthy, Ppjj will be healthy, his clothes will be healthy."

Here we get an allusion to the legend of the Eye of Horus (Hr) which is given in Utterance 359 and as the *Mhnt*-boats fail to appear, (*Ppjj*) hopes to be carried over on the wing of Thoth (*Dhwtj*), even as the Eye of Horus (Hr) had been carried, and his goal is the northern side of the sky.

In line 493 (b) we have a dialogue between the King and "Turn-face" in which the *Mhnt*-boat is said to fly:  "O you whose face is in front of him, O you whose face is behind him,

494 (a)  "bring this to Wn's". "Which *Mhnt*-boat ought I to bring to you, Wn's?"

494 (b)  "Bring to Wn's one that flies up and descends down."

The idea of the divine ferry-boat persisted into the New Kingdom, and *Ch.* XCVIII and XCIX of the *Book of the Dead* are magic spells—as were their predecessors in the *Pyramid Texts*—devoted to procuring the services of the *Mhnt*-boat for the deceased. But it is still difficult to get possession of these vessels, and in addition to the ferryman himself, all the parts of the boat and even the bank to which it is moored and the wind that moves it, have voices, and demand that the intending passenger shall know their mystical names, before they will allow him to embark ⁽¹⁾. Moreover, "Turn-face" himself is still in evidence, and the vignette to *Ch.* XCIII, of the Papyrus *snjj* ⁽²⁾ shows him seated in a small *Mhnt*-boat in his characteristic attitude, with his head turned to look over his shoulder (Fig. 65).

It is noteworthy that in this drawing, the form of the boat is identical with that of the boat-signs commonly used in the *Pyramid Texts* to determine the word "*Mhnt*". The *Mhnt*-boat also appears in connection with the Solar-boats in the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI ⁽³⁾.



FIG. 65.— "TURN-FACE",
THE MYSTIC FERRYMAN

Thus, we may say that while the great Solar-boat was used by the gods and the King for the long and important daily and nightly voyage, the *Mhnt*-boat was, like the reed-floats—merely a ferry-boat for short journeys through shallow water, and particularly for navigating the Meandering Stream. Its Naqadian form shows that it was merely considered as a heavenly counterpart of an ordinary earthly ferry-boat, and that it had no religious significance in the same sense that the Solar-boats had, nor apparently was it ever deified as we have seen in the case of these latter vessels and its sole claim to our consideration here is in its relationship to the Solar-boats and the reed-floats.

THE SOLAR-BOATS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM


Arriving at the Middle Kingdom, we find a new spirit of democracy has invaded the Egyptian Hereafter, and no longer are the Gods, the King and his immediate family and nobles, the only


(1) BUDGE, "*Book of the Dead*", (Text), Vol. II, p. 63, ff.

(2) *ibid.* (translation), p. 288.

(3) See p. 22.

occupants of the Other World. The spread of the Osirian faith had thrown open the doors of Heaven to the “man-in-the-street” and even the divine Solar-boat was at the disposal of anyone who was pious enough, or well enough equipped with magical spells, to get aboard it. Perhaps for this reason it lost much of its importance as a feature of the royal burials, for up to the present, we have only one example which can definitely be said to be a Solar-boat appertaining to a royal burial of this period. On the other hand, the royal Solar-boats of this era may have been constructed of wood, as the boats of Dahshur, and so have perished, or there may be Solar-boats attached to the Middle Kingdom pyramids which have until now escaped the excavators spade! The single example of the royal Solar-boats of this period occurs on the pyramidion of King Hn-dr, which we will presently discuss. There are, of course, the six large wooden boats of Dahshur, but we can hardly consider them as evidence, for, as we shall see later, there is a doubt as to whether they are really to be classed as Solar-boats.

The Solar-Boats of King Hn-dr 

While excavating the group of Middle Kingdom pyramids at Dahshur, Jequier discovered a number of inscribed fragments of black granite which proved to be parts of a pyramidion of King Hn-dr (Fourteenth Dynasty). These fragments were subsequently fitted together, and the restored monument is now preserved in the Cairo Museum⁽¹⁾. The northern, southern and western faces of the pyramidion bear engraved inscriptions and symbolical designs, but the eastern face, which is a solar symbol like the pyramidion, bears in addition to its emblems and inscriptions an interesting scene. Proof that the eastern face of such a monument was always considered to be the most important, is proved by the fact that a similar object belonging to King Amenemhat (*Imn-m-h3.t*) III has only the eastern face decorated, the three other faces being left blank except for two lines of inscription at the base. The decoration on the eastern face consists of the name of the King repeated twice, a sun-disk surmounted by two eyes and three † signs, the whole being protected by the wings of a Solar-disk. The meaning of the design is: “Beholding the beauties of the Sun” ; and the inscription below it reads: “The face of King Amenemhat (*Imn-m-h3.t*) is opened, that he may behold the Lord of Heaven when he sails across the sky⁽²⁾”. On the eastern face of the pyramidion of King Hn-dr the representation that concerns us occupies a roughly triangular space lying between three horizontal rows of inscription at the bottom and a winged sun-disk with pendant uraei at the top. At the bottom of the scene are the Day and Night Solar-boats represented prow to prow, as we have already them in the H'-j-f-R' (Khafra) Pyramid Complex (Fig. 66). Above the Day-boat stands *R'* and above the Night-boat stands *Itm*, and these two gods are supporting the “*srh*” enclosing the King's name, upon which is perched a hawk wearing the Double Crown. The significance of the scene is clear. The two Solar-boats have arrived at their appointed meeting-place and the dead King—here symbolized by his name and the crowned hawk, is being transferred from one boat to the other with the assistance of the two gods. As the scene is engraved upon the eastern face of the pyramidion, facing the sunrise, we should say that the

⁽¹⁾ JEQUIER, “*Deux Pyramides du Moyen Empire*”, p. 21.

⁽²⁾ BREASTED, “*The Dawn of Conscience*”, p. 57. See also the eastern face of the Pyramidion of *Tw-r3-b3j* which refers to the sunrise (p. 48).

King has just completed his night journey with *Itm* in the *Mskt-t* boat, and is being transferred to the *M'nd.t* boat in order to make the day voyage with *R'*. Similar scenes occur in the New Kingdom in connection with the daily re-birth of the sun. In the tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) VI is a good example⁽¹⁾, but *R'* and *Itm* are replaced by Isis (*Is.t*) and Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*). In appearance the boats of *Hn-dr* present almost the typical "official" appearance which the determinatives of the *Pyramid Texts* have now made clear to us; but there is a minor variation in the bow-post, which here takes a double angle.

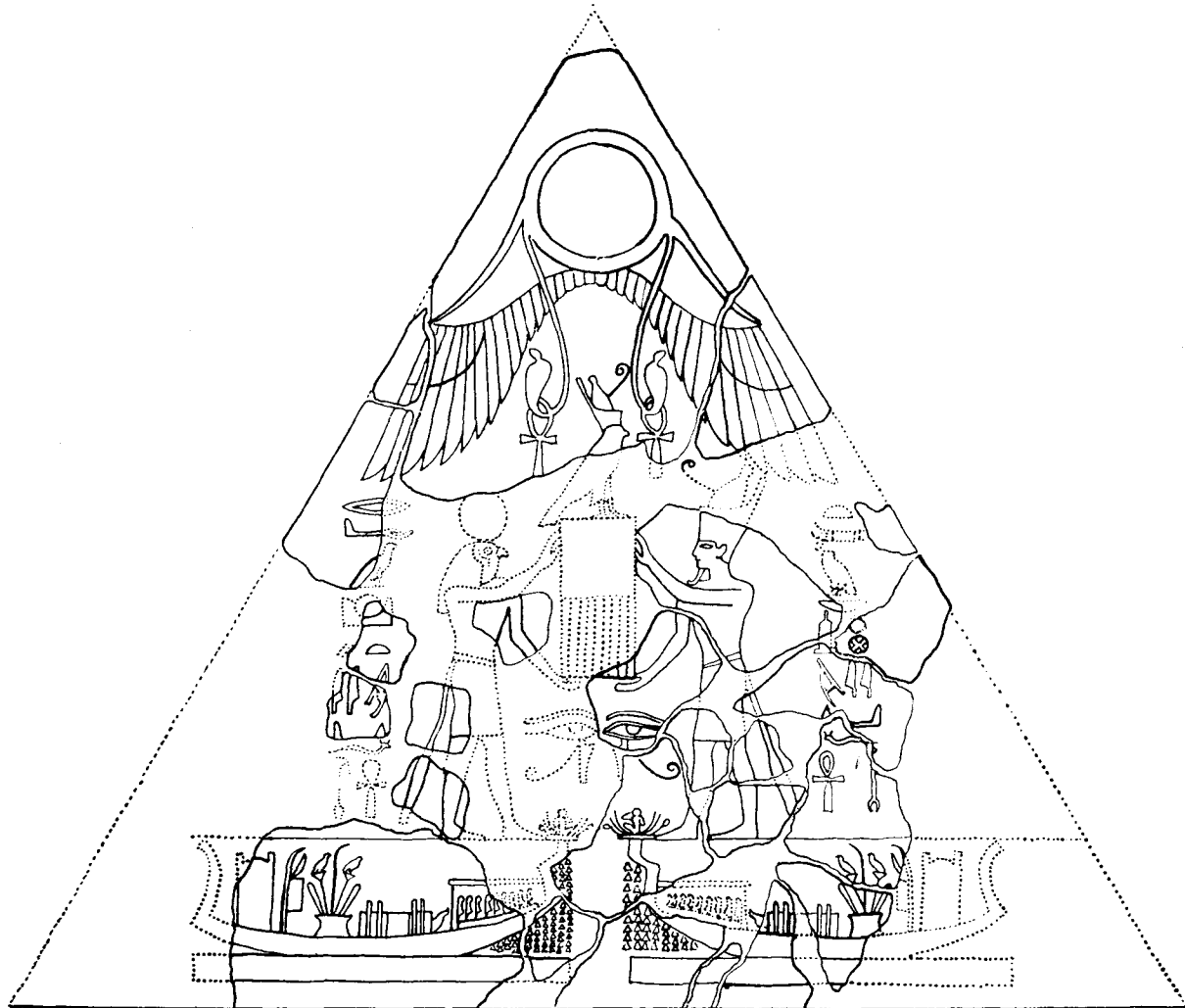


FIG. 66.—THE DETAIL OF THE SCENE ON THE PYRAMIDION OF KING *Hn-dr*

In Jequier's drawing of the scene the stern-post of each boat is dotted in as a restoration. The bow-post is surmounted by a flat platform upon which is seated *Horus (Hr)* the Child flanked by two pegs set at an oblique angle⁽²⁾, and on the outer and inner sides is what appears to be a mace⁽³⁾. The ornament descending from the prow is here shown as a kind




⁽¹⁾ PIANKOFF, "Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit", Pl. I.

⁽²⁾ For the bow-post surmounted by four pegs, see *Pyramid Texts*, lines 210 and 932, etc.


⁽³⁾ See p. 70 for reference to this emblem.



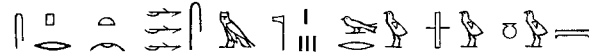
of curtain formed of beads or pendants. The Middle Kingdom wooden model Solar-boat from Meir, now in the Cairo Museum (No. 4860) ⁽¹⁾ has the bow-post nearly identical in form to that represented here. It is pierced with small holes which contained the remains of threads, and may well have been originally adorned with a miniature bead curtain.


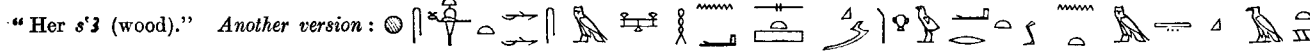

Immediately behind the bow-post is the board with the nine feathers, which seems already to have appeared in the fragmentary relief of *Ppjj* II, the determinatives of the *Pyramid Texts* (lines 950 and 1194, etc.) and possibly the Solar-boat of Abusir (*see* pp. 86, 87).

The long rectangular box (?) apparently held in place by two (or four [?]) pairs of posts and having a pair of hawks clinging face upwards to its front end, is perhaps a new development of some old emblems, as we shall presently see. Amidships is a group composed of a boomerang, two hawks perched on papyrus umbels, and two clubs, all old familiar emblems, but here grouped together and mounted upon a waisted pedestal, an arrangement that invites speculation, for their disposition, together with the form of pedestal from which they spring, recalls the outline of the hieroglyph  symbolizing Lower Egypt ⁽²⁾. If it occurred here as an isolated example, we might dismiss it as an accidental resemblance due to a whim on the part of the artist, but we have other examples from the same period which give the same arrangement. In the tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) IX ⁽³⁾ is a scene representing the birth of the sun and his daily and nightly journey, and in the Night-boat we have this group of emblems occupying the same place between the prow and the naos. Here a development has crept in which makes the group still more suggestive of the sign . We have here the sign  and the two hawks upon papyrus stems, but the pairs of clubs are omitted and the shape of the pedestal resembles the large flower-pots or tubs which figure in the New Kingdom garden scenes as holding plants or small trees ⁽⁴⁾ (Fig. 67-1). In a coffin

⁽¹⁾ REISNER, "*Models of Ships and Boats*", p. 44, also *Introduction*, p. XXV.

⁽²⁾ That this grouping is a later innovation than the adoption of the individual elements of which it is composed, may be seen by the fact that the emblem as a whole does not seem to have any special name, while its component parts are all named in the Middle Kingdom version of *Ch. 99* of the *Book of the Dead* (GRAPOW, "*Religiose Urkunden*", p. 184). Concerning the  we are told:—

 , "Her *w'w* (wood) are the Two Eldest Gods of *Ndj.t* (erected in the middle of the boat)" while the two hawks on the perches and the two clubs are referred to collectively as : 
hsf.t. Another version :  "Her four ribs are the Great Gods who are in *Nwn* (?)."

Furthermore, the pedestal which supports these emblems also has its own designation, and is called : 
 "Her *s'3* (wood)." Another version : 
 "Her two *hsf.t.* (wood) are Horus (*Hr*) and *St*, the two *km3* who were on the *w'r.t* which is in the land of the high field of *Ndj.t*."

⁽³⁾ LEFEBURE, "*Hypoges Royaux*", Vol. I., Pl. 21. It also occurs in a similar scene in the tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) VI (PIANKOFF, *ibid*, Pl. I).

⁽⁴⁾ WILKINSON, Vol. II, p. 105.

from the later epoch we see the resemblance of this group to the hieroglyphic sign carried still further ⁽¹⁾. Here the emblems } and the two hawks are still retained, but the hawks are perched upon the sign \uparrow , and the clubs are replaced by four lotus buds, the whole springing from a "waisted" pedestal (Fig. 67-2). An anonymous coffin of the Saitic Period (Cairo Museum, No. 41040) ⁽²⁾ gives us this emblem completely transformed into the sign \uparrow (Fig. 38 and Fig. 67-3),

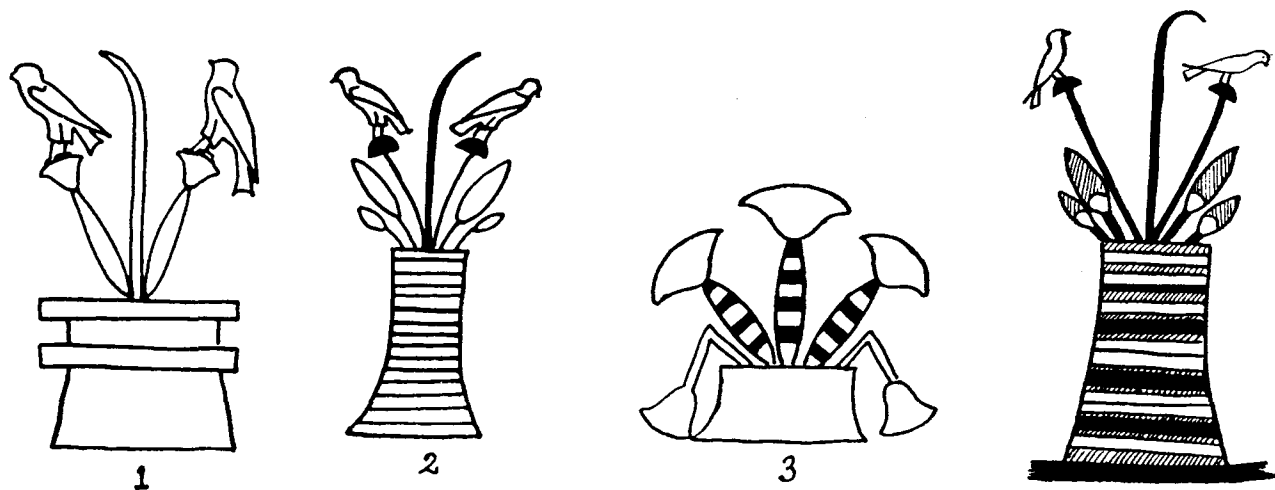
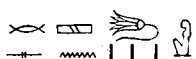


FIG. 67.—AN EMBLEM ON A SOLAR-BOAT OF THE SAITIC PERIOD

but occupying the same place in the boat, as we have seen it in the boats of King *Hn-dr*. Now are we to see in this arrangement a deliberate design on the part of *Hn-dr*'s artist to group the traditional emblems of the Solar-boats in such a manner as to suggest the hieroglyphic sign for Lower Egypt, so distinguishing these boats as the particular property of the Pharaoh in his role of King of Lower Egypt? And if so, why was this grouping employed in the private model Solar-boats of the Middle Kingdom? Or are we to see in all these examples a new ⁽³⁾ and more artistic grouping of the traditional symbols which the later artists misunderstood and represented as the hieroglyphic sign? If we had only the Middle Kingdom examples, and that of the unnamed Saitic coffin, the latter hypothesis would seem to be the most likely one; but the scenes in the Ramesside tombs, plus that on coffin No. 41018 which all show the transitional stages between the two extreme forms, seem to prove that the substitution was intentional and well understood by the artists. The adoption of this grouping by the makers of the small private model Solar-boats (which antedate the representations of *Hn-dr*, and must therefore have been derived from a still earlier example) may have been due to the custom prevailing in the Middle Kingdom, when objects hitherto considered to belong exclusively to Kings were adopted by commoners, at any rate for funerary purposes. For instance, the long, square-cut beard, the

⁽¹⁾ Sarcophagus of , MORET, "Sarcophages de l'Epoque Bubastite à l'Epoque Saïte", p. 187, Pl. XIX (No. 41018).

⁽²⁾ *ibid.* p. 318, Pl. XXXIX.

⁽³⁾ It must not be forgotten that there is the possibility that this emblem has already appeared in the Fifth Dynasty in the Solar-boat of Abusir.

Snd-jt-kilt⁽¹⁾ and the *Nms* head-dress⁽²⁾ to say nothing of the hitherto exclusively royal Solar-boats themselves! The sign 𓏏 on *Hn-dr*'s boat, of course, needs no further explanation, and the *naos*-shaped cabin in the stern is equally familiar to us. In Jequier's drawing these symbols all appear in the left-hand boat without any shadow of doubt, and he has dotted them in to correspond in a similar manner to the right-hand boat. The correctness of this restoration is proved by existing fragments of the original for all the details except the cabin, which is entirely destroyed. It would be interesting to know if this latter feature had really existed, or if the two boats were differentiated. As the remainder of the design on the pyramidion is strictly symmetrical, it is very probable that the two boats were exact replicas of each other, as Jequier has drawn them.

Private Model Solar-Boats



The Middle Kingdom was the time *par excellence* when the custom of placing wooden models of servants, boats and equipment in the tombs, was in vogue, thus replacing the more costly stone figures and sculptured wall-scenes of the Old Kingdom. These brightly painted and often attractive little models are a great source for our knowledge of the every-day life of the period. Boats of various types figure largely among these models, but Solar-boats occur rarely and the majority of them are either mystic or funerary vessels, that is to say, boats for performing the pilgrimage to Abydos, either before or after death, or boats in which the mummy and its funerary cortege crossed the river Nile to the necropolis in the western desert. These model Solar-boats all adhere to the traditional type, which was also extended in a more or less modified form to the funerary boats, particularly to that vessel which carried the mummy. As we have just seen in the Solar-boats of King *Hndr*, the old sacred emblems still appear, either entirely unchanged or re-grouped in a more artistic manner. But there are two elements appearing which seem to be Osirian modifications. As early as the Archaic Period we have seen the hawk perched on the summit of the bow-post (see p. 39, Fig. 11). This was the original Solar *Horus (Hr)*, (or the King identified with him), now alternating with the hawk we see *Horus (Hr) the Child*, the son of Osiris (*Wsr*) and Isis (*Is.t*), occupying the same position. This motif occurs constantly in the New Kingdom and onwards, but the first representations we have of it are from the Middle Kingdom, when actual figures of *Horus (Hr) the Child* have been found with the model Solar-boat of El-Bersheh⁽³⁾. Nevertheless, we have proof that the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom were familiar with him in this role, as may be seen in *Pyramid Texts*, line 367, where the dead King orders the inexperienced little Pilot to leave his place on the look-out of the Solar-boat (see p. 69). That the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom were familiar with the representation of *Horus (Hr) the Child* as an infant with his finger to his mouth may be proved by the following Utterance in the *Pyramid Texts* (No. 378).


⁽¹⁾ NEWBERRY, "*Beni Hasan*", Vol. I, Pl. XXXII.


⁽²⁾ LEPSIUS, "*Älteste Texte des Totenbuchs*", Pl. 35.

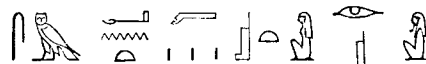
⁽³⁾ REISNER, "*ibid.*" p. 110, No. 4964, Pl. XXXIII.

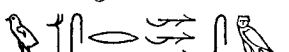
the *Pyramid Texts*, yet once it was introduced (apparently in the Middle Kingdom), it continued in favour until the end of the Pharaonic regime, whereas the supposed “sarcophagus”, the second innovation, which apparently had no foundation of tradition ⁽¹⁾, seems to have completely disappeared by the time of the New Kingdom. But up till now we have not seen the Solar-boats containing any figures, with the exception of Horus (*Hr*) the Child and the hawks, neither have they shown any means of propulsion or guidance ⁽²⁾, despite the fact that the *Pyramid Texts* repeatedly refer to the rowing of the boat and presence of the divine crews of gods or stars. The *Middle Kingdom Text* just quoted also refers to the navigation tackle. Concerning the steering oars it says:

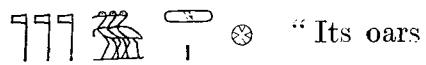
(GRAPOW, *ibid.* p. 190)  → | “Her *wdt* (wood).” Another version: 

 “Her steering-oars are the God and Goddess of the town *Ntr.w*.”

While concerning, the supports of the steering-oars, it says (*ibid.* p. 191) 

 “Her supports are the finger-nails of Isis (*is.t*) and Osiris (*Wsr*).”

(The sails, mast, rigging etc., are also referred to in this text.) The oars for rowing the boat are also mentioned in this text where they are described as (*ibid.* p. 194) 

 “Its oars are the souls of the Gods of *Nhn*.” But the New Kingdom

representations depict these features with a wealth of detail. Therefore, one is tempted to say that crews, passengers and navigation tackle were not represented in the Solar-boats before the New Kingdom, although from the Old Kingdom they were believed to exist therein. But a discovery made by Petrie while digging at Riqqeh makes us cautious about expressing an opinion on this subject. Petrie describes his find as follows ⁽³⁾: “The grave of Thent

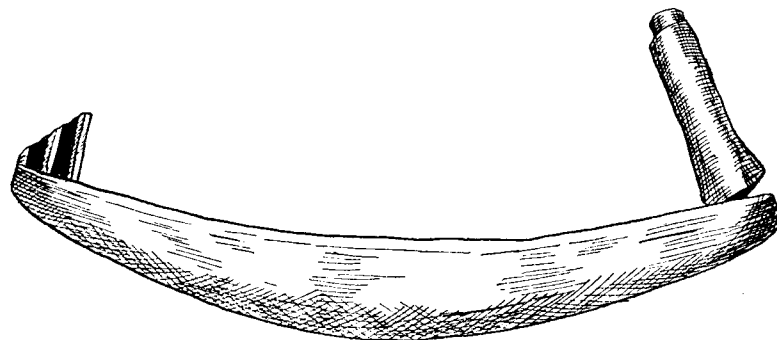


FIG. 71.—A DAMAGED MODEL SOLAR-BOAT

(No. 123) . . . Above the coffin was a wooden boat lying at right angles to the body, the prow being over the head . . . From various fragments found, it appears to have had a crew of hawk and animal-headed gods, and fragments of oars were found, but these were too much perished to be preserved. It is a model of the Boat of Ra (Fig 71)”. If, as it appears to be, this model is

⁽¹⁾ We must always bear in mind that all or any of these emblems may have appeared in the Solar-boat of Abusir.

⁽²⁾ A boat is represented in the *Two-way Book* in the sarcophagus of *Sp* (LACAU, “*Sarcophages Antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. I, Pl. LV) which seems to display small oars, so rudimentary in form as to suggest degeneration of design from long copying.

⁽³⁾ PETRIE, “*Riqqeh and Memphis*”, p. 8, Pl. VIII.

really a Solar-bark, it would have been interesting to know what the crew of “hawk and animal-headed gods” exactly consisted of. If these fragmentary figures actually appertained to the boat in question — and one would hesitate to doubt the judgment of a scientist of such long and wide experience as Petrie — then we have once more an example of a custom appearing in use at an epoch earlier than scholars have generally fixed for it ⁽¹⁾.

The Boats of Dahshur

While excavating in the neighbourhood of the northern brick Pyramid at Dahshur in 1893. De Morgan discovered three large wooden boats having an average length of 9·90 m. ⁽²⁾. These three boats were buried in a tunnel-like construction of bricks, and were orientated east-west. About 100·00 m. to the south of them, he located three more boats of a similar size. These vessels had been placed upon the gravel, their sides supported by piers of mud-bricks, and the whole buried under a mound of sand and debris. With them were huge wooden sledges upon which they had obviously been dragged over the desert. Like the former, these vessels were all orientated east-west, and all had their steering-oars laid upon the decks. The mode of their construction is peculiar. Only short lengths of wood were used, which were fitted together and held in place by wooden pegs. No thwarts were used to give solidity. In fact, the construction of these vessels resembles brick-work more than boat-building. Nevertheless, this peculiar method of construction has stood the test of time, and the work of the Egyptian shipwrights of nearly 5,000 years ago remains remarkably solid, as can be seen in the two specimens now in the Cairo Museum, and this despite the fact that they were made of old wood re-used for the purpose, as Dr. Reisner had pointed out in his book “*Models of Ships and Boats*” ⁽³⁾. They were originally painted, and the deck was white, which is the normal colour for that part of a Middle Kingdom Solar-boat. The purpose of these large vessels is not clear and the absence of any existing bow and stern-posts, or even the remains of any emblems, does not allow us to randomly class them as Solar-boats despite their east-west orientation. De Morgan himself was of the opinion that they may have been the actual boats which transported the Royal Mummy and its equipment, and as we know from the models in private burials of this period that this class of funerary vessel was given some prominence in the tomb equipment, there is much to be said in favour of his supposition. At any rate it is hazardous in our present state of knowledge to identify these boats as Solar-barks, and so for the present we will leave the question of their identity open until such a time as fresh evidence concerning them may arise.

THE EGYPTIAN CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSE ⁽⁴⁾

Having now examined the form of the Solar-boats, their emblems, the divine passengers and crew, and the cargo which they carried, it now remains for us to investigate the regular journeys which they were supposed to make. But before doing this it is necessary to obtain

⁽¹⁾ See REISNER'S statement, p. 63.

⁽²⁾ DE MORGAN, “*Fouilles à Dahchour*”, 1894, pp. 81-83, Pls. XXVIII-XXXI.

⁽³⁾ pp. 83-87.

⁽⁴⁾ Since the foundation of the study of Egyptology, many writers have treated this subject of the Egyptian conception of the Universe. See MASPERO, “*Dawn of Civilization*”, p. 16, *f.*, SCHAFFER, “*Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter*”, SETHE, “*Allägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne*”.

a brief connected idea of the Egyptian conception of the Universe, but this is not an easy matter to explain in a few words, because the Egyptians themselves held very inconsistent views upon the matter. Moreover, their conception of the Universe was naturally somewhat imperfect and often very fanciful. Sometimes they came strikingly near to the truth, as we shall see below and showed keen observation of natural phenomena, but where science failed them they resorted to religious, magical, or superstitious phantasy to supply the deficiency. Thus, for earth, sky, and underworld there were several different conceptions held concurrently, and all mostly contradictory to each other. This confusion is partly due to the beliefs of the different local cults, each holding a separate opinion. When all these various faiths, such as the stellar, solar, Osirian, Memphite and finally Theban beliefs (1) became amalgamated, tradition was too strong to allow any vital point to be discarded and the resulting confusion arose even in a single epoch. Of course, another factor must be taken into consideration, and that is the fact that we are dealing with material spread over a vast period of time, and what was a common belief in the Old Kingdom was not necessarily accepted in the texts of the New Kingdom; while the democratization of Heaven, or properly speaking, the Egyptian Paradise, which took place after the downfall of the Old Kingdom, brought in new ideas and modified existing traditions without actually sweeping them away. As an example of the demoding of ideas we have only to take the explanation of the source of the Nile, which in the Old Kingdom was thought to spring from the Primeval Ocean *Nwn* at a spot on the southern frontiers of Egypt, near Aswan (2). As the Egyptians, by means of raids and expeditions to the south, became more acquainted with natural geography, it became obvious to them that the source of the Nile was not at Aswan. They did not abandon the idea of its mysterious origin, but merely pushed the place of its emergence further and further south as their practical knowledge increased. Later, the Nile was said to descend from Heaven though still having its origin in *Nwn*, which surrounds the world, and exists equally above as below our world, and we still have the saying "Sayhun, Gayhun, the Euphrates and the Nile of Egypt take their source from Paradise (3)." This heavenly descent of the Nile which was still thought of as taking place in the south, was recorded by the Greeks (4). As recently as the last century some Nubians described the Second Cataract to the traveller Burkhardt, "as though falling from Heaven (5)". Therefore, if we wish to eliminate some of this confusion, we must try to examine our material from a chronological point of view, and even here we shall find pitfalls, because many ideas which were formulated in the Old Kingdom were held persistently until the end of paganism, though they may at certain periods be given an unusual amount of prominence. An added difficulty is the fact that we, who have been brought up from childhood to regard the Universe from the viewpoint of modern science, have some difficulty in seeing it through the eyes of a Heliopolitan priest of the Old Kingdom, and above all, so far as we know at present, the Egyptians have never set down their conceptions of the Universe as a connected account (6), and we are forced to rely on scattered references, inferences

(1) To say nothing of the local beliefs of the less important cities.

(2) MULLER, "Egyptian Mythology", p. 46.

(3) سيجون وجيحون والفرات ونيل مصر تدع من الجنة

(4) Porphyry, in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. III, II, 51, ff. See also Herodotus II, 21, and Diodorus I, 37.

(5) BURCHARDT, "Travels in Nubia", p. 78, Note 2.

(6) The scene of the sunrise on the sarcophagus of Seti (*St-j*) I (Fig. 72) attempts to represent the universe pictorially, but without cosmic explanations.

and allusions, eked out by some pictorial representations. But among all this mass of conflicting ideas there were some beliefs which were held more or less consistently at all periods, and it is upon these that we must mainly rely for our reconstruction of the Egyptian conception of the Universe. Moreover, we will take the *Pyramid Texts* as the basis of our study, as up till now, they are our oldest written source, and moreover contain beliefs formulated long before the invention of writing, and trace the development of the various ideas through the texts of Middle and New Kingdoms to the Late Period. Some of the parts of the Universe, as for instance the sky as the Goddess Nwt, have been more or less fully studied by others ⁽¹⁾, therefore, for these I will only treat the more salient points, and reserve fuller details for those elements which up till now have not apparently been studied by scholars.

N W N


The Various Writings and Pronunciations of the Name of Nwn

Nwn is the Greek version of the Egyptian name for one of the elements of the Universe Νόβη and which was handed down to us from the Coptic form *Noyn*. As we know from other examples that the Græcized forms of Egyptian names and words are often sadly distorted, let us before attempting to study the place and function of *Nwn* in the Universe determine what was the original native form of the name. For this purpose we cannot do better than examine the various writings of the name as it occurs in the *Pyramid Texts*, our oldest written source for it. This is a point which needs clearing up, for even the Berlin Dictionary gives the various suggested pronunciations with interrogation points, and the subject is left open to discussion ⁽²⁾.

The most frequent writings of the name as it appears in the *Pyramid Texts* are:—

 (3).

The next in order of frequency are:—

 (4).

 (8).


 (5).

 (9).

 (6).

 (10).

 (7).

 (11).

⁽¹⁾ See RUSCH, "Die Entwicklung der Himmelsgöttin Nut": see also for the writing.

⁽²⁾ See *W.B.*, Vol. II, pp. 214, 222.

⁽³⁾ Lines: 132 (c), 237 (a), 551 (b), 593 (b), 603 (c), 604 (a), 606 (b), 871 (c), 1304 (a), 1678 (b), 1691 (b), 2147 (a).

⁽⁴⁾ 132 (c), 237 (a), 268 (d), 310 (b), 318 (b), 319 (c), 392 (a), 1517 (a).

⁽⁵⁾ 132 (c), 392 (a), 551 (b), 593 (b), 603 (c), 1040 (a), 1166 (b), 1701 (a).

⁽⁶⁾ 1040 (a), 1166 (b), 1174 (c).

⁽⁷⁾ 1701 (a), 1964 (d), 310 (b).

⁽⁸⁾ 604 (a), 872 (d).

⁽⁹⁾ 1778 (b), 1780 (b).

⁽¹⁰⁾ 314 (b), 603 (c).

⁽¹¹⁾ 207 (b), 446 (a).

⊖⊖⊖ (1).

⊖⊖
⊖ (2).

⊖
⊖ (3).

⊖
⊖ (3).

(Notice that in the *Pyramid Texts* the sign $\overline{\text{—}}$ is not used in writing the name of *Nwn*, as we find it later.)

⊖⊖ $\overline{\text{—}}$ (4).

⊖⊖
⊖ (5).

⊖⊖
⊖ (6).

From the first example we can see that it is probably pronounced *nw.w*; if we accept the sign of one water-pot ⊖ having the value of *nw*, then the plural, the three water-pots, must have the value *nw.w*. Therefore, all the forms of the name which is written with the three water-pots, no matter how they are arranged, ought to have the same value = *nw.w*. The seventh example, $\overline{\text{—}} \overline{\text{—}} \overline{\text{—}}$ which is preceded by two $\overline{\text{—}}$ *n* signs, ought to have the value of *nn-nw* (7). The ninth example is without question *njw* while the twelfth is surely *nw.nw*, as are apparently the two similar, but damaged examples.

The above writings would suggest that the very oldest pronunciation of the name was *njw* $\overline{\text{—}}$, but this form was becoming obsolete even in the days of *Wn's*, for we find it occurring twice in his text, perhaps as an archaism, and in each case connected with *Nwn-t* (see below, p.172, also above, p. 95) and it does not occur again in any of the later texts. As *Nwn* and *Nwn-t* are incorporated in the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, it may be that *njw* was a local archaic form of the name. Otherwise, the earliest common pronunciation of the name seems to have been *nw-w*, then *nnnw* and finally the more easily pronounced *nw-nw*, from which, in the Middle Kingdom was derived the form $\overline{\text{—}} \overline{\text{—}} \overline{\text{—}}$ *nwn* (8), the form of the name which the Greeks adopted. The later forms of the writing of *Nwn* are as follows (9):—

The Middle Kingdom Writings

⊖⊖
⊖ DE BUCK, "*Egyptian Coffin Texts*", Vol. I, p. 333.

⊖
⊖ DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 92.

⊖⊖
⊖ RANKE, "*Agyptischen Personenname*", p. 206.

⊖
⊖ DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 334.

⊖ |
⊖ El-Bersheh Coffin Text (9).

⊖⊖
⊖ RANKE, *ibid.* p. 206.

⊖
⊖ SETHE, "*Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte und Altertumeskunde Aegyptens*," Vol. VII, p. 63.

(1) 1057 (a).

(2) 1446 (a).

(3) 1460 (a).

(4) 1446 (a).










(5) 1486 (a).

(6) 1078 (c).










(7) When there is only one $\overline{\text{—}}$ *n*-sign, as in $\overline{\text{—}} \overline{\text{—}} \overline{\text{—}}$ it is probably only a phonetic compliment.

(8) *W.B.*, Vol. II., p. 196.











(9) See also SETHE, "*Amon und die Acht Urgotter*", Pl. I.

- | | |
|---|---|
|  RANKE, <i>ibid.</i> |  x (?) W.B., Vol. II, p. 196. |
|  DE BUCK, <i>ibid.</i> Vol. II, p. 7. |  □ (?) W.B., <i>ibid.</i> |
|   "The Legend of the Destruction of Mankind" (1). |  DE BUCK, <i>ibid.</i> Vol. I, p. 332. |
|  DE BUCK, <i>ibid.</i> Vol. I, p. 333. |  LACAU, "Textes Religieux", LXI, p. 109. |

The New Kingdom Writings

- | | |
|---|--|
|  "Book of the Dead", Ch. XVII, 6, NAVILLE, Vol. II, p. 33. |  "Book of the Dead", Ch. XLII, 24, NAVILLE, <i>ibid.</i> p. 120. |
|  "Book of the Dead", Ch. XVII, 6, NAVILLE, <i>ibid.</i> p. 33. |   <i>Ibid.</i> Ch. XLII, 9, NAVILLE, p. 115. |
|  <i>Ibid.</i> Ch. LXXX, 11, NAVILLE, <i>ibid.</i> p. 176. |  ^{stc}  <i>Ibid.</i> Ch. XXXVIII, 2, NAVILLE, p. 103. |
|  W.B. Vol. II, p. 214. | |

From the Twenty-first Dynasty to the Persian Invasion


- | | |
|---|---|
|  e W.B., Vol. II, p. 214 (Twenty-first Dynasty). |   <i>Rec. Trav.</i> , Vol. XXIII, p. 167 (Twenty-second Dynasty). |
|  W.B., Vol. II, p. 214 (Twenty-first Dynasty). |   BRUGSCH, "Great Oases", 14 (Persian) (2). |
|   <i>Rec. Trav.</i> , Vol. 32, p. 177 (<i>Pinedem</i> , Twenty-first Dynasty). |  SETHE, "Amun und die Acht Urgötter", p. 79. |
| |  (The Old Man Nwn) (3). |


(1) See also SETHE, "Amun und die Acht Urgötter", Pl. I.


(2) *Ibid.*

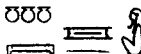
(3) *Ibid.* p. 45.


The Late Period Writings

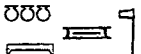
 *Theb. T, 113, 54, f (1).*


 *Fayum Papyrus 1 (2).*

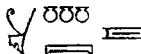
 *W.B., Vol. II, p. 214.*


 *Edfu, Vol. I, p. 288 (2).*


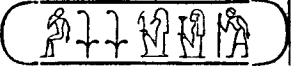
 *Edfu, Vol. I, p. 491 (2).*


 *MARIETTE, Denderah, Vol. IV, p. 81 (2).*

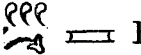
 *Theb. T, 1, b (SETHE, *ibid.* p. 70).*


 *Theb. T, 95, c (SETHE, *ibid.* p. 51).*

 *Edfu, Vol. I, p. 53 (2).*

  *SETHE, *ibid.* Pl. 1.*









 *Theb. T, 145, b (SETHE, *ibid.* p. 51).*





 *BLACKMAN, "Temple of Bigeh", p. 4, e.*

 *W.B., Vol. II, p. 215.*

Concerning the pronunciation of this name, MULLER says (3): "The pronunciation is quite uncertain, and it is difficult to say how the late (but excellent) tradition Nûn can be reconciled with the earlier orthography, which looks like *Niu* or *Nuu*. Later connections with *n* (*y* [?] *ny*, "to be weak, inert, lazy", might seem to harmonize with both traditions, but are apparently mere etymological plays on words", etc. (4).

Ranke, on the other hand, is inclined to the following pronunciation (5):—

  }
  } *nnw*
  }
  }

  }
  } *nnw ? (Middle Kingdom).*

(1) *Ibid.* p. 118.

(2) See also SETHE, *ibid.* Pl. 1.

(3) MULLER, "Egyptian Mythology", p. 370. Note 38.


(4) According to the method we have adopted with regard to the *Pyramid Texts*, Ranke's examples should be pronounced as *nnw*.


(5) RANKE, "Agyptischen Personennamen", p. 206.

may well have come from the fancied resemblance of a flaming wick of a primitive lamp floating in a bowl of oil to the upraised head of an angry cobra, and the flickering motion of the flame to the darting, flickering motion of the reptile's tongue.

The remainder of the last line of the Utterance is a reference to a legend, unfortunately lost to us. A further Utterance showing *Nwn*'s nether situation runs as follows:—

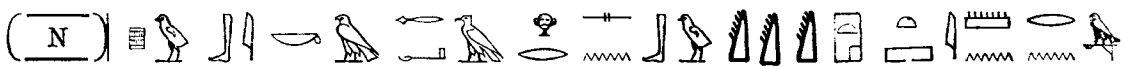
UTTERANCE 576:—


1517 (a)  “*Nwn*, raise the arm of *Ppjj* to Heaven in order that he supports the earth which you gave to him,

(b)  “thus, he mounts and elevates himself to Heaven.”


Further information is given in the following lines:—

UTTERANCE 327:—

1778 (a)  “This *Nfr-k3-R* is a great falcon on the top of the Temple of the Hidden Name,

(b)  “bring the Desire of *Itm*, i.e. *Tfn.t.* (?) to he who separates the Heaven from the earth and *Nwn* (1).”

“He who separates” is, of course, *Šw* and the “Desire of Atum” is perhaps *Tfn.t*, the sister-wife of *Šw*, whom *Itm* created when he found himself alone in the Universe. Heaven, then is raised from earth and from *Nwn*, both of which are lying below it. We now have a word-picture as painted by the religious writers of the Old Kingdom, which shows us our world apparently floating in *Nwn* which lies beneath it. This conception was developed in the New Kingdom, as we may see from a text in the Harris Papyrus (2) which says concerning *Pth*:


 “He who made the Heavens as a creation of his own heart (3) and who raised it high. “He who founded the earth with what he himself had made, and encircled them with *Nwn* and the sea (*lit.* ‘the Great Green’).”

(1) For another explanation see BREASTED, “*Development of Religion and Thought*”, p. 11.


(2) ERICHSEN, “*Harris Papyrus*”, 44, lines 4, 5, p. 49.

(3) i.e. according to his heart's desire.

Utterance 503 seems to refer to the rising of the inundation :—


1078 (a)  “ Words spoken: Opened is the door of the sky, opened the door of the earth,


(b)  “ opened are the windows *ptrw*,

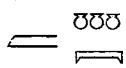
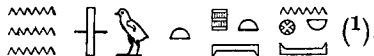
(c)  “ opened are the steps of *Nwn*,

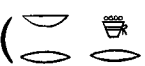
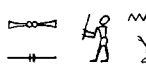


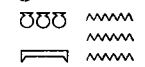

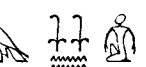
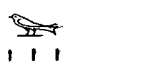
(d)  “ are loosened the steps of the Sun’s rays.”

This paragraph suggests not only the beginning of the rise of the Nile (opening the steps of *Nwn*) but also the opening out or unfolding of all nature at this time of the year, when the sky is “ open ” or free from clouds, the earth opens to drink thirstily of the rising waters, while the Sun’s rays whose “ steps are loosened ”, certainly march in splendour across the land during the summer months. In this aspect *Nwn* is also the origin of all sustenance, as we may see in Utterance 258, *Wnis* :—

310 (a)  “ His cake comes upwards together with [that] of *R*’,

(b)  “ his great offering-meal comes out of *Nwn*.”

Thus, this aspect of *Nwn* seems to have been clearly and fully established in the Old Kingdom, and in the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and Late Periods we find the same view consistently held, and *Nwn* still appears as the Primeval Ocean, out of which the Creator-gods and all creation emerged. Thus, in the Temple of Seti (*St.j*) I at Gournah we see in a text speaking of *Imn*, that he had joined together the Two Lands when he was “ in *Nwn*, between the sky and *Nwn.t* ”   (1).

This also shows that at this period (Nineteenth Dynasty) *Nwn* was believed to envelope the Universe. In the Bremner Rhind Papyrus (2) the Lord of All () says: “ The Heaven had not been formed, the earth had not been formed (3), the ground had not been created for the reptiles in that place (4) ”.        “ I raised myself up among them (*var.* there) in *Nwn*, out of its inertness.” On the other hand, another text makes *Itm* the pre-existing creator from whom *Nwn* issued as his first act of creation (*see* KEES, “ *Opfertanz* ”, p. 59) “ I come to you, my father Osiris (*Wsr*), I bring to you that which came out of *Nwn* (*i.e.* water), the first which came out of *Itm*.”

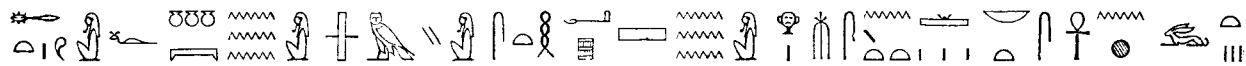
(1) *L.D.*, III, 150 (a).

(2) FAULKNER, “ *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* ”, Col. 26, lines 22, 23, p. 60.

(3) A text at Edfu reads:          , *A.Z.*, Vol. 67, p. 36.

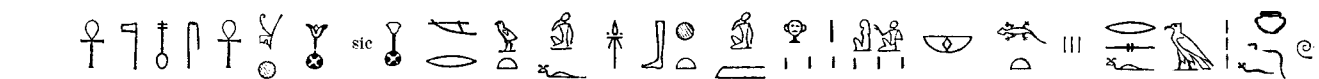
(4) This would seem to prove that the Egyptians were fully aware of the fact that the reptiles were the first of the living creatures to inhabit the dry land.

In the Leyden hymn to *Imn* (1), *Nwn* is regarded as the source and origin of the Nile. It says :—

 “His body is *Nwn*, he that is in it is Nile, giving birth to things that are, making to live what exists.”

Another line in the same hymn declares that the Ennead of the Gods, and Amon (*Imn*) himself came forth from *Nwn* (see also ERMAN, “*The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*”, pp. 294, 299).


That *Nwn* was believed in the Late Period to be the source of the Nile, and consequently of all food, may be seen from the following inscription (2) :—

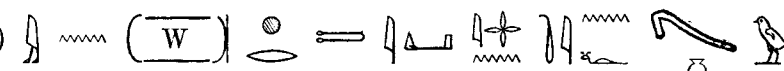
 “The Good God (*i.e.* the King) lives from what vivifies the Two Lands, his love mingles with everybody, whose offerings (of fish and birds) are numerous, the Lord of Food as his father *Nwn*, the Beautiful of face, the King of Upper, and Lower Egypt, who arranges the Feasts of Thebes and who increases the offerings in *ipt-iswt* (Karnak), the Lord of the Two Lands . . . (3).”

In the Temple of Bigeh, *Nwn* and the Nile are synonymous, as is often the case in the Ptolemaic inscriptions (see BLACKMAN, “*The Temple of Bigeh*”, p. 4, e) (also REC. TRAV., Vol. XXXIX, p. 68).

Nwn as a Place of Spirits


The *Pyramid Texts* also present us with the aspect of *Nwn* as an inhabited place (apart from its primeval sense as containing the germs of all life), in other words, as a kind of Underworld. Thus, there was a door to *Nwn* which the dead King desired to open, as we are told in Utterance 272 :—

392 (a)  “Words spoken : O Height which had not been touched (by the summit of the head). You door of *Nwn* (4) !

(b)  “*Wn*'s comes to you, (*i.e.* to the door) let him open this.”

On the inside of the door of this shadowy kingdom dwelt the Inhabitants of *Nwn*, whom the King was to govern :—

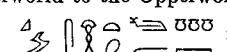
UTTERANCE 512 :—

1166 (a)  “You receive your mace and your 'ms-sceptre,


(1) GARDINER, “*A.Z.*,” Vol. 42, pp. 38 and 39.

(2) CHAMPOLLION, “*Notices*”, Vol. I, p. 731.

(3) See also for this aspect *Nwn*, KEES, “*Der Opfertanz*”, p. 215.


(4) That leads from the Underworld to the Upperworld. According to the Theban school of thought the Sun had its origin as an egg which emerged from *Nwn* :  . “He (Amon) created the Egg which came out of *Nwn*”; SETHE, “*Amon und die Acht Urgotter*”, p. 62 (122).

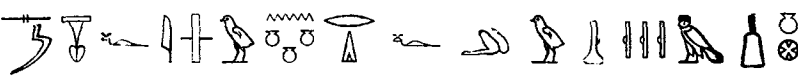
Thus, the Inhabitants of *Nwn* are well-disposed towards the King, but what manner of beings are they? Utterance 694 will answer us:—

2147 (a)  “ Those who are in *Nwn* come to you, the glorified people hurry to you.”


These glorified people are certainly the souls of the Royal Dead and the entourage of the King, who are dwelling in *Nwn* as a place of the Hereafter, and to this place the King — in a text strongly flavoured with Osirian ideas—is said to be going:—

UTTERANCE 260:—

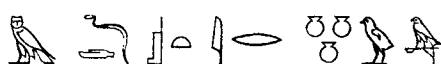
318 (a)  “ Collect his members, he who ought to be in that which is hidden (1),

b)  “ his soul unites itself to those who live in *Nwn*, he leaves the last word (*i.e.* his will) in Heliopolis.”


There does not, therefore, seem to be the least doubt that in some cases *Nwn* was regarded as a place of departed spirits, in fact, a kind of *Dwst*. Can this possibly be an early conception of the Underworld kingdom of Osiris (*Wsr*), as the above-mentioned text would suggest, and which was later “solidified” into the *Dwst*? If so, it would explain the connection between Osiris (*Wsr*) and water which is so frequently met with (2). Utterance 577 also gives a close connection between Osiris (*Wsr*) and *Nwn*:—

1525  “ ‘Come, O Inhabitant of *Nwn*’, says *Itm*, ‘come to us’, say they, ‘namely, the Gods, to thee, Osiris (*Wsr*)’.”

Here Osiris (*Wsr*) is addressed as the *Inhabitant of Nwn* in the same manner that *Hr-3h-t.j* is spoken of as the dweller in the Horizon. So also seems to be the case in the tantalizingly damaged line of which remains 1964 (d):—

1964 (d)  “ As Isis (*Is.t*) said to the Inhabitant of *Nwn*.”

In line 872 also, the King, identified with Osiris (*Wsr*), is given the following warning:—

872 (d)  “ O one of *Nwn*, one of *Nwn* (*i.e.* inhabitant of *Nwn*) (3), be careful before the Great Lake (4) (text of *Mr-n-R*).” A New Kingdom belief regards *Nwn* as the place where the Sun-god and his worshippers are rejuvenated each day. (See GARDINER, “*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*”, Vol. I, p. 34.)


(1) Osiris (*Wsr*) who ought to be buried in the tomb.

(2) For instance, the well-known scene of the throne of Osiris (*Wsr*) placed in or near the water. See also MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 95.

(3) You coming from *Nwn*.

(4) See also line 334(a), where the King is said to have escaped the anger of the Great Lake. This is a warning of the dangers to be encountered in the upper Heaven, which we shall see described in detail later.

The two conceptions of *Nwn* could not be more clearly expressed in words ; and as we shall now see, it is also on a monument of Seti (*St.j*) I that this double conception of *Nwn* is most clearly and beautifully represented pictorially.

In a late text from Edfu the God *Pth* is identified with *Nwn*, and given the title
. (See ROCHEMONTAUX, "*Le Temple d'Edfu*", Vol. I, p. 99.)

Representations of *Nwn*

On the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti (*St.j*) I is the double representation of *Nwn* just alluded to (1) in a scene depicting the Sunrise. *Nwn*, as the Primeval Ocean, forms a background to the

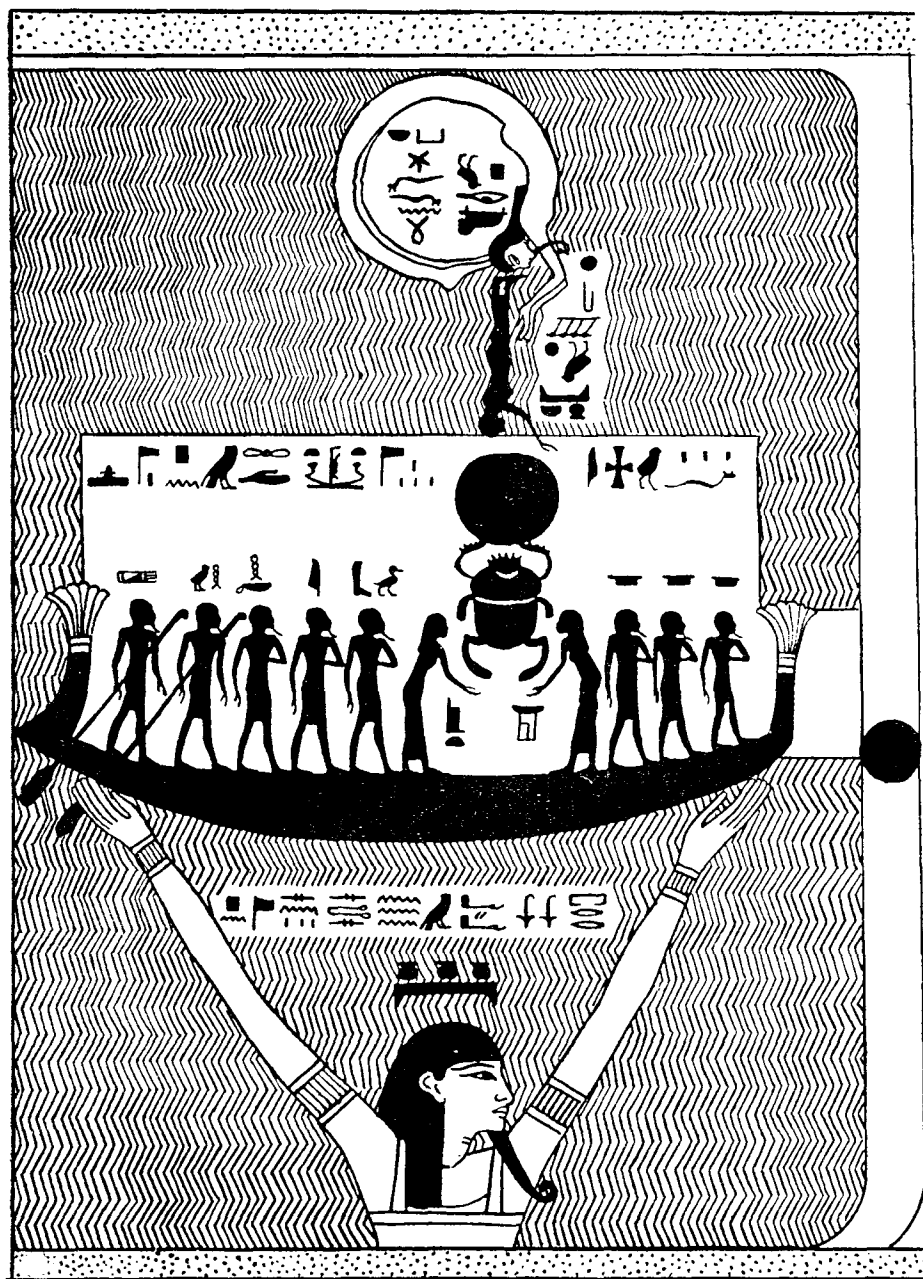


FIG. 72

(1) BUDGE, "*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*", Vol. II, p. 303.

whole scene, being represented by closely drawn zigzag lines, in the usual Egyptian manner of representing water. Upon this background sun, earth and *Dwst* appear to be floating. At the bottom of the picture *Nwn* is again represented, this time as a god, who raises the Solar-boat aloft upon his outstretched arms, while he himself emerges from his own waters (see Fig. 72). In another scene (1) *Nwn* is shown in the form of a mummy emitting from his mouth two streams of water which fall upon the heads of two other mummiform gods called the Mysterious Ones (Fig. 73). These beings in their turn discharge the stream of water again, each from his own mouth. Perhaps they symbolize the celestial and earthly Niles. *Nwn* may also appear as a mummiform god with the head of a bull, characteristically represented against a watery background (2) (Fig. 74). Or again he may be represented as a frog-headed man, as in a bas-relief from Philæ (Fig. 75).

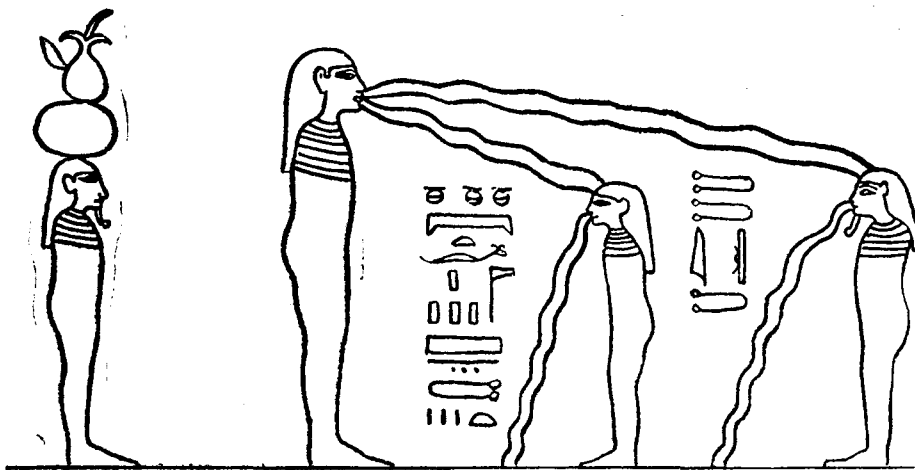


FIG. 73

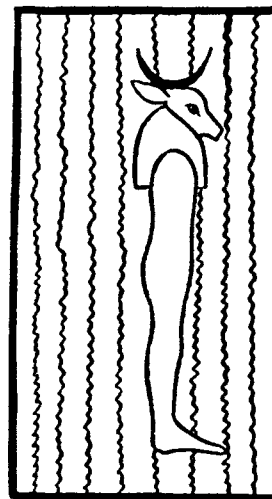


FIG. 74

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing evidence we may say that during the Old Kingdom *Nwn* was regarded :—

- (1) As the Primeval Ocean situated below our world and from which all life emerged.
- (2) *Nwn* was also the source of all waters and consequently, all sustenance.
- (3) *Nwn* was a place of departed spirits and formed a vague kind of Underworld, and in this sense was in connection with Osiris (*Wsir*).
- (4) *Nwn* was regarded also as a god, seemingly one of the Primeval Gods, as is suitable to his cosmic nature.

During the New Kingdom the same views were held concerning *Nwn*, but in his cosmic form as the Primeval Ocean we have definite evidence that he was thought to encircle this world, while for the Old Kingdom we have only evidence that *Nwn* was below our earth. In the New Kingdom *Nwn* was also personified as a god, and could be represented in a double form as a god and as the Primeval Ocean in a single scene.

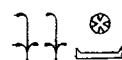
(1) CHAMPOLLION "Notices", I, p. 423.


(2) CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* p. 429.


NWNET

The Various Writings of the Name of Nwn.t


The Old Kingdom Writings

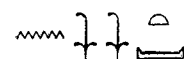
 *Pyramid Texts*, 207 (b), 446 (a)
(both old writings from the
texts of *Wn's*).


 *Ibid.* 149 (b).


 *Pyramid Texts. W.B.*, Vol. II,
p. 213.


 *Ibid.* 166 (c).

 *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 213.


 *Ibid.* 1691 (b).

 *Denkmaler Memph. Th.*, pp. 50,
51 (1).


 *Ibid.* 1466 (a).


 *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 213.


The New Kingdom Writings


 *Imj-Dwst* (1).


 *ERMAN*, "A.Z.", Vol. 38,
p. 27.

 *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 213.

 *WRESZINSKI*, "A.Z.", Vol. 45,
p. 117.





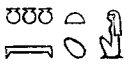

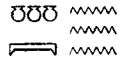


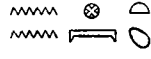
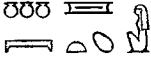
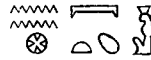






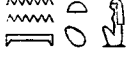


 *W.B.*, Vol. II, p. 213 (Nineteenth
and Twentieth Dynasties).

 *Book of the Dead*,
Ch. LXXIX, *BUDGE*,
(Text), Vol. II, p. 35.

 "Imj Dwst", *BUDGE*, "Egyptian
Heaven and Hell", Vol. I, p. 271.

(1) See also *SETHE*, "Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis", Pl. I.

The Late Period Writings

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|  <i>Edfu</i> . I, 53 (1). |  BRUGSCH, " <i>Gr. Oases</i> ", pp. 15, 20, 21 (4). |
|  MARIETTE, " <i>Denderah</i> ", Vol. II, p. 4 (1). |  " <i>Edfu</i> ", LEPSIUS, Vol. II (1). |
|  BRUGSCH, " <i>Great Oases</i> ", p. 14 (1). |  THEB. T, 95 (b) (1). |
|  <i>Ram's Coffin, Mendes</i> (1). |  " <i>Deir-el-Medineh</i> ", LEPSIUS, Vol. III (1). |
|  " <i>Edfu</i> ", LEPSIUS, Vol. I (1). |  " <i>Medinet Habu</i> ", LEPSIUS, Vol. XI (1). |
|  <i>Edfu</i> , Vol. I, p. 288 (1). |  WRZSZINSKI, " <i>Vatican Stele</i> ", <i>A.Z.</i> , Vol. 45, p. 117. |
|  <i>Edfu</i> , Vol. III, pp. 52-55 (1). |  <i>W.B.</i> , Vol. II, p. 213. |
|  " <i>Edfu</i> ", LEPSIUS, Vol. X (1). |  <i>Ibid.</i> |
|  <i>Medinet Habu, Theb.</i> , T, Vol. I, 6 (b) (2). |  <i>Ibid.</i> |
|  " <i>Edfu</i> ", LEPSIUS, Vol. IX (1). |  <i>W.B.</i> , Vol. II, p. 213. |
|  <i>L.D.</i> , Vol. IV, 70 (a) (3). | |

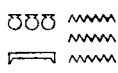




(1) See also SETHE, "*Amun und die Acht Urgotter von Hermopolis*", Pl. I.

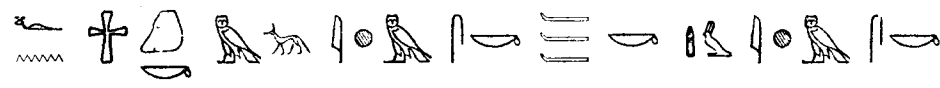
(2) *Ibid.* p. 53.


(3) See also SETHE, *Ibid.* p. 64.

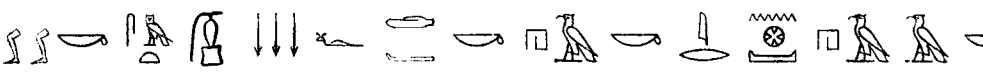
(4) *Ibid.* p. 79.







The Place of *Nwn.t* in the Universe

There have been many interpretations given as to the exact meaning of *Nwn.t* and its relation to *Nwn* . Maspero had interpreted *Nwn.t* as being the Under-heaven (1), but in reality it is much better expressed as the “opposite” or “reversed heaven”, for while the sky *pt*  extends above our earth, so does *Nwn.t* span the *Dwst* and *Nwn* in exactly the same manner when seen from the *Dwst*, but reversed  when seen in relation to our earth (2). Thus, the conception of *Nwn.t* and the *Dwst* may be compared to a reversed reflection of the sky *pt*  and our world. That *Nwn.t* lies underneath our world may be seen in those lines of the *Pyramid Texts* which refer to the dead descending,  to *Nwn.t*, as in Utterance 215:—

148 (d)  “Your nose is that of a Jackal (3), O Imperishable, you teeth are those of *Spdw* (‘Sharp’) O Imperishable.”

149 (a)  “Your arms are those of *H'pjj* and *Dw3-Mwt.f*, which you need, therefore, you mount with them to Heaven and you mount always ;

(b)  “your feet are those of *Imstj* and *Kbh-snw.f*, which you need, therefore you descend with them to *Nwn.t*, and you descend always.”

This text is very interesting from more than one point of view. Firstly, it shows that the dead King expects to make two journeys, one to the Upper Sky  and one to the Lower Sky . Notice the use of the verb *pr*  “to mount” used in connection with *pt*  and *h3*  “to descend” used in connection with the journey to the *Nwn.t*  (4).

Secondly, for each of the journeys of the deceased, two of the Sons of Horus (*Hr*) are charged to help him. When mounting to Heaven they are *H'pjj* and *Dw3-mwt.f*, and when descending to *Nwn.t* they are *Imstj* and *Kbh-snw.f*. Thus, this text shows us the correct positions of the canopic jars (which are under the immediate protection of these gods) in the tomb. This text is decisive as to the nether situation of *Nwn.t*. Notice also that the King is addressed as an Imperishable Star, which shows that these could exist equally in *Nwn.t* as in our sky,

(1) MASPERO, “*Etude de Mythologie*”, Vol. II, p. 27.

(2) May be the Glorified Spirits, in the *Dwst* would hold this reversed conception concerning our world and sky!

(3) Having a keen sense of smell.

(4) See my “*Hymnes Religieuses du Moyen Empire*”, p. 114.

This text is further a parallel to that in Utterance 214, which refers to the journey of the deceased in Heaven and in the Underworld, and is also a parallel to the following text which expresses the same idea of the upper and lower journey:—

UTTERANCE 534:—

1275 (a) “*Ppjj* comes a coming with his *Ka*,

(b) “the notification of his divinity is necessary that he may descend to *Nwn.t*, and he descends always,

(c) “to the place where the Gods are.”

1276 (a)

“This *Ppjj* comes a coming with his *Ka*, your two arms will be opened to him;

(b) “the notification of his divinity is necessary that he may mount to Heaven, and he mounts always⁽¹⁾.”

In Utterance 222 we have the same nether situation of *Nwn.t* indicated but with some new points added:—

207 (a) “You get rid of your impurities⁽²⁾ for *Itm* in Heliopolis, and you descend with him;

(b) “you adjust the pains of the *Nwn.t* and you stand (as King) upon the Places of *Nwn*.”

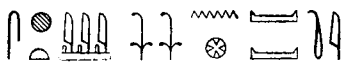
Here we are told that after his purification the King will descend with his father *Itm* to *Nwn.t* and the places of *Nwn*. Thus, we see not only the nether situation of *Nwn.t*, but also its relationship with *Nwn* (here written). *Nwn* is here the fundamental form of as it appears in the texts of *Wn's* (see above, p. 159), and in this instance means the Primeval Ocean which lies under the earth, and together with *Nwn.t* forms the Underworld in which the sun makes its journey by night. The *Nwn* is appearing here in its cosmic sense, and is not personified as a god.


We have already seen in line 1691 (see p. 167) that *Nwn.t* was also said to be situated in the the North:—

“They place for you *Šw* on your east side and *Tfn.t* on your west side, *Nwn* on your south side and *Nwn.t* on your north side.”


⁽¹⁾ See SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. II, p. 177.

⁽²⁾ Moral blemish, literally that which is to be purified in you.

at first thought of as being in the tomb itself, and afterwards enlarged to be another world which he can govern as when he was on earth. Another point we can glean about this shadowy Underworld is that it had in it a locality called  "The Field of the Two *Nwn.ts*", as may be seen in Utterance 548:—

1345 (c)  "He descends in the Boat like *R* on the banks of the Meandering Stream."

1346 (a)  "This *Ppjj* takes the oar of the *Hnbw*-boat;

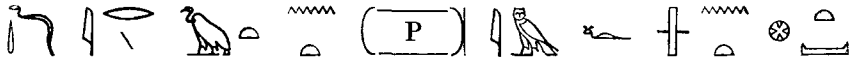
(b)  "he seizes the *hpt* as far as the Field of the Two *Nwn.ts*,

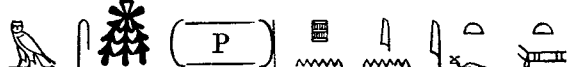
(c)  "which is at the head of this land of the Field of *I3rw* (i.e. reeds)."


Here we have a district which seems to be a counterpart of the Field of *I3rw*. It also raises a difficult question. As there was an Upper and Lower *Dwst*, was there also a corresponding Upper and Lower *Nwn.t*? As *Nwn.t* is the sky of the *Dwst* this is not impossible, and its dual determinatives are all in favour of this theory. It may also be that there were separate *Nwn.ts* for Upper and Lower Egypt, just as there appears to have been separate over-earth skies for the "Two Lands" (see p. 58). On the other hand, the connection of *Nwn.t* with the Field of *I3rw* may be explained by the conception of reflection. In all other points *Nwn.t* and the *Dwst* appear as reversed reflections of our sky and world. The sun travels there by night, just as he traverses the Upper Heaven by day; the King travels there and commands over the inhabitants, just as he does in the upper sphere; the Imperishable Stars are in the *Nwn.t* equally as in the upper sky. Therefore, why is there not also a counterpart of the Field of *I3rw* in the *Nwn.t*? It is significant that during the Middle and New Kingdoms we find the heavenly fields transferred to the Underworld and represented there pictorially, as we shall see later.


Nwn.t as the Equal of Nwn

In Utterance 571 of the *Pyramid Texts*, we have a conception of *Nwn.t*, which is absolutely identical with that of *Nwn* as the Primeval ocean and pre-existing source of all life. Thus, we read in Utterance 571:—

1466 (a)  "Words spoken: The mother of *Ppjj* is pregnant in him, she who is in the *Nwn.t*;

(b)  "this *Ppjj* was engendered by his father *Itm*,

(c)  “when there was no sky, when there was no earth.”

(d)  “when there were no men, when the Gods were not born, when death did not exist.”


This is a parallel to what we have already seen in respect to *Nwn* in line 1040 (see above, p. 116).

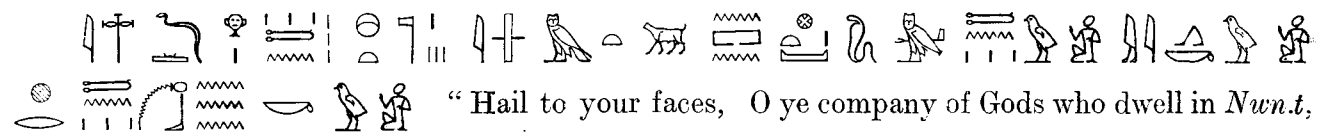
Nwn.t as a Goddess


Until now we have only seen *Nwn.t* in a cosmic form, as a reversed sky, or as a kind of Underworld, or as a pre-existing elemental matter like *Nwn*. Now we see that, also like *Nwn*, *Nwn.t* was sometimes personified as a goddess. Thus, in Utterance 301 (see p. 172) we have seen *Nwn*, and *Nwn.t* appearing as two gods to whom regular and established offerings were given: “You established offerings belong to you, *Nwn*, together with *Nwn.t*, you two sources of the gods whom the gods protect in their shade”; and even here the cosmic conception of the divine pair is not lost sight of.

LATER CONCEPTIONS OF NWN.T

Nwn.t as the Underworld

We have already seen in line 207 of the *Pyramid Texts* a connection between *Itm* and *Nwn.t* as the Underworld sky. In *Ch. LXXXIX* of the *Book of the Dead* ⁽¹⁾ we find this conception of *Nwn.t* fully developed:  “O Gods who tow the ship of the Lord of Millions of Years and who draw up from the *Dwst* and who go away from the *Nwn.t*.” Here the *Nwn.t* is in direct relationship with the *Dwst*, and both are the Underworld. So also in *Ch. LXXIX*, line 6 ⁽²⁾:—

 “Hail to your faces, O ye company of Gods who dwell in *Nwn.t*, grant that I may come to you for I am pure.” So also in Chapter CXXXIII (line 5) ⁽³⁾:—

 ⁽⁴⁾ “You separate the divine followers and you sail in the divine boat to the *Nwn.t*.”

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, (Text), Vol. II, p. 52.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* II, p. 35.

⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* II, p. 174.

⁽⁴⁾ Var. Brit. Mus. Pap. 9900:  (NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, Vol. II, p. 343).

In *Ch.* CXLIX d (1) *Nwn.t* is apparently referred to as the "Lower heaven" and placed in opposition to the visible sky, which is expressed by "the high": (2) (3). O Chief of the Mysterious Place, O that very high mountain which is in the Underworld upon which the Under Heaven rests (*var.* "the Upper Heaven rests").

In all these examples *Nwn.t* is either the inhabited underworld and is synonymous with the *Dwst*, or the sky of the Underworld, through which the sun-boat travels.

For further examples of this conception of *Nwn.t*, see SETHE, "Amon und die Acht Urgotter", Par. 102. It is worthy of note that the Inhabitants of *Nwn.t* are termed "the tired", which is also a designation for the dead (*ibid.* p. 44, Note 2).

***Nwn.t* as the Place of Sunrise and Sunset**

In the New Kingdom, the function of *Nwn.t* as the place where the sun journeys by night, that is to say, as the sky of the *Dwst*, runs concurrently with the conception of the night journey of the Solar-boat upon the river of the Underworld — so in the Eighteenth Dynasty papyrus of *Nw* we have the following lines (4), where *Nwn.t* is at once the Underworld and the place from whence the Sun-god issues in order to be born again from the sky-Goddess *Nwt* :—

"The gods rejoice when they see him in his beautiful coming forth from the body of *Nwn.t*, when his mother *Nwt* gives birth to him."

Here we are told that the Sun-god, whom we know has passed the night travelling in the *Dwst*, comes forth from *Nwn.t*, personified here as a goddess, as we may see by the uraeus determinative, and enters the sky of our world, similarly personified as a goddess. From the Pap. *3njj*. (late Eighteenth Dynasty) we get the complimentary text (5) which refers to the sunset :—

"May I be joined to those

(1) SETHE, "A.Z.", Vol. 59, p. 76, Pl. 55, (TOTENBUCH, *Ch.* 149).

(2) *Var.* P.b.

(3) *Var.* P.d.

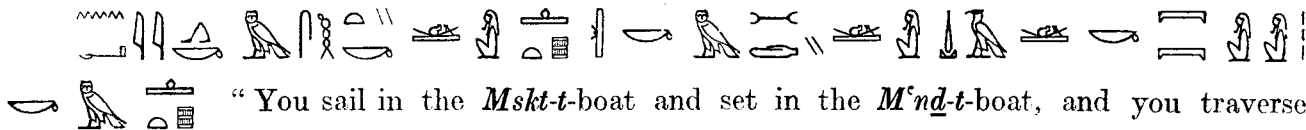
(4) BUDGE, *ibid.* II, p. 37.

(5) BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 43.

spirits august and clever who are in the Necropolis ⁽¹⁾, and may I come forth with them to behold your beauties, when you shine at evening and go to your mother *Nwn.t*.”

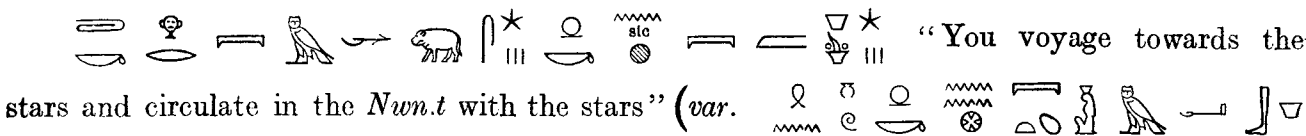

Here we see the Sun-god entering the *Nwn.t* at evening, which as the sky of the Underworld, is logical. This also gives the idea of *Nwn.t* as being the night sky as opposed to *Nwt* as the day sky, a fact which led Budge ⁽²⁾ to translate $\frac{\text{☉}}{\text{I}}$ as *Nwt*, adding a note to explain it as the night sky as opposed to $\frac{\text{☉}}{\text{I}}$ *Nwt*, the day sky. But we must remember that there are representations which plainly show *Nwt* functioning as both the day and night skies, as we shall see later. In the *Book of Gates* according to the version found in the tomb of Ramesses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI, we find a group of persons represented in the Underworld who are called $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆎}}$ | *nntj-w*, Inhabitants of the *Nwn.t*.

Concerning them, Piankoff says : ⁽³⁾ “The *nntjw*, Inhabitants of the $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆎}}$ determined by $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆎}}$, and are in relation with the Imperishable Stars.” And this is exactly the same idea as we have seen expressed in the *Pyramid Texts*. In the *Book of Overthrowing Apep* ⁽⁴⁾, we get an idea of the connection between the *Nwn.t* and the Solar-boats — the roles of the latter being here reversed :—

 “You sail in the *Mskt-t*-boat and set in the *M^cnd-t*-boat, and you traverse your two Heavens in peace.”

The writing of the “two Heavens” is somewhat ambiguous. It may well represent the two skies (*i.e.* those of Upper and Lower Egypt), which we have already seen in the *Pyramid Texts* (*see* p. 58). But in view of the mention of the day and night Solar-boats, and the whole tone of the text we may much more reasonably suppose that the two skies are *pt* and *nwn.t*.

Coming down to the Late Period, we find *Nwn.t* referred to as follows ⁽⁵⁾ :—

 “You voyage towards the stars and circulate in the *Nwn.t* with the stars” (*var.* ). While a text at Edfu refers to *Hr-Bhdtj* as “He who openeth the Ball of Dung (?) in the *Nwn.t*, and bringeth back the light of Heaven (*i.e.* the Sun). (*See* CHASSINAT, “*Edfu*”, Vol. I, p. 12, line 12) ⁽⁶⁾. Thus, after a lapse of about 3,000 years

⁽¹⁾ Sometimes the $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆎}}$ *hrt-ntr* (*lit.* “Under” or belonging to the God) may be applied to the Underworld, perhaps as a lingering memory of the conception of *R^c-st³w* as the Kingdom of Osiris (*Wsr*) in the tomb. Its real meaning, however, is “Necropolis” (*cf.* the modern “God’s acre”, as a name for a burial-ground).


⁽²⁾ BUDGE, *ibid.* (translation), p. 75.

⁽³⁾ PIANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, p. 38.

⁽⁴⁾ BUDGE, “*Facsimiles of Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*”, p. 24, line 14.

⁽⁵⁾ WRESZINSKI, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 45, p. 117.

⁽⁶⁾ For a full discussion of *Hr* the Beḥdetite, *see* GARDINER, “*J.E.A.*”, Vol. 30, p. 23. *ff.*

we find exactly the same ideas retained as to the nature of *Nwn.t* and its relationship to the stars namely, that *Nwn.t* refers to the sky of the Underworld, in which the dead and the stars circulate even as the Sun-god circulates. The feminine determinatives  show that the personification of *Nwn.t* was not forgotten. On the contrary, it is from the Late Period that we have a representation from Philæ⁽¹⁾ depicting *Nwn.t* personified. She is shown as a goddess with a woman's body and the head of a cobra, and appears along with other members of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad. Like her companions she wears sandals in the form of jackal's heads, a common feature for several gods in the Greco-Roman Period, and which symbolizes the power of swift and silent progression, as the movements of the jackal (Fig. 75)⁽²⁾.

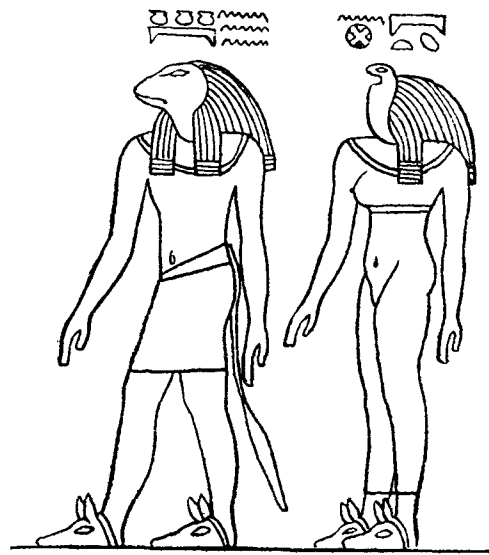

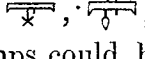
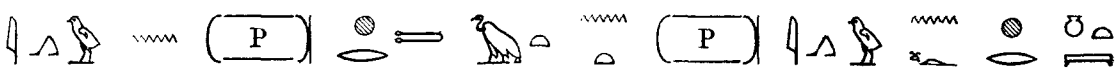
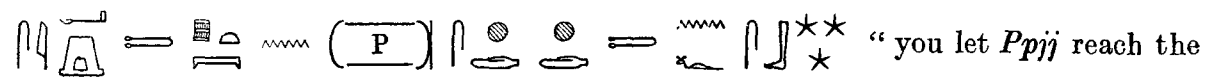


FIG. 75

THE SKY PT⁽²⁾ AND NWT



We now come to an element of the Egyptian Universe concerning which there is—at least to our minds—a great confusion of ideas, nor can we in our present state of knowledge separate these ideas chronologically, because, as I have already remarked, though we find certain aspects of the sky and the sky goddess represented pictorially only in the New Kingdom, yet we find all these types recognized in the *Pyramid Texts*. The simplest idea was that depicted by the hieroglyphic sign  *pt* "heaven" or "sky"⁽³⁾. This seems to represent a huge metal plate which covers our world like a roof⁽⁴⁾, and from the under side of which the stars hang on chains or ropes like so many lamps. This we can see in the determinative sign for night (*grh*) "darkness" and kindred words ; notice the end of the rope or chain hanging free, by means of which these star-lamps could be raised or lowered. That the stars were really thought to hang from the sky may be seen in Utterance 576 of the *Pyramid Texts* :—

1516 (a) 
 " *Ppjj* came to you, O Mother of *Ppjj*, he came to *Nwt*;

(b)  " you let *Ppjj* reach the sky, and you let the stars hang for him ⁽⁵⁾."

(1) MASPERO, "Dawn of Civilization", p. 148.


(2) It may be mentioned here that sometimes the names of both *Nwn.t* and *Nwn* are employed in the writing of the name of the god *T3-t3n* (see SETHE, "Dramatische texte", p. 34).



(3) Also written  and (late) . See *W.B.*, Vol. I, p. 490. For the meaning of the word "*pt*", see SETHE, "Kommentar", Vol. III, p. 11.

(4) This plate or roof may be flat or vaulted. This idea is mentioned in the Koran in the following *Suras* :—

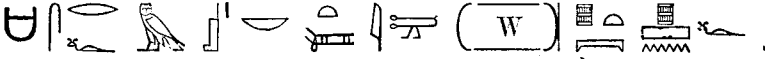
" And we made the heaven a roof well supported " (وجعلنا السماء سقفا محفوظا) (*Anbia*, verse 32); and " And we adorned the lower heaven with lights, and placed therein a guard of angels " (وزينا السماء الدنيا بمصابيح وحفظا) (*Fussilat*, verse 12).

(5) See also the late text quoted on p. 312 in connection with the sky and *Dwt*, where the stars are said to be "hanging in heaven".


The "Metal"  bj3



That the sky  pt was made of metal, most probably iron, is suggested by another ancient name for the sky  (1) bj3. In the *Pyramid Texts* we read:—

UTTERANCE 257:—



305 (a)  "Accordingly he has seated himself in the place of "Lord of All", *Wnis* takes possession of the sky, he splits his iron (of the sky)."










And again in Utterance 509:—

1121 (a)  "He mounts to Heaven and he traverses the sky in life and prosperity."

That this metal sky was made of iron is shown by the name for iron which was   bj3-n-pt "Sky-metal (2)." This conception is quite understandable when we remember that nearly, if not quite, all the iron known to the Egyptians of very ancient times was of meteoric origin (3). Observing and finding these meteorites which had fallen from the sky, the Egyptians naturally thought of them as fragments broken off a large mass, and from this the visualization of the sky as a great metal plate would be easy. According to Muller (4), thunder was called "khrw-bai" (for *hrw-bj3?*), "the sound of metal", and was caused by beating upon this iron sky (5).

The Supports of the Sky

Certainly this great metal roof could not stay up unsupported, and one idea was that it rested upon four large forked poles  which were also the four cardinal points, and were sometimes identified with the Four Sons of Horus (*Hr*) (6). But these supports were not very secure, and a severe storm might dislodge the sky and send it sliding down the poles, a catastrophe shown by the determinative sign for "storm, tempest", etc.  (7). The Egyptians were afraid that this disaster might one day occur, and many invocative formulæ were composed and recited

(1) Var. , (O.K.),  (M.K.),  (N.K.),  (Greek) determined by: , , , ,  (M.K.). See *W.B.* Vol. I, p. 439.

(2) *W.B.*, I, p. 436 (Coptic: *benipe*).










































(3) See LUCAS, "Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries", pp. 193-195.

(4) "Egyptian Mythology," p. 35.

(5) For an interesting article on the metal *bj3* and the religious conceptions concerning it, see WAINWRIGHT, "Iron in Egypt", *J.E.A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 3, ff.

(6) MULLER, "Egyptian Mythology", p. 366, Note 7.

(7) MASPERO, "Dawn of Civilization", pp. 16, 17.

for the purpose of warding off such a tragedy (1). But another belief replaced these slender supports by four mountain peaks, the northern one of which being far away across the Mediterranean Sea, the Egyptians knew very little about. The southern peak was called *wpt-t3*,  , the “Horn of the Earth (2)”, and Maspero was of the opinion that the Egyptians of the New Kingdom believed it to be the Abyssinian Mountains which in their southern raids they had seen from the distance, but never actually reached (3). Brugsch identified “Horn of the Earth” with the “Mountains of the Moon (4).” The western peak was called *M3nw*  (5), and plays a very important part in the voyage of the Solar-boat, for it is here that the change of vessels takes place at sunset. *M3nw* may also be a real geographical feature. The Ptolemaic lists place it in the Libyan Nome of Lower Egypt, probably somewhere on the desert road to Wadi Natron (6). The same with the eastern peak of *B3hw*     (7), where the sun rose each morning and embarked in the waiting Day-boat. This was also an actual earthly mountain, perhaps one of the highest peaks in the range of mountains lying between the Nile and the Red Sea (8). In a Middle Kingdom version of *Ch. 108 of the Book of the Dead* (9) this mountain is referred to thus:                                   “I know the mountain *B3hw*, upon which the sky is supported.” Then follows a description of the mountain.

Naturally, the same thing happened with regard to these mountains, as with the supposed source of the Nile; the Egyptians found out by actual experience that these earthly mountains, at least *B3hw* and *M3nw*, did not support the sky. The priestly imagination, therefore, replaced the mountain peaks by four mysterious women, again the cardinal points, but personified; and these beings carried the sky aloft upon their outstretched arms (10) (Fig. 76).

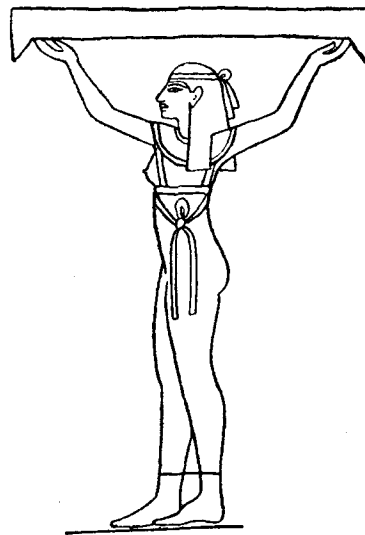


FIG. 76.—A PERSONIFIED
CARDINAL POINT AND SUPPORT
OF THE SKY

(1) JEQUIER, “*Le Livre de ce qu’il y a dans l’Hadès*”, p. 1.

(2) GAUTHIER, “*Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques*”, Vol. I, pp. 194, 195.

(3) MASPERO, *ibid.* p. 18, Note I.

(4) BRUGSCH, “*Geog. Insc.*”, Vol. I, 36, Vol. III, p. 52.

(5) GAUTHIER, *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 7.

(6) See also BRUGSCH, “*Dict. Geog.*”, p. 259.

(7) GAUTHIER, *ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 4, 5.

(8) For the mountains *M3nw* and *B3hw*, see BRUGSCH, “*Ueber den Ost und Westpunkt des Sonnenlaufes nach den Altägyptischen Vorstellungen*”, *A.Z.*, Vol. II, pp. 73-76.

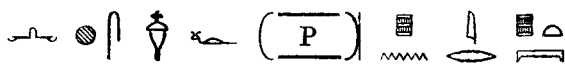
(9) SETHE, “*A.Z.*”, 59, Pl. 44, p. 74.

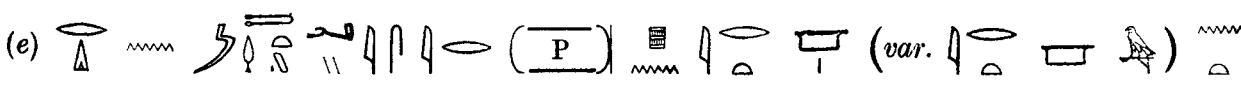
(10) MARIETTE, “*Denderah*”, Vol. II, p. 55.

The Sky as a Tree

Apparently another belief was that the sky was a mighty tree overshadowing the world. In the *Pyramid Texts* we have the mention of a Celestial Tree, which is a door-keeper of Heaven, who welcomes the dead king:—

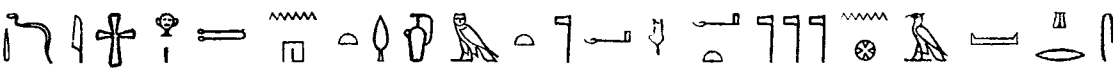
UTTERANCE 569:—

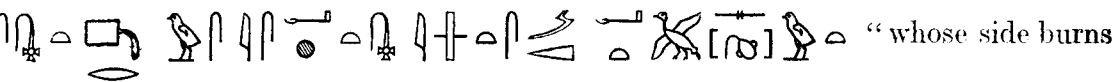
1440 (d)  “This *Ppjj* will not be forbidden to the Heavens,


(e)  “the Tree had given her two arms to this *Ppjj*” which is (the tree) the Door-keeper of Heaven.

The reference to the heavenly tree having arms reminds us of one of the vignettes in the Eighteenth Dynasty Papyrus *Nw* ⁽¹⁾, which depicts a human arm emerging from a tree and pouring water into a bowl held by the deceased. Here the arm perhaps represents the Goddess *Ht-Hr* or *Nut*, most probably the latter who is seen performing the same office in the Papyrus *anj* ⁽²⁾. But the idea of the heavenly tree being a source of refreshing water is seen as far back as the *Pyramid Texts*:—

UTTERANCE 574:—

1485 (a)  “Words spoken: Hail to your face, Sycamore, you God's well, under which the gods of the *Nwn.t* stand,

(b)  “whose side burns and whose inside is charred, the absolutely red-coloured ⁽³⁾.”

1486 (a)  “You embrace those who are in *Nwn*, you enfold those who are in the Upper Heavens.”

Concerning this conception of the sky as a tree, Muller says ⁽⁴⁾: “When the gods perch on its boughs they are evidently identified with the stars. The celestial tree disappears in the morning, and the Sun-god rises from its leaves; in the evening he hides himself again in the foliage, and the tree, (or its double of evening time) once more spreads over the world ⁽⁵⁾.” And further

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, “*The Book of the Dead*”, (translation), p. 208.

⁽²⁾ *ibid.* p. 204. (For the connection between *Nut*, *Ht-Hr* and the night sky, see MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 42.)


⁽³⁾ Red-hot ?


⁽⁴⁾ MULLER, *ibid.* p. 35.

⁽⁵⁾ According to this aspect the tree seems to represent more particularly the night sky, whose fruit or leaves would thus be the Imperishable Stars. (See KRES, “*Totenglauben*”, p. 95.)

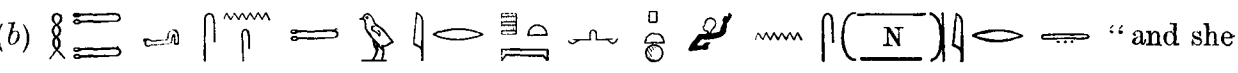
“ . . . This thought of the celestial or cosmic tree, which is found among so many nations, also underlies the idea of the Tree of Life, whose fruit keeps the gods and chosen souls of the dead in eternal youth and wisdom in Egypt as elsewhere.”

The Sky as the Goddess Nwt 

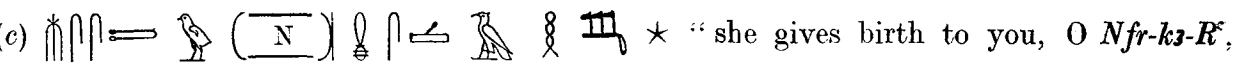
Very often the sky was visualized as the heavenly goddess *Nwt*  extended over the earth upon which her feet and fingers rest. It is not surprising that when personified the sky should be thought of as a goddess and not a god for the word *pt* “sky” itself is feminine. This is also a very early conception, and reference to it is found in the *Pyramid Texts*. For example, in Utterance 697 we read :—

2171 (a) 

“ *Nwt* gives to you her two arms, O *Nfr-k3-R'* ; she with the long hair and pendant breasts,

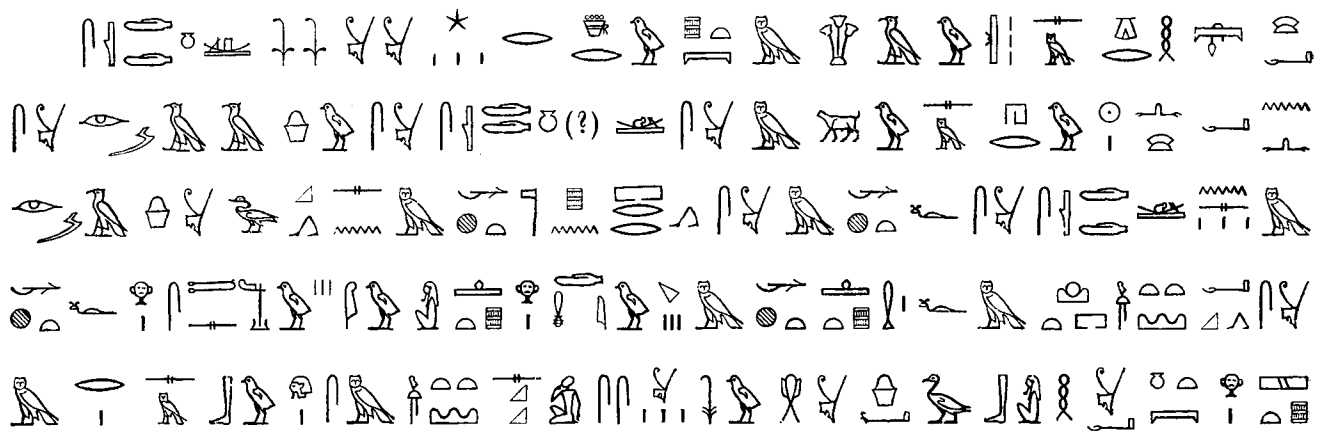
(b) 

herself raises you to Heaven, and does not let you fall, O *Nfr-k3-R'*, to earth,

(c) 

as the Star Orion” (*S3h*).

Notice here the determinative sign of the head and two arms of the Goddess hanging downwards, from which we can visualize her in exactly the same attitude in which the artists of the New Kingdom portrayed her, her star-spangled body extended over the Earth-god *Gb*, her breasts pendant, and her long hair hanging down towards the earth (1). The allusion to *Nwt* giving birth to the King as a star has an amusing parallel in the New Kingdom, where a dramatic text in the Cenotaph of Seti (*St.j*) I, at Abydos, refers to a quarrel between *Nwt* and her husband *Gb*, on account of *Nwt* eating the stars which are described as her children. The introduction to this family dispute reads (2) :—





(1) See also Fig. 77 where *Nwt* is the sky, over which *R'* sails in the Solar-boat.


(2) FRANKFORT, “ *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos* ”, Vol. I, p. 83, Vol. II, Pl. LXXXIV (also translation).






“These stars sail to the end of the sky on her outside at night, whilst they show themselves and are seen. They sail in her inside in the daytime, whilst they do not show themselves and are not seen. They enter after this god, and they come forth after him⁽¹⁾. Then, they sailed after him on the supports of Šw⁽²⁾, whilst they rest on their places after His Majesty has set in the Western Horizon. They enter her mouth in the place of her head in the West, then she ate them. Then Gb quarrelled with Nut, because he was angry with her because of the eating of her young ones. Her name was called ‘Sow who eats her piglets’, because she ate them. Then her father Šw lifted her and raised her to his head. He (?) said [Beware?] of Gb. Let him not quarrel with her because she eats their children. She shall give birth to them and they shall live (again), and they shall come forth in the place at her hinder parts in the East every day, even as she gave birth [the first time?].”

In reality, there originally seems to have been a distinction between the sky *pt*  and the Sky-goddess *Nut*  as may be seen in the line we have just quoted, and more clearly in line 1247 (d):—

UTTERANCE 526:—

1247 (d)  “Šw, take *Mr-n-R*^c to Heaven, *Nut*, give your arm to *Mr-n-R*^c.”

It would seem that originally  *pt* meant the sky, in its cosmic sense, as a place in which the gods and the glorified dead could live, and we often see the sign  placed across the top of a scene to represent the sky pictorially. As far as I know the earliest example of this device occurs on the north wall of the Causeway of *Szhu-R*^c at Abusir⁽³⁾. It also occurs on the Causeway of *Wnis* at Sakḳara, which I cleared in 1938⁽⁴⁾, and in the Temple of *Ppjj II* at Sakḳara⁽⁵⁾. In this cosmic sense we find reference to the “eastern side of the sky”  (*Pyramid Texts*, line 1000 [c]), etc., and references to its relationship with the earth. Thus, in Utterance 517 we see:—

1188 (c)  This “*Mr-n-R*^c is righteous in the sight of the sky and of the earth.”


⁽¹⁾ The Sun-god.



⁽²⁾ The sky.

⁽³⁾ BORCHARDT, “*Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Szhu-R*”, Vol. II, Pl. 5.

⁽⁴⁾ There is, however, a small fragmentary scene on a piece of wood which came from the funerary equipment of the Step Pyramid at Sakḳara, where the starry band seems to represent the sky in the same manner that we have it on the *Wnis* Causeway (see FIRTH, AND QUIBELL, “*The Step Pyramid*”, Vol. II, Pl. 109, No. 1).


⁽⁵⁾ JEQUIER, “*Le Monument Funeraire de Pepy II*”, Vol. II, Pls. 16, 56, 60, etc.

While when we find the sky referred to as *Nwt* , it is usually when it is visualized as a Goddess, as in line 2171, as quoted above.


But, nevertheless, confusion seems soon to have crept in, and we find  and  used indiscriminately, as in Utterance 483:—


1016 (a)  “You mount up to Heaven on your splendid throne;”







(b)  (1) “you traverse the lake . . . your face in the north of Heaven;”


(c)  “*R*^c announces you as ‘The zenith’ of the sky.”

In line 1101 (b) the text of Pepy reads:—

1101 (b)  “Elevate him, raise you him up to Heaven,”

(c)  “like the two arms of *Šw* under the sky, when he raises it.”

In the texts of *Mr-n-R^c* the word *pt*  in *l.c.* is replaced by , and this reference to *Šw* raising *Nwt* aloft is exactly what we see in the New Kingdom representations (2). Coming to the New Kingdom we find  and  still interchangeable. For instance, in Figs. 50, 52, 53, etc., we see the Solar-boat sailing upon the sign , while in Fig. 77 (3) we see the Solar-boat travelling across the back of *Nwt*. In a text in the Ramesseum  is referred to as the sky in which the Gods and Goddesses dwell, and at the same time is personified as a Goddess to whom offerings were to be presented (see CHAMPOLLION, “*Monuments de l’Egypte et de l’Nubie*”, Vol. 1, p. 906). In the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI (4) the solar journey is represented as taking place underneath the body of *Nwt*, while an alternative theory of the sun’s voyage is represented concurrently in the same scene. This is shown by twelve Solar-disks, each representing an hour, travelling along inside the body of the Goddess (5). It is in this aspect of the

(1) *Var.* in text of *Nfr-k3-R^c* .

(2) According to one idea *Šw* only supports the goddess during the day. Each night she descends to embrace her husband and to be impregnated by him anew that she may daily bear her planetary and stellar children. (See JEQUIER, “*Le Livre de ce qu’il y a dans l’Hadès*”, p. 2.)

(3) CHASSINAT, “*La Seconde Trouville de Deir-el-Bahari*”, Fig. 26.

(4) PLANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, Pls. I-VIII.

(5) *Ibid.* Pls. I-IV.

sky as the Goddess *Nwt* that the sun is visualized as entering her mouth each evening and being born anew from her womb each morning, as is graphically illustrated in the royal tombs at Biban-el-Moulouk (1). Thus, the Sun-god causes *Nwt* to become pregnant each night with himself, in

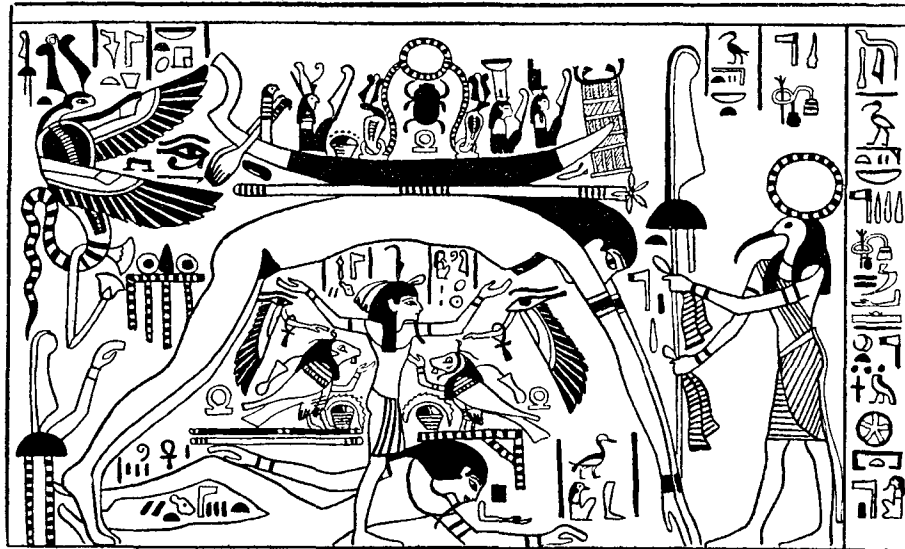


FIG. 77

order that he may be born from her in the morning, and for this reason he is sometimes called “Bull of His Mother”, *k3-mwt.f* (2), or in the Old Kingdom. “Bull of Heaven”, *k3-p.t* (var. *ih-p.t*)(3). Thus, the idea that the sun travels by night through the body of *Nwt* offers an alternative theory to the conception of the night solar journey taking place in the underworld *Dwst*, and it is perhaps a late echo of the very earliest conception which located the solar journey entirely in the sky (4).

The Sky as a Cow

Another theological fancy makes the Sky-goddess *Nwt* assume the form of a long-horned cow, a form in which she is frequently represented during the New Kingdom, but to which we also have reference in the *Pyramid Texts*, where Utterance 548 says:—

1344 (a) “*Nwt* the great gives to him her two arms, she has a long horn and a full breast,

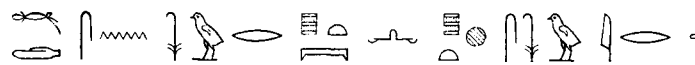
(b) “from which she suckles this *Mrrj-R* (*Ppjj*) without weaning him.”

(1) PIANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, Pls. I, IV, VIII.

(2) *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 95.

(3) See *Pyramid Texts*, line 283 (a) (Var.).

(4) For a fuller study of *Nwt* as the Sky-goddess, see RUSCH, “*Die Entwicklung des Himmelgöttin Nut*”. For her connection with the dead and the sarcophagus, see FRANKFORT, “*The Cenotaph of Seti I, at Abydos*”, Vol. I, p. 27.

1345 (a)  “They will pull him to Heaven, and she will not let him fall to the ground.”

This seems to be a reference to a legend⁽¹⁾ which relates how *Nwt* changed herself into a long-horned cow and ascended into the Heavens in order to raise the Sun-god afar from the ungrateful human-beings over whom he had been ruling, and who had rebelled against him. Frightened by the unaccustomed height, the celestial cow trembled violently and the god was in danger of falling from her back. She cried out for help, and *Šw* came to her assistance, placing himself under her belly as a support; while the other gods came to support her trembling legs. A scene in the tomb of Seti (*St.j*) I⁽²⁾ illustrates this legend, and shows the Solar-boats journeying along the flanks of the Goddess in her bovine form. This scene is particularly

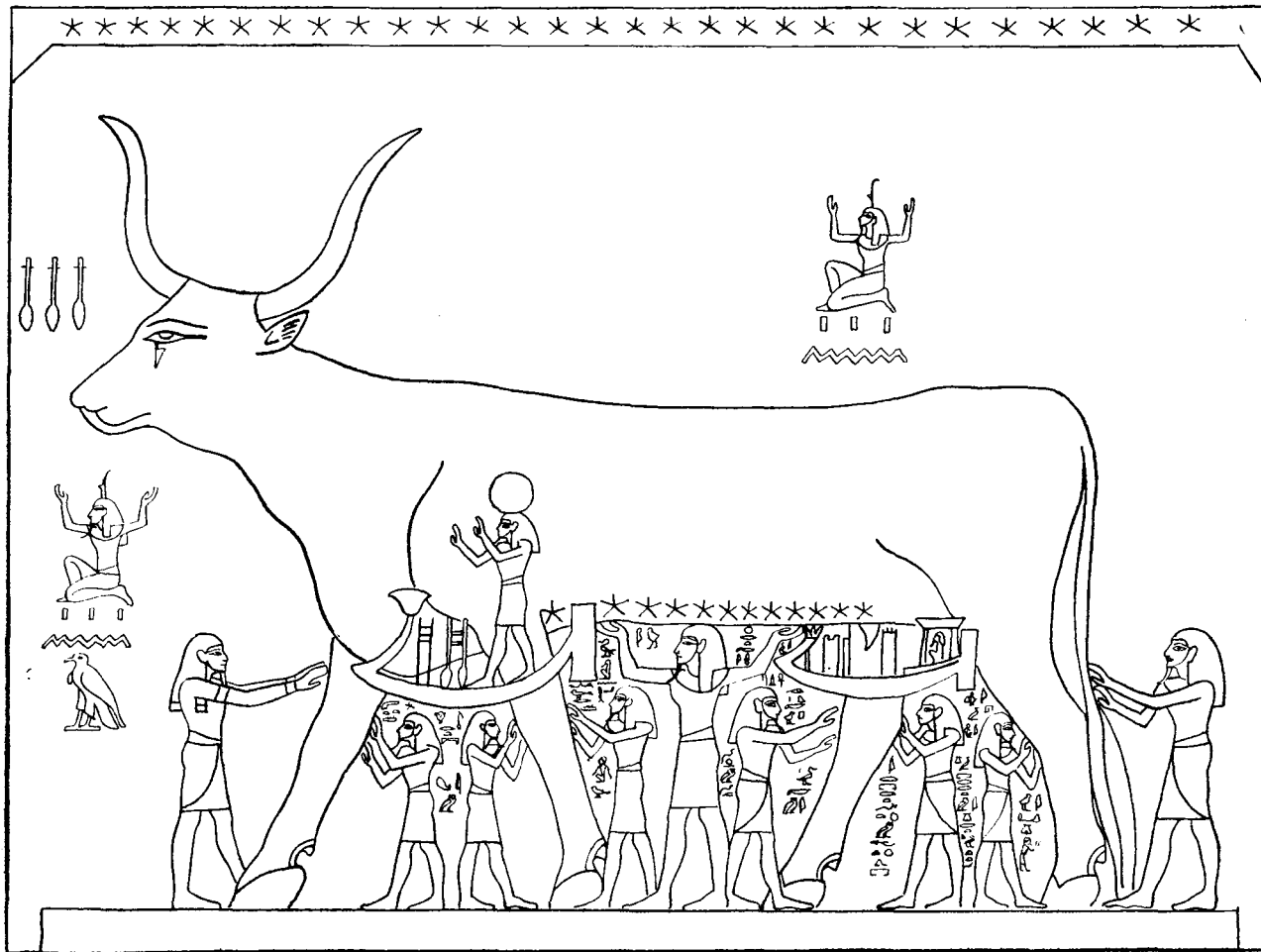





FIG. 78


interesting because it reverts to the original conception of the distinction between  and , for above the Celestial Cow we see the sky  spangled with stars (Fig. 78). Notice also that it is from the sarcophagus of Seti (*St.j*) I that we have the double representation of *Nwn*, where he is shown in cosmic and anthropomorphic form (see above, p. 174)⁽³⁾.


⁽¹⁾ MASPERO, “*Dawn of Civilization*”, p. 168; NAVILLE, “*La Destruction des Hommes par les Dieux*”, T.S.B.A., Vol. IV.

⁽²⁾ LEFEBURE, “*Le Tombeau de Seti I*”, (Part IV), Pl. XVII.


⁽³⁾ Sometimes the celestial cow is called *Ht-Hr* or more frequently *Mh.t-wr.t* (see JEQUIER, “*Le Livre de ce qu’il y a dans l’Hadès*”, p. 3).

Plural Skies

We have already remarked in connection with the Solar-boats of *H'j-f-R'*, (*see above, p. 58*) that the Egyptians held the idea of the existence of more than one sky, possibly superposed; and that certain lines in the *Pyramid Texts* ⁽¹⁾ strongly suggest that Upper and Lower Egypt each had its own particular sky ⁽²⁾. We have pictorial proof of this belief in the Middle Kingdom, from the Temple of *S-n-wsr.t* I at Luxor ⁽³⁾. This Temple contains a list of the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt, and each list is bordered at the top by its own individual sign *pt* . A Coffin of the Middle Kingdom ⁽⁴⁾ speaks of “all skies!”

 ⁽⁵⁾ “Horus (*Hr*) the Elder is this who

is in this sky which is the Mistress of all Skies.”

From this we can see that  is considered to be the sky *par excellence*, to which all other skies are subordinate and this confirms our theory which places it as the veritable “roof” of the Egyptian Universe. We have also the following text from the Middle Kingdom which treats of the plurality of the skies ⁽⁶⁾ :—





“*Gm'hsu* ⁽⁷⁾, who passes over the skies and traverses the *Nwn.t*, to the extent of her size, without sleeping on the way; and when day comes he places himself in his divine place (as an illumination whose passing is unknown).”

Here the “skies” do not refer to the *pt* and *nwn.t* as the latter is mentioned independently, and therefore they should refer to the skies of Upper and Lower Egypt and the domains of the Egyptian Empire, and perhaps each country was thought to have its own individual sky; though on the other hand, the allusion to multiple skies may have had only a figurative or poetical meaning, just as when modern writers speak of the “Cloudless sky of Egypt”; or the “Smoky sky of London”. While some Semetic languages as well as some modern ones speak of the sky in the plural as in the Arabic “السّموات”, in English “the Heavens” or in French “dans les cieux ⁽⁸⁾”.

In Pap. Louvre No. 3292 the two skies are regarded as being one for this earth and one for the *Dst* (*see NAGEL, “B.I.F.A.O.”, Vol. XXIX, p. 75*).

⁽¹⁾ Lines 406 (c), 514 (b) (*see p. 58*).

⁽²⁾ *See W.B., Vol. I, p. 491*,  . The two skies in opposition to the two lands of Upper and Lower Egypt. *See also this plural* , *ibid. p. 492*.

⁽³⁾ Discovered by Cheverier. *See A.S., Vol. XXVIII, p. 126, ff.*


⁽⁴⁾ Cairo Museum, No. 28085. LACAU, “*Sarcophages Antérieur au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. I, p. 216.


⁽⁵⁾ *See also Cairo Coffin No. 28083. LACAU, ibid. pp. 189, 190.*

⁽⁶⁾ ERMAN, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 38, p. 27.


⁽⁷⁾ A name of the Sun-god.

⁽⁸⁾ *See my “Hymnes Religieuses du Moyen Empire”, p. 114.*

On the other hand, the Egyptians may have believed that these plural skies were superposed one above the other, as is suggested by the determinative  and actually represented in a scene at Philæ⁽¹⁾. On the other hand, we have a passage from a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text⁽²⁾, where the plural skies of Heaven and the Underworld seem to be intended :—




 “The soul of this N will not be put under guard (imprisoned), [therefore], this N had traversed all the Heavens and run through all the earths.”

So also in the Harris Magical Papyrus, we have the following passage⁽³⁾ :—


 “You navigate over your two skies without enemies, while you blow fire to devour the serpent *Nh3-hr*.”

Here the “Two Heavens” are to be understood as the sky which *R* traverses by day and the *Nwn.t* through which he sails by night. For this idea, see also JEQUIER, “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. 39, p. 98, and for another reference to the plural skies, see MARIETTE, “*Abydos*”, I, Pl. 7, line 62. Also L.D. Text II, 191, and CHASSINAT, “*Edfu*”, IV, 35, No. LXVI.

The Sky as a Face

There is another very ancient tradition which likens the sky to a huge celestial face, that of the god *Hr* , whose right eye was the sun and whose left eye was the moon⁽⁴⁾. Concerning this theory, Boylan says⁽⁵⁾ : “For the ancient Egyptians the light which shone in the sun and the moon was thought of as the flashing of two eyes—the eyes of Heaven. The god of Heaven they called *Hr* — thinking of Heaven, perhaps, as a great face, with sun and moon as its two eyes. (Compare the name with the Letopolitan god  *Hnti irtj*, or *Mhntj irtj*.)”

In this connection we find a line of the *Pyramid Texts* which reads :—

UTTERANCE 215 :—

148 (a)  “Your head is Horus (*Hr*) of the *D3t*, (*Hr-D3t*) O Imperishable Star,

(b)  “your countenance is *Mhntj-irtj*, O Imperishable Star,

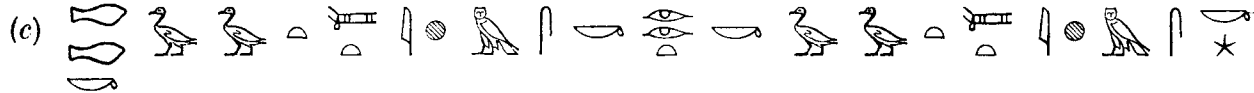
(1) MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 49.

(2) DE BUCK, “*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*”, Vol. I, pp. 362, 363. Spell 75 (B 3 C).

(3) LANGE, p. 40.

(4) For a discussion of this God Horus (*Hr*) and the Falcon God, see JUNKER, “*Giza*”, II, p. 51.

(5) BOYLAN, “*The Hermes of Egypt*”, p. 30.



“your ears are the twin children of *Itm*, your eyes are the twin children of *Itm*, O Imperishable Star.”

Here we have a connection between the celestial face, *Mhntj-ir.tj* and *Šw* and *Tfn.t*—“the twin children of *Itm*”—who are also regarded as the sun and moon (see above p. 130) ⁽¹⁾. According to Muller ⁽²⁾ this celestial face may be that of *Ht-Hr*, and her four heavy tresses of hair hanging down to the earth are the cardinal points. According to Maspero ⁽³⁾ the sky was first thought of as *Horus (Hr)* the Elder, “the sparrow-hawk of mottled plumage which hovers in highest air, and whose gaze embraces the whole field of creation”. From a pun upon his name *Hr* and the word *hr* used to designate the human face, was derived the conception of the sky as a great celestial face whose two eyes opened in turn, the right being the sun, which gives light by day, and the left being the moon, to give light by night. This face also shone with a light of its own, the zodiacal light, which appeared suddenly every morning and evening, a little before sunrise and just after sunset ⁽⁴⁾. The divine face was framed by four thick locks of hair which were the four cardinal points supporting it and, these locks were, in Maspero’s opinion, under the charge of certain gods, whom he wishes to identify with the “Lock carriers” of the *Pyramid Texts* (see above, pp. 5, 6, 17, 19, etc.). However, though these gods—if identified with the Sons of *Horus (Hr)*—may well personify the cardinal points, their name “Lock-carrier” is surely derived from the fact that their own heads were adorned with the childish side-lock, as may be seen by the constant reference to their youthfulness and the fact that the angry King threatens to pluck out their locks if they disobey him (see above, p. 144).

CONCLUSIONS

We may say that from the time of the Old Kingdom or later, these different beliefs were held concerning the nature of the sky :—

(1) The sky was an iron plate or roof, resting upon forked poles, mountains, or carried aloft by four women, all of which personified the four cardinal points.

(2) The sky was a goddess whose body spanned the earth and who was the mother of all the heavenly bodies.

(3) The sky was a tree whose branches overspread the world.

(4) The sky was a cow, the form of *Nwt*, *Ht-Hr* or *Mh.t-wr.t*.

(5) Or the sky was a great celestial face whose eyes were the sun and the moon.

But no matter what its form might be, it was, of course the uppermost element of the Universe, and its highest point was the Zenith *iskn* (personified) (see *Pyramid Texts*, lines 496 [b], 1016 [c]).

⁽¹⁾ See also LEFEBURE, “*Les Yeux d’Horus*”, pp. 96-98.

⁽²⁾ MULLER, *ibid.* pp. 38, 39.

⁽³⁾ MASPERO, “*Dawn of Civilization*”, p. 86.

⁽⁴⁾ A curious incident in the story of “The Contendings of *Horus* and *Set*” relates how *St* tore out the two eyes of *Hr* and buried them upon a mountain, where the two eyeballs were transformed into bulbs, which grew into lotus-flowers and illuminated the earth. This seems to be a combination of the tradition, which explains the sun and moon as being the two eyes in the heavenly face, and that which relates how the sun arose from a lotus-flower. (See SPEIGEL, “*Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth*”, p. 135, Note I.)

THE EARTH  T₃

The Various Writings of the Name of the Earth

The Old Kingdom Writings



The Middle Kingdom Writings



The Late Period Writings




The word *t₃* in Egyptian has exactly the same meaning as “earth” in English or Arabic, namely the ‘world’, ‘land’ and ‘soil’.

T₃, the Earth

As in the case of the *Nwn*, the *Nwn.t* and the sky, so also did the Egyptians hold a dual conception of the earth and regard it both as a part of the Universe and as a god. These two main conceptions are to be found in numerous examples in the *Pyramid Texts*, which prove that they date back at least as far as the Fifth Dynasty. Beside these two conceptions there were several other figurative conceptions, which we will study in their proper places.

T₃, the Earth in its Cosmic Sense







When speaking of the earth in its cosmic sense, the Egyptians called it *T₃* , and it would seem that the elongated oval of the sign with which this word was written perhaps represented their idea of the shape of the earth, as was sometimes the case with the *Dst* (see below, p. 305). Thus, in the *Pyramid Texts* we find many examples where the earth as an element of the Universe is referred

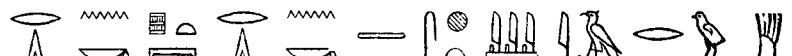
(1) *Pyramid Texts*, line 961 (a).


(2) *Ibid.* line 951 (a).


(3) *Ibid.* line 952 (d).


(4) *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 212.

to as *ts*. For instance, line 1778 (b) has already shown us the relationship of *ts*  to *pt*  (see above, p. 164): “Bring the ‘Desire of *Itm*’ to he who separated the Heaven () from the earth () and *Nwn*”; and also in line 1040 (see p. 166): “*Ppjj* was born in *Nwn*, when the heaven () did not exist, when the earth () did not exist.” In line 961 (a), when speaking of the triumph of Osiris (*Wsir*) over *St*, we see (text of *Ppjj*):—


961 (a)  “The Heaven is given to you, the earth is given to you, and the Fields of *Irw*,⁽²⁾

(b)  “the Places of *Horus* (*Hr*) and the Places of *St*⁽¹⁾,

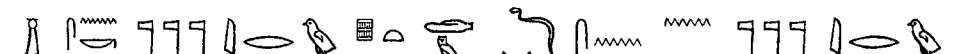
(c)  “the towns are given to you, the nomes are united for you’, said *Itm*,

(d)  “he who spoke concerning it is *Gb*.”


This line also shows that Osiris (*Wsir*) was given the dominion of Heaven and earth, and even of the Fields of *Irw*, the most important part, which, like the Field of Offerings, surely had its origin upon earth. The last line shows us the other conception of earth as the god *Gb*, with, which we will deal later. In line 941 we read:—


941 (a)  “And *Nfr-k3-R* walks to his mother *Nwt*,

(b)  “*Nfr-k3-R* climbs on her in this her name of ‘Ladder’,

(c)  “she brings you the Gods who dwell in Heaven, she unites you with the Gods who dwell upon earth.”

The relation of *ts* to *pt* is also seen in an interesting Utterance (No. 476) bearing upon the purification ceremony:—

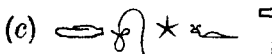
951 (a)  “Words spoken: The sky is purified for *R*, the earth is purified for *Horus* (*Hr*)⁽³⁾,

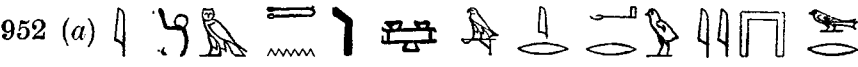
(b)  “every god who is in them (i.e. in Heaven and earth) he purifies *Nfr-k3-R*,

(¹) Upper and Lower Egypt.

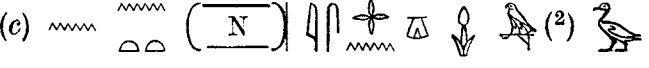
(²) See also lines 1010 (b) and 1985 (a). It is interesting to notice that in religious books the word ‘sky’ or ‘heaven’ is generally mentioned before the word ‘earth’; see the Koran where the examples are numerous.

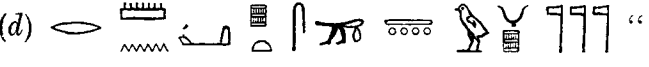
(³) *Horus* (*Hr*) may here be the reigning King who rules over the earth as *R* rules over the sky.



(c)  “and he (*Nfr-k3-R'*) praises God.”

952 (a)  “O You who wait upon the Way, who are at the Great Door (1),


(b)  “call to this *Nfr-k3-R'* both of those two great and powerful gods,


(c)  “because this *Nfr-k3-R'* is the *Wng*-flower, the Son of *R'*,

(d)  “who carries the Heaven, and guides the earth, and separates the Gods.”

The “two great and powerful gods” are *Horus (Hr)* and *Thoth (Dhwtj)* who are frequently represented in the act of performing the purification ceremony for the King. Sometimes *Thoth (Dhwtj)* may be replaced by *St*. The *Wng*-flower is a follower of *R'*, who here seems to be playing the role of *Šw*. In the following lines we also see the earth  mentioned with the sky , both of which are to be understood in a cosmic sense: 363 (c), 694 (a), 782 (a, c), 1078 (a) 1517 (a), 2013 (a). In all these examples which we have seen, the relationship between *t3* and *pt* is apparent, and also the actual position of the earth under the sky is acknowledged by the fact that *t3* is mentioned after *pt* when they both appear together (3).

T₃ as Land


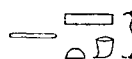
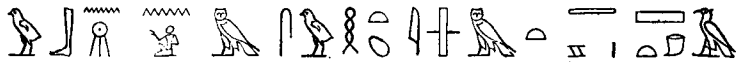
T₃ can also be used in the same manner as we employ the word “land” or “country”. This is well known in the case of the royal title  *nb t3wj* = the Lord of the Two Lands”. (*i.e.* Upper and Lower Egypt). In a hymn of praise to the Goddess *Nwt* in Utterance 432 we see (text of *Ppjj*):—

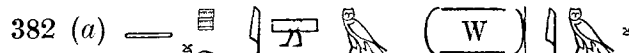
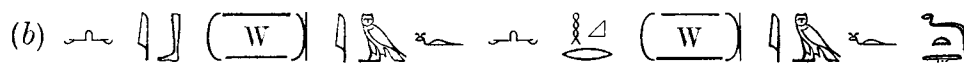
782 (a)  “Words spoken: Great one who is produced in Heaven, you have won strength,

(1) This is an address to a being who seems to be a porter at the great door of the Palace of *R'*.


(2) *Wng*, elsewhere (*Pyr.* 607 (d)) is taken as the name of a follower of the Sun-god, and here appears in the role of *Šw* according to line 952 (c) and thus he is called the Son of *R'*.

(3) For other examples where *t3* is used as a general term for the earth, see lines, *i.e.* 245 (b), 292 (b), 518 (a), 717 (b), 850 (c), 1208 (c), 1215 (a), 1497 (a), 1588 (f), 1593 (d), 1433 (a), 990 (b) of the *Pyramid Texts*.

Here *t3* is definitely having the meaning of “Land” in the sense of country, but whether the  *t3 smj* and the  *t3 š't3* are to be regarded as Upper and Lower Egypt, or as names for the necropoli is not clear; or *t3 š't3* may mean the Underworld as in a Deir-el-Bahari inscription ⁽¹⁾:  where, *t3 š't3* means the Underworld. It is quite possible that this designation is to be understood in our text, as we have other lines in which *t3* is to be understood either as the Other World, or as the grave. As we shall see in one instance on p. 296, 1531 (a): “O Osiris (*Wsir*) *Ppjj*, may you not hurry to those eastern lands, but may you hurry to those western lands on the road of the followers of *R*.” Here the eastern and western lands are, as we have already seen, the “Other Worlds” of the Solar and Osirian faiths. The same idea is expressed in line 382 (a) where it is said:—

382 (a)  “That land in which *Wnis* goes,
 (b)  “*Wnis* will not be thirsty in it, *Wnis* will not be hungry in it for ever.”

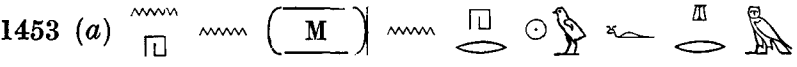
The land to which *Wnis* is going is certainly the Other World, where, as we are told in the previous line (No. 381), he will be fed upon the milk of the Goddess *Ippj* and so will never suffer from hunger and thirst. Line 1523 (c) seems to regard *t3* as the Underworld as opposed to Heaven, for we see:—


 “Anubis (*Inpw*), the Counter of the Hearts who counts Osiris (*Wsir*) *Ppjj* in the gods who belong to the earth, and of the gods who are in Heaven.”

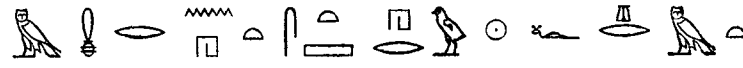
Now as we know Osiris (*Wsir*) was a god of the Underworld, but by his assimilation into the Heliopolitan doctrines, he also attained a heavenly aspect (see also p. 299). Anubis (*Inpw*), therefore, counts him among the gods of the *t3* — here meaning the Underworld — and among the gods of Heaven or *t3* may mean here the earth in which the tomb of Osiris (*Wsir*) is supposed to be (*i.e.* in Abydos).


T3 as the Equal of Gb

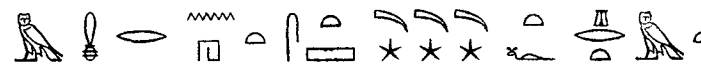
T3 may perhaps also be regarded in a narrower sense as meaning the grave, sometimes in a hostile or unpleasant sense, as in line 1453 (a):—

1453 (a)  “*Mr-n-R* has escaped his day of death,

⁽¹⁾ NAVILLE, “Deir-el-Bahari”, Vol. IV, Pl. 115, first hour of night. See SETHE, *Kommentar*”, Vol. IV, p. 190.

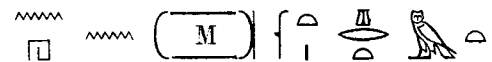
(b)  “as *St* has escaped his day of death,

(c)  “*Mr-n-R* has escaped his half-monthly death,


(d)  “as *St* has escaped his half-monthly death,

(e)  “*Mr-n-R* has escaped his monthly death,

(f)  “as *St* has escaped his monthly death,

(g)  “*Mr-n-R* has escaped his yearly death,

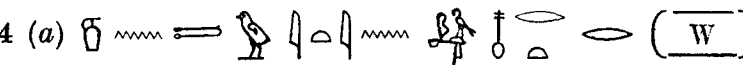
(h)  “as *St* has escaped his yearly death.”


1454 (a)  “By splitting the earth the arms of *Mr-n-R* raised *Nwt* and *Šw*.”

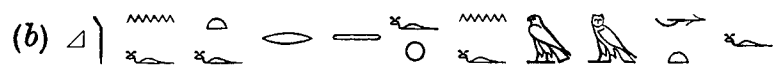
Here the King’s escape from death is made to coincide with that of *St*, and both of them coincide with Nature’s escape from death. Thus, just as the sun appears to die every day in the evening, and come to life each following morning, so the King and *St* (who is incarnate in him as ruler of Upper Egypt) have escaped their day of death. The half-monthly death is perhaps likened to the waning of the moon, and the monthly death is of course the disappearance of the moon at the end of each month. The yearly death may refer to the Nile at its lowest level before it revives or it may be the cultivation after the harvest has been gathered and before the new crops spring to life again. The last line may refer to *ts* as the earth in the sense of the grave which *Mr-n-R* splits open in order to effect his escape from it.

Ts as the Grave

We have also a curious and interesting Utterance (No. 254), where we see *ts* in this sense of the grave or as earth as opposed to Heaven:—

284 (a)  “‘I have protected you’, so said she, the Beautiful West to *Wn̄s*,

(b)  “go and traverse. Therefore, you traverse so the Field of Offering-food,

(b)  "he has put down his father in the earth, he has left behind him a Horus (*Hr*)."

Here the dead King is going to the sky, personified as the Goddess *Nwt*. He had previously buried his own Father, the late King, and now at his own death, he leaves behind him a Horus (*Hr*), his son, the new King. What the text seems to express is that *Wn's* had buried a King, but had also left a King behind him to rule over Egypt.

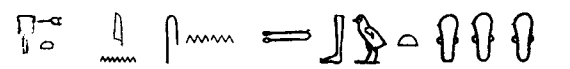
T₃ as the Ground or Soil


We also have passages in which *t₃* simply means the ground or the soil. Thus, in line 1197 which describes the joy of the Gods at the advent of the King among them, it is said :—

1197 (a)  "This *Ppji* found the Gods waiting,

(b)  "wrapped in their garments,

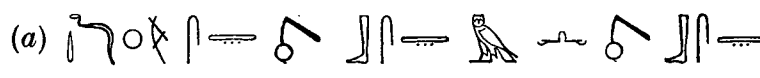
(c)  "their white sandals on their feet,


(d)  "then, threw they their sandals on the ground,


(e)  "then cast they off their garments."

1198 (a)  "Our heart was not at ease until you came', said they."

In line 693, which is a magical spell, we see :—

693 (a)  "Words spoken: Digger of the earth (*Osiris*) (*Wsir*) he who resuscitates the earth, do not dig the earth (1).

(b)  "take care from the enemies (= the serpents)!"

(c)  "*Ttj* had been conceived by *D'mw* (2), *Ttj* had been born by *D'mw* (= *Gb*),

(1) This certainly refers to the famous feast of digging the earth and manuring it with the blood of the enemy (see p. 140).

(2) For *D'mw* or *D'mjw*, as a name of *Gb*, see below, pp. 208, 213.

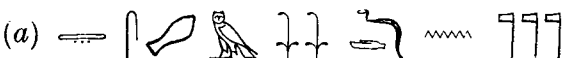
(d)  "he is the $D^c mw$ who is gone to your mother (1) with him (2)."


T3 Personified

$T3$ may also be personified as a god, when he is usually only another name for Gb , or $t3$ may mean the inhabitants of the earth, just as to-day we speak of "the world's opinion" when we mean the general public opinion, or "all the world knows it" for something which is well-known to everybody. The following lines treat $t3$ in the last-named sense:—

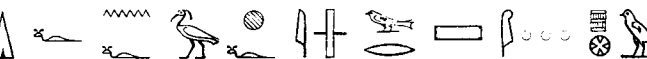
1188 (c) This $Mr-n-R^c$ is righteous in the sight of the sky and of the earth (*see above, p. 190 and 1775 [a]*). "The sky is in joy, the earth is in pleasure when they heard that $Nfr-k3-R^c$ is justified in the Place of Sin" (*see above, p. 109*).

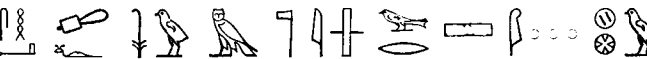
In Utterance 437 the earth \equiv is personified, but is not to be identified here with Gb , and appears as the mediator between Heaven and the dead, and to pass him out of the Underworld and the tomb in order that he may mount to Heaven:—

795 (a)  "Earth! hear what the Gods had said,


(b)  "what R^c said in order that he glorifies this $Mr-n-R^c$,


(c)  "thus, he receives his dignity of a spirit, as one who is at the head of the Gods, as $Horus (Hr)$ the Son of Osiris (Wsr),

(d)  "thus, he gives to him his dignity of a spirit which belongs to the Butite Wardress,

(e)  "when, he proclaimed him as a god who belongs to the Herakleopolitan Wardress."


796 (a)  "The earth speaks:

(b)  "The leaves of the Gate of $3kr$ are opened to you, are unfastened to you the two leaves of the Gate of Gb ,

(c)  "you go out on the voice of Anubis ($Inpw$) when he glorifies you as Thoth ($Dhwjtj$)."

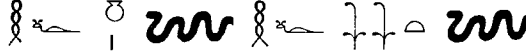
(1) A phrase to denote "father".

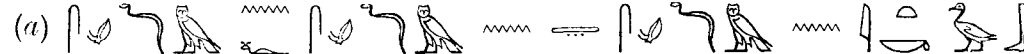
(2) For other lines treating $t3$ as the ground or soil, *see 806 (b), 817 (a), 1257 (b)*.


(c)  “with a cut head and a supported tail,

(d)  “*Dsr*-serpent, *ddj*, the son of *Srkt-htw*.”

674 (a)  “ Turn you, go upside-down you, thus one pardons you concerning him (the dead),


(b)  “*Hfn.w*-serpent or *Hfn-nt* serpent (the female).”

675 (a)  “ Harken to him, harken to the Earth, harken to your Father *Gb*,

(b)  “when you do not hear him, then your brand-stamp which is on your head will hear.”

Here again the Earth and *Gb* are both spoken of as being the father of the reptile which is commanded to hearken to the words of its father (1). The last line is interesting, for it implies that the characteristic markings on the head of each species of snake—as for example the well-known ‘V’ on the head of the viper—are a kind of magical brand which, as denoting the personality of the reptile will hear and obey the command of the magician even if the serpent itself is unwilling to do so (2). Line 244 (a), which has a parallel in 444 (a), and 663 (a), says :—

244 (a)  “ Words spoken : The Uraeus Serpent belongs to Heaven, the Centipede of *Horus* (*Hr*) belongs to Earth !

Now here earth may also mean *Gb* in a hostile sense as the Father of Serpents, but more likely it means the earth in a material sense. Though a dangerous creature, the uræus being divine, and the protector of the Gods and Kings who wore it upon their brows, was to go to Heaven along with all the righteous souls, both human and animal ; while the centipede, which, as we are told in line 663 (c),  “ which was as a dangerous serpent for *Horus* (*Hr*), the little child whose finger was in his mouth,” was to remain upon the earth (or perhaps in the Underworld). This is clearly an allusion to the poisoning of *Horus* (*Hr*) by the bite of a centipede, which in later versions of the legend, as on the Metternich Stele, is replaced by a scorpion. The heavenly nature of the uræus is also

(1) See also line 442 (a),

(2) Thus, one should take *Gb* here as a snake-charmer who knows how to punish serpents if they do not obey him.

seen in the Teachings of *Imn-m-ipt*, where a comparison is drawn between the Uraeus and the serpent *‘ipp*, both of which were deadly reptiles, in order to show the advantages of a good reputation. *Imn-m-ipt* says (1): “Set thy goodness in the bowels of men that everyone salute thee; (for) one acclaims the uraeus, and spits upon the Apophis serpent (2)”—

In line 442 (a) of the *Pyramid Texts* the same idea is maintained:—

442 (a) “Words spoken; *R* appears, his uraeus serpent upon his head,

(b) “against this serpent coming from the Earth, who is under the fingers of *Wn*’s (as a doctor), (see also line. 675).”

Here the sacred uraeus of *R* is actually in conflict with the evil serpent coming out of the earth, here again personified as *Gb* the Father of Serpents.

*T*₃, the Earth and Heaven

But on the other hand, we have a text in which the word *t*₃ may mean both Heaven and earth (*i.e.* the world); see GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 51:—

“But as for that day of the Fight, (that means) they enter into the east. Here occurs the fight in all the world, that is to say in Heaven and earth.”

In the east, the enemy of the young morning Sun hoped to overcome light.

THE EARTH PERSONIFIED AS GB (2)

The Various Writings of the Name

The Old Kingdom Writings

(3)

(3)

(3)

(4)

(1) GRIFFITH, “*The Teachings of Amenophis the Son of Ka-nakht*”, Ch. VIII, 17-20, *J.E.A.*, Vol. 12, p. 207.


(2) MULLER, following SETHE (*A.Z.*, 43 [1906], p. 147) says the earliest pronunciation of the name was “GEBEB” (“*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 368, Note 18). SPEIGELBERG, however, suggests “Gebek” (*A.Z.*, XLVI, pp. 141, 142). Another name for Geb is *D' m'jw, var.* (*W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 535). See lines 693 (c), 670 (a), 439 (c), etc.

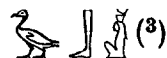
(3) *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 164. In the Arabic Dictionary “*Lisan el-Arab*”, Vol. I, p. 243, “*Gebub*” means the earth in general:—

الجيب وجه الارض . . . وقيل الارض عامة

(4) SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, I, p. 382.

The Middle Kingdom Writings

 (1)

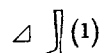
 (3)

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The New Kingdom Writing

 (1)

The Late Period Writings

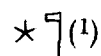
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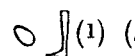
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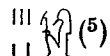
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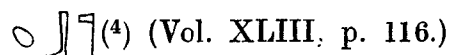
 (1)

 (1)

 (1)


 (1) (See FAIRMAN, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”


 (5)

 (4) (Vol. XLIII, p. 116.)

 (6)

Gb as the Earth

When speaking of the earth as *Gb* the Egyptians held the same fundamental ideas concerning it as they held concerning *Nwt* and the sky *pt* . That is to say, strictly speaking *Gb* was the God of the Earth, just as *Nwt* was the Goddess of the Sky, but as in the case of the latter, the name of *Gb* was sometimes used to denote the element itself over which the God presided (7). This is clearly seen in line 2111, and the parallel text 2113, which poetically but faithfully describes the relief of the parched earth at the rise of the inundation:—

2111  “[O] Osiris (*Wsir*), the inundation comes, the abundance hurries, *Gb* sighs.”

2112 (a)  “I looked for you on the Fields, I have beaten whomsoever did you evil (?).”

Here *Gb* simply means the earth or soil, which sighs with relief as it absorbs the refreshing flood of the inundation. Again in Utterance 601 which seems to be a spell to be recited at

(1) *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 164.

(2) LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, XXIX, p. 79.

(3) LACAU, *ibid.* p. 53.

(4) DÜMICHEN, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 9, p. 91.

(5) EDFU. CHASSINAT, “*Le Temple d'Edfou*”, Vol. 6, p. 77 and see also FAIRMAN, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XLIII, p. 107.

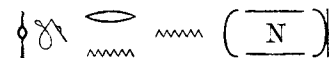
(6) FAIRMAN, *ibid.* p. 107.


(7) For a text in which both the earth and *Gb* are treated as gods, but differentiated from each other, see line 1672. It is also to be noted here that *Gb* was not used frequently as a proper name, as in the case of *Horus (Hr)*. See RANKE, “*Die Agyptischen Personennamen*”, p. 350.


the laying of the foundation of a pyramid, *Gb* is again used to denote the earth as a synonym for solidity. The line in question reads:—

1662 (c)  "Established is this pyramid, as Eternity."

1663 (a)  "Solid is the name of *Gb* for (the ceremony of) *b3-t3*,

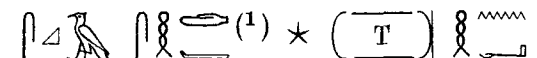
(b)  "solid is the name of *Nfr-k3-R'*,

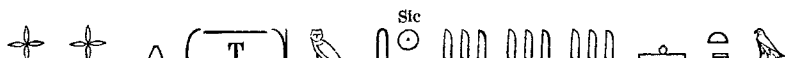
(c)  "solid is this pyramid of *Nfr-k3-R'*,

(d)  "solid is this his work, as Eternity."

In line 698 *Gb* is the earth whose breadth is the measure of the domain of the Pharaoh:—

698 (a)  "Words spoken: The place of *Ttj* had been made wide with *Gb*, (i.e. on earth),


(b)  "the *shd*-star of *Ttj* ought to become high with *R'* (i.e. in Heaven),


(c)  "Ttj, therefore, wanders in the Field of Food (offering)."

This seems to imply that *Ttj*'s dominion was wide as that of *Gb* on earth, and as that of *R'* in Heaven. *Gb* as the earth itself is also referred to in line 1120 (2).

Gb as the Tomb

As we have already seen in line 796 (a) *Gb* may be a name for the tomb, so also in line 1014 (a) (text of *Ppjj*):—

1014 (a)  "The earth speaks: 'Opened is the door of the *Dst* (var. of *skr*),

(b)  "unfastened to you are the door-leaves of *Gb* before you, and your words come forth before Anubis' (*Inpw*)."

(1) The King here represents this star.

(2) *Gb* can also personify the inhabitants of the earth, as in line 1149 (a).

This has exactly the same meaning as in line 796, and *Gb* is here the earth in the sense of the grave, while the fact that the variant text gives *skr* for *Dst* is a proof that *skr* is really to be considered as the Underworld⁽¹⁾ (see below).

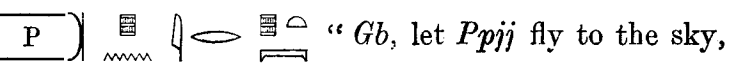
Again in line 1235(c) *Gb* is the grave ordered to release the King in order that he may go to Heaven:—

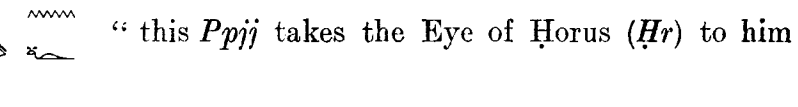
1235 (a) 

“The face of this *Ppjj* is like that of a jackal, the arms of this *Ppjj* are like those of a falcon,

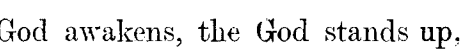
(b)  “the extremities of the wings of

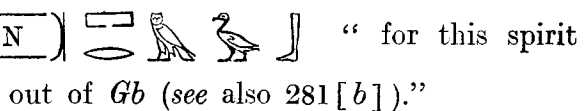
this *Ppjj* are like those of Thoth (*Dhwtj*).

(c)  “*Gb*, let *Ppjj* fly to the sky,

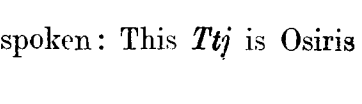
(d)  “this *Ppjj* takes the Eye of Horus (*Hr*) to him (i.e. to Horus).”

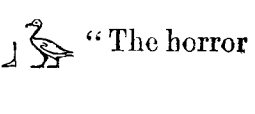
And again in line 1986:—

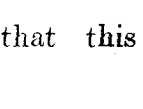
1986 (a)  “The God awakens, the God stands up,

(b)  “for this spirit coming out of the *Dst*; Osiris (*Wsr*) *Nfr-k3-R* comes out of *Gb* (see also 281 [b]).”

All these examples express the same idea in which *Gb* is regarded as the grave, but as the grave that will open to allow the dead King to pass on his way to Heaven. But in lines 308 and 312 *Gb* is regarded as the grave in a hostile or unpleasant sense:—

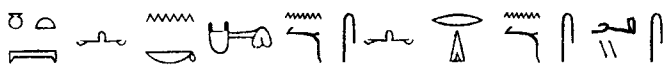
308 (a)  “Words spoken: This *Ttj* is Osiris (*Wsr*) in the whirlwind!


(b)  “The horror of this *Ttj* is this earth, this *Ttj* has not entered in *Gb*,


(c)  “so that this *Ttj* is destroyed but still he sleeps in his house on earth (i.e. his tomb).”

In line 1321 *Gb*, still retaining the sense of the hostile grave even while considered as the husband of *Nwt*, is grouped with other gods, all of whom are threatened with punishments if they attempt to hinder the King on his way to Heaven.

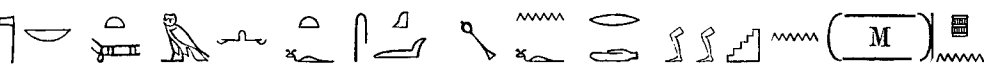
(1) In the representations of the Underworld in the tomb at Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI (CHAMP. “*Not. Disc.*”, II, 507) and in the Cenotaph of Seti (*Stj*) I at Abydos (FRANKFORT, “*Cenotaph of Seti I, at Abydos*”, Vol. II, XXXI). *Gb* is shown actually lying above *skr* who is unquestionably there considered as the Underworld.

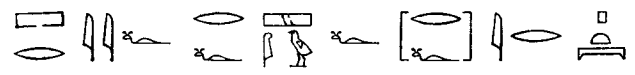
1321 (a)  “*Nwt*, may she not be copulated, she will not give her two arms,

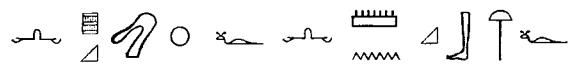
(b)  “when he mounts, and when this *Ppjj* elevates himself to the sky,

(c)  (1) “*Gb* may he not be able to copulate (his wife),


(d)  “when he mounts and when this *Ppjj* elevates himself to Heaven.”


1322 (a)  “Every god who does not like to put a stair for this *Mrrj-R*,


(b)  “when he mounts and when he elevates himself to Heaven,

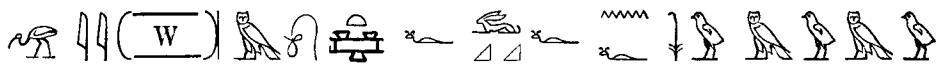
(c)  “he ought not to have a bread-offering, and he ought not to have his shady place.”

This is one of a curious class of magical utterances in which the magician does not scruple to threaten even the great Gods, another example of which is seen in line 485 (a), where the threatened god is also *Gb* (see above, p. 105). Another such text is seen in line 277 (a):—

277 (a)  “O Master of the Horizon (Sun-god), make place for *Wnis*!

(b)  “If you do not make place for *Wnis*, then *Wnis* will make a malediction on his father *Gb* (2).

(c)  “the earth ought not to speak to him any more, *Gb* ought not be able to resist.”

278 (a)  “He who will be found by *Wnis* on his way, then he eats him, piece by piece (entirely)!”

(1) An expression for sexual passion. See SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. I, 309.

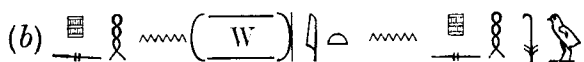
(2) The dead is here identified with Osiris (*Wsir*).

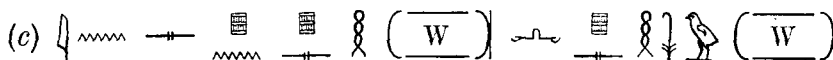
Here the King threatens the Sun-god that unless a place is made for him in Heaven he will put a curse upon *Gb*, who is thought of in a dual sense, as a god, the father of the King and as the earth personified. The effect of the curse is that the earth will die, it will cease to have sound and movement.

Gb as the Father of Serpents

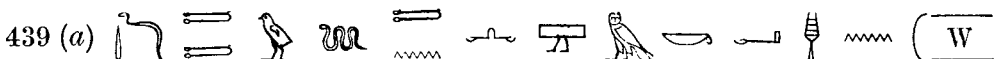
We sometimes see *Gb* in a hostile sense as the Father or Master of Serpents, and partaking of their nature, an example of this conception is seen in line 231:—

231 (a) (1)  “O *R'*, *Wn's* has bitten the earth, *Wn's* has bitten *Gb*!”

(b)  “*Wn's* has bitten the father who had bitten him,

(c)  “This being is that which had bitten *Wn's* without *Wn's* having bitten him!”

Here *Gb* seems to be the personification and also the father of all serpents, and in a very hostile sense. He had bitten *Wn's*, therefore *Wn's* had retaliated by biting him. The sense of the spell seems to be that if any serpent attacks *Wn's* without provocation, *Wn's* will defend himself against it just as he had defended himself against *Gb*. In line 439 we read:—

439 (a)  “Words spoken: *Ttw*-serpent, to where? You ought not to go! Stay, *Wn's*,

(b)  “*Wn's* is *Gb*, *Hmt*-serpent, brother of *Hmtt*-serpent,

(c)  “ought your father *D'mw* to die?”

In this magical text *Wn's* identifies himself with *Gb* under his name of *D'mw*; therefore, he asks the serpents if they wish to kill their own father.”

Gb as a God

By far the commonest conception of *Gb* was as the Earth-god, the male counterpart of *Nwt* as the Goddess of the Sky. When *Nwt* was thought of in the form of a woman, *Gb* was imagined in the form of a man (see Fig. 77), but just as *Nwt* was sometimes regarded as the celestial cow, so might *Gb* as her mate, be referred to as a bull, as in line 316 of the *Pyramid Texts*:—

316  “Words spoken: O *Gb*, Bull of *Nwt*! A *Horus* (King) is this *Wn's*, the Inheritor of his father.”


(1) The dead King is here calling the attention of *R'* to the fact that he is the innocent party, and was not the aggressor.


(2) According to SETHE (*Kommentar*, Vol. II, p. 145) the soul of *Gb* as the Bull of *Nwt* (or heaven) was the planet Saturn, the Star of Kronos. The Greeks identified *Gb* with Kronos, who, according to the Hellenic legends ate his children and mutilated his father. This legend may have an Egyptian origin (see *Pyr.*, I. 397) a similar idea is seen in the Osirion at Abydos, where *Nwt* is said to eat her children (see above, p. 189).

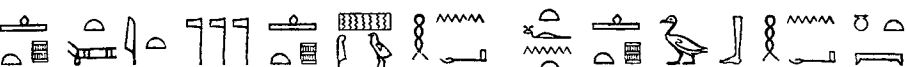
But as a god, *Gb* has many aspects and attributes, the chief of which we will now proceed to examine.

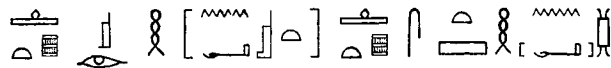
Gb as a Member of the Ennead

In accordance with later mythology, we also see *Gb* mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts* as one of the members of the Ennead as in line 1520 :—

1520 (a)  “ Words spoken :
Osiris (*Wsr*) appears, pure is the power, high is the Lord of Truth,


(b)  “ who belongs to the first day of the year, the Lord of the Year.”

1521 (a)  “ Content is
Itm, the Father of the Gods, content is *Šw* together with *Tfn.t*, content is *Gb* together with *Nwt*,

(b)  “ Content is Osiris (*Wsr*) together with
Isis (*Is.t*), content is *St* together with *Nt* (1).”


And again in line 1655 (a-b) :—

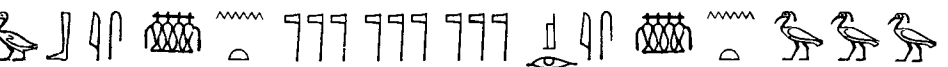
1655 (a)  “ O Great Ennead which is in the Heliopolis.

(b)  “ *Itm*, *Šw*, *Tfn.t*, *Gb*, *Nwt*, Osiris
(*Wsr*), Isis (*Is.t*), *St* and *Nb.t-ht* (2).”

Gb as the Crown-Prince and Head of the Ennead

Concerning *Gb* as the Prince of the Ennead, we read in line 2103 :—

2103 (c)  “ You appear before
them (3) as a judge, as Horus (*Hr*) at the head of the living,

(d)  “ as *Gb* at the
head of the Ennead, and as Osiris (*Wsr*) at the head of the Glorified Spirits.”

2104 (a)  “ You
command the Glorified Spirits, who are the Imperishable Stars.”

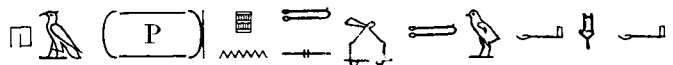
(1) Notice that here *Nt* and not Nephys [*Nb.t-ht*] is mentioned as the companion of *St*.

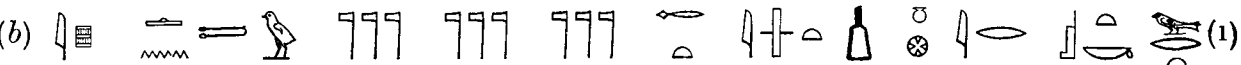
(2) See also line 1615, p. 226.


(3) Before the Gods.


Here the King is said to appear before the Gods as a judge in the likeness of the three great gods: Hōrus (*Hr*), *Gb* and Osiris (*Wsr*), each is mentioned with his characteristic function, thus the King is said to be like Hōrus (*Hr*) at the head of the living, namely as a king upon earth, as *Gb* at the head of the Ennead, which signifies his rule in Heaven, and as Osiris (*Wsr*) at the head of the Glorified Spirits, *i.e.* as the ruler of the dead.

In line 895 we see :—

895 (a)  “ O this *Ppjj*! Raise yourself, stand up ;


(b)  “ the Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis had called you from your Great Place (throne),


(c)  “ you, therefore, sit, O this *Ppjj*, at the head of the Ennead,

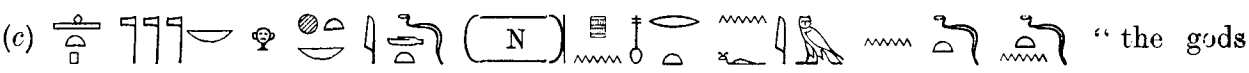
(d)  “ as *Gb*, the *r-p't* (Hereditary Prince) of the Gods, as Osiris (*Wsr*) who is at the head of the mighty, as Hōrus (*Hr*) who is the Master of men and Gods.”

This interesting text is one of the delicate ways in which the Egyptians referred to the death of the King, who is called by the Ennead to vacate his earthly throne in order that he may inherit the heavenly throne as *Gb*, Osiris (*Wsr*) and Hōrus (*Hr*) had done. This is also a reminder that these latter, though great and powerful gods, had also in the past left their earthly Kingdom in order to rule in the Other World, and it was not *Ppjj* alone who was deprived of his kingship by death. This is a characteristic example of the concrete nature of Egyptian thought. Even when dealing with Heaven and its inhabitants, they were unable to visualize anything which had not an earthly material origin. We have already seen that the heavenly Fields of *Isw* are but a projection of the fertile Egyptian Delta, so also the great gods were thought to have ruled over Egypt on earth before going away to rule in the Other World, which was itself only a replica of the earthly Egypt, even containing replicas of the earthly towns and districts.

In line 1645 we read :—

1645 (a)  “ Words spoken: It is this *Nfr-k3-R'*, *Gb*, the Hereditary Prince of the Gods,

(b)  “ whom *Itm* has placed at the head of the Ennead, and by whose words the Gods are pleased ;

(c)  “ the gods are pleased with all that which this *Nfr-k3-R'* says.”

Here *Itm*, who is really the head of the Ennead is said to have resigned his supremacy to *Gb*, whose words are pleasing to the gods. This is because of his wise speech and commands, which established law and order in the earth. Similarly the words of *Nfr-k3-R'* are also pleasing

(¹) *i.e.* here means to call (see SETHE, “*Übersetzung und Kommentar*”, Vol. IV, p. 169.

to the gods, and this is clearly an example of sympathetic magic ⁽¹⁾. Other texts where *Gb* is expressly mentioned as the Hereditary Prince of the Ennead are lines : 1620 (a), 993 (c), 1465 (a).

Gb as the Issuer of Decrees

As *Gb* was also considered as the personification of divine and royal power upon earth, it is quite natural that he should also be regarded as the one who issued decrees and command, and in some instances seems almost to typify fate or destiny. We will now examine some texts which present *Gb* in this light :—

967 (a) “This *Ppjj* comes to you, Lord of Heaven, this *Ppjj* comes to you, O Osiris (*Wsr*),

(b) “this *Ppjj*, therefore, wipes your face and this *Ppjj* clothes you with the dresses of the God,

(c) ⁽²⁾ “so this *Ppjj* does for you that which *Gb* had ordered that *Ppjj* does for you (parallel texts 964, 968).”

This refers to the rite of burying Osiris (*Wsr*) which was to be carried out by the King, but at the express command of *Gb*.

We also see *Gb* playing a leading part in the famous lawsuit between Osiris (*Wsr*) and *St*, in which he seems to usurp the functions of Thoth (*Dhwtj*). Utterance 477 preserves us a large but tantalizingly incomplete fragment of such a legend :—

956 (a) “Words spoken : The Heavens shake, the earth quakes !

(b) “Horus (*Hr*) comes, Thoth (*Dhwtj*) shines (or appears) and they raise Osiris (*Wsr*) on his side,


(c) “they caused him to stand (again) (as a king) among the Double Ennead.

957 (a) “Remember, Set (*St*), put in your heart,

(b) “that word which *Gb* said, that menace which the Gods made to you,

⁽¹⁾ *Nfr-k3-R'* is personifying *Gb* here.


⁽²⁾ Restored from *Mr-n-R'*.


(c)  “in the House of the Prince in Heliopolis, because you have prostrated Osiris (*Wsir*) on the ground.”

958 (a)  “When you said, *St*: ‘I have not done this against him’!”

Here we may understand that *Gb* had uttered some threat against *St*, which was echoed by the Gods, when he was on trial in the Temple of *R* (*i.e.* Place of Judgment), at Heliopolis, upon the charge of having murdered Osiris (*Wsir*).

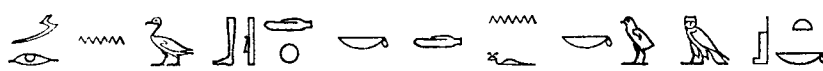
In Utterance 214 we read:—

137 (d)  “Everyone who speaks evil against the name of *Wnis*.”


138 (a)  “When you mount up, *Gb* decrees that he should be little estimated in his town.”

This shows that as God of the earth ⁽²⁾, *Gb* had power over the affairs of the living, and could accomplish the disgrace of the evil-tongued person while he was still upon earth. The mention that he should be of little estimation among his townfolk is interesting, especially when we remember that the local gods of each nome formed a kind of jury in the Judgment Hall of Osiris (*Wsir*). Therefore, if a man was of ill-repute in his city, his local god would be sure to know of it and would thus accuse him before Osiris (*Wsir*).

In line 576 (c) *Gb* is the power which allots to each one his place according to his deserts:—

576 (c)  “*Gb* has seen your qualifications, he has put you in your place ⁽³⁾.”

In line 1327 we are left in no doubt as to *Gb*'s function as a judge:—

1327 (a)  “Every god who will take the hand of this *Mr-n-R* to Heaven,

(b)  “when he has gone to the Palace of Horus (*Hr*), which is in Heaven,

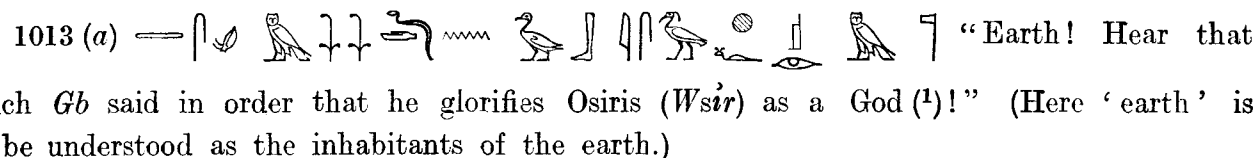
(1) *h.t sr* seems here to be a place where judgment is held. See also line 215 (c).

(2) *Gb* is here also the God of Egypt.

(3) See also, 649 (d)

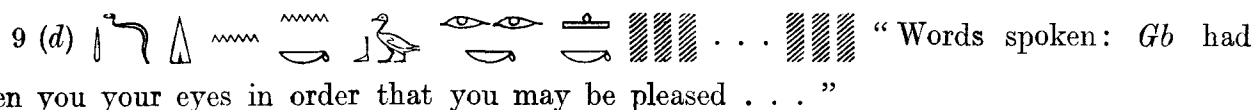
(c)  "his Ka ought to be justified by *Gb*."


In line 1013 (a) we read:—

1013 (a)  "Earth! Hear that which *Gb* said in order that he glorifies Osiris (*Wsir*) as a God (1)!" (Here 'earth' is to be understood as the inhabitants of the earth.)

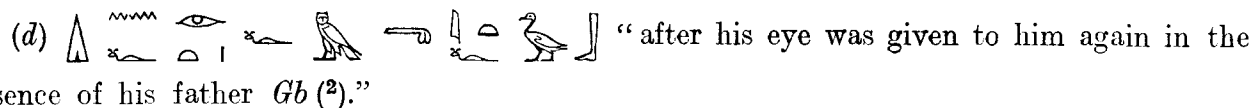
Gb as a Giver of Rewards through Justice, and a Helper of the Dead

As a natural result of his functions as issuer of decrees, as judge, and as the personification of royal power upon earth, *Gb* was also capable of bestowing rewards and benefits on the Gods and on the dead:—

9 (d)  "Words spoken: *Gb* had given you your eyes in order that you may be pleased . . ."

977 (b)  "Be you happy by the nearness of this *Ppjj*, you, his brothers the Gods,

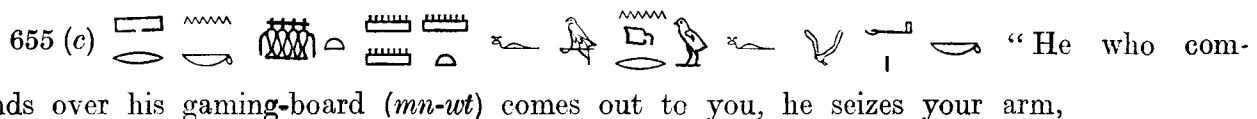
(c)  "as *Horus (Hr)* is happy by the nearness of his eye,

(d)  "after his eye was given to him again in the presence of his father *Gb* (2)."

This is one of the many allusions to the loss of the Eye of *Horus (Hr)*, the restoration of which is here implied to the authority of *Gb*, though, as we have already seen (p. 142), this function was generally attributed to *Toth (Dhwtj)*, and, as in line 957, *Gb* is appearing in a role very similar to that of *Toth (Dhwtj)*.

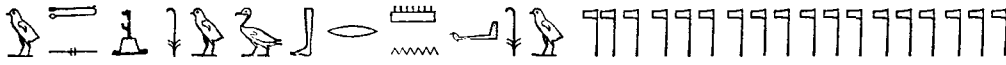
In line 655-6 *Gb* is an inhabitant of Heaven and bestows upon the dead King the leadership of the Imperishable Stars.


Gb as the Helper of the Dead to Heaven

655 (c)  "He who commands over his gaming-board (*mn-ut*) comes out to you, he seizes your arm,

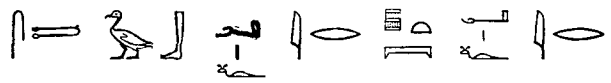
(1) For other lines in which *Gb* appears as the issuer of decrees, see 942 (d), 961 (d), 480 (a), 1343 (a), 2169 (a), 1494 (c), 840 (b), etc.


(2) *Gb* is here also considered as a judge, as in line 1219 (d).

(b)  "Gb raises him, the Double Ennead establishes him,

(c)  "and *R'* gives his hand to *Nfr-k3-R'* to every place in which the gods are."

Gb here seems to be playing the part of his father *Šw* who had raised *Nwt* to Heaven (see p. 193) and this may also be the explanation of line 1142 (*d*):—

1142 (*d*)  "Gb, who puts one arm in Heaven, and whose one arm is on earth,

(e)  "announce *Mr-n-R'* to *R'*!"

On the other hand, this passage may refer to the posture of *Gb* as we frequently see him depicted in the later representations, where he lies on the ground under the arching body of *Nwt*, supporting himself on one arm, which rests on the ground, while the other is raised towards *Nwt* (Fig. 80).

Gb as the Revivicator of the Dead


Gb may also appear in the role of revivicator of the dead, as we may see in line 2145 (*b*):—

2145 (*c*)  "‘Raise yourself up, O Spirit’, said *Gb*.”

[For other lines where *Gb* appears in these roles, see 640 (*b*), 612 (*a*), 1830 (*a*). As a helper of the dead to Heaven: 2014 (*c*)—2015 (*a*), 1296 (*b*)—1297 (*a-b*), 1367 (*a,b*).]

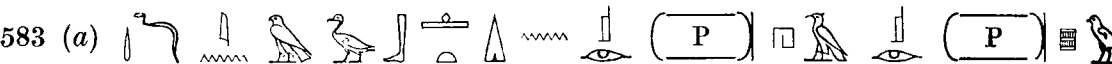
Gb as the Provider of Food and Offerings

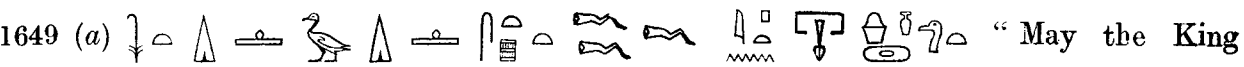
As god of the earth and personification of vegetation ⁽¹⁾, it is very natural that *Gb* should be regarded as the provider of all food, therefore his inclusion into the offering-formula, and his connection with the offerings is entirely logical. In this connection it is worthy of note that *Gb* is one of the very few gods from whom the offering boon is claimed in the Old Kingdom Texts. Thus, we see:—


101 (*b*)  "Words spoken: May the King and may *Gb* be gracious and give an offering to *Nfr-k3-R'*."

⁽¹⁾ Later art depicts plants as sprouting from the body of *Gb* (see Fig. 79)

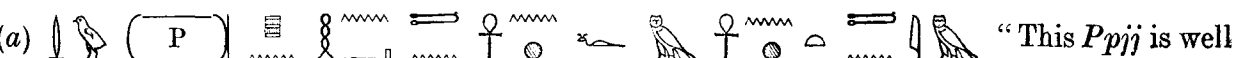
And again in line 583 (a) where the boon is claimed directly from *Gb*, and the King is not mentioned:—

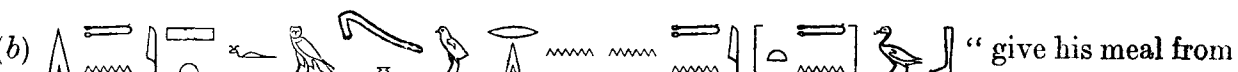
583 (a)  “Words spoken by Horus (*Hr*): ‘May *Gb* be gracious and give an offering to Osiris (*Wsr*) *Ppjj*, O this Osiris (*Wsr*) *Ppjj*.’” (See the parallel text 1264 [a].)

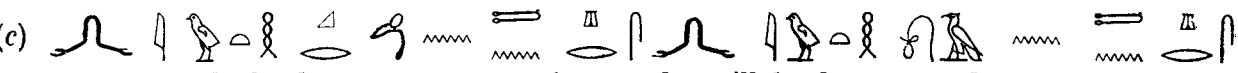
1649 (a)  “May the King be gracious and give and may *Gb* be gracious and give a boon of these choice haunches and *pr-hrw*-offerings of bread, beer, cakes and fowls,

(b)  “to all the Gods who will make every good thing for *Nfr-k2-R* (1).”


This is also a further corroboration of *Gb*'s regal authority, because we do not find a private person making a *htp di njswt*-offering to the gods during the Old Kingdom, and this duty devolved solely upon the King. *Gb* is also the provider of the food of eternal life which the gods eat, and which prevents both hunger and decay, as in line 1513 (a):—

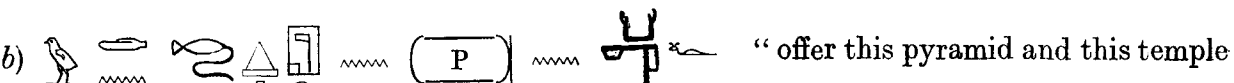
(a)  “This *Ppjj* is well with you, he lives from what you live,

(b)  “give his meal from that which your father *Gb* has given you.

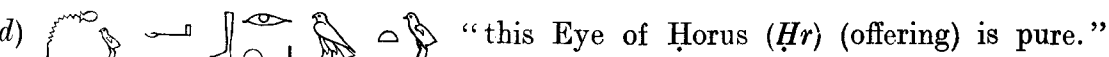
(c)  “and because of which there is no one of you who will be hungry and because of which there is no one of you who will be decomposed.”

In line 1277 (a) we read:—

1277 (a)  “‘I come’, said *Wpw.w* ‘and *Gb* comes giving an offering to *Itm*’ (?);

(b)  “offer this pyramid and this temple to *Ppjj* and to his Ka;

(c)  “that which this pyramid-temple contains (*lit.* envelops) is for *Ppjj* and for his Ka;


(d)  “this Eye of Horus (*Hr*) (offering) is pure.”


This would seem to be an utterance to be recited at the presentation of offerings in the pyramid-temple, which are apparently compared to the offerings which *Gb* made to *Itm* (1) (see also line 1649 c/d).

(1) See for this BREASTED, “*The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*”, p. 76.

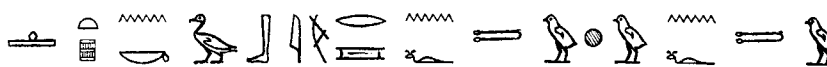
Gb as the Protector of the Dead, and Magician

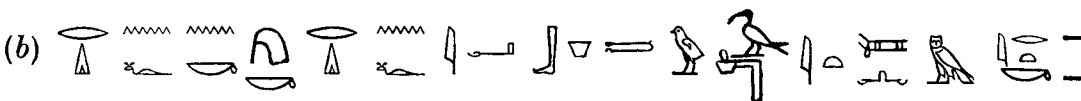
We may also see *Gb* appearing as the protector of the dead, as in line 170 (a):—

170 (a)  “*Gb*, this your son is that here, Osiris (*Wsir*), whom you kept in life and let live,

(b)  “he lives, (therefore) this *Wnis* lives, he dies not, (therefore) this *Wnis* dies not!”

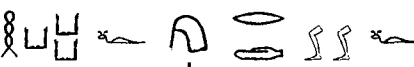
In line 639 (a) we read:—

639 (a)  “*Gb* is kind to you, he loved you, he has protected you,

(b)  “he gave you your head (again), he let *Thoth* (*Dhutj*) heal you, so that what was in you (of moral blemish) (1) stopped.”

This also shows the command which *Gb* exercised over the great Gods.

In line 477, when speaking of the dead King, it is said:—

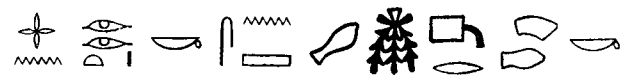
477 (b)  “His magical powers are before him,

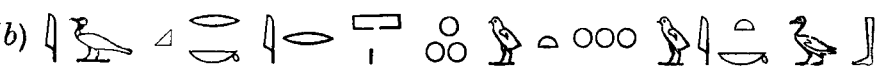
(c)  “*Gb* has done to him in the manner which had been done to him (himself).”

That is to say, *Gb* was regarded as a great magician equipped with magical powers, and this coincides with his command over the serpents. These magical powers he transfers to the deceased, in order that he may have supernatural protection in the Other World.

Gb as the Protector of the Tomb

In his capacity as Earth-god, *Gb* may also be regarded as the protector of the tomb, as seems to be the case in line 1727 (a):—

1727 (a)  “Your eyes are opened, your ears are opened,

(b)  “enter your House of Protection which your father *Gb* protects for you.”

(1) For an explanation of this, see *A.Z.*, Vol. 60, p. 36.

Here the dead King is supposed to have undergone the ceremony of “Opening the Mouth”, which has restored to him his faculties, and he is invited to enter his tomb visualized as a refuge or safe place for his mummy, and under the immediate protection of *Gb* as God of the Earth in which the burial-chamber is actually constructed.

Gb as the Protector of the Earth

Gb may also be the protector of the entire earth, as in line 1163 :—

1163 (a) “ *Gb* has given you his arm, O Father *Nfr-k3-R*,”

(b) “ who watches the earth and who commands the Glorified Spirits. ”

And this again shows us that *Gb* was thought to have command over both Heaven and earth.

Gb as a Creator

In a limited capacity *Gb* may also be a creator-god, as we may see in the following :—

258 (a) “ Hail to your face, O Sage (or the satiated), *i.e.* Osiris,

(b) “ *Gb* had created you and the Ennead had given birth to you,

(c) “ Horus (*Hr*) is glad with his father, *Itm* is glad with his years,

(d) “ the Gods of the East and of the West are glad concerning the Great one who had come into being in the interior of the arm (the embrace) of the Mother of God. ”


Here the dead is visualized as a new star which had been created by *Gb* and born by the Ennead, who are here personified as a single goddess as the wife of *Gb* (see *SETHE*, “ *Kommentar*”, Vol. I, p. 255, line 258 (d)).

Gb as the Father of Osiris (*Wsir*)

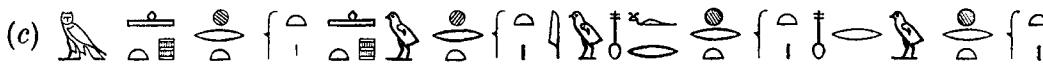
There are, of course, numerous references in the *Pyramid Texts* to *Gb* in his role of father of Osiris (*Wsir*). Thus, in line 793 we see :—

793 (b) “ Rise up as Osiris (*Wsir*), as the spirit, the son of *Gb*, his first (born). ”

Here not only are we told that *Gb* is the father of Osiris (*Wsr*), a well-known fact, but also that Osiris (*Wsr*) was regarded as the spirit of *Gb* incarnate as his eldest son (see also line 1033 (c) where *Gb* is said to avenge Osiris (*Wsr*) against *St*. In line 1195 we read:—

1195 (a)  "This *Nfr-k3-R* is the harbinger of the year, O Osiris (*Wsr*),

(b)  "see! *Nfr-k3-R* comes with a message from your father *Gb*,

(c)  "a fortunate year's yield, how fortunate is the year's yield! The year's yield is good, how good is the year's yield!"

Here *Gb* is again referred to as the father of Osiris (*Wsr*), and in his capacity of Earth-god, he dispatches a messenger with the welcome news of an abundant harvest, a matter of as much importance to the dead as to the living; for just as a plenteous year guarantees an abundance of food to the living, so also it secures for the dead an ample supply of offerings. Other lines referring to *Gb* as the father of Osiris (*Wsr*) are 1395 (a), 170 (a), etc.

The Soul of *Gb* is *St*

In *Ch.* 17 of the *Book of the Dead* (Grapow, "Religiose Urkunden", p. 77), the soul of *Gb* is thought to be as a great wild bull, and is equal to *St* as an evil spirit who eats souls and lives upon dung and from whom the dead asks protection; the Gloss. says:—


 "Who is this?"

 "It is *St*."

Another version:  "It is the Great Wild Bull; it is the Soul of *Gb*."

Gb as the Father of *St*


In accordance with what we know from later myths, *Gb* is also called the father of *St* in the *Pyramid Texts*. Thus, we see in line 144 (b):—

144 (b)  "You were conceived O *St* by *Gb*, you have become more famous than he, you have become stronger than he."

Gb as the Father of *Horus* (*Hr*)

Gb is also called the father of *Horus* (*Hr*), although in reality *Horus* (*Hr*) was the grandson of *Gb*. But this designation is quite usual in ancient Egypt, where a man might call any of his male

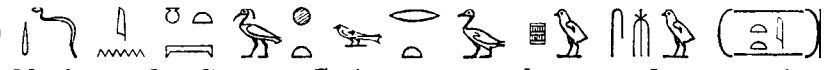
ancestors to whom he was in the direct line of descent his fathers. We have already seen, in line 977 (d), *Gb* referred to as the father of *Horus (Hr)*. In line 973 (a) we read:—

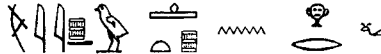
973 (a)  “A *Horus (Hr)* comes, therefore his lion-helmet (*i.e.* the *st.f* crown) is on his head. His face is turned towards his father *Gb*.”

But here *Horus (Hr)* almost certainly refers to the King, and this brings us to another and similar conception of *Gb* (*cf.* also *Pyr.*) 977 (d).


Gb as the Father of the King

Gb is very frequently referred to as the father of the King, and this is perfectly in accordance with the King's identification with *Osiris (Wsr)*, *Horus (Hr)* and *St*. Thus, in Utterance No. 1 which is engraved upon the sarcophagus of *Ttj*, we read:—


1 (a)  “Utterance by *Nwt*, the Glorious, the Great: ‘It is my son who caused me to give birth, *Ttj*, who opened my body,

(b)  “‘he is my beloved, on account of whom I am pleased’;

(c)  “utterance of *Gb*: ‘It is this my son *Ttj* of my body’”

2 (a)  “Utterance of *Nwt*, the Great, who resides in the Lower House (*i.e.* the Sarcophagus): ‘It is *Ttj*, my son, my Beloved,

(b)  “‘he is my eldest son who is on the throne of *Gb*, who was pleased on his account,

(c)  “‘and to whom he has given his heritage in the presence of the Great Ennead’.”

Here the King is said to be the first-born son of *Gb* and *Nwt*, who had inherited the throne of his father. This is clearly identifying him with *Osiris (Wsr)*, and is a theme constantly repeated in the *Pyramid Texts*. Thus, in line 1030 (c-d) he is said to be the son of *Gb* and *Nwt*. He is called the eldest son of *Gb* in lines 1259, 1710, (b) 1814 (a); while in the following lines he is the Inheritor of *Gb*: 7 (b), 301 (a), 317 (c), 483 (c), 787 (a), 1489 (a), 1538 (b), 1689 (a). In lines 1018 (b), and 1510 (a), the King is identified with “one of the four children of *Gb*”, and in 466 (b), he is “the seed of *Gb*”. In the following lines the King is simply called the son of *Gb*: 8 (e), 139 (b), 277 (b), 657 (d), 693 (c) (*Gb* is here called *D'mw*), 1296 (b) 1367 (a), 1448 (a), 1540 (b), 1620 (a), 1727 (b), 1810 (a), 1992 (b) and 2014 (c).

A Summary of the Attributes, Functions and Powers of Gb

We are not in need of giving a summary concerning the nature of *Gb*, because the Egyptian himself has left us such a resumé in Utterance 592 of the *Pyramid Texts*, which reads as follows:—

1615 (a) “Words spoken: He is *Gb*, the son of Šw, O this Osiris (*Wsr*) *Mr-n-R*,”

(b) “the heart of your mother is troubled for you in your name of ‘*Gb*’;”

(c) “you are the great son of Šw his offspring (or procreation).”

1616 (a) “O *Gb*, it is this Osiris (*Wsr*) *Mr-n-R*,”

(b) “who had united himself to you O *Itm*, his father (1),”

(c) “you are the Great God, the Only One.”

1617 (a) “*Itm* has given you his inheritance, he gave you the Ennead united;”

(b) “*Itm* himself with them, thus, uniting to the son of his son the adviser in you.”

1618 (a) “He sees you being a spirit, and your heart is great;”

(b) “you being clever in your name of ‘Clever of Mouth, Prince of the Gods.’”

1619 (a) “You have stood on earth, (*i.e.* living) and you judge at the head of the Ennead,

(b) “your fathers and your mothers in them. You are mightier than every god,

(c) “you come to this Osiris (*Wsr*) *Mr-n-R*, and you protect him against his enemies.”

(1) This part of the Utterance is re-employed in the Middle Kingdom among the texts upon the coffin of (LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieur au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. II, p. 104) (restored from the Text of Neit, line 376).



(2) can only mean here “prince”, “adviser” or “judge”.

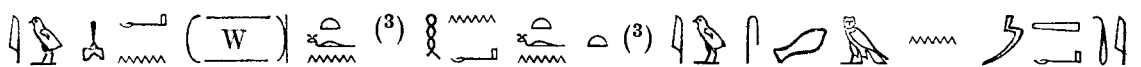
(3) Neit gives for the broken part: (see G. JEQUIER, “*Les Pyramides des Reines: Neit et Apouit*”, Pl. XIII, line 379).

Later Conceptions of Gb—Middle Kingdom, etc.


Having discussed in a summary way the principal functions of *Gb* as the Earth and as God of the earth in the *Pyramid Texts*, let us now see to what extent the same ideas were employed by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and Saitic Period, and see if any new ideas had been added to those already existing in the Old Kingdom, and also look for new developments in the role played by this God.

Gb as the Hereditary Prince of Egypt

Before attempting to speak of the earth personified as *Gb*, we should first of all try to discover what was the possible earthly origin of this God. Like many other members of the Egyptian Pantheon, *Gb* seems at first to have been a demi-god living upon earth at a time when Egypt was ruled by a divine dynasty which, according to some schools of thought, commenced with *R* and terminated with Horus (*Hr*) the Son of Isis (*Is.t*) and Osiris (*Wsr*). It is significant to note that in spite of the fact that *Gb* was regarded as one of the ancient rulers of Egypt, his general title is  *rp.t*, Hereditary Prince, and not, like that of his son Osiris (*Wsr*), King of Upper and Lower Egypt ⁽¹⁾, or like the later title of Amon (*Imn*),  ⁽²⁾ "Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands of the King of the Gods." This is perhaps because the legends relating to *Gb* go far back to a remote time in pre-historic Egypt, when the land was divided into a number of petty principalities, each with its throne, and almost certainly corresponding geographically to the later *nomes*. These scattered principalities were not yet even amalgamated into two kingdoms, but were apparently governed by *Gb*, who was their Hereditary Prince, but not King, for as yet there was no united kingdom of Egypt. Evidence in favour of this hypothesis seems to be forthcoming in line 317 of the *Pyramid Texts*, where we read:—


317 (a) 

"*Wns* as a small orphan has rendered account, together with the sister, the Two Truths have interrogated (them),




(b)  "they lacked a witness, the


Two Truths have decided,

(1) In the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts* (DE BUCK, "Egyptian Coffin Texts", Vol. I, p. 197 (B 17 C) we see it said of Osiris (*Wsr*) :

 "You are a King, Son of a Hereditary Prince", and this shows the distinction which was made between the ranks of *Gb* as a prince and Osiris (*Wsr*) as the ruler of a united Kingdom.

(2) SETHE, "Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis", p. 13.


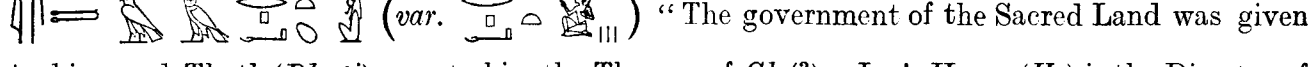
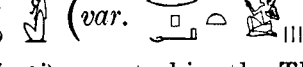







(3) These two nouns seem to refer to an old legend where the orphan boy was considered as  (i.e. "طفل") and the sister as  (i.e. "طفلة"), (also like *Šw* and *Tfn.t*) who were judged. We have other traces of this legend in the  according to the Ebers Papyrus 95, where it is said that they were born in Chemmis. This seems to link up with the tradition related to Herodotus that Apollo and Artemis [Horus (*Hr*) and Bast (*B3s.t.t.*)] were the children of Osiris (Bacchus) and Isis. Herodotus, II, 156.

(c)  “that the Thrones of *Gb* ought to pass to him, and that he should elevate himself to that which he likes.”



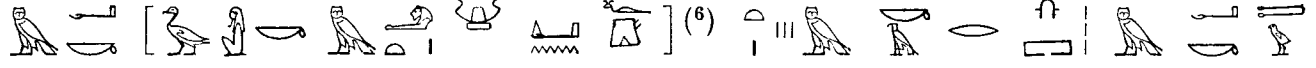


The phrase “Thrones of *Gb*” is significant, and suggests that the text had an early origin, going back to the time when the memory of an Egypt still divided into petty states was yet fresh in the minds of men. In the Middle Kingdom we have the following spell which corroborates this idea (1); speaking of the dead, it says:—


 (var. *B 4 C*        ) “He is justified before his enemies, and thus he took his *Wrrt*-crown, and the thrones of *Gb* sail upstream to him (go to him).”

Here the verb “sail” is of particular interest for as we have already seen on p. 47, *Hnt* means to sail upstream against the current. Thus, in this text where the dead is identified with Osiris (*Wsr*) and localized at Abydos, his sacred city, the thrones are said to sail to him, and here this has the meaning that all the principalities over which *Gb* ruled as Hereditary Prince, will sail upstream to pay homage to Osiris (*Wsr*) and to the dead who is identified with him. So also in the following spell (2) we read concerning *Horus* (*Hr*):—


 (var.        ) “The government of the Sacred Land was given to him, and *Thoth* (*Dhwtj*) gave to him the Thrones of *Gb* (3). Lo! *Horus* (*Hr*) is the Director of the People (*rp'tj*).”

The following passage in Spell 50 (4) also presents some points of interest (*B 10 Cb*):—










 “The crowns on the Thrones of *Gb* are joyful, making

(1) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 37, Spell II (*B 2 B 0*).



(2) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 179 (*B 3 B 0*).

(3) Either in accordance with tradition that *Thoth*, as Judge, had restored to *Horus* (*Hr*) the Kingdom of which *Sr* had deprived him or because Hermopolitan tradition made *Thoth* a son of *Gb*. Thus, *Dhwtj* could give to *Horus* the thrones which he himself had inherited from his father.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 224 (*B 10 Cb*).

(5) Var.    (*B 12 C*),   (*B 16 C*).

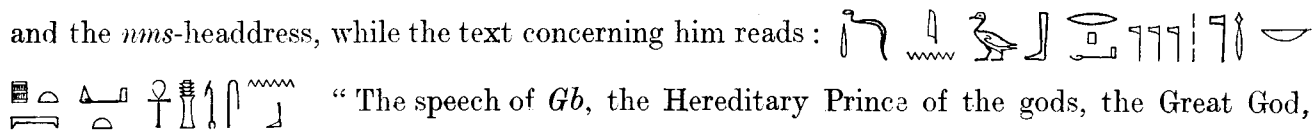
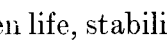

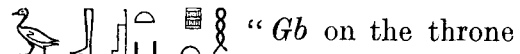
(6) Restored from *B 12 C*.

(7) Var. in *B 12 C*, *B 13 C*, *B 17 C* or   *B 16 C*.

acclamations in the interior of Busiris (*Ddw*); Horus (*Hr*) who presides in *hm* (Letopolis) is glad for Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wn-nfr* when he comes in peace to the West; all the gods are in his following. Behold! your son in the front of the Solar-boat, the throne which is in the cabin (of the boat) is given to him. Behold! you are the King of the Under Heavens, to you come those who are upon their thrones; it is you who govern them (*i.e.* the thrones) and you govern them for Eternity.”

The “crowns on the Thrones of *Gb*” are the petty princes who ruled the old scattered nomes, which had eventually come under the control of *Gb*. Then, Osiris (*Wsr*) is called upon to see his son in the front of the Solar-boat, a position which we have already seen him occupying in the *Pyramid Texts*, and also in the later representations; while the throne in the Solar-boat has already been discussed (*see* p. 71). The reference to the “Under Heavens” is interesting, and corroborates the theory of the superposed skies which we have discussed above (p. 195). Finally, we are told that the dead Kings, “those who are on their thrones”, all come to Osiris (*Wsr*) (in death) and will be governed by him for eternity ⁽¹⁾. The earthly origin of *Gb* finds recognition in the New Kingdom in *Ch.* III of the *Book of the Dead* ⁽²⁾ :—

 “ I know the name of the *Tmmw*, the Ancestors of *Gb*.”

Now, the word “ *Tmmw* ” means “men” in the sense of divine or perfect beings (*see* “ *W.B.* ” Vol. V, p. 305), who are here called the ancestors of *Gb*, in spite of the legends which make him of divine origin, and descended from *Itm* through *Šw* ! This is an example of the contradictory nature of some of the Egyptian religious conceptions, due to the amalgamation of different schools of theological speculation. So also the later texts speak of *Gb* as a real King, and in the tomb of *B3-n-nm.tjw* ⁽³⁾ *Gb* is shown as a King of Upper Egypt, wearing the white crown and the *nms*-headdress, while the text concerning him reads :  “ The speech of *Gb*, the Hereditary Prince of the gods, the Great God, Lord of Heaven given life, stability, prosperity and health.” On the sarcophagus of  ⁽⁴⁾ *Gb* has the title of  “ *Gb*, the Ruler of the two River-banks (*i.e.* Egypt).” While in the temple of Seti (*St.j*) I at Abydos ⁽⁵⁾ *Gb* is referred to as :  “ *Gb* on the throne (or place) of *Pth*”, an allusion to his association with the divine dynasty, of which, according to the Memphite beliefs, *Pth* was the first ruler of Egypt.

⁽¹⁾ Later, *Gb* may be described as “ King ”, and in a scene from a mummy-case at Turin, he bears the kingly title of *ntr-nfr* the “ Good God ” (MASPERO, “ *Dawn of Civilization* ”, p. 129).

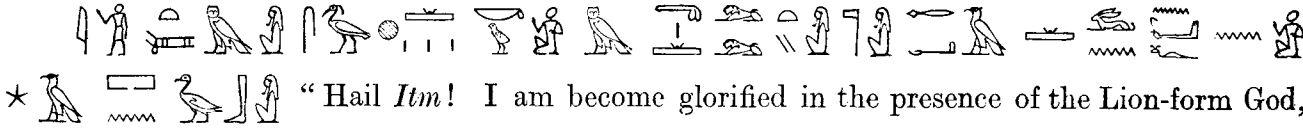
⁽²⁾ BUDGE, “ *Book of the Dead* ”, (Text), Vol. III, p. 4.

⁽³⁾ FAKHRY, “ *Bahria Oases* ”, p. 83.


⁽⁴⁾ QUIBELL, “ *The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* ”, p. 6.

⁽⁵⁾ MARIETTE, “ *Abydos* ”, Vol. I, Pl. 36.

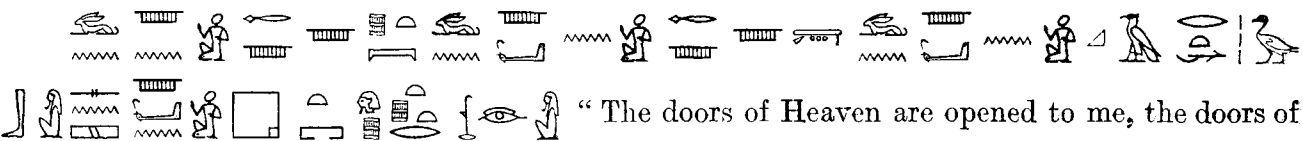
Here, as in the *Pyramid Texts*, *Gb* is the tomb as distinct from the earth \equiv . In *Ch. XLI*, line 2 of the *Book of the Dead*, we have (1):—

 "Hail *Itm*! I am become glorified in the presence of the Lion-form God, the great God (*i.e. R'*), therefore he opens to me the Gate of *Gb*."

While in *Ch. CLXIX*, line 14, we have (2):—

 "The two door-leaves of Heaven are opened by *R'*, the two door-leaves of the earth are opened by *Gb*."

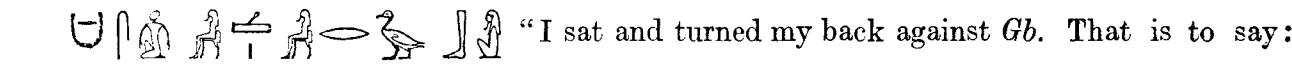
In *Ch. LXVIII*, line 2, we have (3):—

 "The doors of Heaven are opened to me, the doors of earth are opened to me, the bolts and bars of *Gb* are opened to me; opened to me is the first house of the *ptr*(4)."

In the Middle Kingdom we also see the old idea of *Gb* as the grave from which the soul of the dead will emerge unhindered (5):—

 "I am the Great coming out of *Gb*."

And also in Spell 136 (6):—

 "I sat and turned my back against *Gb*. That is to say: 'I have abandoned the tomb in order to go to Heaven (7).'"

A new theme in the old conception of *Gb* as the tomb is the reference to the "jaws of *Gb*", as the jaws of the Grave which devour all who come to it, but which may also open to allow the dead to ascend to Heaven. We do not see a direct mention of *Gb* opening his jaws in the *Pyramid Texts*, but it is possible that he is the god referred to in line 393 where it says:—

393 (c)  "The movements stop(8);"

(1) BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 145.

(2) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 49.

(3) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 5. For parallel texts, see *Pyramid Texts*, line 1078 (a,b).


(4) A part of the sky from which the sun makes its appearance.


(5) LACAU, *ibid.* p. 114.

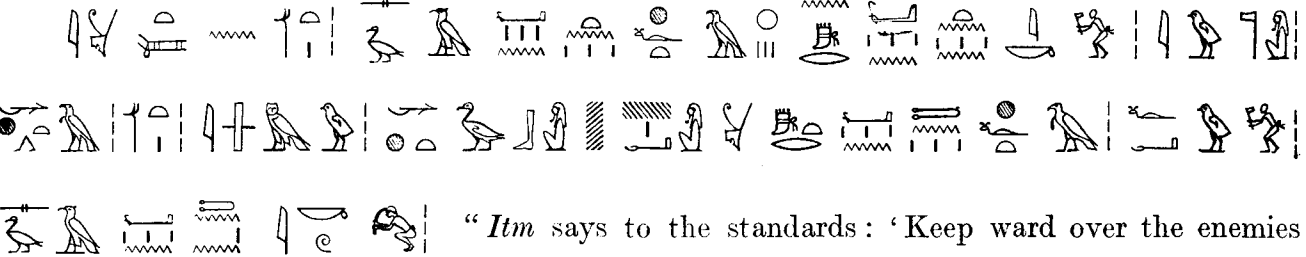
(6) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 162 (B 2 P).

(7) See *Pyramid Texts*, 398 (c) for a parallel.

(8) The movements here are those of nature, *i.e.* the wind, water and currents (see SETHE, "Kommentar", Vol. II, p. 144.


 "Salutations to you, O *R*! Behold this *N*! It is he who guards at the gates by means of the sceptre upon which is the Standard of *Gb*. Behold! This *N* is this balance of *R* which 'Justice' carries with her."

Now here the "standards of *Gb*" and the exact role played by that god are obscure, but in the New Kingdom both text and representation help us to understand their meaning, and in the sixth division of the *Book of Gates* we see ⁽¹⁾: that *Gb* and the gods who are in his following had power over the enemies of *R*, who were bound to jackal-headed standards , each of which bore a divine name, and was a living personality. These standards are addressed by *Itm*, thus:—



"*Itm* says to the standards: 'Keep ward over the enemies and bind ye fast those who shall be smitten. O ye gods who are behind the standards, and who are in the following of *Gb* [Give you power] to bind fast the enemies and to keep ward over the wicked'."

Thus, we can see by means of this text and its accompanying illustration that the standards of *Gb* were his particular instrument of punishment in the Underworld. We also have mention of these standards in the *Book of the Dead* in a chapter, which is directly borrowed from the *Middle Kingdom Text* we had previously quoted ⁽²⁾:—

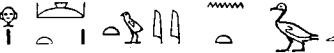
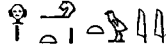



"Salutations to you, O *R*, who protects the secrets of the doors upon which are these Standards of *Gb*, and this balance of *R* which Justice carries with her every day."

In the Saitic Period this passage was inserted twice in the *Book of the Dead*, once in *Ch. XII*, as here, and once in *Ch. CXX*. The variant writings of this passage (*see below*) suggest that the meaning was not very well known to the Egyptians of the period and the scribes did not fully

⁽¹⁾ BUDGE, "The Egyptian Heaven and Hell", Vol. II, pp. 171-174.

⁽²⁾ *Ch. XII*, BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", (Text), Vol. I, p. 34.

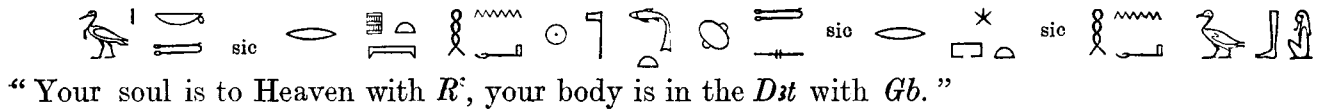
⁽³⁾ *Var.*  (Turin Pap., *Ch. XII*, line 1); LEPSIUS, "Todtenbuch", Pl. III. 
 (Turin Pap. *Ch. CXX*), line 1, LEPSIUS, *ibid.* Pl. XLV.

understand what they were writing. In the Middle Kingdom we have a text which actually mentions *Gb* in connection with the *Dst* (1):—



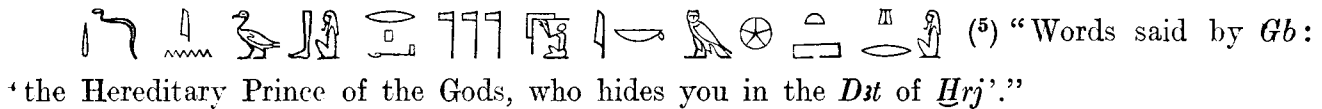
“I am *Itm* (var. *R'-Itm*) who created those who are not his feeble ones, (i.e. his enemies) who opened the obstructions of my soul (i.e. the obstacles put before it), when I send him near the god of the *Dst*. *Itm* saved this my soul near *Gb* because he knew the guidance of the earth.”

In the later period we see the following (3):—



“Your soul is to Heaven with *R'*, your body is in the *Dst* with *Gb*.”

And again (4):—



“the Hereditary Prince of the Gods, who hides you in the *Dst* of *Hrj*.”


In the Middle Kingdom we have a text which refers to *Gb* as Death as well as the tomb personified (6):—



“*Gb* came. I was freed from him (7). Opened to me are the bolts of . . . Thrown open to me are the bolts of *Kbh*. He gave me the evil Spirits and the Princes who were before me. He guided me on the way, where I found sight (?)”.

(1) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 109, 110 (S1C).

(2) Var. , G2T.

(3) GAUTHIER, “*Cercueils Anthropoides des Pretres de Montou*”, p. 457. In the original the first sign  is faulty owing to a scribal error.

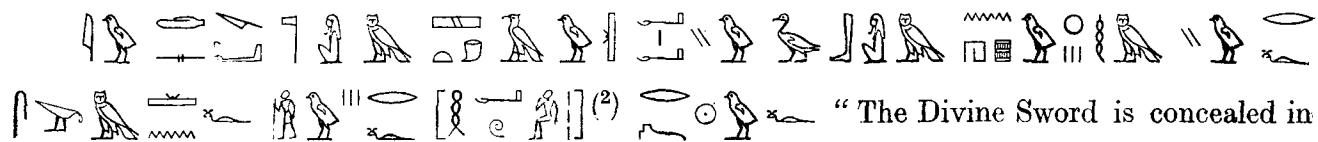
(4) *Ibid.* p. 11.

(5) Perhaps this god is to be identified with the god *Hrj* mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts*, lines 350, 545, and who is a god of the same nature as Osiris (*Wsir*).

(6) LACAU, *ibid.* p. 97.

(7) *Lit.* “disgorged from him”.


In the *Two-way Book* and later in *Ch. CXXX* of the *Book of the Dead*, we have a passage in which *Gb* is personified as the grave which absorbs the young and old, even as *Death* in whose hand the Divine Sword is concealed (1):—

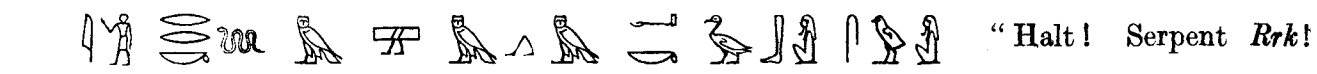
 “The Divine Sword is concealed in the hands of *Gb* at daybreak, for he delights in drawing to himself both old and young at his own time.”

Gb and the Serpents and Noxious Creatures

In the *Middle Kingdom Texts* we have an association between *Gb* and worms (2):—

 “I keep living the fishes and worms on the back of *Gb*.”

In the New Kingdom we again see the association between *Gb* and the serpents, but apparently the name  *D^cmw*, under which *Gb* was often known in the *Pyramid Texts* in his connection with serpents, had entirely disappeared, and, as far as I am aware, it does not occur in the texts after the Old Kingdom. In the *Book of the Dead* we have a spell directed against serpents which reads (4):—

 “Halt! Serpent *Rrk*! Advance not! Behold, *Gb* and *Šw*!”

Here, as in the *Pyramid Texts*, *Gb* is the Master of serpents, and the dead is either trying to identify himself with *Gb* and *Šw*, or is threatening the dangerous serpent with the arrival of these two gods.

In the Book “*Imj Dwt*” (5) *Gb* appears along with the gods *Ts-tnn*, *Itm*, *Hpri*, *Sw*, Osiris (*Wsr*), Horus (*Hr*), *Wp.w* and *Htp.wj* in the sixth division of the Underworld. All of

(1) NAVILLE, “*Totentuch*”, Vol. II, p. 339; Lc.

(2) Restored from Pb.

(3) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 43, Spell 80 (B1C).

(4) BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 134, *Ch. XXXIII*, line 2.

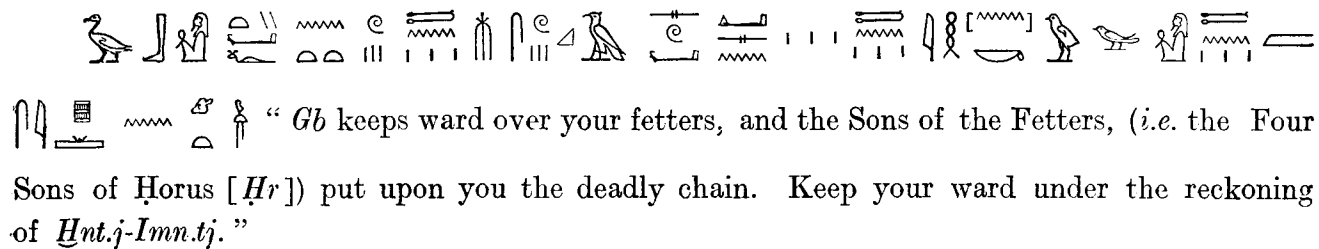
(5) BUDGE, “*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”, Vol. I, pp. 136, 137.

these gods, including *Gb*, have the form of fire-spitting serpents armed with huge knives. The text concerning them tells us that they are “nine images of the divine spirits” :—

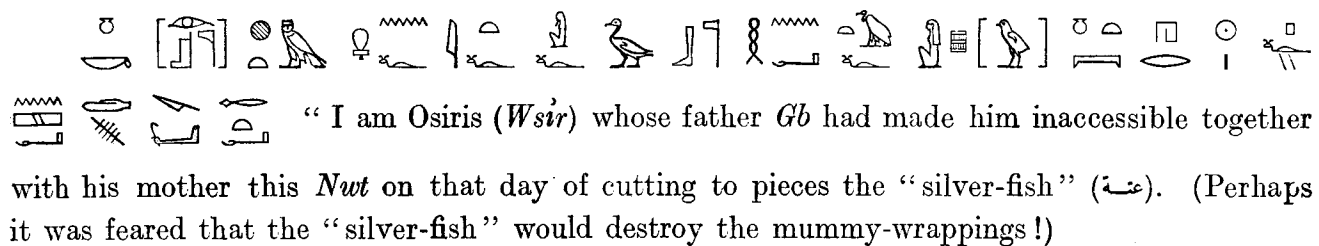


of the Divine Spirits! whose faces are of flames, who are provided with your knives, burn ye up the enemies of *Hpri*, hack in pieces their shades, for you are the warders of the Hidden Flesh, which is made in *Nwn*, their habitation, for it is ye who dwell in the Water of *T3-tnn* and it is for you that the magical powers of *Hpri* come into being. They have their means of living from the word of *R*. The work which they do in the *Dwst* is to hack asunder the dead and to cause the spirits to be destroyed.”

In the *Book of Gates* ⁽¹⁾ *Gb* is depicted with the Four Sons of *Horus* (*Hr*), each of whom holds a chain which restrains a struggling serpent, children of *'3-pp*. The accompanying text reads:—



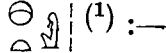
Here we have dual conceptions of *Gb*, as a serpent, and as a punisher of evil-doers (*see* below, p. 241). In the Saitic Period we also see the power of *Gb* extended over noxious creatures ⁽²⁾ :—




(1) BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 271.

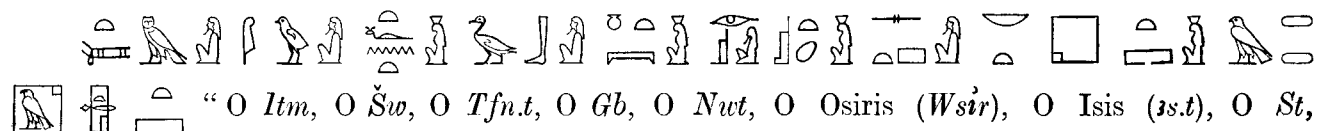
(2) MORET, “*Sarcophages de l'Époque Bubastite à l'Époque Saïte*”, p. 133, where he says that this insect is represented.

Gb as a Member of the Ennead

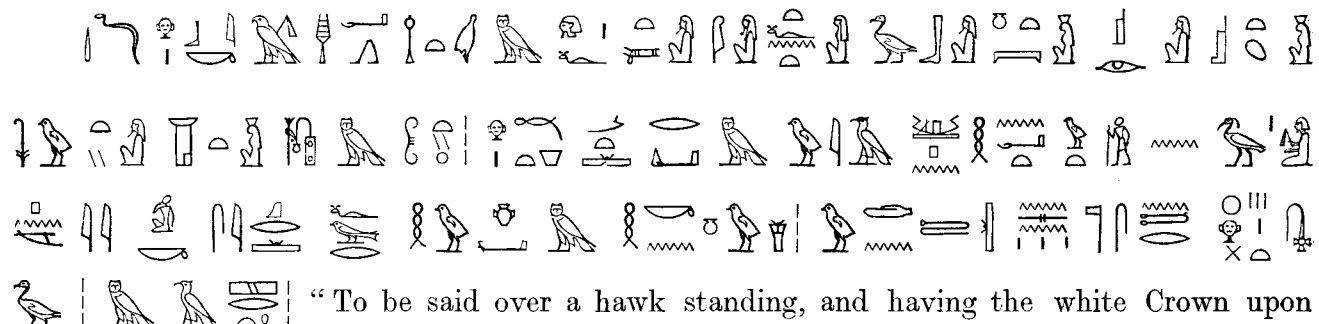
In the *Middle Kingdom Texts* we find *Gb* referred to as the head of the Ennead  (1) :—

 “I say, calling the Gods: ‘I am Isis (*ꜣs.t*), sister of Osiris (*Wsr̄*), who wept the fathers (?) of Osiris (*Wsr̄*), who had pacified the carnage of the Two Lands. His seed is in my body, which had created the form of the god in the egg, as *Gb*, the head of the Ennead (?), who governed this land, his inheritance of *Gb*, in which he placed his father, and he killed *St*, the enemy of his father Osiris (*Wsr̄*).’”

In the *Book of the Dead* *Gb* is included in the Ennead, the members of which are all mentioned by name in *Ch.* CLXXI along with other gods (2) :—

 “O *Itm*, O *Šw*, O *Tfn.t*, O *Gb*, O *Nwt*, O Osiris (*Wsr̄*), O Isis (*ꜣs.t*), O *St*, O Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*), O *Hr-ꜣh.tj*, O *Ht-Hr* of the Great House, etc. etc.”

The vignette of *Ch.* CXXXIV (3) (see Fig. 60) shows *Gb* among the Ennead in the Solar-boat, and the rubric for this chapter says :—

 “To be said over a hawk standing, and having the white Crown upon his head [and over figures of] *Itm*, *Šw*, *Tfn.t*, *Gb*, *Nwt*, Osiris (*Wsr̄*), Isis (*ꜣs.t*), *St*, Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*), painted in yellow colour upon a new plaque, which shall be placed in the [model] Solar-boat, along with a figure of this Glorified One whom you love and would make perfect. You shall anoint them with *hknw*-oil and incense shall be offered to them upon the fire, and geese shall be roasted.”

(1) LACAÛ, *ibid.* p. 38.

(2) BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. III, p. 53, line 1.

(3) *Ibid.* (Translation), p. 403, (Text), Vol. II, p. 178.

Gb as a Judge

The *Middle Kingdom Texts* also refer to *Gb* as a Judge, as in the following⁽¹⁾:—

“They (*i.e.* the enemies) sit to be judged before *Gb*.”

And also ⁽²⁾:—

“This Osiris (*Wsr*) N is justified before *Gb*, the Hereditary Prince of the Gods.”

In Spell 9 we read ⁽³⁾:—

var. [] “As to everything evil which they say or do against this Osiris N before Osiris and *Gb*, they will be against them, and they will exist against them ⁽⁴⁾.”

In the New Kingdom we have *Gb* appearing as a judge, in the inscriptions on a *naos* found in the Temple of Osiris (*Wsr*) at Abydos ⁽⁵⁾. Speaking of Osiris (*Wsr*), it says:—

“Vindication was given to him before *Gb* and the Ennead united.”

In *Ch.* CLVIII of the *Book of the Dead* (line 4) we have reference to what seems to be the Judgment Hall of *Gb* ⁽⁶⁾:—

“May *Imn* give power to Osiris (*Wsr*) in the *Wshh*-hall of *Gb*.”

The *wshh*-hall certainly had the meaning of a court of justice, and this is the sense in which it is used here, but it can also mean the hall in the temple, where the offerings were placed. For its use in this latter sense see below.

⁽¹⁾ DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 21, Spell 7 (*M.C105*).


⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 25, Spell 8 (*B 3 B 0*).

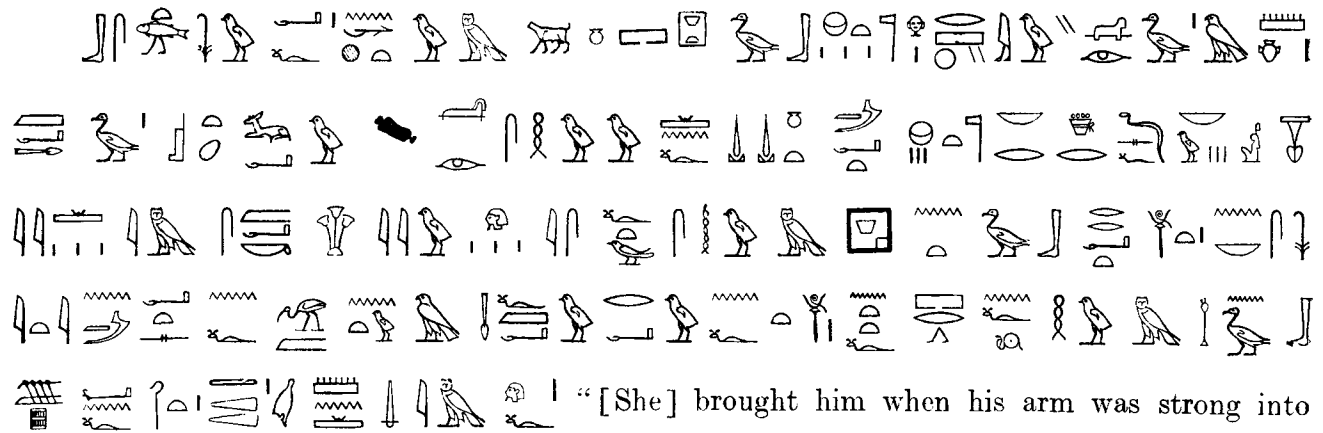
⁽³⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 32, 33 (*B 6 C*).

⁽⁴⁾ Restored from *B 1 P*.

⁽⁵⁾ MARIETTE, “*Abydos*”, Vol. II, Pl. 23.

⁽⁶⁾ BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 38.

On the Louvre Stele No. 20⁽¹⁾ we have an account of the legal contest between Ḥorus (*Hr*) and *St* which was said to have taken place in the Hall of *Gb* . After relating how Isis (*Is.t*) bore Ḥorus (*Hr*) and reared him in secret, it says:—

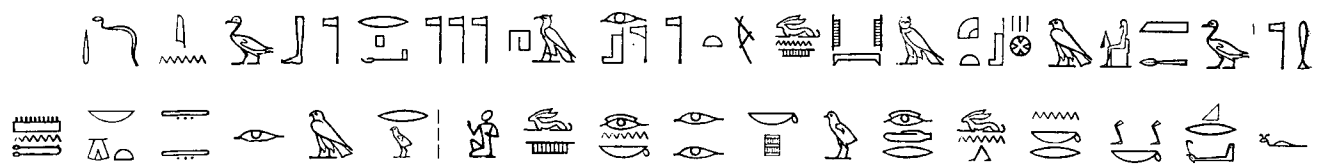


the interior of the large Hall of *Gb*. The Ennead cried out full of joy: ‘Welcome, Ḥorus (*Hr*), the son of Osiris (*Wsr*)! Stalwart-hearted, justified, son of Isis (*Is.t*), heir of Osiris (*Wsr*)!’ The Tribunal of Truth assembled for him the Ennead, the Lord of All himself; the Lords of Truth were united therein, that turned their backs upon iniquity. They sat them down in the Hall of *Gb* with the intent to assign the Office to its Lord, the kingdom to whom it should be given. It was found that the word of Ḥorus (*Hr*) was true, and the office of his father was given to him. He came forth crowned by the command of *Gb*, he received the lordship of the Two River-banks and the crown rested securely upon his head.”

This is a clear proof that the Hall of *Gb* was a place of judgment over which *Gb* himself presided as judge and issuer of decrees⁽²⁾.

Gb as the Helper of the Dead

From the Saitic Period we have the following examples where *Gb* appears as the helper of the Dead⁽³⁾:—



“Said by *Gb*, the Prince of the Gods: ‘O Osiris (*Wsr*), beloved of the God, opener of the door of Heaven in Karnak, Ḥorus (*Hr*) the Justified, Son of the Priest of *Mntw*, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, *Ir.t-n(t)hr-ir.w*. I open for you your two eyes which were blind, outstretch your two legs which he tied⁽⁴⁾.”

(1) See B.I.F.A.O. Tome XXX, pp. 744, 745.

(2) For the Hall of *Gb* as a place where the dead were purified, see *Rec. Trav.*, Vol. 39 p. 52.

(3) MORET, *ibid.* p. 184. (See also *ibid.* p. 306).

(4) *i.e.* *St*.

And also in the following (1) :—

“You come out near your father *Gb* who is glad of your nearness; he gives his arm to you.”

In the Dramatic Text from Edfu, *Gb* is said to have at one time sailed in a ship with Isis (*Is.t*) and her son Horus (*Hr*) in order to show them the way (see CHASSINAT, “*Le Temple d’Edfou*”, Vol. 6, p. 77).

Gb as the Provider of Food

Once more we meet with the familiar theme of the deceased partaking of his celestial and earthly meals, as in the *Pyramid Texts* (see above, pp. 118,119). In the Middle Kingdom we have(2) :—

“Three meals in Heaven near *R*’ and two meals on earth near *Gb*.”

And again (3) :—

“You live from the three meals of *Gb*.”

Here *Gb* is actually the provider of the food upon which the dead lives. In Spell 22 we have (4) :—

“*R*’ eats of the sweet things of which he gives to you your three meals of Heaven near *R*’, of packed barley of the north(?) and four meals on earth near *Gb*.”

Also in Spell 4 (5) :—

“O this Osiris (*Wsr*) N, the earth opens his mouth to you, *Gb* opens his jaws to you, and you eat your meals, and you receive your abundance.”

Usually the opening of the jaws of *Gb* refers to the grave, but here the implication seems to be the earth opening its jaws to allow the food to come forth from it. In the New Kingdom we have in the *Book of the Dead*, Ch. LIII, line 4 (6) :—

“I am the Lord of meals in Heliopolis! I have three meals in Heaven near *R*’ and three meals on earth near *Gb*” (see also p. 100).

(1) *Ibid.* p. 126.

(2) LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. I, p. 206.

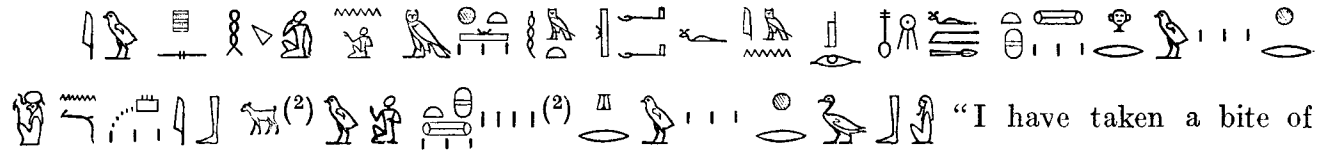
(3) LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, p. 136.

(4) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 64, 65 (*B 1 P*).


(5) *Ibid.* p. 11 (*B 3 B 0*).

(6) BUDGE, (*Text*), Vol. I, p. 165.

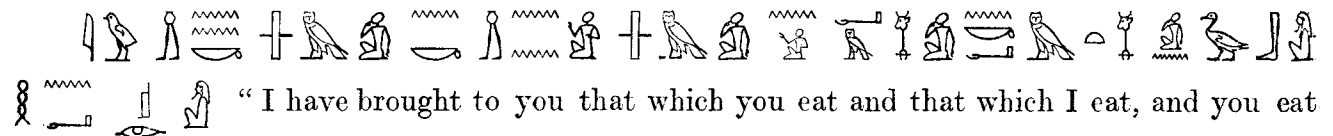
And again in *Ch.* CLXIX (1) :—

 "I have taken a bite of these sweet things which are on the hands of Osiris (*Wsr*) N, three meals of Heaven near *R* made of grain of *Ibw*, and four meals of those who are below (*i.e.* the common people) near *Gb*."


But in *Ch.* LXVIII (lines 8-9) the dead is said to live upon the meals of *Gb*(2) :—

 "I am powerful against my female enemies in the Necropolis, and powerful against the orders which are made against me on earth, but this is what is said to me: 'May he live on the meals of *Gb*'."

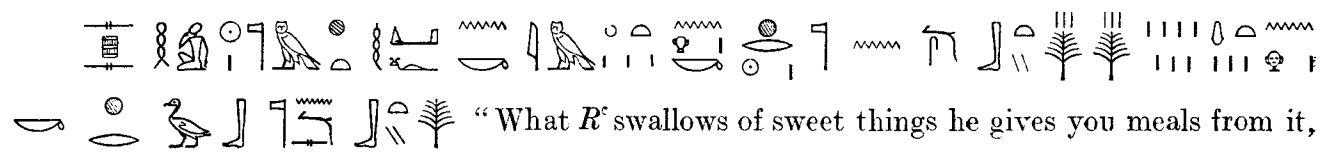
In *Ch.* CLIII (line 24) we read (4) :—

 "I have brought to you that which you eat and that which I eat, and you eat that which *Gb* eats with Osiris (*Wsr*)."

In the later period we also have the same theme of *Gb* as the provider of food(5) :—

 "Said by *Gb* the Hereditary Prince of the Gods: 'I have come to see Osiris (*Wsr*) *Wn-nfr* the justified. I am the eldest son, . . . I say to you, O Eternal Inheritor (twice), I give you all the food coming out of *Gb*'."

In the Saitic Period we see a recurrence of the theme of the celestial and terrestrial meals(6) :—

 "What *R* swallows of sweet things he gives you meals from it, for you are near *R*, of barley of seven ells, of food, for you are near *Gb*, of barley."

(1) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 48, lines 8-9.

(2) It seems here that the word *ibw* means great personages and *hrjw* means the common people.

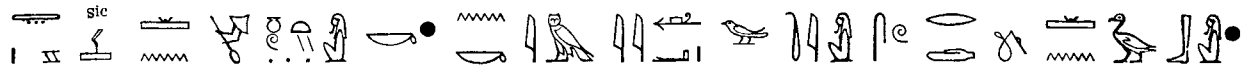
(3) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 6.

(4) *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 4.

(5) GAUTHIER, "Cerueils Anthropoides des Pretres de Montou", p. 275.

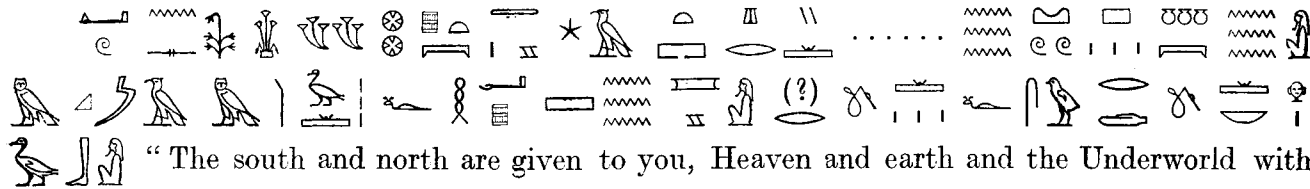
(6) MORET, *ibid.* p. 53.

In Fig. 79 we see *Gb* as producer of vegetation represented with plants growing upon him and in the texts it is also said that plants and vegetation spring from the back of *Gb*. Thus, in the Leyden Hymn to Amon (*Imn*), we see (1) :—



“The earth is established for your statue (?), yours alone is that which *Gb* causes to grow.”

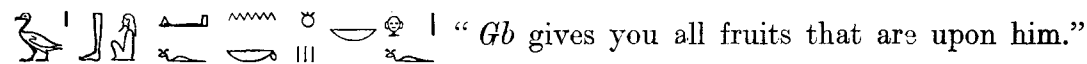
And in *Ch.* 700 of the same hymn it is said concerning Thebes (2) :—



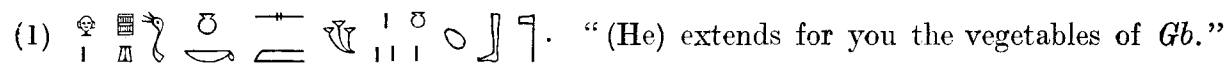
“The south and north are given to you, Heaven and earth and the Underworld with (lands ?) water and mountains, *Nwn*, with its products, the Nile . . . and all that is made to grow upon *Gb*.”

In a hymn on an ostrakon, Osiris is identified with *Gb* who here personifies both the Underworld and this earth. The Nile is said to issue from the sweat of his hands, and though all living things, plants, cultivation, lakes, monuments, tombs, temples and houses are placed upon his back, yet he never complains that he is too heavily laden. (ERMAN, “*The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*”, p. 304.)

From the later period we have the following examples (3) :—



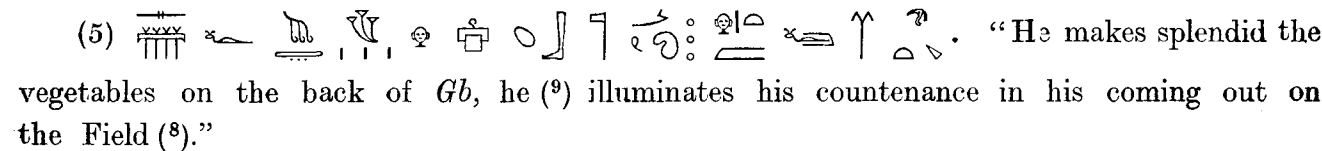
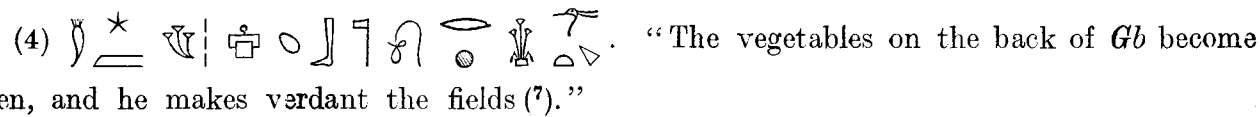
And again (4) concerning the God of Edfu who fertilized Egypt, it says :—



Two Lands and all that is in them, and he filled for you the earth and all its meals (5).”



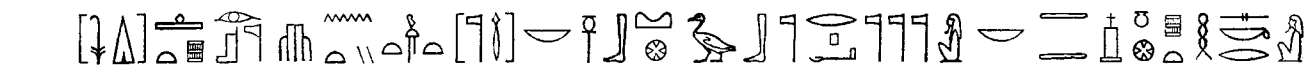
earth is filled before you with all its products, he makes green for you the vegetables on the back of *Gb* (6).”




(1) GARDINER, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 42, p. 25.
 (2) *Ibid.* p. 40.
 (3) DÜMICHEN, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 9, p. 91.
 (4) *Ibid.*
 (5) *Ibid.*
 (6) *Ibid.* p. 92.
 (7) *Ibid.*
 (8) *Ibid.* p. 92.
 (9) In these latter examples *Gb* is the cultivated land producing the crops upon which men live.


Notice that *Gb*, god of the earth is given the first place at the head of all the other gods mentioned in the text.

We also have *Gb*, the Hereditary Prince of the Gods, appearing in the offering-formula with the King and Osiris Khent-Amenti (*Wsr̄ hnt-ḫmn.tj*) ⁽¹⁾ :—



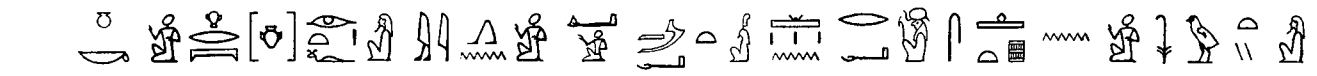

 “A boon which the King gives to Osiris Khent-Amenti (*Wsr̄ hnt-ḫmn.tj*) the Great God, Lord of Abydos (*ḫbdw*), and to *Gb* the Hereditary Prince of the Gods, Lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, to Ptah-Seker-Osiris (*Pth-Skr-Wsr̄*), Lord of Secrets, Anubis (*Inpw*), He who is in *Wt*, Presiding over the God’s Dwelling, Lord of the Sacred Land, and to Osiris Wennefer (*Wsr̄ Wn-nfr*), Ruler of Eternity.” In a hymn to Osiris (*Wsr̄*) on a stele in the Louvre it says:—

“ Offerings are made to him (*i.e.* to Osiris) by the command of *Gb*” (ERMAN, “ *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*”, p. 142).

As we find *Gb* in the offering-formula as a god who should provide offerings for the dead, so also we find him as a god to whom the dead are said to be  *imshw* which is variously translated as “devoted to”, “honoured by”, “revered of” or “pensioner of”, this latter having the sense of one who is provided for by a certain god. Thus, we see in the Middle Kingdom Texts that the dead may be *imshw* to *Gb*, as in the following example ⁽²⁾ :—



In the *Book of the Dead* (Ch. XCVI) we have ⁽³⁾ :—


 “I am he Who dwells in the middle of his own eye (Thoth) (*Dhwtj*). I have come that I may deliver *Mḥ.t* to *R* and that I may propitiate *St* with libations for *skr* and the red victims for the revered (*imshw*) of *Gb*.”


Gb as the Revivicator of the Dead

As in the Old Kingdom, so in the later texts we find *Gb* appearing as the revivicator of the dead, and one, moreover, who provides him with all the necessities for continual existence.

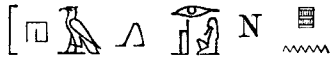

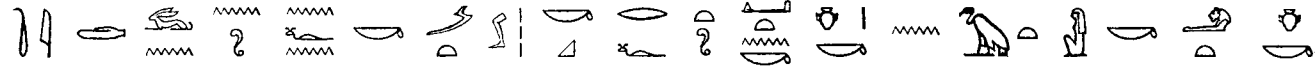
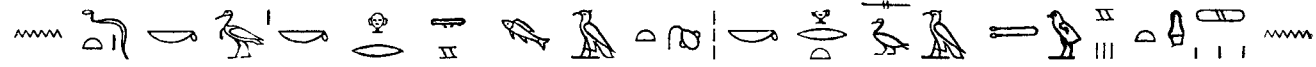
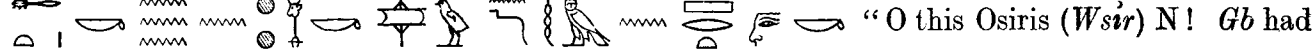
⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.* p. 157. See also *ibid.* pp. 290, 303, 305.

⁽²⁾ LACAU, *ibid.* p. 87.

⁽³⁾ BUDGE, (Text), Vol. II, p. 61.

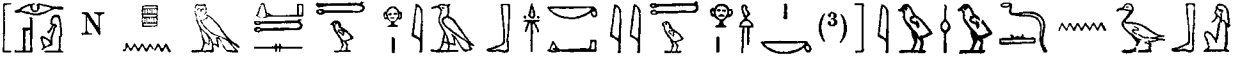

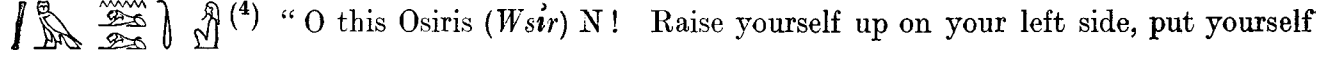
⁽⁴⁾ *Var.*  . NAVILLE, “ *Todtenbuch*”, Vol. II, p. 214 Aa

Thus, in Spell 20 of the *Coffin Texts*, we read ⁽¹⁾ :—

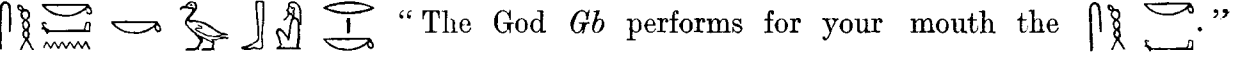
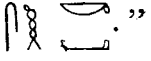
[ (var. from B 6 C)] 


 “O this Osiris (*Wsr*) N! Gb had

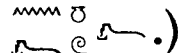
opened for you your two eyes which were blind, and extended your legs which were bound, and gave you your spiritual heart, and gave you your corporal heart of your body, your soul on earth and your body in the ground, bread for your stomach, water for your throat, and the sweet wind for your nose.” (Notice here the difference between earth and ground.)

In the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts* we read of the dead being revived at the express command of Gb ⁽²⁾ :—

[ ⁽³⁾] 
 ⁽⁴⁾ “O this Osiris (*Wsr*) N! Raise yourself up on your left side, put yourself on your right side as Gb had ordered and *Rwrw-tj* had repeated” (B4B0),

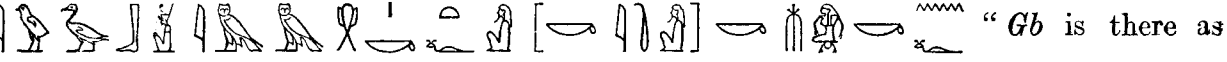
In Ch. CLXXXI, (line 5) of the *Book of the Dead* ⁽⁵⁾, we have Gb performing the ceremony of “Opening the Mouth”, and thus revivifying the dead :—

 “The God Gb performs for your mouth the .

(A rite in the Ceremony of “Opening the Mouth” which is performed with the instrument .)

Gb as the Protector of the Dead

In the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts* we still see Gb appearing as a protector of the dead ⁽⁶⁾ :—

 “Gb is there as your protection, this your father, your King, to whom you are born.”

⁽¹⁾ DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 55-56 (T 9 C).

⁽²⁾ DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 7, Spell I.

⁽³⁾ Restored from BH 5 C.

⁽⁴⁾ From B 4 B 0.

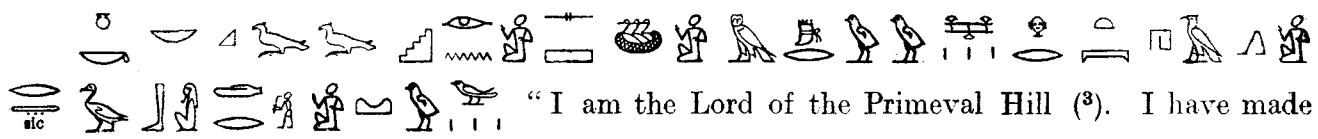
⁽⁵⁾ BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 100.

⁽⁶⁾ LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, pp. 53, 54.

In this text *Gb* is also called the father of the dead (see below, pp. 251, 252). And again in Spell 74 we see (1) :—


 “Your Father *Gb* is conducted to you, thus live for yourself, O Osiris (*Wsir*).”

In the late New Kingdom we have the following (2) :—


 “I am the Lord of the Primeval Hill (3). I have made my nest in the limit of Heaven. I descend to the earth of *Gb*, I drive away the evil.”

Gb as a Creator

The *Middle Kingdom Texts* also provide us with a reference to *Gb* as a creator, and this occurs in a spell designed to secure for the deceased a reunion with his family in the other world (4) :—

 “He joined his friends, he joined his fellahin, and the workers of this N upon earth. He joined his maiden whom he knew, because this N is the form of *Gb* (var. of *R*), who created the Great Ones and joined the Osiris (*Wsir*) N to his brethren and to his maidens.”


This text also shows *Gb* as a uniter of families (see also p. 240). In *Ch.* CLXXIV (line 2) of the *Book of the Dead*, we have a parallel to line 258 (b) of the *Pyramid Texts* (see above, p. 223) (7).

 “Hail to your face O Wise One whom *Gb* has created, and the Ennead has born you.”

Here the Ennead is supposed to be the wife of *Gb*, even as *Nwt*.

Gb as the Father of Osiris (*Wsir*), of other Gods and of the Dead

We frequently see *Gb* alluded to as the father of Osiris (*Wsir*), with whom all the dead were now identified, as in the following *Middle Kingdom Text* (8) :—

 “You are the son of *Gb*, to whom the earth shines and the sky is illuminated.”

(1) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 309 (B10C) (see also *ibid.* p. 311).

(2) GAUTHIER, *ibid.* p. 109.


(3) The hill in Hermopolis where the sun rose for the first time.

(4) DE BUCK, Vol. II, pp. 182, 183, Spell 146 (B3L).

(5) Var. from (B4Lb).

(6) Var. (B4Lb).

(7) BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. III, p. 67.

(8) Var. for *psd.t* =  (NAVILLE, “Totenbuch”, Vol. II, *Ch.* 174 P.b.).

(9) LACAU, “Receuil de Travaux”, Vol. 32, p. 81.

In *Ch.* CXXVIII (line 1) Osiris (*Wsr*) is called the “Eldest son of *Gb* (1)”—

“Hail to your face! O this Osiris Wennefer (*Wsr Wn-nfr*), Justified, the son of *Nwt* and eldest son of *Gb*!”

In the following texts the deceased is identified with Osiris (*Wsr*) and is thus called the son of *Gb* (2):—

“You are the great son of *Gb*, the eldest (?). The Ennead had been given to you and your enemies are under you.”

And again in Spell 51 (3):—

“They see this Great God, the Son of *Gb* who is born by *Nwt*.”

While in another text from the same period, we see (4):—

“I come as (*var.* I am) the fourth of those four gods coming out of the summit of *Gb*.”

And again (5):—

“I am the Great coming out of *Gb* of the Great Ennead, who opens the bolt. I prepare the way of the Great of *Gb*.”

In the inscriptions in the Temple of Seti (*Stj*) I at Abydos, *Gb* is called the Father of the Gods (6):—

“The door of Heaven is opened, the door of earth is opened, the door to *kbhw* is opened; salutation to the face of *Gb*, the Father of the Gods.”

(1) BUDGE, (Text), Vol. II, p. 161.

(2) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 178, Spell 42. (B 2 B 0).

(3) *Ibid.* p. 235 (B 10 C c).

(4) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 146, Spell 122 (S 1 C).

(5) *Var.* P. Gard. II.

(6) *Var.* P. Gard. III, P. Gard. II.

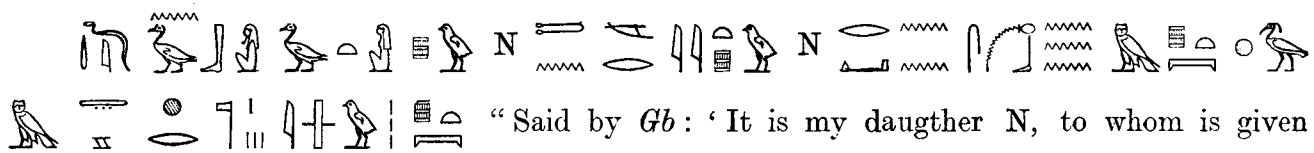
(7) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 144, Spell 119 (S 1 C).

(8) MARIETTE, “*Abydos*”, Vol. I, p. 59.

An inscription from the Middle Kingdom reads (1):—

 “Said by *Gb*: ‘It is this my son, this *N*, the Inheritor, the Governor of *Imn.tj*.’”

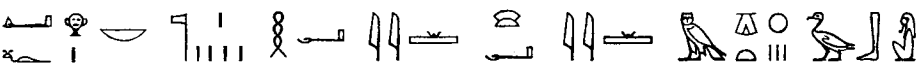
Or *Gb* may simply be referred to directly as the father of the dead who is not necessarily identified by name with Osiris (*Wsr*) but (2) is understood to be an Osiris (*Wsr*):—

 “Said by *Gb*: ‘It is my daughter *N*, to whom is given purification in Heaven, and glory upon earth and near the gods who are in Heaven (3).’”

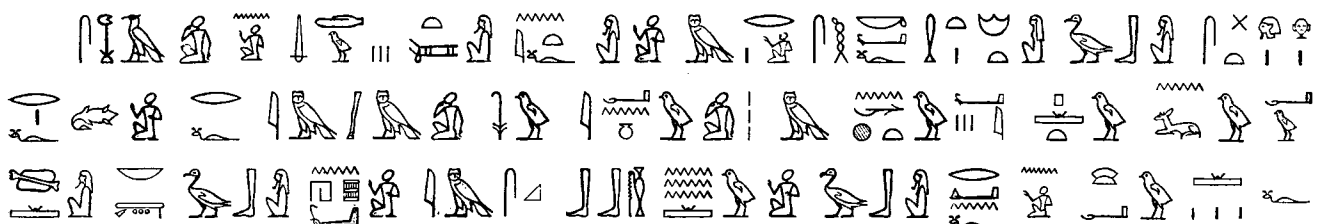
It is, therefore, not surprising when we find the dead spoken of as the “Inheritor of *Gb*”, (*i.e.* Osiris) *Wsr*, as in the following *Middle Kingdom Text* (4):—

 “Said by *Gb*: ‘It is this my Son, this *Ksj*, my Inheritor.’”

Or the same idea may be expressed as follows (5):—

 “All the gods have brought him joy when he appeared upon the throne of *Gb*.”

In *Ch. LXXXII* (lines 10-12) of the *Book of the Dead* (6) we read:—



“I mention the words of my father *Itm* with my mouth, he who constrains the wife of *Gb*, before him all heads are bowed, and there is fear of him. Hymns of praise are repeated for (me) because of (my) mighty acts, and I am decreed to be the Inheritor of *Gb*, Lord of the Earth, *Gb* refreshes me, and he gives to me his crowns.”

(1) LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieur au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. II, p. 21.

(2) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 206. See also Vol. II, pp. 33, 48, 61; var. 70, 140.

(3) The same text was used in the New Kingdom upon the sarcophagus of Seti (*Stj*) I. See BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”, Vol. II, pp. 54, 55, which is another proof of the complete democratization of the Egyptian religion.

(4) LACAU, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 68.


(5) LACAU, “*Recueil de Travaux*”, Vol. 37, p. 138.

(6) BUDGE, “(Text), Vol. II, p. 41.


So also in *Ch.* XIX (line 2); the same theme is also applied to certain gods, in accordance with the legends. Thus, in *Ch.* XVII (line 68) of the *Book of the Dead* we see ⁽¹⁾ :—

 “It is Šw who handed what is made by testament of *Gb* to Osiris (*Wsir*).”

While in *Ch.* CLXXXIII (line 13) we have ⁽²⁾ :—

 “The throne of *Gb* has been allotted to him together with the splendid office (*i.e.* kingship) (to *Horus*) (*Hr*) by *Itm*.”

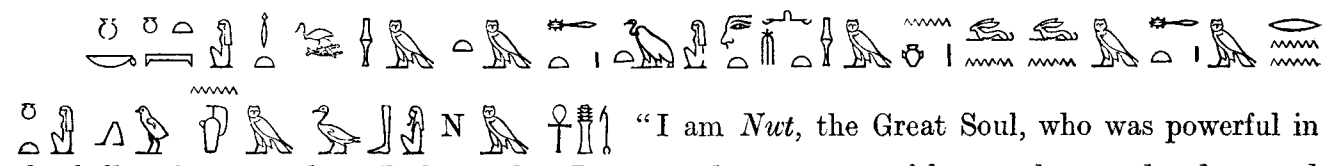
In the Saitic texts we have ⁽³⁾ :—

 “Hail to your face, Eye (*mrt*) of your sister, Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*), daughter of *Gb*.”

Here the god hailed is Osiris (*Wsir*), and the expression “eye of your sister” (باعين أختك) as a term of endearment remains in use in Egypt to the present day.


The Dead identified with Gb

We also have texts where the dead is identified with *Gb*, as we have also seen in the *Pyramid Texts*. In the following spell, the first part of which is based upon line 780 of the text of *Ppjj*, we read ⁽⁴⁾ :—

 “I am *Nwt*, the Great Soul, who was powerful in the belly of my mother, (before) when I was not born, strong of heart who wandered around in the belly of my mother in my name ‘*Nwt*, (sky)’. I come protecting *Gb N* in life, stability and prosperity.”

Here the deceased is actually identified with *Gb* in the same manner as we usually see him identified with Osiris (*Wsir*).

Again in Spell 69 ⁽⁵⁾ :—

 ⁽⁶⁾ “Your name is given to you before them for the living people, because you are *Gb*, who is at the head of the body of the Great Ennead.”

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 68.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 106.

⁽³⁾ MORET, *ibid.* p. 45.

⁽⁴⁾ LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. II, p. 101.


⁽⁵⁾ DE BUCK, *ibid.* I, pp. 293, 294 (T 1 C).

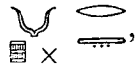
⁽⁶⁾ *Var.* ○ ▽ 𓄏𓄏 𓄏𓄏 𓄏𓄏 (T 2 C).


Thus, we see in this text that *Gb* was the original ruler of the earth, *i.e.* the living, and who transmitted it to his son Osiris (*Wsir*), and in a New Kingdom text (1) *Gb* is described as “*Gb* the Hereditary Prince of the Gods, the head of the living.”


Gb as a Goose

A conception of *Gb* which seems to have developed in the New Kingdom is that which depicts him as a goose and refers to him as the Great Cackler from whose back the solar egg sprang forth. This conception is seen in *Ch. LIV* of the *Book of the Dead* where we read (2):—


 “I am the *Rwrw-tj*, the Egg of the Great Cackler and I watch over the great Egg, which *Gb* had parted from the earth; my duration of life is its duration, and the same is true of my existence and of my breathing the air. I am the god who keeps opposition in equipoise as his Egg circles round.”

There is a parallel to this text in *Ch. LVI* and *Ch. LIX* of the *Book of the Dead* (5). Here *Gb* is regarded as a goose from which comes the egg which is the sun; but he does not lay it in a normal manner, but separates it from the earth , so that according to this idea, the sun may be said to spring from the back of *Gb*, the earth. In the Harris Magical Papyrus (6) the Great Cackler is mentioned in the following spell:—


 “Come to me, he who lets my voice be heard as the voice of the Great Cackler is heard by night.”

Lange is doubtful as to the meaning of the Great Cackler and says that here it is hardly to be considered the same as the mythological goose mentioned in the religious texts (7), and suggests that it may be a kind of domestic goose which cackles by night. On the other hand, we have already seen that *Gb* may be regarded as a magician, and thus his inclusion in a magical spell is very appropriate, and indeed he is directly mentioned in the London-Leyden Magical Papyrus, where in *Col. XIII* he is referred to in bovine and in human form (8). Opinions differ among scholars as to the reason for *Gb* being called the Great Cackler, but Lieblein (9) and Brugsch (10), and following them, Muller (11) consider that the conception arose from the hieroglyph  which

(1) See Fig. 77, p. 192.

(2) NAVILLE, Vol. I, Pl. LXVI.

(3) Var.  BUDGE, (Text), Vol. I, p. 166.

(4) Var.  (*ibid.*, p. 166).

(5) NAVILLE, *ibid.* Pl. LXIX and Pl. LXXI.

(6) LANGE, “*Der Magische Papyrus Harris*”, VII, 7, p. 59.



(7) *Ibid.* p. 60.

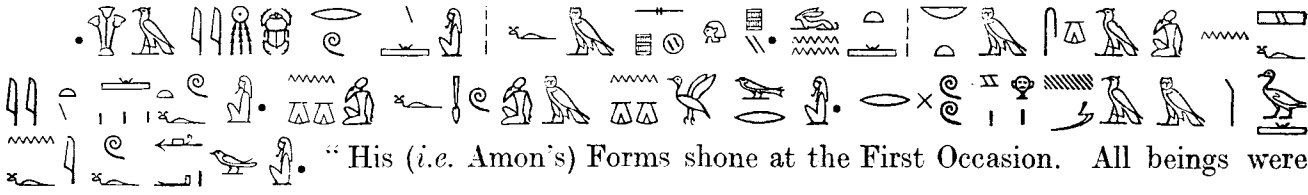
(8) GRIFFITH, “*The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden*”, pp. 93, 95.

(9) *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. III, pp. 99, 100.

(10) *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, S. 172.


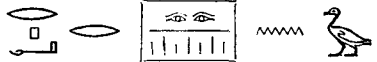

(11) *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 42.

forms a prominent element in the writing of the name *Gb*, and which appears above his head as his name-symbol, when he is represented as standing erect (see Fig.78), being comparable to the  and  which are represented upon the heads of the Goddesses Isis (*Is.t*) and Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*) respectively. On the other hand, Renouf denies this theory ⁽¹⁾ and expresses his opinion that the myth in which *Gb* is likened to a goose is older than any hieroglyphic! If this is so, how is it that the *Pyramid Texts* do not mention *Gb* under this form, which does not seem to appear until the New Kingdom, unless we are really to consider the Goose-guardian in the *Two-way Book* (see LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieur du Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. II, Pl. LV; 21) as a form of *Gb* and this is much open to doubt. We also have a reference to *Gb* as the Great Cackler in the famous Hymn to Amon (*Imn*) in the Leyden Papyrus ⁽²⁾, which dates from the time of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) II: —

 “His (*i.e.* Amon's) Forms shone at the First Occasion. All beings were struck dumb at his glory. He cackled with his voice as the Great Cackler, at the place where he created, when he was alone.”

That *Gb* is the god here referred to as the Great Cackler is clear from the context, as the verse opens by identifying all the Ennead with Amon (*Imn*), and then personifying the different gods singly and by name with Amon (*Imn*). Concerning Amon (*Imn*) and his *Smn*-goose, Sethe emphatically points out that it is not at all to be connected with *Gb* under the form of a goose or with the solar egg laid by the Great Cackler ⁽³⁾.

Gb in Royal and Noble Titles

From the time of the Middle Kingdom we find certain royal and noble titles compounded with the name of *Gb*. Thus, on the stele of King *I'-h-ms* from Karnak, the King is referred to as  “The Twin-children of *Gb*.” These twins are Osiris (*W'sir*) and Isis (*Is.t*), and the King is identified with them, because they were once the rightful rulers of Egypt (see SETHE, “*Urkunden der 18 Dynastie*”, Vol. I, p. 8, Vol. IV, p. 14) ⁽⁴⁾. There is also the court title held by the Twelfth Dynasty Nomarch, *Hnmw-htp* of Beni Hassan, which reads:  “The Hereditary Prince to the Throne-hall of *Gb*.” And again in the Eighteenth Dynasty on the Berlin statue of *Sn-n-mwt* (No. 2296), where it is written  (for these and other examples, see KEES, “*Der Opfertanz des Ägyptischen Königs*”, p. 181, ff.


Representations of Gb in Egyptian Art

Having now seen the way in which *Gb* is described in the Egyptian texts from the time of the old Kingdom until the Late Period, let us now see how the Egyptian artists represented *Gb* in the illustrations to these texts. In religious scenes *Gb* is nearly always represented in full human form, and mostly appears in the well-known cosmic group with *Šw* and *Nwt*. Here *Gb* lies upon the ground with one leg outstretched and the other bent, as though attempting to rise up•

⁽¹⁾ *Life-work*, Vol. II, p. 309, and *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. VII, pp. 363-364.

⁽²⁾ GARDINER, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 42, p. 31.

⁽³⁾ SETHE, “*Amon und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*”, p. 26.

⁽⁴⁾ One of the titles of Queen *'nh-ns-nfr-ib-R'* (XXIX Dynasty) was  “Daughter of Geb.” See *A.S.*, Vol. V, p. 91.

He leans heavily upon one arm and raises the other hand and arm towards the goddess *Nwt*, whom *Sw* has torn from his embrace and raised aloft over his head on upstretched arms, as described in the text on p. 220 (*Pyr.*, line 1142 (*d*)), Figs. 79, 80⁽¹⁾. According to Maspero⁽²⁾, *Gb* was stricken into this painful attitude and immobilized, which explains the physical irregularities of the surface of the earth. Maspero is also of the opinion that the legend of the violent separation of *Nwt* from *Gb* originated in the Eastern Delta. In these pictorial groups *Gb* may be represented naked, as in

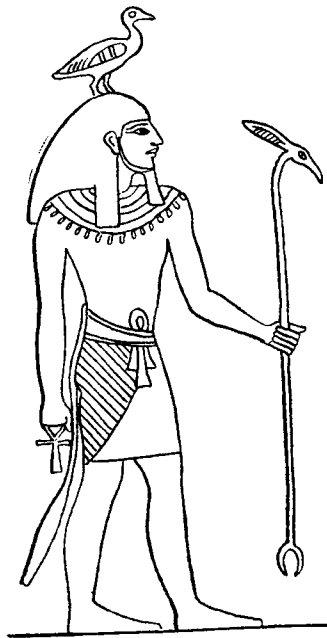


FIG. 78

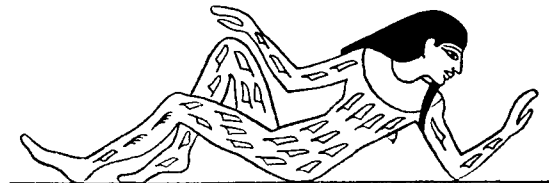


FIG. 79

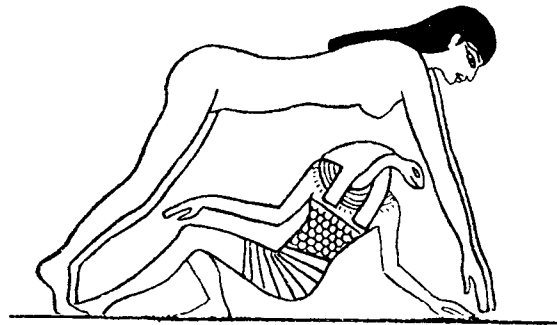
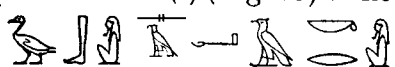


FIG. 80

Fig. 77, clad in a narrow girdle like that worn by the Nile God⁽³⁾, or he may have plants springing from his body, as in Fig. 79⁽⁴⁾. Or again, he may be fully clad, as in Fig. 80, where he is given a serpent's head, thus signifying his dominion over the reptiles (see the texts on p. 213). We have already remarked upon his appearance in the Tenth Division of the *Book of Gates* where he is shown in human form, armed with a crook and holding a struggling serpent on a chain, while he himself emerges from the links of a large chain (see above, p. 238)⁽⁵⁾, and in the Sixth Division of the "*Imj-Dwst*" we have seen him in complete serpent form (see above, pp. 237, 238)⁽⁶⁾, although in the Eighth Division he reappears in full human form! When represented in human form and standing erect, he may wear the Goose, his name-symbol, upon his head⁽⁷⁾ (Fig. 78) or he may be lying face downwards above *skr*, whom he is said to protect:  "Gb, who guards, *skr*." (See below, p. 269.)" (The determinative for the name of *Gb* in Fig. 77 shows him as a goose-headed man.) As far as I am aware, *Gb* was never depicted in sculpture in the round⁽⁸⁾.

(1) See *Pyramid Texts*, line 2171 (*a*) for a description of the attitude of *Nwt*. According to a legend inscribed in the Cenotaph of Seti (*Sti*) I at Abydos, *Sw* raised *Nwt* aloft to rescue her from the anger of *Gb*, who was quarrelling with her, because she had eaten the stars, which in this legend, are called her children (see above, p. 189).

(2) MASPERO, "*Dawn of Civilization*", p. 129.

(3) MASPERO, *ibid.* p. 128.

(4) See above.

(5) BUDGE, "*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*", Vol. II, p. 272.

(6) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 136.








(7) BUDGE, "*The Mummy*", p. 378.

(8) See also for *Gb*, GRAPOW, "*Religiose Urkunden*", p. 53, Note I, quoting Edfu, Ed. Rochem II, 71.


AKER (ꜣkr), THE EARTH GOD

The Various Writings of the Name ꜣkr (Singular)



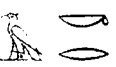










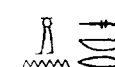




The Old Kingdom Writings (Pyramid Texts)


- | | |
|--|---|
| (1)  (Tj) 555 (a) | (5)  (Wn's 325 [a] and Ppjj) |
| (2)  (1) (Wn's) 504 (a) | 796 (b). |
| (3)  (Wn's) 393 (b) | (6)  (Nfr-kꜣ-R) 555 (a) |
| (4)  (Mr-n-R) 796 (b) | (7)  (Tj) 676 (a) |

The Middle Kingdom Writings

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1)  (2) | (2)  (3) |
|---|---|

The New Kingdom Writings

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1)  (4) | (10)  (11) |
| (2)  (4) | (11)  (12) |
| (3)  (5) | (12)  (5) |
| (4)  (6) | (13)  (7) |
| (5)  (7) | (14)  (14) |
| (6)  (8) | (15)  (15) |
| (7)  (9) | (16)  (14) |
| (8)  (10) | (17)  (14) |
| (9)  (10) | (18)  (16) |

(1) Notice that here the name is determined by the sign for earth , showing that the scribe had in mind ꜣkr in his role of god of the earth (see below).

(2) DE BUCK, "The Egyptian Coffin Texts", Vol. I, 398.

(3) LACAU, "Textes Religieux", p. 119.

(4) CHAMPOLLION, "Not. Disc.", Vol. II, p. 619.

(5) BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", (Text), Vol. II, 61, 2.

(6) LEPSIUS, "Totenbuch", XVIII, 9.

(7) SETHE, "A.Z.", 59, Pl. 54.

(8) CHAMPOLLION, "Not. Disc.", Vol. II, p. 507.

(9) LEFEBURE, "Hypogees Royaux de Thebes", Vol III, Pl. 52.

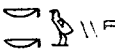
(10) SETHE, "A.Z.", 59, Pl. 50.

(11) MARIETTE, "Abydos", Vol. III, p. 261.

(12) NAVILLE, "Totenbuch", Vol. II, p. 214, 3.

(13) NAVILLE, "Totenbuch", Vol. II, p. 109, 13.

(14) GRAPOW, "Religiose Urkunden", p. 206.

(15) *Ibid.* This form of the name seems to be confounded with  darkness.

(16) SETHE, *ibid.* Pl. 58.

The Various Writings of the Name Akerw (jkr.w) (Plural)

The Old Kingdom Writings (Pyramid Texts)

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| (1) (Tj) (393) | (3) (Nfr-ks-R ^c)
(2202 [c]) |
| (2) (Tj) (658) [d] | |

The Middle Kingdom Writings

- | | |
|----------|---------------|
| (1) (1) | (7) (2) |
| (2) (2) | (8) (1) |
| (3) (2) | (9) (3) |
| (4) (2) | (10) (?) (1) |
| (5) (1) | (11) (3) |
| (6) (1) | (12) (3) |

The New Kingdom Writings

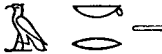
- | | |
|----------|------------|
| (1) (4) | (10) (10) |
| (2) (5) | (11) (10) |
| (3) (6) | (12) (10) |
| (4) (7) | (13) (10) |
| (5) (8) | (14) (11) |
| (6) (8) | (15) (6) |
| (7) (9) | (16) (5) |
| (8) (5) | (17) (5) |
| (9) (5) | (18) (12) |

(1) DE BUCK, "Egyptian Coffin Texts", Vol. I, p. 398.
 (2) DE BUCK, *ibid.* p. 280.
 (3) DE BUCK, *ibid.* II, p. 385.
 (4) LEPSIUS, "Totenbuch", Pl. LXXIV, 7.
 (5) SETHE, "A.Z.", 59, Pl. 58.
 (6) SETHE, "A.Z.", 59, Pl. 50.


(7) NAVILLE, "Totenbuch", Vol. II, p. 214, 3.
 (8) MARIETTE, "Abydos", Vol. I, p. 52.
 (9) Tomb of Sn-n-Mwt. SETHE, "Kommentar.", Vol. III, p. 210.
 (10) NAVILLE, "Totenbuch", Vol. II, p. 266, 3.
 (11) LEPSIUS, "Totenbuch", Pl. LX, 5.
 (12) SETHE, *ibid.* Vol. 64, p. 3.

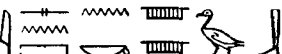
We must draw attention to some corrupt writings of the plural *škrw*, especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty (see Nos. 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17). For an explanation of this corrupt writing, see SETHE, "A.Z.", Vol. 59, p. 96. On the other hand, the appearance of the determinative of the word with the plural serpents may be accounted for by the original meaning of the word being the "Underworld", which was later thought of as being a world of serpents. *Gb* also, as Earth-god and the Tomb, was represented with a serpent's head, (Fig 80) or even as a serpent.

The Functions of *škr* according to the Pyramid Texts

From the oldest texts in hand it would seem that *škr* was originally a form of the earth-god, as we may see in the writing  in line 504 of the text of *Wni's*. At the same time, we see *Gb* also appearing in this role; but after the Old Kingdom, the functions of *škr* as earth-god disappeared altogether. There is, however, the possibility that *škr* was originally the Earth-god *par excellence* according to a certain local school of thought.


But also we see *škr* appearing in the oldest *Pyramid Texts* determined by a double sphinx and personifying the Underworld. Striking proof for this is offered to us in line 1014 (a) of the *Pyramid Texts*. We have three versions of this text, the first being of *Ppjj* I where it says:—



 "The earth speaks: 'Opened is the door of the *Dst*'." (See also 1713 [a] and 796 [b].)

In the versions of *Mr-n-R'* and *Nfr-k3-R'* we have instead of the "door of the *Dst*", "the door of *škr* (1)", determined by a double sphinx. Thus, the Egyptians no doubt considered that the *Dst* and *škr* were synonymous. That this idea had absolutely nothing to do with *Gb*, can be gleaned by the line immediately following where it says: 1014 (b)  "Unfastened to you are the door-leaves of *Gb*." *Gb* here represents the tomb, as we have already said on p. 210. From this we can see that *škr* had become a synonym for the *Dst*, an idea which was later developed in several forms, according to the beliefs of the period and locality as we shall see later. But the conception of *škr* as the actual underground was still maintained as we may see in the following examples:—

325 (a)  "Wni's passes through *šw* and marches through *škr*."

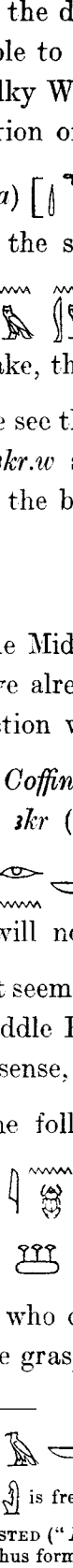
Here *šw* represents the air and *škr* the underground, and the line may mean that the dead King can pass at will in earth and in the sky (2). In line 555 (a) *škr* is the spirit of the earth but in an amiable sense:—

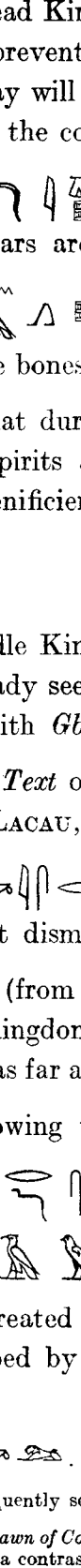
 "Words spoken: Opened is the face of *Horus* by *škr*, opened is the face of *škr* by *Horus* (*Hr*)."

(1) *Mr-n-R'*:  ; *Nfr-k3-R'* .

(2) It may also mean that he can pass in the inside of *škr*, considered as the *Dwt*.

Here the dead King is assured that the power of the earth personified as hostile beings, will not be able to prevent him from soaring to Heaven. And on reaching the sky, the *shdw*-stars of the Milky Way will not be permitted to stop him from entering Heaven. In line 393 we have a description of the convulsions of Nature attendant upon the King's entry into Heaven:—

393 (a)  * * * “[Words spoken: The sky is clouded], the stars are obscured,

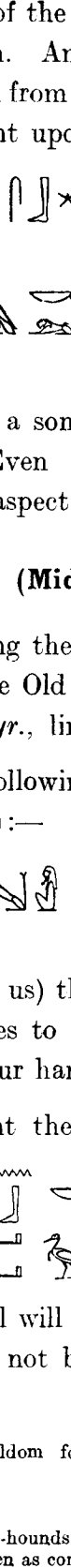
(b)  (1) “the Bows (*i.e.* the Celestial vault) shake, the bones of the *skr.w* tremble (2).”

So we see that during the Old Kingdom, *skr* is a somewhat sinister and mysterious deity, and the *skr.w* spirits are of the same nature. Even when representing the earth, *skr* is devoid of the beneficent qualities which *Gb* in his aspect of the earth-god may possess.

Later Ideas concerning *skr* (Middle Kingdom)

In the Middle Kingdom we still find *skr* holding the same place in the thoughts of men, as we have already seen in the *Pyramid Texts* of the Old Kingdom, and he may be mentioned in connection with *Gb* as the earth (*see* p. 205. *Pyr.*, line 796 a/b).

In a *Coffin Text* of this period we have the following passage which reveals the sinister aspect of *skr* (LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, p. 119):—

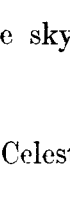


 “You will not do evil to me. This *skr* will not dismember me.”

But it seems (from the evidence that has reached us) that *skr* was not frequently mentioned in the Middle Kingdom, although we have references to his minions, the *skr.w*, and always in a hostile sense, as far as the published material in our hands allows us to conclude.

In the following text the *skr.w* seek to prevent the dead from reaching Heaven (3):—

 (4) (5)


“I am he who created himself by myself, whose soul will not be seized by the hawks. My soul will not be grasped by the evil fates. My soul will not be gripped by the *skr.w* (*var.* by *skr*).”

(1) *Var.* . The divine determinative  is seldom found with *skr* in the *Pyramid Texts*, but later the divine figure  is frequently seen.


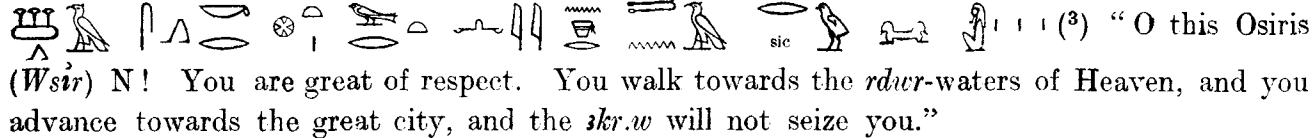
(2) BREASTED (“*Dawn of Conscience*”, p. 72) translates *skr.w* as “Hell-hounds”. In this text, however, the *skr.w* are clearly earth spirits, who thus form a contrast to the Bows, which are a part of Heaven as contrasted to the earth.

(3) DE BUCK, “*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*”, Vol. I, pp. 397-398 (S1 C).


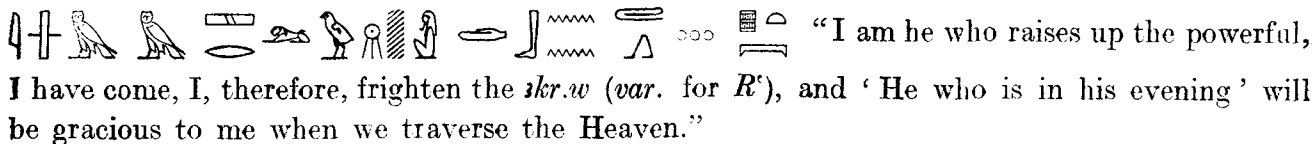
(4) *See* NEWBERRY, “*Beni Hassan*”, Vol. II, Pl. IV, where this creature appears with three other fabulous animals in the hunting-scene. In our text these creatures seem to represent evil fate.

(5) *Var.* . For a similar idea, *see* LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, p. 107.


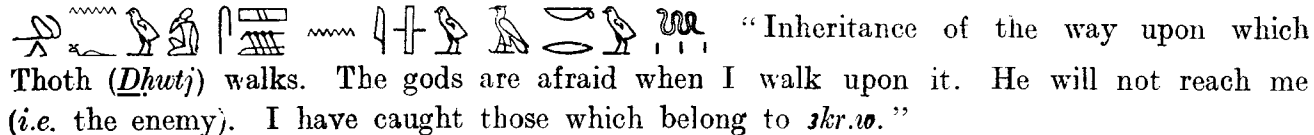
The fact that the writing of some of the variants of *skr.w* is determined by a serpent shows that some persons believed the *skr.w* to be evil serpent spirits, like those which were haunting the Egyptian Hereafter since earliest times. Other variants are determined by a double-lion or a god in human form, while *skr.w* in the text just quoted, is determined by the *St*-animal, which clearly shows their evil nature. This variation is a proof that the *Coffin Texts* were not blindly copied one from another as some persons now believe; but it seems that each staff of scribes had their own standard copies, to work from, and these varied in detail according to the beliefs of the period and locality from which they came, while adhering in the main to the essential matter of the spells. So also in Spell 66 the *skr.w* appear as evil entities (1):—

 (2)
 (3) “O this Osiris (*Wsir*) N! You are great of respect. You walk towards the *rdwr*-waters of Heaven, and you advance towards the great city, and the *skr.w* will not seize you.”

Here again the *skr.w* are powerful and hostile spirits, and here also we have another contrast made between the progression of the dead in Heaven where he is said to approach the *rdwr*-waters, and on earth where he makes his way to the great city, and the *skr.w* seek to hinder him on his way. Also during the Middle Kingdom we have the *skr.w* considered as evil entities who are dangerous or offensive to *R* and his followers in the Solar-boat (4):—


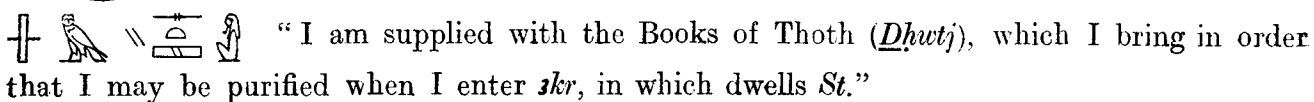
 (5)
 “I am he who raises up the powerful, I have come, I, therefore, frighten the *skr.w* (*var.* for *R*), and ‘He who is in his evening’ will be gracious to me when we traverse the Heaven.”

And in a Coffin Text from the same period we have (LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, p. 94):—

 (?)
 “Inheritance of the way upon which Thoth (*Dhwtj*) walks. The gods are afraid when I walk upon it. He will not reach me (*i.e.* the enemy). I have caught those which belong to *skr.w*.”

skr in the New Kingdom

In *Ch. XCIV* of the *Book of the Dead* (line 3), we have the following significant passage concerning *skr* (6):—

 (7)
 (8) “I am supplied with the Books of Thoth (*Dhwtj*), which I bring in order that I may be purified when I enter *skr*, in which dwells *St*.”

(1) DE BUCK, *ibid.* I, p. 280 (S 93 C).

(2) *Var.* .

(3) *Var.* .

(4) NAVILLE, “*Totendbuch*”, II, p. 212.

(5) *Var.* .

(6) *Var.* Ca.

.

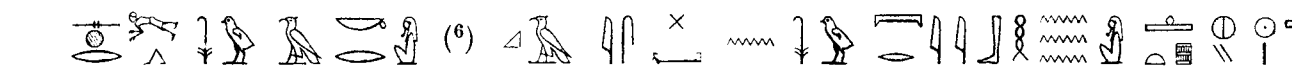
(7) *Var.*  Pb.

(8) SETHE, “*A.Z.*”, 59, Pl. 50, Ll.

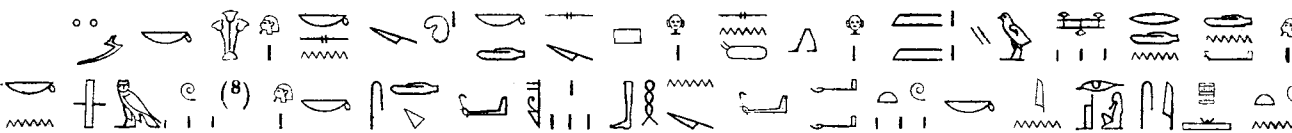
Here we have an allusion to *skr* as the Underworld personified, or at least a part of it; and this seems to be the dominating conception concerning *skr* during the New Kingdom, as we shall presently see. He was imagined as a huge black tunnel running through the thickness of the earth (1), each end of which terminated in a sphinx or lion, (an idea which had really originated in the Old Kingdom, as we may see in line 1014 of the *Pyramid Texts* where *skr* is certainly the Underworld, and is determined by the double sphinx). Each evening the Sun-god entered the mouth of the western head of *skr*, and traversing the tunnel-like body of the God during the night, emerged the following dawn from the mouth of the eastern head. But to return to the above-quoted passage from *Ch. XCIV* of the *Book of the Dead*, we see that it was necessary for the dead to be equipped with the *Book of Thoth (Dhwty)* which contained powerful magic spells, in order to traverse *skr*. This may have been necessary partly to overcome the dangers of the way and partly to combat the hostile nature of *skr* himself, "in whom *St* dwells", and *St* is here the personification of darkness. This explains the passage in *Ch. XCVI* of the *Book of the Dead* (2),

 (3) "I have propitiated *St* by means of libations for *skr*."

This shows that *St* and *skr* were considered to be of an identical nature, and what was pleasing to one was pleasing to the other (4). Nevertheless, *skr* was not wholly evil, and in *Ch. XXXIX* (lines 6-9) of the *Book of the Dead* (5) he is called upon to help *R* to destroy the serpent *'app* :—

 (6) *skr* overthrows him (i.e. *'app*) and the god *Hr-r3-jbh* (7) binds him. *R* is satisfied (twice), *R* makes his progress peacefully."

And further on the same chapter he is also the enemy, of *'app* (lines 8, 9) :—


 (8) "Look behind you! lest your head be chopped, and your face be cut, and your head be divided at the two sides of the ways and those who are above your head assail it; your bones are broken, your limbs are severed, and it is Osiris who condemns you to *skr*, O *'app*, enemy of *R*."

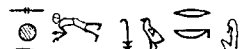
(1) Cf. JEQUIER, "Rec. Trav.", Vol. XXXIX, p. 97, ff.

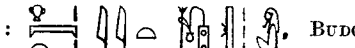
(2) BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", (Text), Vol. II, p. 61.


(3) Var. .

(4) For another opinion on this text, see DE LA ROQUE, "B.I.F.A.O.", Vol. XXX, Part 2, p. 578.

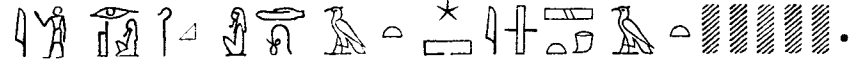
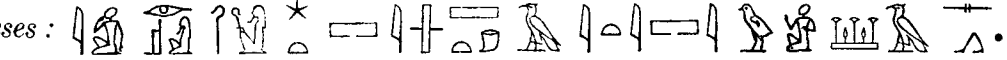

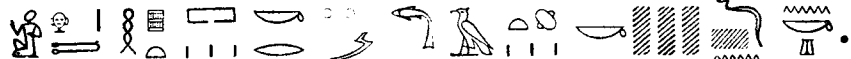
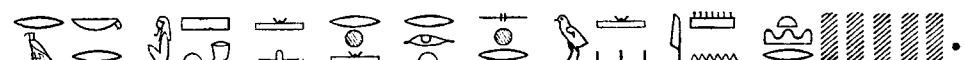
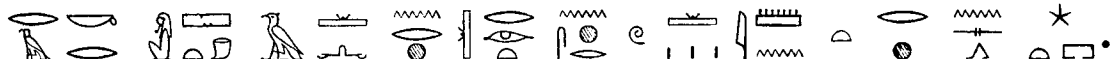
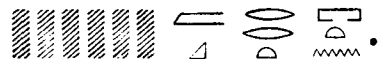
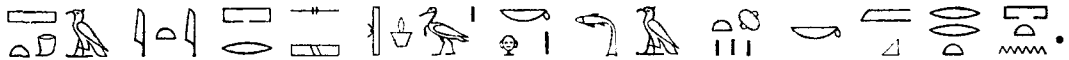
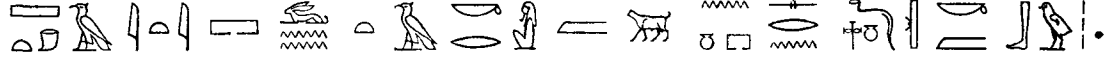
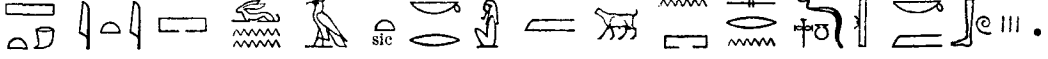
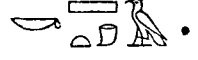
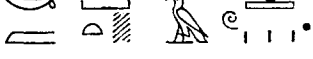
(5) LERSIUS, "Totenbuch", XVIII, 1; 6. See also NAVILLE, II, p. 109, for variant text and defective writing .

(6) BUDGE, "Book of the Dead", (Text), Vol. I, p. 140, gives .

(7) Var. Pap. *Ms-m-ntr* :  BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 140.

(8) Var. BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 140 .

In the Harris Magical Papyrus, *skr* is also said to assist *R* in overcoming *ꜥpp*, and he does this in company with *St*, both Gods appearing in a beneficent role in this text (see above, p. 136, for text and translation). In a text from the Canotaph of Seti I (*Stj*) at Abydos, which has a parallel in the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI, *skr* appears clearly as a personification of the Underworld (1):—

Seti : .
Rameses : .
S. : .
R. : .
S. : .
R. : .
S. : .
R. : .
S. : .
R. : .
S. : .
R. : .


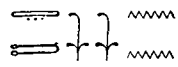



“O Osiris (*Wsir*), Ruler of the *Dwst* in the Hidden Place. I pass by thy cave to see thy corpse and forms, which thou hast hidden under *skr* secret and unknown, to take care of the West, to pass through the Impassable Netherworld, to let your soul spread itself over your corpse in this secret cavern in which *skr* is, to protect you in your place of secrecy.”

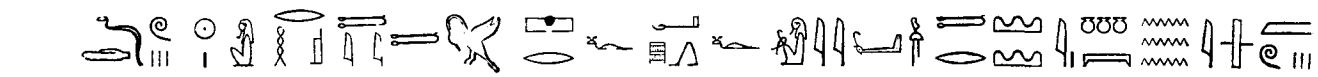
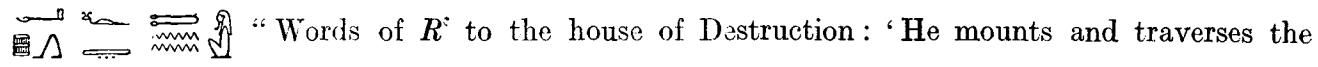
In this text *skr* is not only a personification of a part of the Underworld, but he is also its presiding spirit. That *skr* in this text does not personify the whole Underworld may be seen by the fact that we have it mentioned in general as “*Dwst*” at the beginning of the text.

skr and the Course of the Solar-Boats

By far the most important references for *skr* which we have from the New Kingdom, portray him in connection with the Solar-boats. Thus, in the royal tombs of Biban-el-Mulouk we have a series of texts and representations showing *skr* either as a double sphinx or a double lion, through





(1) FRANKFORT, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 43, Vol. II, Pl. XXIX, 1, 103-105, and LEFEBURE, “*Hypogees Royaux*”, Vol. III, Pl. 28.

which the Solar-boat passes on its nocturnal journey through the Underworld, an idea already familiar to the Egyptians from the *Pyramid Texts* (see above, p. 106). Thus, it would seem that in this sense *skr* is not the Underworld itself, but a part of it, and this is most clearly seen in the book of *Imj Dwst*, as inscribed in the tomb of Seti (*Stj*) I (1), where the double sphinx has its place in the centre of the fifth division, called *R3-st3.w*. Above *skr* in this scene is a large Pyramid, which in conjunction with *skr* in Sphinx form and the name of *R3-st3.w*, which was also applied to the Giza Necropolis, suggests that this division was originally a complete version of the Underworld according to the Memphite beliefs. In the *Two-way Book* we have a mention of the “highland of *skr*” which is the dwelling-place of Osiris (*Wsr*) (LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvelle Empire*”, Vol. I, p. 218; 39)  “Osiris (*Wsr*), who is in the high-land of *skr*.” This may be a reference to the sandy Libyan plateau where is the earthly *R3-st3.w*. In the tomb of Rameses (*R-ms-sw*) V (2) we have an interesting and lucid scene in which *skr* is represented in conjunction with the Solar-boats. Here *skr* is shown as two lions coloured black and placed back to back. Upon the shoulder of each is a yellow oval in which is a standing figure of a man, whom we are told is the corpse of *Sw*. (Can this mean that *Sw*, the air or atmosphere cannot exist in the subterranean Underworld?) From the back of each lion rises a curved line which is carried forward over the head of the creature, and is intended to represent a mountain (3), which however forms the course of the Solar-boat! The vessel to the right of the scene is shown as though about to dip downwards on the course, and the God *T3-tnn*  is waiting with upraised arms to receive it. Therefore, this ought to be the Night-boat beginning its nocturnal course through the Underworld. The boat is of the conventional type with the hanging decoration upon the prow, upon which sits Horus (*Hr*) the Child. Amidships is a large ram-headed scarab representing the night Sun-god. On each side of him, with their arms raised in adoration, are two human-headed soul-birds labelled  “the soul of *Itm*”, and  “the soul of *Hpri*.” Now, as we have already seen, *Itm* represents the night-sun and *Hpri* the sun of the early morning. Behind *T3-tnn* are three mummiform figures labelled  “Those who are in the waters of *Nwn*.” The text concerning this scene reads:—

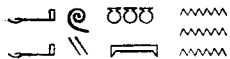

 “Words of *R* to the house of Destruction: ‘He mounts and traverses the guardians of *Imn.tj* (4) opposite the two mountains, between which *Nwn* is found. He runs to the God *T3-tnn*.’ Here *skr* is clearly regarded as the guardian of the Underworld, not the Underworld itself.


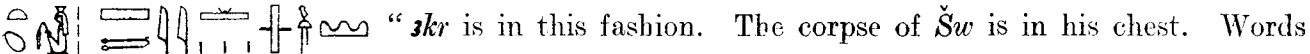
(1) BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”, Vol. I, pp. 99, 103.

(2) CHAMPOLLION, “*Notices Descriptives*”, Vol. II, pp. 584–586.


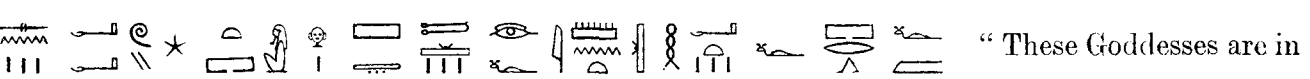
(3) Sometimes the form of *skr* himself is reminiscent of the hieroglyphic sign  for a mountain. Reisner publishes some examples of *skr* amulets in the Cairo Museum Catalogue (*Amulets*, Pl. XXII, Nos. 12361–12363) in one of which the sun-disk rests between the two lions’ heads and resembles the hieroglyphic sign , the horizon, and ought to mean here the horizon of the Underworld (?). See also the *Pap. Louvre*, No. 3292, where a vignette shows the two lions seated back to back with the Solar-disk between them. That one lion is called  and the other  shows that they were regarded as the two mountains of sunrise and sunset (see *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XXIX, Pl. IV).

(4) One of the guardians of the Underworld is *skr* himself.

In the centre of the scene is a large Solar-disk supported upon two upraised human arms, which emerge from the ground and are coloured black. Concerning them it is said:  "The two arms of *Nwn*." Perhaps the arms are taking the sun from the Night-boat to transfer it to the Day-boat. They are followed by three more mummified beings with the same inscription as above, but reversed in direction. In front of them stands *Nwn*, who raises his arms as though to assist the Solar-boat which is ascending the curved line from the back of the left-hand lion of *skr*. The boat and its divine occupants are the same as on the right-hand side, except that the Child Horus (*Hr*) is now replaced by the small bird. This ought to represent the Day-boat rising over the edge of the Underworld at the commencement of its daily voyage. The representation of *skr* is the same as at the right-hand end of the scene, and the text concerning him reads:—


 "*skr* is in this fashion. The corpse of *Šw* is in his chest. Words of *R* to the mysterious Goddesses who are in the *Imn.tj* (1)."

In the great sarcophagus-hall of the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) V (2) we have a representation of the Solar-boat, which rests directly upon the bowed heads of *skr*, here represented as a double sphinx. Upon his outstretched fore-paws is a coiled uraeus whose human hands and arms help to support the bow and stern of the vessel respectively. The Solar-boat itself carries the Sun-god, who stands amidships, his ram's head crowned with a large Solar-disk. In front of him, in an attitude of adoration stands Thoth (*Dhwtj*), represented with an ape's head, and behind him in a similar pose stands *Hpri*. Also in the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) V, we have a curious scene and text concerning *skr* (3). In the centre of the scene is a picture of a god in full human form; he is standing, but is bent double, and supports himself by the *D'mw* sceptre. In front of him, its arms raised in adoration, is a human-headed soul-bird. To the right and left of this group is a half oval object in which is a large red disk with six small red disks below it. From the top of each of these ovals emerges a goddess whose legs from the knees downwards are hidden by the ovals. Each goddess is turned towards the central figure, to whom she raises her arms in adoration, the text concerning the scene reads:—


 "These Goddesses are in this fashion: they are the corpses of *skr* who holds the *D'mw* sceptre of *Trtt* when coming out

(1) CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* p. 583.

(2) CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* pp. 610, 611.

(3) CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* p. 619.

of their great secret places. At this coming out from *skr* they enter into the head of the Two *Trt*. The soul of *skr* the Great acclaims him. The god sees those who are in them. The two arms of the *Dwt* (1) are upon his hidden form of the Hidden Place from which he comes.”

In this scene, the central figure holding the sceptre is said to be *skr*, here represented in full human form, which is rare in scenes but not uncommon in the determinative signs for his name, as in its first occurrence in this particular text, although in the two following occasions the name *skr* is determined by the double lion. In the Cenotaph of Seti (*Stj*) I at Abydos (2), we have a fine representation of *skr* which has its parallel in the later tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) VI (3) who seems to have deliberately copied the older example. In both scenes *skr* is represented as a double sphinx with bearded human heads. In that of Seti (*Stj*), four goddesses stand between the outstretched forelegs of the right-hand head, with their arms raised in adoration. (In the tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) VI, these goddesses are between the forelegs of the *left-hand* head.) In front of each of them is an explanatory text, reading:—

Seti (*Stj*): Seti (*Stj*):

Seti: Seti:

Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*): Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*):

Rameses: Rameses:

“*Tfn.t* who is in the paw of *skr*.”

“*js.t* who is in the paw of *skr*.”

Seti: Seti:

Seti: Seti:

Rameses: Rameses:

Rameses: Rameses:

“*Nwt* who is in (the paw of *skr*).”

“*Nb.t-ht* who is in the paw of *skr*.”

Between the left-hand forelegs (4) stand three gods, their arms hanging down in front of their bodies. In front of each is a short inscription, reading:—

Seti: Seti:

Seti: Seti:

Rameses: Rameses:

Rameses: Rameses:

“*Dwt.tj* who comes forth from the paw of *skr*.” “*Itm* who comes forth from the paw of *skr*.”

(1) Notice that the *Dwt* is here personified, both in the context and in the determinative sign for the name.

(2) FRANKFORT, *ibid.* Vol. II, pl. XXXI.

(3) CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* pp. 507, 508. See also the tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) IX. LEFEBURE, III, 6.

(4) Reversed in the tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) VI.

Seti (Stj):

Rameses (R^c-ms-sw):

“*Ifnj* who comes forth from the paw of *skr*.”

In front of these gods is a vertical inscription, reading (1) :—

skr: ‘O *skr*! [make for me a way, O Secret One] of Forms, bend your arms for me. Behold! I have called [those who are in you to me]. I have seen your secret. My disk is *Gb* (3). Those [who are on your back are] *Hpri* in his abode, *Dwtj* who has gone forth [from the paw of *skr* (?)] . . . and *Ifnj* who has gone forth from the paw of *skr* O give [me your arms], receive me. Behold! I enter to your secrets. I light you, [I drive away your darkness]’.”

Above the Goddesses in the paw of *skr* is a much-mutilated text, which, however, we can restore from the parallel in the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI (4) :—

S. :

R. :

“These goddesses are in this fashion. They give their arms to Osiris (*Wsir*),

S. :

R. :

“and they do not go out from the paw of *skr* (5). It is the disk of *R* which illuminates for them their souls,

(1) FRANKFORT, *ibid.* Pl. XXX.

(2) The restorations are from the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI, where the text appears apart from this scene, in the Third Corridor (LEFEBURE, Vol. III, Pl. 36, E).

(3) Are we to explain this as meaning that *Gb* is placed over *skr* as the Sun-disk is over the earth?



(4) FRANKFORT, *ibid.* Pl. XXXI. CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* p. 507.

(5) This refers to the beings in the Underworld who do not move from their places, and only receive the sun's light for one hour daily when he passes over the place in which they are.

S. : .
 R. : .

“ when they go out in the following of *R*^c. They see the light of *R*^c while he always passes over them.”

From these texts we can gather that *skr* is here regarded as a place through which the Sun-god passes, a region of darkness to which he brings light. Above the left-hand shoulder of *skr* is a figure of *Gb* represented in human form. He lies face downwards and extends his arm in protection over *skr*. In the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI, *Gb* is shown in the same attitude, but is placed over the right-hand shoulder (1). The texts concerning him read :—



S. : .
 R. : .

“ *Gb* who guards *skr*.”

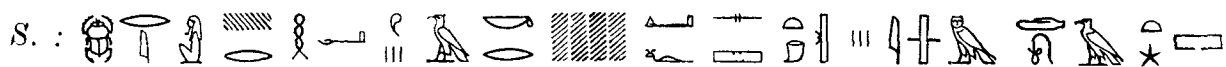

S. : .

“. . . secrets of the *Dust*. This Great God (*i.e.* *R*^c), he speaks to him (to *Gb*), when he sees the light of his disk.”

Above the right-hand shoulder of *skr* (reversed in the tomb of Rameses [*R^c-ms-sw*] VI) is the scarab *Hpri*, enclosed within an oval. The text concerning him reads (2):—

S. : .
 R. : .

“ It is this God in this fashion who is in his envelope on the back of *skr*.”

S. : .
 R. : .

“ The god *Hpri* is to be found on the body of *skr* who protects the secrets of the *Dust*.”

Upon the body of *skr* himself is inscribed the following text :—

S. : .
 R. : (3) .

“ This god is in this fashion. *Gb* it is with *Hpri*.”

(1) *skr* is here the Underworld which lies under the earth—*Gb*. (CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 507.)

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* p. 508.

S. :

R. :

“They guard the forms in which this Great God appears, when he passes the time in charge of his cavern.”

S. :

R. :

“His words of his guidance(?) he calls to the Chief of the Netherworld.”

S. :

R. :

“He it is who lights those who are in the paw of *skr*.”

S. :

R. :

He unites his body. The God (*i.e. skr*) sees

S. :

R. :

the rays of the God (*i.e. R'*) after he has passed by him.”

In both the Cenotaph and the tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) VI there is a text inscribed above the three gods who are coming out of *skr*, which, however, does not refer to them, but to the figure of *Gb* guarding *skr*. In the Cenotaph this text is almost wholly destroyed and only the ends of the lines remain. It reads as follows :—

S. :

R. : (1)

“It is this god who is in this fashion, who moves himself upon the back of *skr*,

S. :

R. :

“who protects the secrets of the *Dwst*. This Great God (*var. R'*),

(1) *ibid.* p. 507.

S. : .

R. : .

“speaks to him who sees the rays of his disk.”

On the southern wall of the great hall of the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI, we have a very interesting scene and text which give us the key to all this class of representation (Fig. 82)⁽¹⁾. Here we see the Solar-boat upon the back of *skr*, who is represented as a double sphinx, his name is inscribed upon his body. The Sun-god in the form of a ram-headed man stands amidships, adored by *Itm* and *Ssmw*. Over the stern leans *Hpr̄i* addressing Horus (*Hr*),

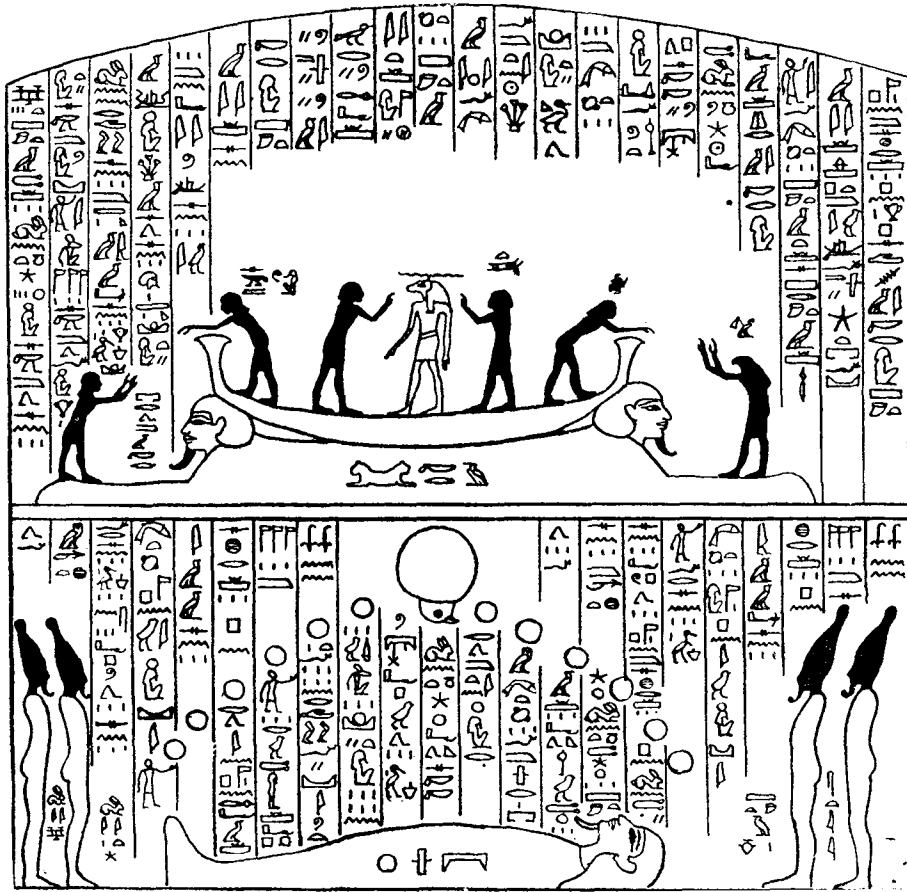


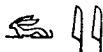
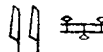


FIG. 82

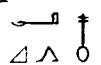
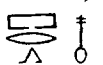
who stands in adoration on the paw of *skr*, while a similar, but unnamed, group is seen at the prow of the boat. In front of the eastern head of *skr* is inscribed “Coming out from *skr*.” Below this group lies a mummy extended at full length with its head to the west; it is inscribed : . “*R^c* who is in heaven(?)”

⁽¹⁾ LEBEURE, *ibid.* III, Pl. 50-53.

Above the centre of the mummy is a large Solar-disk, from the underside of which projects the head of a hawk, while six small disks, perhaps representing hours, extend in an arc from each side of the large disk to the head and feet of the mummy. At the head of the mummy stand two mummiform figures wearing the crown of Upper Egypt; they are called:  "Hidden (or Secret) Heart" and . At the feet of the recumbent mummy are two similar figures, who are named:  and . The accompanying text reads (1):—



is in this fashion on the back of *skr*: it is *Štj* resting in his boat, which is in the *Dust*. He calls to the Hidden Corpses, the great mystery under that *skr*, the hour when they enter darkness. *R*^c gives light to the corpse of *sh.tj* (2). When he enters in the disk, he lightens the hidden corpses of the God. The two great Princes belong to *skr* who hides them when they navigate in the Ship of *R*^c. When they arrive, they come to the earth of the Horizon etc. etc."

Here we have a clear explanation of the functions of *skr*. He is the personification of the Underworld or part of it, through which the Sun-god must pass; and the Solar-boat, though drawn as resting upon the back of *skr*, is in reality supposed to be inside him, for we are told that *skr* "hides them when they navigate". Thus, the vessel is supposed to have entered the mouth of the western head, and after traversing the darkness of the body of *skr*, will emerge from the eastern mouth "of the earth of the Horizon", where we are actually told that they "come forth from *skr*". Further proof for this is seen in the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) IV (3), where one head of *skr* is labelled  "Fair entrance" and the other one:  "Fair exit."

(1) LEBEUE, *ibid.* Pl. 52.


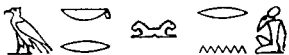
(2) The hawk projecting from the large disk?

(3) RENOUE, "Life-work", Vol. IV, Pl. XV.



This is another version of the belief which imagined the night-sun, and consequently the dead to make the nocturnal journey from west to east through a narrow tunnel, sometimes called *R3-st3w* (1).

In the above-mentioned text *3kr* is seemingly considered as a place of darkness, and this conception of him has been explained to us by the Egyptians themselves in *Ch. XCIX* of the *Book of the Dead* (2), where the deceased has to recite correctly the name of every part of the mystic ferry-boat before he is allowed to go aboard.


In the New Kingdom version we have :—

- (a)  “‘Tell me my name,’ says the *hptw*.”
- (b)  “*3kr* is your name.”

But a later text gives us the following version :—

- (a)  “‘Tell me my name,’ says the *hpt*.”
- (b)  “Says N: ‘Darkness’ is your name.”


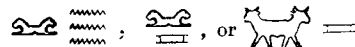


From these two variants we can see that *3kr* and darkness were synonymous in the minds of the Egyptians, for if a wrong answer was given to any of these magical questions it would prevent the deceased from embarking on the ferry-boat that was to convey him to paradise.

Or the nocturnal passage may be a long tube borne upon the shoulder of eight mummiform beings called  “Bearers of the Gods” (3). Each end of this tube terminates in the head of a bull, and the tow-rope of the Solar-boat is shown as having entered the mouth of the bull at one end, and emerging from the other, which means that the vessel itself will also pass through it. This bull-headed tube seems to be but a variant of *3kr*, and moreover, we have what appears to be an *3kr* amulet in which one head is that of a bull and the other that of a lion (4). As the sun would enter the western head of *3kr* at evening and emerge from the eastern head the following morning, there arose the custom of calling one head “Yesterday” and the other “To-day”, and the two halves of the God began to assume the aspect of different


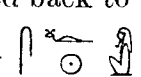
(1) DE LA ROQUE, (*B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XXX, Part 2, p. 575) is of the opinion that *3kr* could be considered as an evil creature, because it swallowed the night-sun. We do not find any evidence for this, on the contrary, the above-quoted text tells us that the head by which the sun enters is a “fair entrance”.

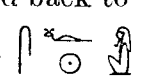

(2) GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, pp. 205, 206.

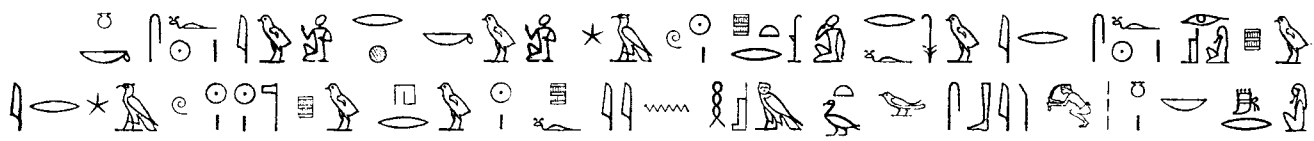
(3) BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”, Vol. II, p. 104.

(4) REISNER, “*Amulets*”, Pl. XXII. Perhaps this bull-headed tunnel is the reflection of a real canal which actually existed in the Delta, called *hns* (GAUTHIER, “*Dict. Geog.*”, IV, pp. 177-178). It was that part of the Canopic branch of the Nile which traversed the third nome of Lower Egypt. The name is written , but may be determined by  ;  , or  =

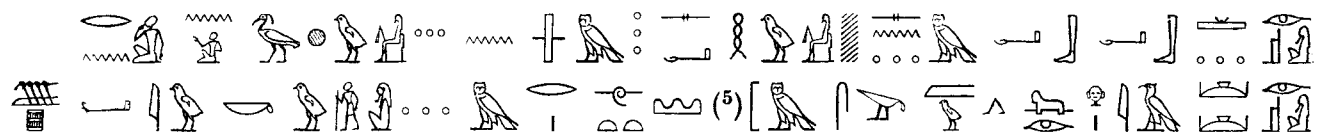

divinities, which were sometimes called *skr.w*, but are not to be confused with the malicious serpent-fiends of the earth. This idea is seen in *Ch. LXIV* (lines 47-48) of the *Book of the Dead* where the deceased identified with the Sun-god says ⁽¹⁾ :—

 (2)  “I am the child of Yesterday and the *skr.w* of the earth have given birth to me and I am revealed at my appointed time.”

In this text the deceased is identified with the sun which is born anew each morning. We also have the scene where *skr* is represented as two separate lions seated back to back with the Horizon between them and the sky above them. One lion is called  “Yesterday” and the other is  “To-day.” The same idea is drawn and explained in *Ch. XVII* of the *Book of the Dead* ⁽³⁾ :—


 “I am Yesterday, and I know To-day. What then is this? Yesterday is this Osiris (*Wsir*) and To-day is *R'*, on the day when he shall destroy the enemies of *Nb-r-dr*.”

Here Osiris (*Wsir*) represents the dead sun who entered *skr* yesterday, and *R'* is the living sun which emerged from the eastern *skr* to-day. In the *Two-way Book* we have another reference to the *skr.w* which ought to be explained in this manner, as the other conception of the hostile serpents seems out of place ⁽⁴⁾ :—

 (5)  “I am named ‘Glorified’ by those who are in their mummied forms (in Buto) in the Sanctuary of Osiris, (*Wsir*) whom the *skr.w* receive in *R3-st3w* when they conduct Osiris (*Wsir*) through the Kingdom of Osiris (*Wsir*).”

Here the *skr.w* are plainly of a beneficent nature whom the deceased will be glad to be met by. They, therefore, can hardly be considered as the hostile serpent-fiends, and they ought to

(1) NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, II, p. 138.

(2) Var. .

(3) GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 12. Or these lions may bear the names of the mountains of Sunrise and Sunset (see above, p. 265, Note 3).

(4) LACAU, “*Sarcophages Anterieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. I, p. 190 ; 10. See also NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, Vol. II, p. 266, L.b.

(5) Var. pi.

be understood as *skr* the god of the Underworld. Jequier puts forward an ingenious theory in the "Recueil de Travaux" (1), in which he suggests that *skr.w* is the part of the Underworld where the souls and the Sun-god enter as dead, and from whence they drew some vitalizing force that enabled them to emerge in life and vigour from the opposite head on the following morning. Renouf, however, (2) considers *skr* to be a Typhonian god, and to symbolize the dusk of twilight and early morning, which is also in a sense true, for we have texts which hint at an evil character in *skr* where he seems to be regarded in the same light as the ill-disposed *skr.w* serpents. Thus, in *Ch. CVIII* of the *Book of the Dead* (lines 8 and 9) (3) the deceased says:—

𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 (4) "I have repulsed *skr* for *R*."

Here *skr* is certainly regarded as a being offensive to *R*, and the determinative sign of a serpent tells its own tale, while the variant text replaces *skr* by the *skr.w*. Exactly the same line occurs among the inscriptions of *Hibis* (line 12):—

𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛. Here again *skr* is determined by a serpent.

Also on a stele from *Abydos* we have the following (5):—

𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 "O Master of fear, who beats *skr.w* and infuses respect."

Notice that here *skr.w* is determined by an ordinary lion. On the sarcophagus of 𓏛𓏛 in the *Cairo Museum* we have the same line as we have previously seen in connection with the *skr*:—

𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 "His soul will not be seized by *skr* for life eternally."

Also in an inscription in the great temple of *Seti (Stj)* I at *Abydos*, we have *skr.w* in an evil sense. Speaking of the eye of the god personified as the uraeus serpent, it says (6):—

𓏛𓏛 "Come on his front, appear on his brow, protect him against *skr.w* (*St*)."

On the other hand, the *skr.w* may be simply regarded as the cultivated land pure and simple, as in the following passage from a song which was sung at the drinking-places during the *Luxor* feasts (7):—

𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 "The ways of *skr* are hacked for you, O Nile, great and high."

(1) Vol. XXXIX, p. 99.

(2) RENOUF, "Lifework", Vol. II, p. 254.

(3) LEPSIUS, "Totenbuch", Pl. XXXIX, lines 8-9.

(4) Var. BUDGE, (Text), Vol. II, p. 90, 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛 𓏛𓏛.





(5) MARIETTE, "Abydos", III, p. 261.

(6) MARIETTE, *ibid.* p. 52.

(7) SETHE, "A.Z.", 64, p. 3.

Representations of *ꜥkr*

Concerning the forms of *ꜥkr* we see that he is mostly represented as a double sphinx or double lion, that is to say, a lion's body terminating at each end in a bearded human head, and devoid of hind legs (Fig 82), or with a lion's head replacing the human one (CHAMPOLLION, *ibid.* pp. 584-586). He is shown couchant with the forelegs stretched out in front of him and the two heads facing outwards in opposite directions. Or *ꜥkr* may be represented as two lions seated back to back, as in the vignette to *Ch. XVII* of the *Book of the Dead*. According to a drawing published by Muller ⁽¹⁾ as well as some of the signs determining his name, *ꜥkr* may be represented as a normal single lion. Moreover, other determinatives show us that he could also be regarded as a serpent, in the same manner as we have already seen with *Gb*; and also like *Gb*, he could appear in purely human form, as in the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI (*see* above, p. 266), as well as many of the determinative signs.

THE DAT, (Dꜥt)   OR DWAT (Dwꜥt)  

The Writings and Pronunciations of the Name of Dꜥt

The Old Kingdom Writings




The *Pyramid Texts* furnish us with several variants of the writing of this name, of which I give here the following examples in the order of their frequency:—

  (2).



   (6).

  (3).

   (7).



   (4).

   (8).



  (5).

The Middle Kingdom Writings

For the Middle Kingdom we have the following new writings:—

  (9).

  (11).

  (10).

  (12).

⁽¹⁾ MULLER, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 369.

⁽²⁾ 5 (b), 8 (d), 148 (a), 151 (a), 282 (a), 390 (b), 715 (b), 882 (c), 1014 (a), 1164 (c), 1172 (b), 1432 (b), 1717 (a), 1986 (b), 2084 (a).

⁽³⁾ 257 (c), 272 (a).

⁽⁴⁾ 802 (c).

⁽⁵⁾ 882 (c).

⁽⁶⁾ 1152 (c).

⁽⁷⁾ 1152 (c).

⁽⁸⁾ 1959 (a).

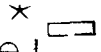
⁽⁹⁾ DE BUCK, *Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Vol. I, p. 346.

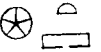
⁽¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*


⁽¹¹⁾ LACAU, *Textes Religieux*, XIV, p. 34.

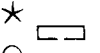
⁽¹²⁾ *Ibid.* LXXVII, p. 125.

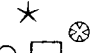
*  (?) (1).

*  (4).

⊗  (2).

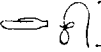

*  (5).


*  (3).

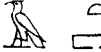
*  (6).

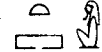
The New Kingdom Writings

In addition to the employment of earlier writings, we have the following forms :—

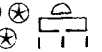
  (7).

*  (10).

*  (8).

*  (11).


*   (9).


⊗  (plural) (12).

The Late Period Writings

In addition to the old forms still retained, we also see :—

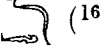
⊗ (13).

 (16).

*  (14).

 (16).

⊗  (15).

 (16).

The Situation of the *Djt*

If we consider the evidence afforded by the meaning of its name during the Old Kingdom, we shall see that originally the *Djt*, the future Underworld, was localized in the sky, and more particularly in the eastern part of the sky. According to Sethe (17) the *Djt* could be either the red glow of the twilight which precedes the dawn (*i.e.* the “ False Dawn ”) or the spacious region in the east of the sky where this glow appears, and which lies between earth and heaven and also extends to the depths under the earth — later to be developed into a subterranean *Dwjt* (18). In this region lay the lakes in which the rising sun and the setting stars were wont to bathe. It was also the place into which the sun entered by means of the eastern gate of heaven and through which

(1) *Ibid.* LIX, p. 107.

(2) *Ibid.* XIX, p. 44.

(3) DE BUCK, Vol. II, p. 119.

(4) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 54.

(5) *W.B.*, Vol. V, 415.

(6) GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 177.

(7) FRANKFORT, “*The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*”, Vol. I, pp. 34, 37.

(8) BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. II, p. 46.

(9) PIANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, p. 25.

(10) *W.B.*, Vol. V, p. 415.

(11) Tomb of Rameses (*R'-ms-sw*) V (*see above*, p. 266).

(12) *Louvre Pap.* No. 3292. NAGEL, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 62. In the New Kingdom the *Djt* is sometimes

referred to as:  “The Country of the *Djt*.”

See JEQUIER, “*Les Frises d'Objets des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire*”, p. 88.

(13) WRZSZINSKI, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 45, p. 117, and GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 113.

(14) LEFEBVRE, “*Le Tombeau de Petosiris*”, p. 97.

(15) WRZSZINSKI, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 45, p. 114.

(16) *W.B.*, Vol. V, 415.

(17) *Kommentar*, Vol. I, pp. 49, 50.

(18) BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, p. 16, defines the *Dwjt* as “a region neither in Heaven nor upon earth, where the dead dwelt and through which the sun passed during the night”. For another definition, *see* MONET, “*Legende d'Osiris*”, *B.I.F.A.O.*, Vol. XXX, p. 735, Note 25. For the question of the *Djt*, *see also* SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. II, p. 15.

he traversed at the beginning of his daily journey, an idea which we shall see retained and developed in the New Kingdom funerary works (see below, p. 303). This idea can be gleaned from the following texts:—

UTTERANCE 215 (for the text, see above, p. 91) :—


“ 151 (a) Orion had been enveloped by the *Dst*; while he who lives in the Horizon (*i.e.* *R'*) purifies himself.

(b) Sothis had been enveloped by the *Dst*, while he who lives in the Horizon purifies himself.

(c) This *Wn's* had been enveloped by the *Dst*, while he who lives in the Horizon purifies himself.

(d) May it be agreeable to him because of them, may it be cool (*i.e.* refreshing) to him because of them,


(e) In the embrace of his father, in the embrace of *Itm.* ”

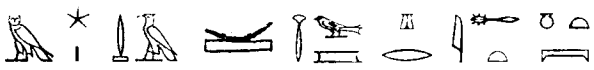
This clearly shows how, as the sun rises and purifies himself in the Horizon, the stars Orion and Sothis, with whom the King is identified (1), are enveloped in the *Dst*. This is a true observation of nature, and it really appears as though the stars are swallowed up each morning in the increasing glow of the dawn (2). Perhaps the determinative of the word *Dst* , the star within a circle, illustrates this idea of the enveloping of the star.

When on his way to join the stars, the dead King must first pass by (or through) the *Dst* which will serve to guide him in the right direction. Thus, we see in Utterance 610 (text of *Ppjj*):—

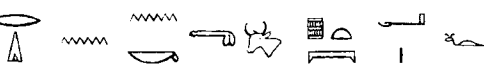
1717 (a)  “ The *Dst* beats (guides) your feet to the dwelling-place of Orion. ”

Or more fully :—

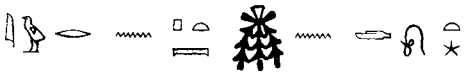
802 (a)  “ You have traversed the Meandering Stream in the North of *Nwt*,

(b)  “ as a star traversing the sea which is under the body of *Nwt*.

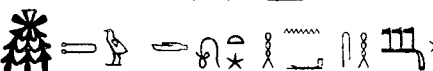
(c)  “ The *Dst* beats (guides) your hand to the dwelling-place of Orion, ”


803 (a)  “ after the Bull of Heaven had given you his arm. ”


(1) For the identification of the King with Orion we have Utterance 442 (text of *Ppjj*) (Orion=Osiris) :—

820 (c)  “ Was said to him: Conceived by Heaven, born by the *Dst*;

(d)  “ the sky has conceived you together with Orion,

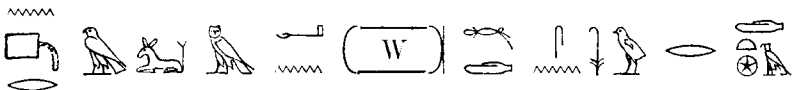
(e)  “ and the *Dst* had given birth to you together with Orion ”; (see also the parallel text, line 1527 [a]).

(2) The same meaning of  *Snj* “ engulfed, swallowed ”, is seen in line 2110, where the dead will not be engulfed in the earth.

In this text the celestial situation of the *Dst* is emphasized by the determinative sign  following the name, (and we shall see later that a distinction was made between the Upper and Lower *Dst*):—

UTTERANCE 371:—


390 (a)  “*Wn's* mounts up on this ladder which his father *R'* had made for him.

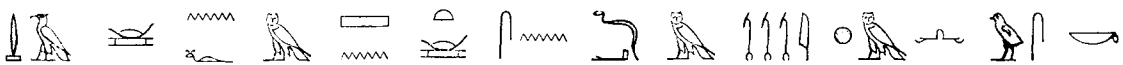
(b)  “Horus (*Hr*) and (*St*) seize the arm ⁽¹⁾ of this *Wn's*, and they take him to the *Dst*.”


From this text, which is one of the oldest of this group of Utterances, we are made clearly aware of the heavenly situation of the *Dst*, because a ladder was needed in order to reach it. Incidentally, this passage is of interest because it displays an alternative to the more usual, and probably later, belief that the Solar-boat was the medium by means of which the dead King reached Heaven ⁽¹⁾. In Utterance 568 a new idea is introduced into the Ladder episode:—

1431 (a)  “Words spoken: He hastens, he hastens to his Ka, *Mhntj-irtj* hastens to his Ka.

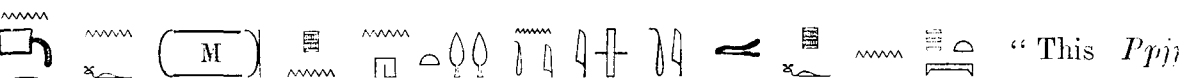
(b)  “This *Ppjj* hastens to his Ka to Heaven ⁽²⁾.”

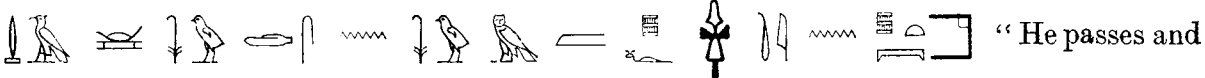
(c)  “Was made for him a ladder, he mounts on it in its name ‘Ladder of Heaven’.”

1432 (a)  “Its ferry-boat was brought to him by the the sceptres of the *ihmw-sk* (the Imperishable Stars).

(b)  “The Bull of Heaven inclines his horn aside, thus he (*Ppjj*) can pass to the Lakes of the *Dst*.”

1433 (a)  “O this *Ppjj*! You will not fall to the earth!

(b)  “This *Ppjj* (*Mrji-R'*) takes for himself the Two Sycamores which are on yonder side of the sky.

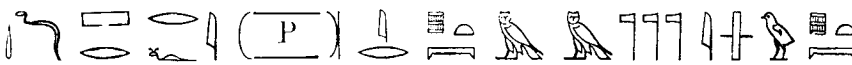
(c)  “He passes and they place him on that eastern side of Heaven,”

⁽¹⁾ In *Pyramid Text*, line 379 (c) (see also SETHE, “Kommentar”, Vol. II, p. 108) Isis (*Is.t*) and Nephthys (*Nb.t-ht*) are represented as ladders by means of which the dead King ascends to Heaven.

⁽²⁾ For another translation. see GUNN, “*Studies in Egyptian Syntax*”, p. 37.


Here we are introduced to some new points. Firstly, we are told that the King is hastening to his Ka which has preceded him to Heaven, secondly, we are informed of the name of this mysterious ladder, "Ladder of Heaven", thirdly, the King may also make use of a ferry-boat by means of which, with the permission of the Sun-god, he can reach the lakes of the *Dst*, a fourth new point of which we will speak more fully later. The reference to the Two Sycamores is perhaps the origin of the heavenly trees seen in the vignette to Chapter 109 of the *Book of the Dead (Turin Papyrus)* (1). The celestial situation of the *Dst* is clearly seen by the assurance given to the King that he will not fall to the ground, while its situation in the eastern side of Heaven is seen in the last line.

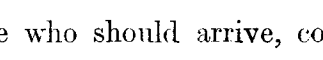
Nevertheless, the *Dst* could also be reached by means of the Solar-boat as in Utterance 513:—

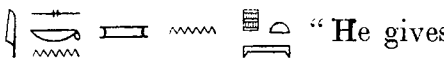
1168 (a)  "Words spoken: Ppjj mounts to the sky among the gods who are in Heaven ;

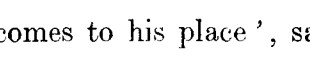
(b)  "he stands against the Great Bone (2);

(c)  "he hears the words of the glorified people."


1169 (a)  "R' finds him on the borders of Heaven in the *Hntj* (= Canal) which is in *Nwt*;

(b)  "'He who should arrive, comes', say the Gods."


1170 (a)  "He gives his arm to you to the zenith (?) of the sky.

(b)  "'He comes to his place', say the Ennead."

1171 (a)  "O Pure One, take your throne in the Ship of R'.

(b)  "in order that you traverse the way (of Heaven), and you make a mounting to those who are far (3),

(c)  "and you traverse with the Imperishable Stars,


(d)  "and you navigate with the Indefatigable Stars."

(1) LEPSIUS, "Totenbuch", Pl. XXXIX.

(2) Perhaps a constellation.

(3) To the stars.

1172 (a)  “ You take the cargo (food and drink offerings) of the Night-boat,


(b)  “ and you become a spirit among those who are in the *Dst*,

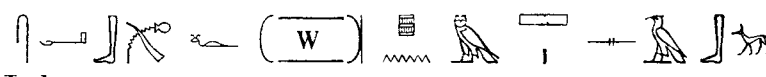
(c)  “ and you live that agreeable life which the Lord of the Horizon is living.”

Thus, from the foregoing texts we can see that the *Dst* was a mysterious region in the eastern part of the sky, a desirable paradise which could be reached either by means of a ladder, a ferry-boat or the Solar-boat itself. Now, let us see if we can get an idea of the nature of this, up till now, intangible territory.


The Nature of the Celestial *Dst*

In line 1433 (b) we have a reference to Sycamore Trees, and in line 1432 (b), the King is said to be passing to the Lakes of the *Dst* ⁽¹⁾. This suggests the idea of a pleasant domain of shady trees and cool, placid waters; now let us see if the other texts support this idea. In one of the oldest Utterances we read:—

372 (a)  “Horus (*Hr*) takes him (the King) to his finger (to his side);

(b)  “he purifies this *Wnis* in the Jackal Lake;

(c)  “he cleanses the Ka of this *Wnis* in the Lake of the *Dstj* ⁽²⁾;

(d)  “he rubs the flesh of the Ka of this *Wnis* himself.”





Now, we are introduced to two Lakes, in the first of which, the Jackal Lake, the King is to be purified, but in the second, the Lake of the *Dstj*, he and his material Ka are to be bathed and dried. The same idea is expressed in line 2170 (a). This suggests that on his arrival in Heaven the dead King is subjected to a ceremonial bathing in order to renew his vitality, just as was partaken by *R* himself and the setting stars ⁽³⁾. But it has apparently another and earthly significance.

⁽¹⁾ In *Ch. CXI* of the *Book of the Dead*, these trees are mentioned in connection with the Field of *I3rw* (see also, p. 280, Note 1). (BUDGE, “*Book of the Dead*”, (Text), Vol. II, p. 91).

⁽²⁾ The Lake of the inhabitants of the *Dst*, i.e. the twilight.



⁽³⁾ For the theme of the morning bath of the Sun-god and its application to the living Pharaoh, see BLACKMAN, “*J.E.A.*”, Vol. 5, p. 117, ff., also pp. 153, 154. There is no doubt that these ceremonies of purification by water have survived to the present day in the rites of baptism.


In Vol. IV of this work I gave an account of the ceremonies performed in the washing-tent and embalming-house on the occasion of the funerals of kings and nobles according to the contemporary evidence of tomb scenes and inscriptions, as well as existing architectural remains (1). Briefly, the outstanding features of these ceremonies were:—

(1) A preliminary purification of the corpse on its arrival at the Necropolis. This was performed in a light, usually temporary structure, called the Washing-tent, and the ceremony was carried out by the Ritualist , using special vessels in sets of four, these being the  *nmst*,  *mrg*, and  *dšrt* vases.


(2) The real washing of the corpse after it had undergone the process of embalming, is a thorough cleansing in order to rid it of excess natron and all impurities before bandaging.

This seems to be the idea underlying the above quoted text, and is even more clearly seen in Utterance 512:—


1164 (b)  “Take these your four *nmst*-vases and the vases for washing (var. ).”

(c)  “in order to purify yourself in the Jackal Lake and perfume yourself in the Lake of the *Dst*;

(d)  “you bathe upon your plant *šbt* in the Field of *Irw*.”

1165 (a)  “Then you mount to the sky.”

In the first lines of both texts the object of the visit to the Jackal Lake is said to be for purification, the same as the preliminary visit of the corpse to the washing-tent on earth. In line 1164 (b) this lustration was to be carried out by means of the *nmst*-vases and the “vases for washing”, which we know to have been part of the equipment of the washing-tent. But in the Lake of the *Dst* the real cleansing and perfuming took place and *Wn's* and his *Ka* are washed and dried by *Horus (Hr)*. This seems to correspond to the actual cleansing and drying of the corpse in the embalming-house, and its subsequent anointing. The fact that the King is to be bathed upon (or with ?) the plant *šbt* is interesting in view of the fact that up till the present day it is the custom in Egypt to wash corpses with the dried leaves of the plant *nebk* (نبق). Sometimes the purification of the King takes place in another lake, as in Utterance 577:—

1530 (a)  “This *Ppjj* mounts to the eastern side of Heaven;

(1) “Excavations at Giza,” Vol. IV, p. 69, ff.

- (b) "he descends with the Green Bird (1);
- (c) "he descends Lord of the Lakes of the *Dstjw*;
- (d) "this *Ppjj* is purified in the Lakes of *Smn* (?)." P

In Utterance 671 the purification ceremonies are dismissed in one line, but the result of them is mentioned:—

1987 (a) "Words spoken : O *Nfr-k3-R* you are the Son of the Great One,

(b) "you purify yourself in the Lake of the *Dstj* (2) (*i.e.* the inhabitants of the lake of the *Dst*),

(c) "and receive your throne in the Field of *I3rw*."

Thus, after his purification the King can be received as an inhabitant of Heaven and is said to have a throne in the Field of *I3rw*, originally a purely solar paradise which was already beginning to be usurped by Osiris (*Wsir*), as shown in this line, in which the deceased is identified with Osiris. The same ideas as the above are expressed in the following Utterance, but in a somewhat different manner:—

UTTERANCE 408:—

714 (a) "Words spoken : Born of the Night, come, *Ttj* is born,

(b) "you two women that by day had conceived, thus you were patient and gave birth to him, he who lives in the 'Egg-city' (3)."

715 (a) "There you had given birth to him, (namely) *Ttj*, you have also suckled *Ttj*,

(b) "glad is the heart of *Ttj* when he commands in the *Dst*,

(c) "glad is the heart of the Gods for *Ttj* as soon as they see him when he is rejuvenated."

(1) The Green Bird may perhaps be a star, or the Ba, the bird-soul, which in later representations is given the form of a human-headed bird, reproducing the features of the deceased.

(2) In line 1152 the King is said to purify himself in the Lake of the *Dwst* , one of the very few early examples we have of the writing of the name in this form.

(3) The city here is supposed to be the mother in which the egg exists. The two women may be Buto and Eileithyria and are the representatives of the sun and moon, *i.e.* the two eyes of the Horus (SETHE, "Kommentar", III, p. 314).

In line 1987 (c) the King is to have a throne in the Field of *I3rw* after his purification. In the last-mentioned text, he is to command as a ruler in the *Dst*, and the gods rejoice at his rejuvenation, which we know to have been the effect of his mystic bath. Sometimes the sacred lakes are actually located in the Field of *I3rw*, as in Utterance 510 :—

1134 (a) “Are opened the doors of Heaven, are unfastened the doors of *Kbh* to *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*.”

(b) “at the beginning of the day Thus, he descends and purifies himself in the Field of *I3rw* (1).”

This is vague, and the specified place of the lake where he will bathe is not mentioned, but in Utterance 254 we see when speaking of the services that *Tfn.t* will perform for the King :—

289 (a) “She digs the pond of *Wni's* in the Field of *I3rw* ;

(b) “she establishes firmly his field in the two Fields of Offerings.”

What is this Field of *I3rw* ? Up till now we have only seen it mentioned in connection with lakes. Its name seems to mean the “Field of Reeds”, which is in accordance with the idea of its lakes and streams, and suggests a swampy or inundated region somewhat resembling the Egyptian Delta, and like the Delta, it also had its rich, cultivated areas. Thus, in Utterance 254 we read :—

281 (b) “He had opened the earth with what he knew (2) on the day in which he wished to come (2).”

282 (a) “So said he who is rich in cultivated land, who lives in the *Dst*.”

Now as the Field of *I3rw* is constantly mentioned in connection with the *Dst*, we must assume that it is here that these cultivated lands were situated. This theory is further born out by Utterance 461 (text of *Nfr-k3-R'*) :—

873 (c) “Opened are the doors of Heaven for you, opened are the doors of *kbhw* for you ;

(1) This line also affords further evidence for the situation of the *Dst* in the east of Heaven. In line 519 (a) we see : “Words spoken : *Ppj* has purified himself together with *R'* in the Lake of *I3rw* ;” see also line 1247 (a) 1421 (a-d).

(2) With his knowledge of magical utterances.


(3) Compare SETHE, “Kommentar,” Vol. I, p. 321.

(d)  “the *hpt* (1), therefore, traverses you to the Field of *I3rw*,”

874 (a)  “and you cultivate wheat and reap barley (2).”

This idea was greatly developed later, and the Field of *I3rw* transferred along with the *D3t* to the subterranean Underworld became the veritable Kingdom of Osiris (*W3ir*), as we shall presently see. We have already seen the *D3t* mentioned in connection with the stars Orion and Sothis, now we are introduced to the Gods of the *D3t* :—


UTTERANCE 252 :—


272 (a)  “Words spoken : Raise your faces, you gods who are in the *Dw3t*,

(b)  “*Wn3s* is come, thus you see him become a great God ;

(c)  “introduce *Wn3s* among the Trembling (3), decorate *Wn3s* (4),”

273 (a)  “whom all of you respect, as *Wn3s* governs men.

(b)  “*Wn3s* [now] judges those who live in the interior of the Land of *R'* (4),

(c)  “as *Wn3s* said to that Sacred Land, after he has taken his dwelling therein with ‘who had separated the Two Gods’ (*i.e.* *Thoth*).”

274 (a)  “*Wn3s* is powerful before him, *Wn3s* brandishes the *ms*-sceptre if he wishes to refuse *Wn3s* (5).

(1) A part of a ship, probably the steering-oar.

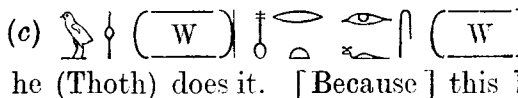
(2) For the subject of the Field of *I3rw*, see ABBAS BAYOUMI, “*Autour du Champ des Souchets et du champ des Ofrandes*”.

(3) This would suggest the lesser stars which seem to tremble in the sky, but may really refer to the lesser gods and spirits who tremble with awe as the King approaches them.


(4) A comparison between the state of *Wn3s* living and dead. He had governed men on earth ; after death he rules the gods and spirits in the Land of *R'*.

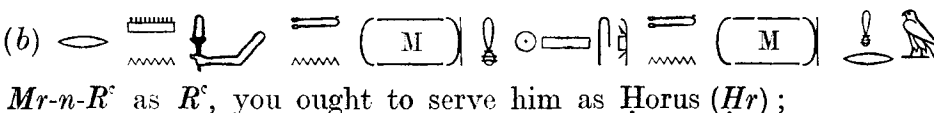
(5) He moves the sceptre in a threatening manner. For the episode of King *Nfr-3r-k3-R'*, unintentionally striking his favourite, *R'-wr* with the *ms*-sceptre, see the Biographical Inscription of *R'-wr* (“*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. I, pp. 18-19).

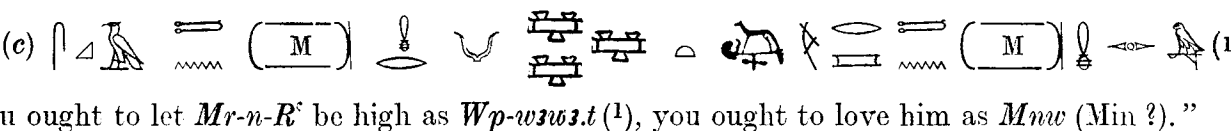
(b)  “*Wnis* sits with those who row *R*’.

(c)  “*Wnis* orders that which is good (useful) and he (Thoth) does it. [Because] this *Wnis* is the great God.”

This Utterance, in which *Wnis* ‘modestly’ identifies himself with the Great God (*R*’), is addressed to the Gods of the *Dwt*. Who then are these gods? Utterance 476 gives us the answer:—

953 (a)  “This *Mr-n-R*’ sits among you, you Inhabitants of the *Dst*;


(b)  “you ought to carry this *Mr-n-R*’ as *R*’, you ought to serve him as *Horus (Hr)*;


(c)  (1) “you ought to let *Mr-n-R*’ be high as *Wp-w3w3.t* (1), you ought to love him as *Mnw* (Min?).”

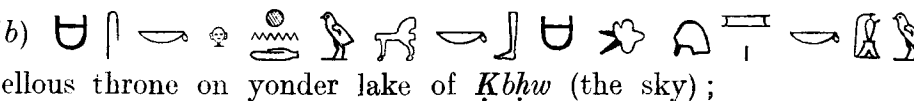
That the Inhabitants of the *Dst* are here regarded as stars cannot be doubted. Firstly, we have the three stars serving to determine their names; secondly, they are to carry the King in the same manner that they carry *R*’, and we already know that the Sun-god was rowed in his Solar-boat by crews of the Imperishable Stars and Indefatigable Stars. There seems, therefore no doubt whatever, that these stars here represent the Gods of the *Dst*. They are also to serve *Mr-n-R*’ in the same manner that they serve *Horus, (Hr)* who thus appears to be their chief, and this ought to be the form of *Horus (Hr)* mentioned in the following lines:—

UTTERANCE 537:—

1300 (b)  “*Gb* takes your hand and you come in peace to your fathers,

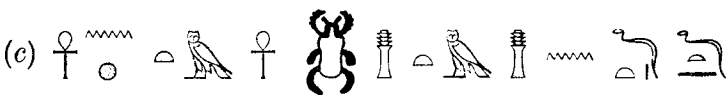
(c)  “you have decided yourself to lay down your body (2).”

1301 (a)  “You mount as *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* before the Imperishable Stars;

(b)  “you sit on your marvellous throne on yonder lake of *Kbhw* (the sky);

(1) *Wp-w3w3.t* is frequently represented set high upon the top of a tall standard, the upper part of which is shown here in the determinative of his name. The God Min is the God of love as indicated by his ithyphallic attitude. See SETHE, “Kommentar”, Vol. IV, p. 240.


(2) See above, p. 219, Note 1.


(c)  “you live as the scarab, you endure like the *dd*-pillar in the body eternally.”


This text is full of interesting information. Firstly, it expresses two religious beliefs. The King descends to the grave (personified by *Gb*, see p. 210), or the Underworld where he is clothed in a material body. Here he salutes his fathers, perhaps the mummies of his ancestors. Secondly, he mounts as *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* to Heaven, as the Leader of the Imperishable Stars. Here he sits on his throne in the lake of the sky, and endures eternally like *Hpri*, the morning sun who renews himself every day, and like the *dd*-pillar, the symbol of stability. Now the first part of the text is apparently a concession to the popular faith which seemed originally to have located the Hereafter in the tomb, but the second part expresses the ideas of the Solar-cult, though strongly tinged with Osirian beliefs, as may be seen in the mention of the throne set upon the lake, a feature commonly represented in the later scenes depicting Osiris (*Wsr*) enthroned, while the endurance of the King is also likened to the *dd*-pillar, the characteristic fetish of Osiris (*Wsr*). But for the purpose of our argument, it makes plain that the leader of the starry inhabitants of the *Dst*, is none other than *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*, one of the four forms of *Horus (Hr)* frequently mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts*, as may be seen in the following:—


UTTERANCE 519 (text of *Ppjj*):—


1207 (a)  “O Morning Star, O *Horus (Hr)* of O *Dst*, O Divine Hawk, O *Wsd-wsd* bird.


(b)  “Child of Heaven! Hail to your face, with these your four peaceful faces,

(c)  “with which you see that which is in *Kns.t* (1),

(d)  “when the tempest is driven away because of the peace.”

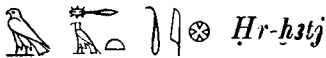


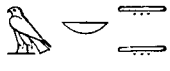
1208 (a)  “Give you to this *Ppjj* these your two fingers,

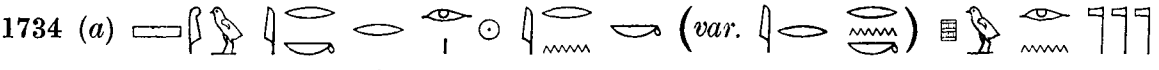
(b)  “which have been given to you by the ‘Most Beautiful’ (a goddess) the daughter of the Great God.”


(c)  “when she separated the sky from the earth, when she raised the gods to the sky (2).”

(1) The celestial *Kns.t* not the *Kns.t* in Nubia. It is situated in the East of Heaven and it has several functions in the *Pyramid Texts*. See SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. I, p. 317, etc.

(2) See also BREASTED, “*The Development of Religion and Thought*”, p. 10.


The reference to the “four peaceful faces” in this text seems to allude to these four forms of *Horus (Hr)*, which in lines 1257 (d), and 1258 (a, b) are named as:  *Hr-hstj*  “*Horus (Hr)* of the East,”  “*Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*,” and  “*Horus (Hr)* Lord of the Two Lands,” in a spell composed to prevent the mummy of the King from decaying. As leader of the Imperishable Stars ⁽¹⁾ *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* naturally had a connection with the Solar-boat, thus we see in Utterance 612 :—

1734 (a)  “You elevate yourself to the Eye of *R'* ⁽²⁾ in this your name ‘Who made the Gods’,”


(b)  “as *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* . . .” (text of *Mr-n-R'*) . . .


On the other hand, line 1959 (a) seems to make *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* equal to the Sun-god himself :—

UTTERANCE 668 :—

1959 (a)  “Words spoken: This *Nfr-k3-R'* is the screaming falcon who makes the round of the Eye of *Horus (Hr)* residing in the *Dst*,

(b)  “ . . . ”

1960 (a)  “*Nfr-k3-R'* belongs to the eastern side of *Nwt* ;

(b)  “*Nfr-k3-R'* is always conceived there, *Nfr-k3-R'* is always born therein.”

Here the Eye of *Horus (Hr)* seems to refer to the disk of the sun with which the deceased wishes to make the daily and nightly rounds. In lines 1258 (b) and 1301 (a) the deceased is identified with *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*.

THE UNDERWORLD *DST*


Its Situation


We have seen that according to one school of thought, the *Dst* was situated in the Heavens, and more particularly in the eastern part of Heaven, and that it seems to have been represented by the red glow in the sky which precedes the sunrise. According to the Egyptian idea this glow

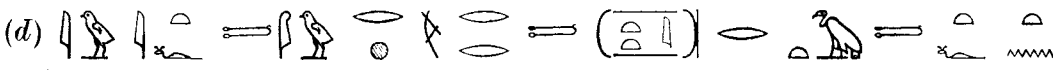
⁽¹⁾ For *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* as a star, see also line 362 (b) . In lines 1207 (a) and 1134 (a) *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* is regarded by Sethe as *Horus (Hr)* of the Morning (see *Komm.*, Vol. II, p. 78).

 “Verily he is *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*, he is that star which shines in Heaven.”


⁽²⁾ For the identification of the Solar-boat with the Eye of *R'*, see above, p. 102.

(b)  “I give him the *Dst*, that he resides in it as *Horus* (*Hr*) the head of the *Dst*’.

(c)  “Then all the gods said:

(d)  “It is your father *Šw* who knows that you love *Ttj* more than your mother *Tfn.t* (1)’.”

Here the connection between the *Dst* and the West is very clear, from the fact that it is engraved actually upon the western side of the sarcophagus, and this seems to link it up with the realms of death and darkness. The connection between the Underworld *Dst* and the West is also seen in Utterance 257:—

306 (a)  (2) “*Wn*’s takes farewell from life in the West, in order to accompany the Inhabitants of the *Dst*.”

(b)  “*Wn*’s shines anew in the East.”

We now have the paradox of a place originally situated in the east of the sky and bearing an appropriate name meaning “early morning”, “daybreak”, or the like, being transferred to the West and the Underworld, the regions of night, darkness and death, but at the same time retaining its original name.

The Nature of the Underworld *Dst*


We are not given very lucid explanations as to the precise nature of the original celestial *Dst* and our information as to the state of affairs in the Underworld *Dst* is just as fragmentary, but appears to be more so because one is apt to compare the terse manner in which it is treated in the *Pyramid Texts* with the wealth of detail accorded to it in the religious works of the Middle Kingdom onwards. Certainly we can say that it was not a hell as we understand the word to-day, though there are reasons for believing that it may perhaps have contained a place of punishment for unruly spirits. Perhaps it would be safer to regard it as the Kingdom of Osiris (*Wsir*) and the place over which the Sun-god and the dead King passed by night; for this we have ample evidence in the *Pyramid Texts*. We have seen in line 8 (d) that Osiris (*Wsir*) is styled “Lord of the *Dst*”, so also in Utterance 466 we see, when speaking of the King:—

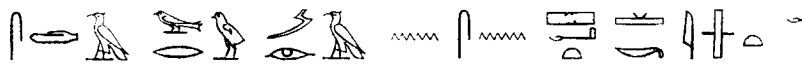
882 (b)  “You are this Great Star, the companion of Orion,


(1) The speech of *Nwt* on the eastern side of the sarcophagus gives the *Horizon* (the east of the sky), that he may become like *Hr-Štj* in it.

(2) *Var.*  . See also 306 (a).


And again in Utterance 274 (1):—

257 (a)  "Words spoken: 'That which your son *Horus (Hr)* had done for you (your son has offered to you),


(b)  "The Great Ones tremble when they have seen the sword which is in your hand,

(c)  "when you came out of the *Dwt*."

Also the Underworld *Dwt* is the abode of material bodies, while the celestial sphere is generally considered to be more spiritual in character. We see these two conceptions contrasted with each other in Utterance 688:—

2078 (a)  "Words spoken: These four royal sons stand up for this *Nfr-k3-R*,

(b)  "*Imstj, H'pjj, Dwt-mwt-f, Kbhsnnw-f,*

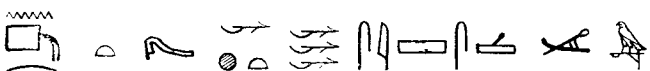
(c)  "the sons of *Horus (Hr)* of Letopolis."

2079 (a)  "They tie the rope of the ladder for this *Nfr-k3-R*;


(b)  "they fix a ladder for *Nfr-k3-R*;

(c)  "they make *Nfr-k3-R* mount to *Hprrr,*

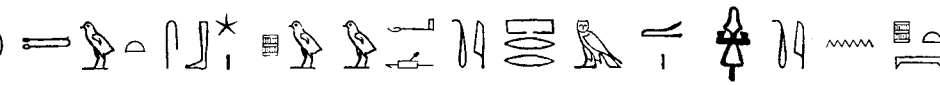
(d)  "who came to exist in the eastern side of Heaven."

2080 (a)  "Its wood (the ladder's) was carpentered by *s3s3* (the Cleaver);

(1) This also displays the mixture of ideas of the Osirian and Solar-cults. Curiously enough, these lines were retained almost unaltered into the New Kingdom, where they reappear in *Ch. CLXXIV* of the *Book of the Dead* (BUDGE, [Text], Vol. III, p. 67, lines 1 and 2).

 To be said four times by N.: "Your son has offered up for you (a sacrifice), and the Great Ones tremble on seeing the slaughtering knife which is in your hand, when you come forth from the *Dwt*."

Njr-k3-R' descended among them, whereas he is previously said to have *mounted* to the eastern side of Heaven. On the other hand, the *Dst*, like the West in general did not always have a good reputation, or at least, that is what seems to be suggested in Utterance 463, where line 877 (c) says in speaking of the King :—

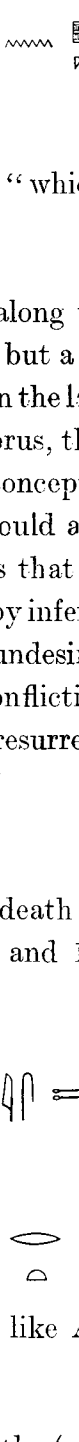
877 (c)  “You are that unique Star ⁽¹⁾ appearing in the eastern side of Heaven,

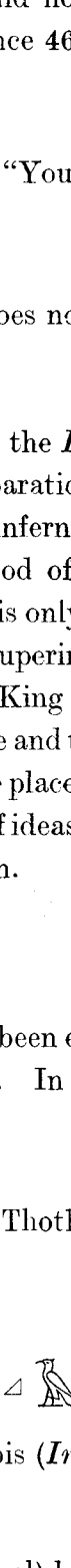
(d)  “which does not render itself to *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*.”

In this line we have two points of interest. Firstly, we see that along with the *Dst* itself *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst* has been transferred to the Underworld, and this is but a preparation for the idea which finally depicted *Horus (Hr)* as a kind of warden of the damned in the later infernal regions of the *Dst*, a fact which led Muller to remark ⁽²⁾: “Curiously enough, *Horus*, the God of Light, is more frequently regarded as the ruler of the place of torture.” But this conception is only natural when we remember that as avenger of his father’s wrongs, *Horus (Hr)* should also superintend the punishment of the enemies of *Osiris (Wsr)* in hell. The second point is that the King as a star in the east of the sky does not render itself to *Horus (Hr)* of the *Dst*, who by inference and the direct evidence of line 5 (b) must be in the west, and which is here treated as an undesirable place to which the King should not go. This brings us to the interesting subject of the confliction of ideas between the good and ill repute of the west and its connection with death and resurrection.

Conflicting Beliefs concerning the West

I think that the whole question of the Egyptian conception of life and death had been expressed in three paragraphs of the *Pyramid Texts*, and these are lines 157, 2175 and 1531. In the first of them we are told :—

157 (a)  “*Thoth (Dhwtj)* hasten! Announce to the Western Gods and their spirits;

(b)  “This *Wnis* comes truly, an Imperishable Spirit, adorned on the neck like *Anubis (Inpw)* who commands over the Western Highlands;

(c)  “thus, he counts the (spiritual) hearts and masters the (corporal) hearts.”

⁽¹⁾ The Unique Star is here the god *S3* the second inseparable companion of *R'* in the Solar-boat, see above, p. 124.

⁽²⁾ MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 417, Note 21.

of the trend of thought which makes the right a place of honour and good repute, and relegates the left to dishonour and ill-repute, an idea retained by all the important later religions (1). The same idea, as expressed in line 1531, recurs in a Middle Kingdom text which says:—




“You descend upon the way of the west, because that is very nice; you are buried in the east, because that is paltry (2).”

An even more conclusive text is in *Ch. 176* of the *Book of the Dead* (GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, (translation), p. 33, Note 10, *ff.* This text is entitled “The Chapter of not dying another time in the kingdom of the dead”. “My horror is the Land of the East. I go not into the place of punishment”, etc.

The Underworld *Dst* as a Place of Punishment

Naturally, the *Pyramid Texts* do not give a very vivid picture of the *Dst* as a place of punishment, for the simple reason that as they only applied to the King and his immediate family circle, it was tacitly assumed that these exalted personages would be found justified in the judgment (3). But we have already seen in line 485 that certain unruly spirits were to be punished if they attempted to interpose themselves between the King and his god. The punishment with which they are threatened is to deprive them of certain pleasures and privileges, but the final threat says “To whom the door of ‘the Destroyer’ will never (again) be opened.” Here ‘the Destroyer, seems to be some kind of a hell, and is frequently mentioned in the later texts as the ‘place of Destruction’. ‘The Destroyer’ is not the *Dst* itself, but is apparently a special part of it, and was clearly regarded in this light by the later religious writers (4). The reference to its doors is particularly interesting, because in the Middle Kingdom *Two-way Book*, and more particularly in the New Kingdom *Book of Gates*, we see that the different divisions of the *Dst* are divided one from the other by means of doors.


Serpent Guardians of the *Dst*

A feature of the Middle and New Kingdoms conceptions of the *Dst* was a large population of serpents, good and evil (mostly the latter!), and of normal or monstrous forms. Nor are these creatures lacking in the *Pyramid Texts*. Thus, we see the serpent  *n'w cr n'* — who


(1) In the Ebers medical Papyrus it is said that the good wind of health enters the right ear, but the bad wind of death enters the left ear.

(2) LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, LXIX, p. 115 (Ninth or Tenth Dynasty, from Assiut).

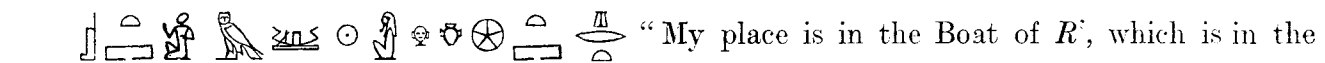
(3) The fact that the Queens *Nt*, *Ipwt* and *Wdbt* had inscribed their Pyramids with a selection of the same texts found in the King's Pyramids, shows that they hoped to share in the same Hereafter, as was enjoyed by the Pharaohs themselves. JEQUIER, “*Les Pyramides des Reines Neit et Apouit*”.

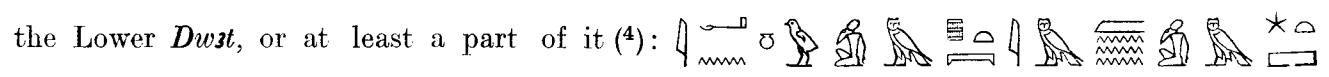

(4) See p. 314, Note 4. See also lines 1329 (a) and 1353 (c). For the word *htmw* , see SETHE, “*Kommentar*”, Vol. II, p. 317.

all, were but the concrete projections of man's innate fear of fire, darkness and wild beasts, cleverly welded by some long forgotten master minds into a powerful weapon, by means of which man could be goaded along the path of virtue. Perhaps some of these details had already existed in the popular beliefs of the people, but the dominance of the royal cult had completely overshadowed them, and not a word of the popular religious Utterances had reached our ears until the arrogant voice of the Pharaoh, demanding the exclusive entry into Heaven; had been silenced for ever under the collapse of the Old Kingdom. The newly edited religious funerary works took two forms, the commonest of which was a loose collection of magical utterances known to-day as the *Coffin Texts* (1) from the fact that we find them inscribed upon the large rectangular coffins and sarcophagi of this period. The other type was a more or less set composition which goes by the modern name of the *Two-way Book*. From both of these works we get for the first time some really precise information concerning the *Dwst* and find that in many cases it has paradoxically come to be a synonym for the Underworld! Then the definite term "*Dwst*" comes into use. Thus, in a Middle Kingdom text in which the dead boasts of his newly acquired identity with *R*^c, we read (2) :—

 "I am the light which is born from *Nun* (?) before the rays of the sun. I open the Lower *Dwst*. I am *R*^c of this day, I am *Horus* (*Hr*) in the interior of his eye. How beautiful I am on this day!"

This text is a good example of the way in which *R*^c had been dragged down from Heaven and was now believed to spend the night travelling through the Lower *Dwst* in his Solar-boat, in which the non-royal dead might now claim a place as a passenger, as we may see from the following (3) :—

 "My place is in the Boat of *R*^c, which is in the middle of the Lower *Dwst*."

This subterranean journey of the Solar-boat is given prominence in the *Two-way Book*, and later, in the New Kingdom forms the main theme of the books *Imj-Dwst* and the *Book of Gates*. Furthermore, the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts* afford a hint as to the unpleasant nature of, the Lower *Dwst*, or at least a part of it (4):  "Acclamations in Heaven (and) wailing in the *Dwst*"; and here also the nether situation of the *Dwst* is made clear by its being placed in contrast to Heaven, and its baleful nature is shown by the fact that it is a place of weeping. Another text of the same period also makes clear the nether situation of the *Dwst* (5):  "You mount continually from the *Dwst* . . ." The fact that the dead is said to *mount from* the *Dwst* is a clear proof that it was here considered as being in the Netherworld.

(1) These texts have recently been collected and published by DE BUCK, "*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*", of which, at the time of writing, Vols. I and II have already appeared.

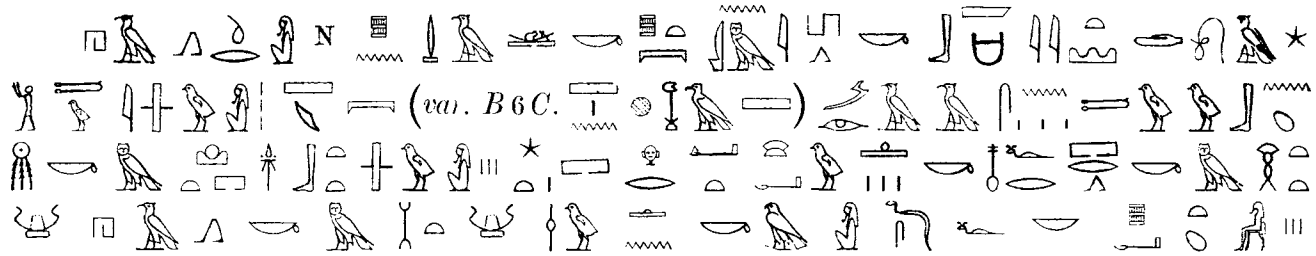
(2) LACAÛ, "*Textes Religieux*", LXI, p. 109.

(3) LACAÛ, *ibid.* XIX, p. 44.

(4) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 245 (B 13 C).

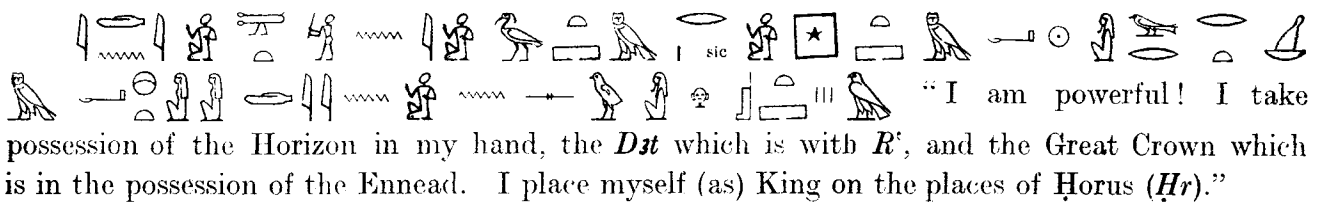
(5) *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 95, 81C.







So also in the following (1):—

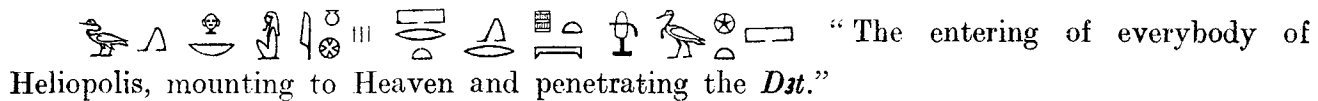


“Embark, O Osiris (*Wsr*) N, you traverse the sky and you journey through the waters of Heaven. Those who are in the Meandering Stream praise you, when they see you rise in the eastern Horizon. Those who are in the *Dw3.t* are offered your beautiful appearances. You mount in the *mstt*-boat you descend in the *m'ndt*-boat, as has been commanded by Horus (*Hr*) himself, the Lord of the people.”

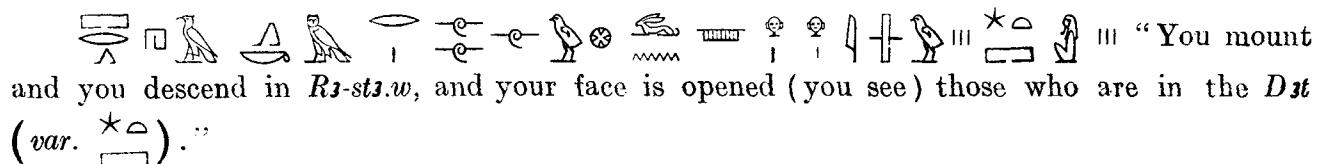
In the meantime, the following text leaves little doubt that the celestial *Dw3.t* is intended (2):—



Here the “*Dst* which is with *R*” following immediately upon the mention of the Horizon, would suggest that the celestial conception is intended here, nevertheless the unusual writing of the name *Dst* which places the star within a square (*var.*  ) (3) shows that the scribe was more familiar with the idea of the Lower *Dst* with its buildings, courts and walled inclosures, as we see in the “guide-books” to the Hereafter. So also in the writing   (see above, p. 277), where the sign for “city” replaces the usual . A text and vignette in the *Louvre Pap. No. 3292* shows us the deceased seated before a laden offering-table in the  *sh-nt* (divine booth) of the *Dst* (see NAGEL, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 79, Pl. VI; O). In the following text we get as well a seeming confusion between the celestial and underworldly conceptions of the *Dst*, although the comparison of Heaven and the Lower *Dst* is really intended. The Heliopolitan origin of this text is very evident (4):—



In the *Coffin Texts* we also have mention of the inhabitants of the *Dst* (5), which, as it is mentioned in connection with *R3-st3.w*, is certainly to be considered as the Lower *Dst*:—



(1) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 53, 54 (*B 1 P*).

(2) XIV, LACAU, *ibid.* p. 34.

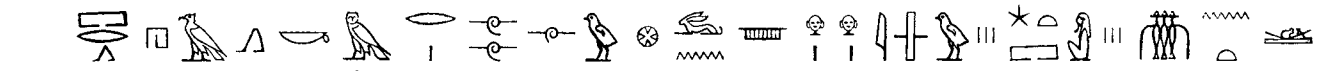
(3) *ibid.* LXXVII, p. 125.

(4) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. II, p. 238 (see also p. 239), (*S 1 Ta*).


(5) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 255, Spell 60. (*B 10 Cc*).

The Osirian *Dwst*

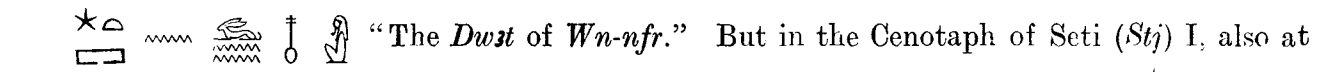
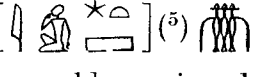

We have already seen in the *Pyramid Texts* that there was a connection between Osiris (*Wsr̄*) and the Underworld *Dwst*, and this idea was given greater prominence from the time of the Middle Kingdom onwards, and we also find the *Dwst* identified with *Rstsw*, the Kingdom of Osiris (*Wsr̄*) in the tomb (1):—

 “ You mount and you descend in *Rstsw*, and you see the inhabitants of the *Dwst*, you sail upstream (2) with them to Abydos.”

In the inscriptions in the Temple of Seti (*Stj*) I, at Abydos, we have a direct reference to the Osirian *Dwst* (3):—

 “ Your splendour is towards the Horizon of Heaven in which is his disk, and to the Underworld of Osiris (*Wsr̄*).”


And again (*ibid.* Pl. 52):—

 “ The *Dwst* of *Wn-nfr*.” But in the Cenotaph of Seti (*Stj*) I, also at Abydos, Osiris (*Wsr̄*) is called the “ *Dwstj* ” (*i.e.* who belongs to the *Dwst* (4): [] (5)  “ O *Dwstj* in the Netherworld, equipped with the shape of Osiris (*Wsr̄*).” While from the same series of inscriptions we have the passage which speaks of Osiris (*Wsr̄*) as personifying the *Dwst* (6):—

 “ My body is upon me in its cave, Osiris (*Wsr̄*) counts those who are in him.”

Here the dead are said to be in Osiris (*Wsr̄*), who is thus regarded as the *Dwst* itself, and this conception coincides with the scene on the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti (*Stj*) I, where the *Dwst* is represented as a circular space enclosed by the body of Osiris (*Wsr̄*) (see Fig. 72) (see also GRAPOW, “ *Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 113).

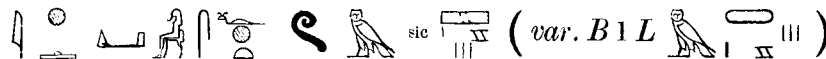
The *Pyramid Texts* have already shown us that the Field of *I3rw* had been assimilated to the *Dst*, this seems to be what referred to here (7):—

 “ I am he who is in the middle of his box (*var.* his serpent naos), the Lord of the Verdant Marshes in the *Dwst*”


(1) LACAU, *ibid.* XXII, p. 59.
 (2) For this expression, see above p. 47.
 (3) MARIETTE, “ *Abydos*”, I, Pl. 50.
 (4) FRANKFORT, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 41, II, Pl. XXXVII.
 (5) Restored from the tomb of Rameses (*R-ms-sw*) VI, LEFEBURE, III, Pl. 27, line 42.
 (6) FRANKFORT, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 60, II, Pl. XLIV.
 (7) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 347 (A 1 C). *Mhn* is the serpent whose folds envelop or form a naos in the Solar-boat, to protect *R* from ‘*3pp*’ (see Figs. 77, 43, 39)

In this text the deceased appears to be identifying himself with the two great Gods *R*^c and Osiris (*Wsr*). As *R*^c he makes the daily and nightly rounds of the sun in the Solar-boat, as Osiris (*Wsr*) he is the Lord of the verdant marshes of the *Dwt*, which by the evidence of the older writings we have already seen, and the later ones which we shall examine in their place, are found to be no other than the Field of *Irw*.

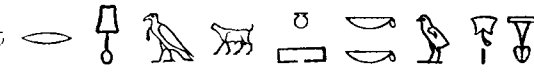
So also we have a mention of the lakes or islands of the inhabitants of the *Dwt* in the following line (1) :—

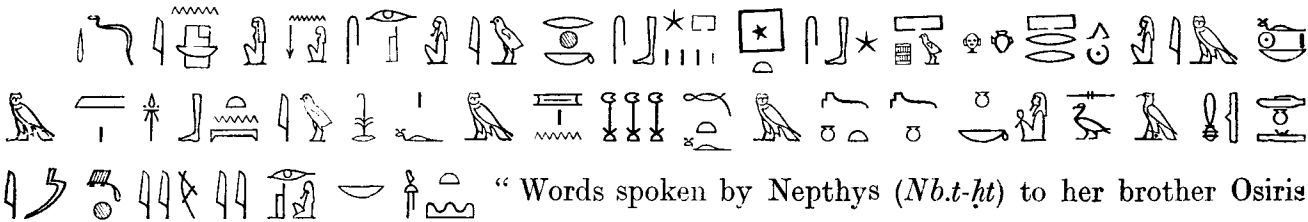
 “O I will let that he purifies himself in the Lake of the Inhabitants of the *Dwt*.”

And another conception is seen in Spell 38 (2) :—



“The son came on the Island of *Srsr* Flame (*see* below, p. 304) to recite to me words in order to penetrate the twilight, in order to reach the door in the *Dwt* and in order to take the place of his father.”

Here the *Dwt* is considered as a place of darkness, and at the same time, is the Kingdom of Osiris (*Wsr*) which his son is going to inherit. But the most important fact to be gleaned from this text is the term used for entering the *Dwt* at twilight  a term which appears here for the first time in the *Middle Kingdom Texts*, but which we shall see used for entering the *Dwt* at the first hour of night in the New Kingdom funerary works (3). In the following passage we are told that the Kingdom of Osiris (*Wsr*) in the *Dwt* was guarded by doors, a theme which was later so far developed that it finally became a special book, the *Book of Gates*. The nether situation of the *Dwt* is made clear in the first line where it is said that *R*^c rises up from it (4) :—



“Words spoken by Nephys (*Nb.t-ht*) to her brother Osiris (*Wsr*): ‘I know the doors of the *Dwt*, that middle door from which *R*^c always rises up every day on the eastern side of Heaven, whose southern side is the Lake of the Thousands, and on whose north is the inundation of the water-flood (?). I am the guardian who guards all, the devoted, the beloved of Osiris (*Wsr*) the Lord of the West (5).’”

(1) DE BUCK, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 130. (B 1 P).


(2) *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 161. (B 12 C b).

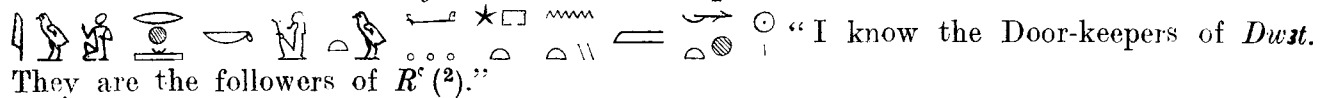
(3) *Imy Dwst* and the *Book of Gates* (BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”).

(4) LACAU, “*Sarcophages Antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*”, Vol. II, p. 129.

(5) For the later variants of this text, *see* SETHE, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 59, Pls. 32-34.

A magical text from the same period also refers to the “door-keepers of the *Dwt*” (1):—

 “I am the cooking-vessel (in which the dead does not wish to fall), and thus you are the cooking-vessel in which one cooks on the oven. The guardians of my door there respect you in the *Dwt*.”

While in the tomb of *Nfr-shrw* the door-keepers of the *Dwt* are the followers of *R'*  “I know the Door-keepers of *Dwt*. They are the followers of *R'* (2).”

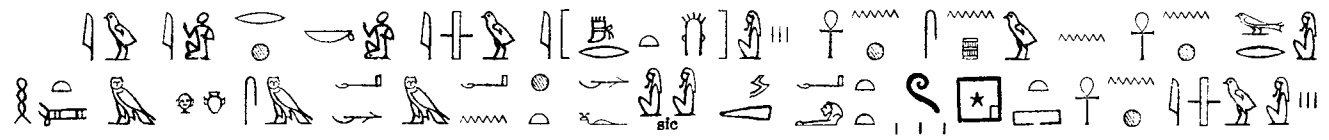
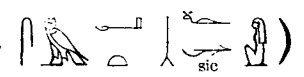
But if, as we have seen, one part of the *Dwt* could be described as a green marsh, another part was a mysterious region where the Judgment took place, and which later is to appear with perhaps more wealth of detail than any other feature of the Egyptian Hereafter (3):—

 “I am high, I became this *s'h* who is on earth in the Island of Flames. Had been opened to me the door of the *Dwt* (?) on the day when I judged . . .”

This text would appear to be of Hermopolitan origin, for in it we find mention of the Island of Flames, as also in the passage quoted on p. 109. This Island of Flames was regarded as the place in Hermopolis, where the sun first made its appearance at the moment of its creation. It was also the name given to the necropolis of Hermopolis, and it is in this sense that we should regard it here and in the former text. Thus, in this example, the mummified body of the deceased (*s'h*) will go to the necropolis, where the door of the *Dwt* will be opened to him, and he descends to the place of Judgment.

The Celestial *Dwt*

Although the conception of the Lower *Dwt* was given more prominence in the Middle Kingdom writings, the idea of the celestial *Dwt* was not wholly abandoned, certainly because the Solar-cult continued to flourish as before, though it was no longer so exclusive as in the Old Kingdom. Nevertheless, in the material which we have to hand the conception of the celestial *Dwt* is decidedly in the background, and some passages which describe it seem to suggest that the writer was much more familiar with the idea of the Lower *Dwt* as we may see in the following example (4):—

 “I know you who are the inhabitants of the [Fortified] wall, who live upon the wounds of the living. I am great of destruction in the middle of the gods *Sm'* (var. ) and *M'nht.f*, the real bow-ropes of the *Dwt* (5) who lives among those of the Horizon.”

(1) LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, p. 119.

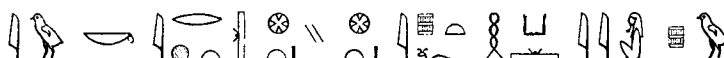
(2) HERMANN, “*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*”, Band III (1932), p. 10.

(3) LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, LIX, p. 107.


(4) LACAU, *ibid.* LXXVII, p. 125.


(5) This is a characteristic expression in Egyptian for a person, particularly a ruler, who establishes firm and stable order. It was said of Queen *H3.t-ispw.t*: “The bow-rope of the South, the mooring-stake of the Southerners, the excellent stern-rope of the north land is she; the Mistress of command”. (From the biography of INENI, BREASTED, “*Ancient Records*”, Vol. II, p. 143.)

Were it not for the fact that the deceased refers to himself as one who lives among those of the Horizon, we should be inclined to think that he was referring to the Lower *Dw3t*, which in the New Kingdom funerary works is actually represented with its high enclosures and fortified walls. Even the very writing of the name *Dw3t* where the star is enclosed within a building instead of the usual circle shows that the writer had the Lower *Dw3t* in mind, although actually he was referring to the old celestial conception of the Hereafter. But even during the Middle Kingdom the *Dw3t* was considered as a town, like the Field of *I3rw*. Thus, we have in the *Religiose Urkunden*, p. 177, *Hr-htp* :—

(1)  “Do you know these two cities, you magician ?”

(2)  “I know (them).”

(1)  “What are these two cities, you magician ?”

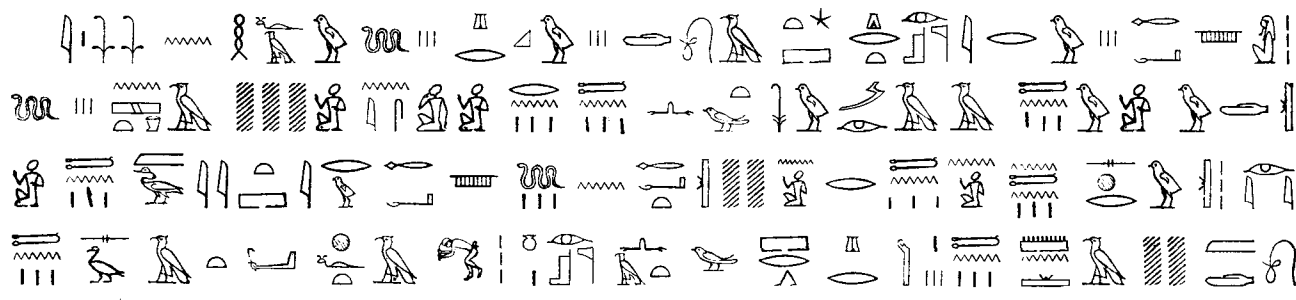
(2)  “They are the *Dw3t* and the Field of *I3rw*”

The *Dw3t* in the New Kingdom

The Egyptians of the New Kingdom have left us two very full accounts of their conception of the *Dw3t*, in the form of the books of *Imj-Dw3t* and *Book of Gates* which have already been studied (1). We, therefore, need only mention here a few points which do not seem to have received much prominence there. A new feature of the conception of the *Dw3t* is the sharp distinction made between the celestial and underworldly *Dw3ts* and also the emphasized Osirian character of the latter.

The Osirian *Dw3t* as a Place of Darkness

In the Cenotaph of Seti (*Stj*) I, at Abydos, appears the following inscription which clearly sets down the unquestionable Osirian character of the Lower *Dw3t* (2) :—



 “O those Lower Serpents of the Lower *Dw3t* of Osiris (*Wsir*), Door-keepers of him who is hidden . . . I call out your names without your seeing me (?). I place you in the

(1) See BUDGE, “*Egyptian Heaven and Hell*”.

(2) FRANKFORT, “*The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*”, Vol. I, p. 38; Vol. II, Pl. XXIV, lines 34, 37.

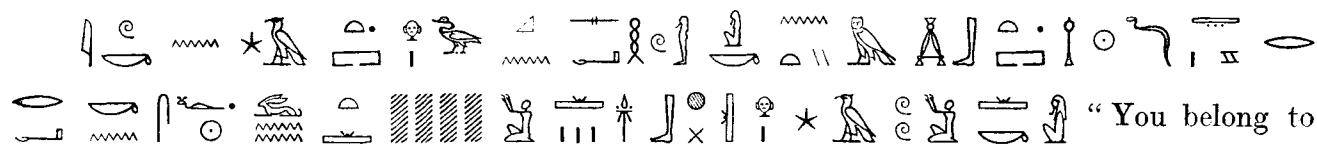
Place of Destruction. O Door-keepers of what is great of Darkness, [I cause you to remain in your places surely], I have made instructions for you that you do the guarding of the enemies of Osiris (*Wsir*), O you from whose fingers there is no escape, remain you [in your places equipped in (or with) your caverns in] the Lower Netherworld of Osiris (*Wsir*). ”

Again in the *Book of the Dead*, speaking to Osiris (*Wsir*), we read (1) :—


 (2) “ I have seen you, I have penetrated the *Dwst*, I have seen [my] divine Father Osiris (*Wsir*), I have scattered the gloom of night. ”

This latter text is an excellent example of the curious intermixture of solar and Osirian beliefs. The original solar *Dwst* has been placed in the Underworld and regarded as a place of gloom and night in which Osiris (*Wsir*) dwells. But the deceased, identifying himself with the Sun-god, enters the *Dwst* paying homage to Osiris (*Wsir*) and at the same time lightening the darkness with his rays of light, just as we see with *R'* in his Solar-boat in the books of *Imj Dwst* and *Book of Gates*.

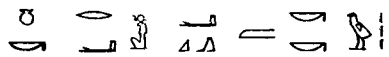
In a hymn to Amon (*Imn*) in the Leyden Papyrus (3) we see the Great God of Thebes, who was earlier identified with *R'*, now also assuming the character of Osiris (*Wsir*) in order to impersonate the night-sun. Concerning Amon (*Imn*) in this aspect the hymn says :—

 “ You belong to the *Dwst*, entering into your mummy (*s'h*) which is in the sarcophagus. When it dawns, [you appear] in your manner of yesterday. [All] things that exist [give] praise (?) partaking in your adoration. ”

From the above-quoted hymn we see the *Dwst* mentioned as a place where the Sun-god enters at sunset. In the following text we see it referred to as a place from which the sun emerges at dawn, and although the Lower *Dwst* seems to be intended, it has regained something of its original celestial character (4) :—

 “ The coming out from the *Dwst*, the resting in the *hpt*-boat which traverses *Nwn* to the hour of day. ‘ Seeing the beauties of the

(1) BUDGE, “ *Book of the Dead* ”, (Text), Vol. I, Ch. IX. p. 32.


(2) So in the Cenotaph of Seti I (FRANKFORT, *ibid.* Vol. II, P. XXVII, line 48):  “ I am *R'* entering the darkness, I brighten the *Dwst* with my disk. ”

(3) GARDINER, “ *A.Z.* ”, Vol. 42, p. 14.

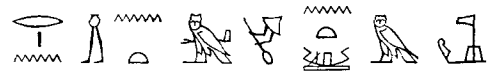
(4) CHAMPOLLION, “ *Notices* ”, p. 684.

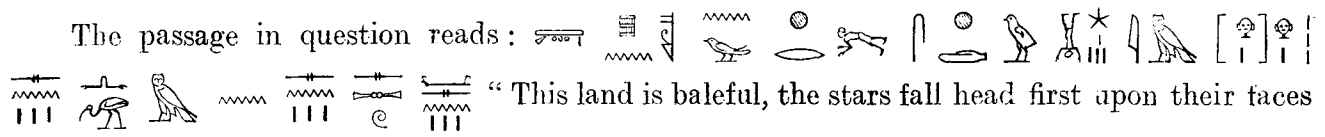
Great God (1)' who is created like *Hpri*, mounting to the Horizon, and who enters in the door, and comes out for every work and who rises through the doors of the Horizon at the hour of the appearance of the beauties of *R*' in order to make the people live."

Although the Lower *Dwst* is the place referred to in this text, it is its solar aspect which is insisted upon, and it is not referred to as a place of gloom and terror, but as a place from which the sun emerges at dawn, or in other words, the ante-chamber of the dawn, and this is very near to its original conception. A solar text in the Louvre Pap. No. 3292 makes *R*' the King of the *Dwst* (2):—

 "King on earth and in the *Dwst*, child in the morning, lion during the evening, *hpr* of multiple forms, and *Itn* during the day and the Heliopolitan (*Itm*) during the night."

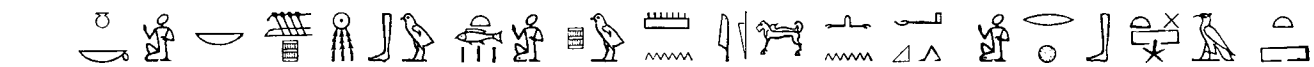
The Lower *Dwst* as an Infernal Region

As this aspect of the *Dst* is treated in full detail in the material of the books of *Imj-Dwst* and the *Book of Gates*, we need only to mention its salient points here. A striking comment on the unpleasant nature of the Lower *Dwst* is afforded by a line in *Ch. XCIX* of the *Book of the Dead* (3), which is entitled  "The Chapter of bringing the *Mhnt* Boat in the Underworld."

The passage in question reads:  "This land is baleful, the stars fall head first upon their faces (*var.* upon their heads) and they do not know how to raise themselves up again."

Although the name of the *Dwst* is not mentioned here, the fact that it is the baleful land alluded to is clear from the title of the chapter. Jequier has used this line as a base for a special explanation of the nature of the Egyptian Underworld (see "*Rec. Trav.*", Vol. XXXIX, p. 97, ff.).

We have already seen a reference to the Place of Destruction occurring in the texts in the Cenotaph of Seti (*Stj*) I, so also in *Ch. LXXXV* (line 5) of the *Book of the Dead*, we read (4):—

 "I am a Lord of Light and that which is an abomination unto me is 'coming to port' (5). Let me not enter in the torture-chamber which is in the *Dwst*."

These places of torture are pictured in lurid detail in the many scenes illustrating the different versions of the *Imj Dwst* and the *Book of Gates*, and include lakes and pits of fire, fire-spitting serpents and relentless gods and spirits who mangle the dead with sharp knives. As they adorn the walls of the Cenotaph of Seti (*Stj*) I at Abydos, these scenes of the infernal regions are arranged in a register below the representations of the Solar-boats, and this led De Buck to

(1) The name of the first hour of the Day.

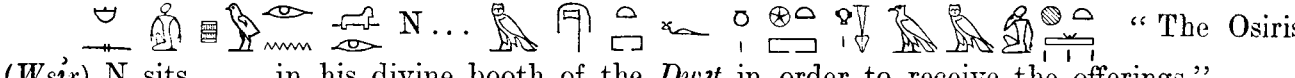
(2) NAGEL, "*B.I.F.A.O.*", Vol. XXIX, p. 90.

(3) BUDGE, "*Book of the Dead*", (Text), Vol. II, pp. 65 and 66, lines 1, 6 and 7.


(4) BUDGE, (Text), Vol. II, p. 46.

(5) *i.e.* death. No good Egyptian ever spoke of himself as dead if he could possibly avoid it; he either "came into port" or "rested from life" or "went to the west", the latter expression being revived during the Great War of 1914-1918.

Here also the dead could sit at ease to enjoy his offerings (1):—

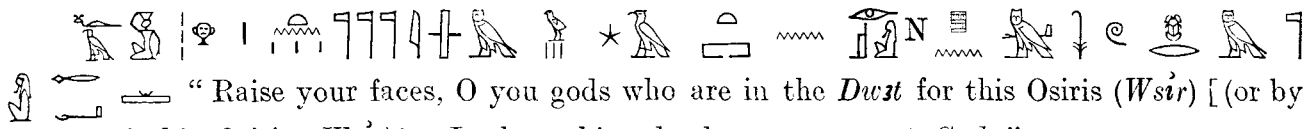
 “The Osiris (*Wsir*) N sits . . . in his divine booth of the *Dwst* in order to receive the offerings.”

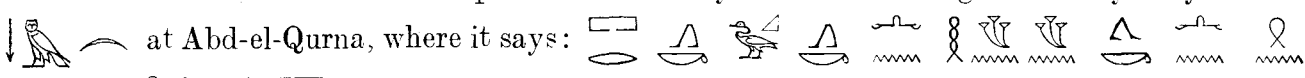
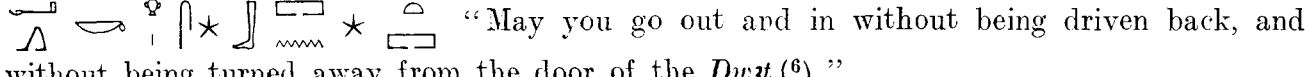
The conception of the heavenly fields being transferred to the Underworld Kingdom of Osiris (*Wsir*), is not so paradoxical as it seems, because Osiris (*Wsir*) himself was a god of agriculture in one of his aspects, and of the fertile Delta ; and as the god who had died, was buried in the earth and rose again from the dead to a new life in the Hereafter, he was easily symbolized by the yearly harvest. Men saw the ripe grain cut down, the seeds planted in the ploughed earth, and shortly afterwards the appearance of the green shoots that promised the rich harvest that was to sustain them. The grain, therefore, was Osiris and Osiris was the grain. This conception was held also in the Middle Kingdom where in one of the *Coffin Texts*, the dead, identified with Osiris (*Wsir*), says (2) :—

 “I am the barley, I shall not be destroyed. I enter with *Ms.t*, I carry Truth, I am the Lord of Truth, coming out from Truth, splendid of form.”

In a bas-relief at Philæ we see the mummy of Osiris represented with stalks of grain springing from it (3), and from the New Kingdom we have the so-called “beds of Osiris” wooden frames upon which a sheet of linen was stretched. Upon the linen the outline of the figure of Osiris was drawn and filled in with earth. This earthen figure was planted with grain and well watered until the grain began to sprout. When it reached a height of about 15·0 cms. a cloth was laid over it and the whole bound down with linen bands. It was then placed in the tomb (4). From this close identification of Osiris with the grain it needed but a single step to imagine the Field of *Isrw* or *Htp* as irrigated arable land, which Osiris would bestow upon his faithful followers and which would produce the food they lived upon, food that was at the same time the body of their god, who had died in order to show men the way to resurrection and eternal life, a belief held in Egypt at least one thousand years before Christianity.

The *Dwst* was also regarded as a place where the dead may be deified as in *Ch. XCII* of the *Book of the Dead* (5):—

 “Raise your faces, O you gods who are in the *Dwst* for this Osiris (*Wsir*) [(or by means of this Osiris (*Wsir*)]. Look to him, he became a great God.”

That the *Dwst* was a desirable place is still clearly shown on the Eighteenth Dynasty stele of  at Abd-el-Qurna, where it says:  “May you go out and in without being driven back, and without being turned away from the door of the *Dwst* (6).”

Here the *Dwst* is regarded as so desirable that the dead dreads to be turned away from its doors.

(1) NAGEL, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 80.

(2) LACAU, “*Textes Religieux*”, LVIII, p. 106.

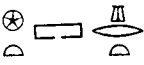
(3) MULLER, “*Egyptian Mythology*”, p. 94.


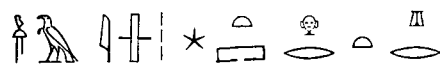
(4) QUIBELL, “*The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*”, p. 35.

(5) SETHE, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 58, p. 4, Pl. 22, Spz.


(6) SETHE, “*Urkunden*”, IV, p. 498.


The Upper Dwst


We have seen that as far back as the Heracleopolitan Period it was found necessary to make a distinction between the celestial and underworld *Dwsts* by referring to the latter as the Lower *Dwst* . Now, in the tomb of Rameses (*R^c-ms-sw*) VI we find an upper as well as a lower *Dwst* mentioned ⁽¹⁾ in a text, describing the journey of the Solar-boat through the twelfth hour of the day:—


 “It is the hour of resting in life (on the part of) this god in the west, of the giving of offerings, of the taking care of the Judgment, the making . . . (for) the inhabitants of the West who are found in the Upper and Lower *Dwst*.”

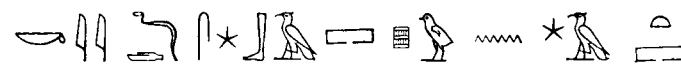
In *Ch. XVII* of the *Book of the Dead* we have a mention of the Upper *Dwst* which is explained to us in a very clear way by the ancient editors themselves, although not by name ⁽²⁾:—

 “I went out by the splendid door.”

Gloss:  “What does this mean?”


 “It is the Fields of *I3rw* which bring forth the food of the gods who are behind the cabin. The door of the splendid land is the door of the elevated *Šw*.”

According to another meaning:—

 “It is the door of *Dwst*.”

Thus, the door of the “elevated *Šw*” is no other than the door of the *Dwst*, the celestial nature of which is clearly indicated by the qualification “elevated *Šw*”.


Late Conceptions of the Dwst

Coming to the Late Period we find that the conceptions of the existence of an Upper and Lower *Dwst* have remained unchanged, and all we can add is an amplification of the ideas which we have already seen expressed. Thus, for instance, we now see that the Lower *Dwst* is famed as a place of great depth, and moreover is definitely shown to occupy a position underneath our world. Also we see that in enumerating the elements of the universe, the Egyptians mentioned “heaven, earth and the *Dwst*”, placing the *Dwst* last as being underneath our earth. This is seen in a Saitic version of the *Book of the Dead* ⁽³⁾:—

(1) PIANKOFF, “*Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*”, p. 25.

(2) GRAPOW, “*Religiose Urkunden*”, p. 28. For a later version of the same text, see also p. 29.

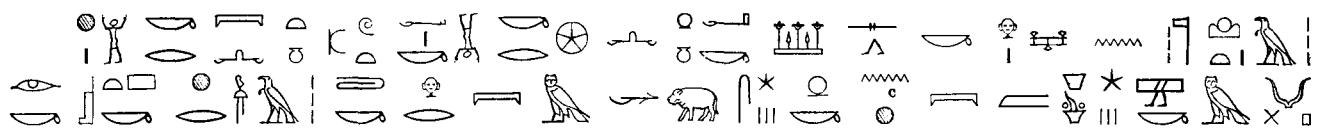
(3) LEPSIUS, “*Totenbuch*”, *Ch.* 127, line 11. For this enumeration, see also NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*” *Ch.*, 182, lines 10-11.




 "He has been commanded to make his transformations, he has made himself victorious before the gods of the Council of Judges, and he has made his way through the gates of Heaven, earth and the *Dwst*."

In the Dramatic Text at Edfu we have :—

"Ye who are in heaven and earth, fear Hōrus (*Hr*), ye who are in the *Dwst*, do him reverence" (CHASSINAT, "*Le Temple d'Edfou*", Vol. VI, p. 73, line 7).

We have also a quaint proof of the opinion which the Egyptians held concerning the position of the *Dwst*, and its relation to our earth, and this is shown in the following text from the Vatican Stele No. 128 (*a*) (1):—




 "You elevate yourself to the sky without your arms being impeded, you descend to the *Dwst* without being detained, you circulate on the way of the gods who are in the Horizon, and you prepare your place near those who are in *Imn-tt*. You travel the sky with the stars, you make a tour of the *Nwn.t* [with the gods of *R*], you go on mission for the Masters of the Horizon and you follow those who are in the Underworld."

Notice the way of writing "you descend to the *Dwst*" which represents a man turned upside down! This at once suggests the idea of a downward movement, and at the same time shows the position of the inhabitants of the *Dwst* in relation to those who live on our planet. Just as the *Nwn.t*, the sky of the *Dwst* was reversed, so also the people, but only when viewed from our standpoint. That is to say, the inhabitants of the *Dwst* were not imagined as a vast concourse of acrobats doomed eternally to walk upon their hands with their feet in the air! But the *Dwst* and its sky *Nwn.t* and all that it contained, were in reverse to our world and its sky *pt* . This shows how near to the truth the Egyptian thinkers came. To-day we know that the inhabitants of the southern hemisphere of our world are literally walking upside-down in relation to the inhabitants of the northern regions. By some unknown means the Egyptians had stumbled upon this truth, but instead of applying it to our world, they imagined that it must apply to the Underworld and its inhabitants. The text I have just quoted is from the Late Period, but that this conception is a very early one may be seen by the fact that it occurs in the Herakleopolitan Period, where in the *Two-way Book* we see the door-keeper of the first door to the Underworld called:   (2). In Chapters CXLIV and CXLVII of the *Book of the Dead* (3), both of which are a collection of texts describing the gates of the Underworld and their guardians, and giving the correct magical spells by means of which they could be opened, and which are borrowed from the

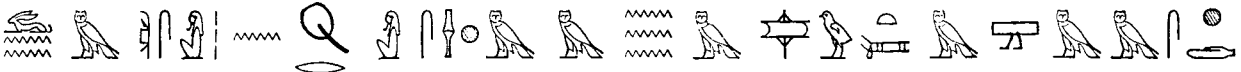
(1) WRZSINSKI, "*A.Z.*", Vol. 45, p. 117.


(2) See LACAU, "*Sarcophages Antérieur au Nouvel Empire*", Vol. I, p. 215 (14).



(3) BUDGE, *ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 218, 253.

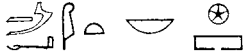


older text, the guardian of the first-gate is called . It is significant that he guards the first door of the Underworld, the one by which the dead make their preliminary descent into the lower regions. For the early use of the word , see *Pyramid Texts* line 2155 (.



Also in the *Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts* we have a reference to the dead and the boat going upside-down, as in Spell 156 (DE BUCK, II, pp. 310, 311) (S9C, B1L):—




var. 

 “I am like the followers of Osiris (*Wsir*) of *Ddw*, strong by water and by wind, not walking upside-down (*var.* not travelling with his ship upside-down).”



We have seen on the Vatican Stele mention of the “Masters of the Horizon”  (see above, p. 311). So also we have reference to “Masters of the *Dwst*”. Thus, in the *Louvre Pap.* No. 3292 we have a drawing of a mummified being with the head of a Ichneumon(?), who is described as being:  “The Great God, Lord of the

Dwst(1).” In the same papyrus, *Mst* is called  “Mistress of the *Dwst*(2)”; while in another vignette from the same papyrus, a *Bnnw*-bird crowned with the crown of Osiris (*Wsir*)  is described as being:  “The *Bnnw*,

the Great God, Lord of the *Dwst*(3).” In the *Book of the Dead* (NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, I, Pl. XXVIII) this bird is said to be the soul of *R'*. , but here it seems by its crown to be connected with Osiris (*Wsir*) (?). He is asked to place all the provisions on his offering-table at the disposal of the deceased. An inscription on a marble amulet makes the *Bnnw*-bird a leader of the Glorified dead to the *Dwst* 

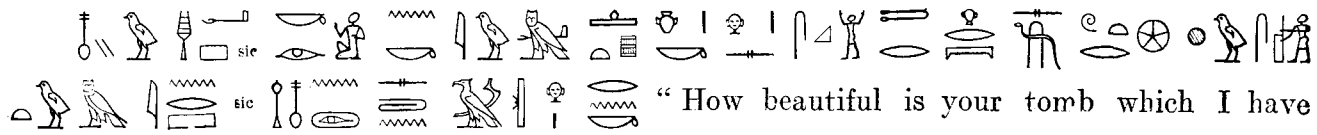
 * “I am the *Bnnw*, the Soul *R'*. Come! you Glorified to the *Dwst*.” Also in the *Pap. Ani.*:  “I am the *Bnnw*, the Soul of *R'* who conducts the gods (or Glorified) to the *Dwst*” (see, for both examples, GRENFELL, “*Rec. Trav.*”, Vol. 37, p. 88).

The later conceptions give us an idea of the *Dwst* being famed for its depth, just as the sky was famed for its height, and we read (4):—

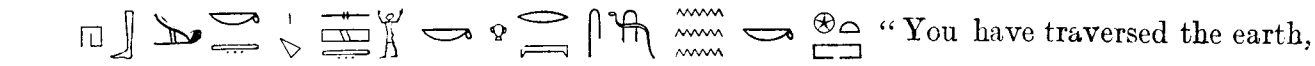

 “Horus (*Hr*) of Edfu, the Great God with the variegated plumage, Hōrus (*Hr*) of the Hōruses(5), raises himself up to the stars which are hanging in Heaven (see p. 185) for his soul, and making deep the *Dwst* to hide his body.”

(1) NAGEL, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 31, Pl. II.
 (2) *Ibid.* p. 39.
 (3) *Ibid.* Pl. I, pp. 54, 55.
 (4) BRUGSCH, “*Theas*”, p. 657.
 (5) For four forms of Hōrus (*Hr*), see *Pyramid Texts*, line 1207

There the depth of the *Dwst* is placed in contrast to the height of the sky; and the most profound depth of the *Dwst* was called the $\text{ḥ} \underline{m} \underline{d} \underline{t}$, and corresponds to the zenith of the sky. This $\underline{m} \underline{d} \underline{t}$ was reached by the Solar-boat during the sixth hour of the night (*i.e.* at midnight) ⁽¹⁾. Thus, we see in a dedicatory inscription in the famous tomb of Petosiris of Hermopolis the following lines in praise of the tomb ⁽²⁾ :—

 “How beautiful is your tomb which I have made for you! May your heart be pleased with it! It is raised as high as the sky, and descends as deep as the *Dwst* ⁽³⁾. It is constructed of beautiful white limestone and inscribed with your name.”

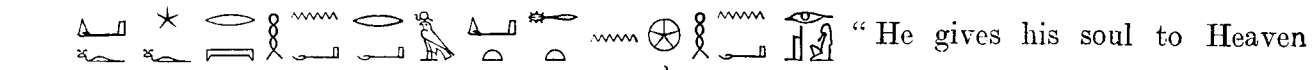
In the *Louvre Pap.* No. 3292 it is said of the dead ⁽⁴⁾ :—

 “You have traversed the earth, you have hidden the sky, and you have sunk deep in the *Dwst*.”

In the text on p. 312 we have seen that the soul is raised to the sky while the body is consigned to the *Dwst*, and this is but another saying of what had already been expressed in line 474 of the *Pyramid Texts* :—


474 “The spirit is for the Heavens, but the corpse is for the earth.”

This idea was a favourite theme in the later writings and was expressed with several interesting variations, of which the following displays the unity between the Osirian and solar-faiths ⁽⁵⁾ :—

 “He gives his soul to Heaven with *R*, and his corpse is placed with Osiris (*Wsr*) in the *Dwst*.”

In “The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys” Isis says: “Ho my lord! There is no god like unto thee! Heaven hath thy soul, earth hath thy semblance, and the Netherworld (*Dwst*) is equipped with thy secrets” (FAULKNER, “*Melanges Maspero*”, Vol. I, p. 340).

And again in the following ⁽⁶⁾ :—

 “His feet will not be repulsed in Heaven, earth or the *Dwst*. His spirit will live of the rays of *Itn*, his corpse will flourish in the *Imn.t.t*.”

In this text we see that the deceased expected to be able to roam the Universe at will, although the proper place for his spirit is Heaven and the *Dwst* is for his body. This idea is also seen in the following lines :—

 “You open to me the doors of the *Dwst* so that I mount and descend as I like ⁽⁷⁾.”

⁽¹⁾ See SETHE, “*Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne*”.

⁽²⁾ LÉFEBVRE, “*Le Tombeau de Petosiris*”, Vol. II, p. 77.

⁽³⁾ This may be seen practically in the depth of some of the tomb-shafts, even from the Archaic Period.

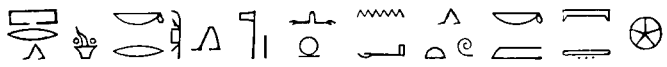
⁽⁴⁾ NAGEL, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 68.

⁽⁵⁾ *A.Z.*, VI, p. 61.

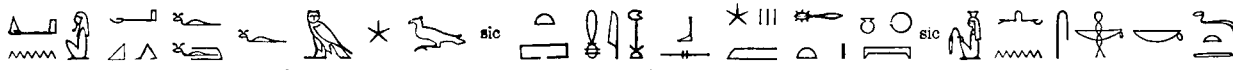
⁽⁶⁾ MASPERO, “*Sarcophages des Époques Persane et Ptolemaïque*”, p. 9.

⁽⁷⁾ *Louvre Pap.* No. 3292. NAGEL, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 91.

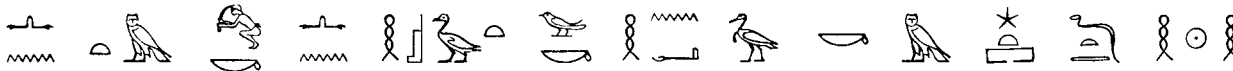
And also in the following (1):—


 “Your soul comes out to follow the God,
 you will not be repulsed in Heaven, earth or *Dwt*.”

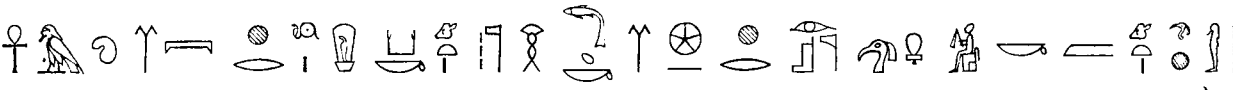
Like the Sun-god, the dead enters the Lower *Dwt*, but is not to remain there; in fact, it is a place of purgatory through which all must pass, but in which only the evildoers are punished or destroyed (2):—


 “I allow that he enters in and comes forth from the *Dwt* like the stars in the belly of *Nwt*.
 You will not go down for ever!”


And also we have the following assurance (3):—


 “You will not die, you will not be destroyed (4), together with your soul, in the *Dwt*
 for ever, eternally.”


In the following lines we have fuller details (5):—



 “Your soul lives in the sky near *R*, your corpse endures in the *Dwt* near Osiris (*Wsir*),
 your *s'hw* (mummy) is spiritualized before the Glorified Spirits.”

So also in the *Louvre Pap.* No. 3292, we have the following (6):—


 “Give ye the Heaven to my soul and
 the *Dwt* to my body.”

From the title of *Ch. I b* of the *Book of the Dead*, we know exactly when the *s'hw* was supposed to enter the *Dwt* (7):—


 “The Chapter of making
 the *S'h* enters the *Dwt* on the Day of the funeral (*lit.* ‘of uniting with the earth’).”

Now we know that the process of embalming which transformed the corpse  *hst* into the mummy *s'h* occupied a period of from 40 to 72 days. During this time the component parts of an individual must have been separated, but how or where, we cannot definitely say. In line

(1) MASPERO, *ibid.* p. 63.

(2) LEFEBVRE, “*Le Tombeau de Petosiris II*”, p. 97. A similar idea is expressed in the Koran : “And there shall be none of you but shall approach near the same (hell) : this is an established decree with thy Lord” (وان منكم الا واردها كان على ربك حتما مقضيا) *Sura Mary*; Verse 71.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 94.


(4) The same theme and the same word as is employed in the *Pyramid Texts*, line 485 (c).

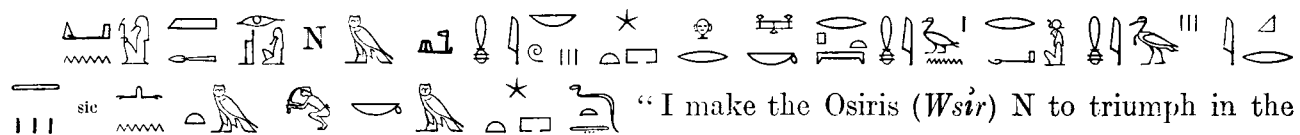
(5) WRZSZINSKI, “*A.Z.*”, Vol. 45, p. 114.

(6) NAGEL, “*B.I.F.A.O.*”, Vol. XXIX, p. 19.

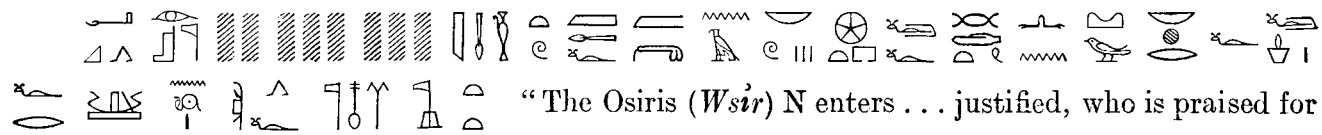
(7) NAVILLE, “*Totenbuch*”, Vol. II, p. 16 (*Ba*). (This idea had already appeared in the New Kingdom.)

1431 (b) of the *Pyramid Texts* we read that the King hastens to his Ka in Heaven which suggests that it had preceded him there, and we may suppose that the soul, *Ba*, had done the same. On the other hand, we have actual evidence which seems to suggest that the Spirit, and possibly the Ka, also, tarried beside the corpse in the neighbourhood of the Embalming House (1).

But in this title the word *Dwst* may also mean the tomb, as was originally the case with *R3-st3w*, or it may be, as with the later meaning of *R3-st3w*, the tomb regarded as the entrance to the Underworld, and if so, this is but another example of the persistent way in which the Egyptians clung to the outworn beliefs of their ancestors. Another example of the persistence of an idea may be seen in the fact that lines 269-275 (b) of the *Pyramid Texts* (2) are incorporated in the inscriptions in the tomb of Petosiris (3) and are also found on the sarcophagus of  in the Cairo Museum (No. 29305) (4). It is clear that the later religious writers regarded the *Dwst* as the place where the Judgment takes place, and we read (5) :—



Here we see the *Dwst* and the Necropolis (or Underworld) identified, and forming a kind of purgatory where the dead has been judged and emerged in triumph from the ordeal. He is then said to fly far from this Underworld, as the Son of *R* and this shows that we are dealing with an old royal text adopted to private use ; finally the deceased is assured that he will not perish eternally in the *Dwst*, as those who have been condemned in the Judgment, but will be free to make the round of the sun, coming and going as he pleases, an idea also expressed in the following (6) :—



his Justification before the Lords of the *Dwst*, he comes out whole, and there is no evil in him. His soul mounts up to the boat of the Sun, and he follows the Good God in the Underworld (or Necropolis).”

(1) See my “*Excavations at Giza*”, Vol. IV, p. 97.

(2) See p. 285.

(3) LEFEBVRE, *ibid.* p. 42.

(4) MASPERO, *ibid.* p. 179.

(5) LEFEBVRE, *ibid.* p. 97.

(6) MASPERO, *ibid.* p. 49.

CONCLUSIONS

The Old Kingdom

The Celestial *Djt*

From the evidence given above we may conclude (1) :—

(1) That the original conception of the *Djt* was a celestial one, and perhaps was represented by the rosy glow of the “false-dawn” in the east of the sky.

(2) The *Djt* was the place in the sky where the sun rose and the stars set and likewise the King in his identification with them.

(3) Being in the sky, the King needed either a ladder, a ferry-boat, the Solar-boat or other means of ascension in order to reach the *Djt*.

(4) The celestial *Djt* contained the mystic lakes in which *R* and the dead king bathed each morning.

(5) The *Djt* also contained the Field of *Irw* where the king would receive his throne and govern as though upon earth. This idea was introduced under Osirian influences.

(6) The *Djt* was inhabited by a class of beings called the Gods of the *Djt*, who were none other than the Imperishable Stars, and Horus (*Hr*) of the *Djt* was their Leader.

The Underworld *Djt*

(7) Under Osirian influences the *Djt* was transferred to the Underworld, of which we cannot definitely tell the situation, where it was regarded as the Kingdom of “Osiris (*Wsr*) Lord of the *Djt*”.

(8) The Underworld *Djt* was comparable to *Gb* and *skr* in their relation to the tomb, and was also identified with *Imn-t.t*, the West in the sense of a home for the dead.

(9) The Sun-god and the King sail through the sky by day and travel through the Underworld *Djt* by night.

(10) The Underworld *Djt* was a place of gloom, but still retained its original name, meaning “daybreak” or “early morning”.

(11) The *Djt* was the home of the material entities of man in contrast to the soul which went to the sky (see Pyramid Text, line 2084).

(1) The following conclusions only touch upon the salient points of the subject, and are by no means exhaustive, and many of the points are open to an alternative explanation according to the various schools of thought.

(12) The *Dst* contained a place of punishment called “the Destroyer”, and seems also to have possessed serpent guardians but we have no definite details about these matters until later.

(13) Like the Solar-Paradise, the *Dst* could only be entered by the Gods, the Spirits and the Royal Dead.

The Middle Kingdom

(14) We now find the term “Lower *Dst*” used to distinguish between the two conceptions of the upper and lower *Dsts*.

(15) The Solar-boat is now definitely said to sail through the Lower *Dst*, and the non-royal dead may claim a passage in it, as *Dst* and Heaven are now democratized.

(16) The Lower *Dst* is now identified with *Rj-stsw* in the same sense that it had previously been identified with *Gb* and *skr*.

(17) The celestial *Dst* continued to hold a place in the religious beliefs but the Lower *Dst* is given greater prominence in the texts.

The New Kingdom

(18) The *Dwst* is now referred to as the “Upper and Lower *Dwst*”, the latter some times being qualified as “the Lower *Dwst* of Osiris (*Wsir*).”

(19) The idea of the *Dwst* containing a place where the dead are judged and the guilty are punished is now fully developed, and is described in the two great funerary works, the *Imj-Dwst* and the *Book of Gates*, which relate the adventures of the night Solar-boat on its journey through the Lower *Dwst*.

(20) The mummy *sḥ* is said to enter the *Dwst* on the day of the funeral.

(21) The period of existence in the *Dwst* could be protracted or curtailed at the will of the gods, but this seems to apply only to the damned.

(22) The Lower *Dat* contained the Fields of *Irw* and *Htp* which were now definitely the Paradise of Osiris (*Wsir*) and his followers.

The Late Period

(23) We now see the definite enumeration of “heaven, earth and *Dwst*”, placing the *Dwst* in the lowest point of the Universe. This is a point which never occurs in the Old Kingdom, according to the material which we have before us.

(24) The *Dwst* is now famed for its depth, of which the most profound part is the *mdt*.

(25) The Lower *Dwst* now assumes the aspect of purgatory where all the dead descend for Judgment, and where if guilty, they are destroyed or punished, but if acquitted are free to mount to Heaven with *R* and make the solar round with him in his ships.

CONCLUSION

Now that we have studied the different elements of the Universe separately, both from a cosmic and religious standpoint, we can see that in most cases the Egyptians had mixed the two conceptions together, and it is sometimes only with greatest difficulty that we can gain a clear idea of the two sides of the question. Nevertheless one can peep through the veil of these mixed texts and elucidate more or less clearly the cosmic composition of the Universe. Seemingly, the most prominent belief was that we have a complete universe of sky and earth which has its counterpart reversed below it. This conception I have attempted to reconstruct in the accompanying diagram (see Fig. 83). Here we have the upper sky, *pt* with the reversed sky, *Nwn.t*

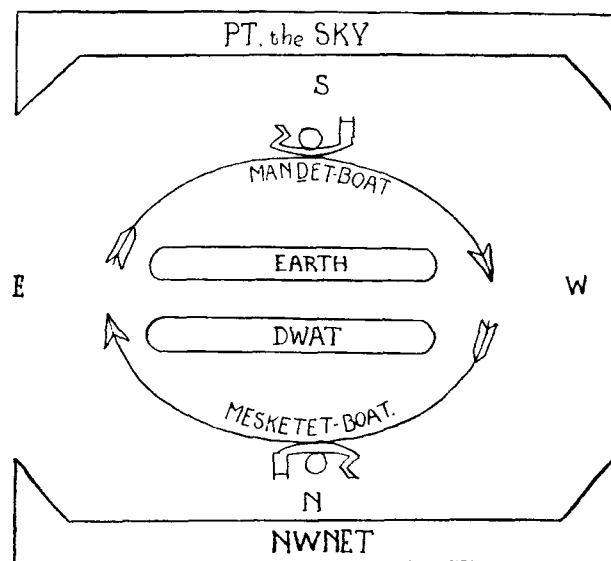


FIG. 83

below. Under the sky lies our earth, below which is its counterpart, the *Dwat*. All these elements are enveloped in and encircled by the primeval ocean *Nwn*, from which they had their origin, as the Egyptians themselves have explained (1). As far as the course of the Solar-boats is concerned, we have already said that according to one belief, the day-boat, starting from the east, travelled southwards in a curve to the zenith and then descended in another curve to the west, while the night-boat travelled in a curve to the north, where it reached the depth of the *Nwn.t*, from whence it arose in a curve to the Horizon of the east. There are, of course, other beliefs concerning the course of the Solar-boats, *i.e.* that by night the vessel passes through a dark tunnel, or that it traverses the inside of the body of *Nwt*, and these conceptions we have dealt with in their places.

(1) See *Harris Papyrus 44*, (lines 4-5). See above, p. 164.

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| 1. <i>ꜥhtj</i> .—A hawk-god in the <i>Dwꜥt</i> | p. 272. |
| 2. <i>ꜥs.t</i> (Isis) | pp. 11, 75, 94-97, 101-103, 111, 112, 114, 118, 127-132, 134, 137, 145, 148, 151, 152, 155, 163, 171, 214, 228, 231, 239, 242, 243, 255, 267, 291, 297, 313. |
| 3. <i>ꜥkr</i> .—A god of the Underworld | pp. 106, 136, 205, 206, 210, 211, 232, 248, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261-262, 263-273, 275, 276, 289, 317, 318. |
| 4. <i>ꜥkr.w</i> .—Earth or Serpent-spirits | pp. 133, 134, 258-262, 274, 275. |
| 5. <i>ꜥgbj</i> .—Personification of flood-water | p. 167. |
| 6. <i>Ippj</i> .—A goddess whose milk feeds the dead King | p. 201. |
| 7. <i>Ifw</i> .—The dead flesh of <i>R'</i> | p. 121. |
| 8. <i>Ifnj</i> .—A god in the Underworld | p. 268. |
| 9. <i>Imn</i> (Amon) | pp. 137, 138, 165, 168, 169, 228, 241, 245, 255, 306. |
| 10. <i>Imn-R'</i> (Amon-Ra') | pp. 33, 134, 138, 139. |
| 11. <i>Imstj</i> .—The human-headed Son of Hōrus (<i>Hr</i>) ... | pp. 153, 178, 292. |
| 12. <i>Inpw</i> (Anubis) | pp. 116, 117, 139, 201, 205, 206, 210, 234, 246, 248, 289, 295. |
| 13. <i>Ihmtj</i> .—A divine ferryman... .. | p. 27. |
| 14. <i>Itm</i> (Atum).—The night Sun-god | pp. 7, 10, 33, 50, 51, 91-93, 95, 112, 118, 122, 123, 130-132, 137, 145, 147, 148, 162, 163, 168, 171, 179, 181, 196, 198, 214, 215, 221, 223, 226, 230, 231, 233, 235-237, 239, 240, 252, 253, 265, 267, 271, 278, 293, 307. |
| 15. <i>Itn</i> (Aten).—The deified Solar-disk | pp. 307, 313. |
| 16. 'ꜥpp.—A serpent-fiend; sometimes a friend and ally of Set (<i>St</i>) | pp. 104, 134, 208, 238, 263, 264, 297, 302. |
| 17. <i>Wpw</i> .—A god in serpent form | p. 237. |
| 18. <i>Wp.wꜥw.t</i> .—A jackal-gcd | pp. 3, 116, 286. |

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| 19. <i>Wn-nw.t.</i> —The hare-headed goddess of Hermopolis... | p. 122. |
| 20. <i>Wn-nfr.</i> —The “ Good Being. ” A name of Osiris... | p. 302. |
| 21. <i>Wsr̄</i> (Osiris) | pp. 3, 4, 11, 14, 15, 18, 28, 29, 50,
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| 22. <i>Wsr̄ Wn-nfr.</i> —A name of Osiris | pp. 244, 248. |
| 23. <i>Wsr̄ Hnt-Imn.tj.</i> —A name of Osiris | p. 248. |
| 24. <i>Bst.t.</i> —The cat-headed Goddess of Bubastis | p. 228. |
| 25. <i>Bw-Hwl.</i> —A name of the Sphinx of Giza | p. 35. |
| 26. <i>Pndn.</i> —A name of the Sun-god | p. 92. |
| 27. <i>Pg3.</i> —God of the surface water of the earth | pp. 162, 163. |
| 28. <i>Pth</i> (Ptah).—The Chief deity of Memphis | pp. 102, 164, 165, 174, 230. |
| 29. <i>Pth-Skr-Wsr̄.</i> —The triune god of Memphis | p. 248. |
| 30. Four Sons of Horus (<i>Hr</i>). See also <i>Imstj</i> , <i>H'pjj</i> ,
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| 31. <i>M3̄.t</i> (Maat).—Goddess of Truth and Justice | pp. 49, 87, 90, 116, 125-129, 132,
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| 32. <i>M3̄.tj.</i> —The Two. Isis and Nephys in the Court of
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| 33. <i>M3̄d.t.</i> —An ancient Lynx-goddess | p. 73. |
| 34. <i>M3̄-hr-trw.t.</i> —The personification of the red glow of
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| 35. <i>M3̄-nht.f.</i> —A god in the Solar-boat | p. 304. |
| 36. <i>Mnw</i> (Min) | pp. 154, 286. |
| 37. <i>Mntw.</i> —The war-god of Hermonthis | p. 242. |
| 38. <i>Mndf.tj.</i> —The creator of the Inundation | p. 165. |
| 39. <i>Mrt.</i> —“ Eye. ” A goddess associated with the Sun-
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40. *Mh.t-wrt*.—A goddess in cow-form, worshipped in the fifth Nome of Upper Egypt ... pp. 193, 196.
41. *Mhntj-irtj* (see also *Hntj-irtj*) (the eyeless God) ... pp. 195, 196, 279.
42. *Msh.t-k3.w*.—A goddess ... p. 91.
43. *Njw*.—An old name for *Nwn* (see also *Nwn*) ... pp. 95, 159, 161, 179.
44. *Nwbtj*.—A name of *St...* ... p. 136.
45. *Nwn*.—The personification of the Primeval Ocean. pp. 60, 149, 157-175, 178, 179, 181, 182, 185, 193, 197, 198, 232, 238, 245, 265, 266, 289, 300, 306, 319.
46. *Nwn.t*.—The female counterpart of *Nwn* ... pp. 46, 95, 159, 162, 167, 168, 172, 176, 178-185, 188, 194, 195, 197, 260, 289, 311, 319.
47. *Nwt*.—The Sky-goddess ... pp. 7, 14, 44, 53, 94, 95, 103, 112, 116, 130, 131, 132, 137, 141, 143, 158, 173, 180, 183, 184, 185, 188-193, 196, 198, 199, 202, 203, 209, 211-214, 220, 225, 231, 232, 238, 239, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256, 267, 278, 280, 288-291, 297, 314.
48. *Nb-r-dr*.—The Lord of All ... pp. 168, 242, 274.
49. *Nb.t-ht* (Nephtys) ... pp. 11, 90-92, 94-97, 102, 111, 112, 117, 118, 127-132, 137, 145, 148, 152, 163, 214, 231, 239, 253, 255, 267, 291, 303, 313.
50. *Nb Dp*.—The Lord of Buto ... p. 153.
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57. *Nir.w-3btj*.—Gods of the Orient ... p. 24.
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59. *Ndj*.—A name of the Sun-god pp. 92, 93, 96.
60. *R^c* (*Ra^c*) pp. 3-6, 9, 12-23, 25-28, 33-35, 48-50, 52-55, 63, 67, 70, 72, 73, 78, 79, 81, 90-93, 96, 100, 102, 107-116, 118-127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 136-140, 143, 144, 147, 148, 155, 162, 163, 165, 167, 170, 173, 181, 189, 191, 195, 198, 199, 201, 203, 205, 206, 208, 210, 213, 217, 220, 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 244, 248, 250, 263-266, 269, 270, 272, 274, 275, 278-280, 284-286, 288, 291, 294-297, 300-304, 306, 307, 311-318.
61. *R^c-Itm* (*Ra^c-Atum*) pp. 10, 29, 153, 231, 236.
62. *R^c-Hr-*ḥ*tj*.—A name of the Sun-god p. 49.
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75. <i>Hr-wr.</i> —Horus the Great (?)	p. 139.
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2, <i>a-c</i>	225	
5, <i>a</i>	289	{ The Underworld <i>Dwt.</i>
5, <i>b-d</i>	291	
8, <i>d</i>	289	Osiris as lord of the <i>Dwt.</i>
9, <i>d</i>	218	<i>Gb</i> as a giver of rewards and helper of the dead.
101, <i>b</i>	220	<i>Gb</i> as the provider of food and offerings.
124, <i>e</i>	118	The cargo of the Solar-boat.
132, <i>a-c</i>	166	<i>Nwn</i> as the Primeval Ocean.
137, <i>d</i>	217	{ <i>Gb</i> as the issuer of decrees.
138, <i>a</i>	217	
144, <i>b</i>	224	<i>Gb</i> as the father of <i>St.</i>
145, <i>b</i>	29	{ Osiris as the enemy of the Solar-cult.
146, <i>a</i>	29	
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202, <i>a-b</i>	93	{ The King's Investiture of Heaven.
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205, <i>a-b</i>	94	{ The Purified King acts as judge in <i>Nwn.t</i> and as King in <i>Nwn.</i>
206, <i>a-c</i>	94	
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209, <i>a-c</i>	96	
210, <i>a-c</i>	96	{ <i>Gb</i> as the father of hostile serpents.
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251, <i>a-b</i>	125	<i>Hw</i> and <i>Si3</i> in the Solar-boat.
257, <i>a-c</i>	292	The Royal Dead can leave the <i>Dwt</i> at will.
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286, <i>a</i>	203	} The King's pond dug in the Field of <i>Irw</i> (the nature of the Celestial <i>Dwt</i>).
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317, <i>a-b</i>	228	} <i>Gb</i> as a ruler of the scattered principalities.
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333, <i>a-c</i>	100	The King is summoned by the messenger of death.
334, <i>a-c</i>	101	He cannot pay his passage in the Solar-boat.
335, <i>a-c</i>	101	He sees his two uraeus-serpents in the Solar-boat.
336, <i>a-b</i>	104	The Justified King goes to Heaven on the hail-stones.
337, <i>a-d</i>	4	The first mention of the reed-floats in the Pyramid Texts.
338, <i>a-b</i>	5	The King is not separated from his Ka.
339, <i>a-c</i>	5	The King pays his respect to the royal dead in Heaven.
340, <i>a-d</i>	6	The Lock-carriers announce the King to <i>R</i> .
341, <i>a-c</i>	11	He becomes a star among the stars.
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345, <i>a-b</i>	13	} <i>Tj</i> receives a meal from <i>Nhb-k.w</i> .
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349, <i>a-b</i>	14	He is released from his mummy-wrappings.
350, <i>a-c</i>	15	The denial of <i>Tj</i> 's death.
350, <i>a-b</i>	29	Osiris as an enemy of the Solar-cult.
351, <i>a</i>	15	} <i>Ppjj</i> journeys on the reed-floats, passing the Meandering Stream and Field of <i>Irw</i> , and is reborn with the gods, like <i>Horus</i> .
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359, <i>a-b</i>	18	
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363, <i>a-b</i>	19	<i>Horus</i> the Child on the bow-post of the Solar-boat.
363, <i>c-f</i>	20	} The nature of the Celestial <i>Dwt</i> . The Lakes.
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367, <i>a</i>	69	} <i>Ti</i> as a land in which there is no thirst or hunger.
367, <i>b</i>	70	
372, <i>a-d</i>	281	} Turn-face ferries the <i>Mhnt</i> -boat.
382, <i>a-b</i>	201	
383, <i>a-c</i>	141	}
384, <i>a-b</i>	141	

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390, a-b	279	Ladder needed to ascend to the heavenly <i>Dst</i> .
392, a-b	169	<i>Nwn</i> as a place of spirits.
393, a-b	261	The <i>skr.w</i> as earth spirits.
393, c	233	} <i>Gb</i> as the tomb devours the dead ancestors of the King.
394, a-b	234	
406, c	58	The dual heavens.
439, a-c	213	<i>Gb</i> as the father of serpents.
442, a-b	208	The uraeus opposed to the evil serpent.
446, a-b	172	<i>Nwn</i> as a God.
455, a	3	The "great reed-float" as name of <i>R'</i> .
464, a-c	28	} Osiris uses the reed-floats.
465, a-c	28	
474	313	The spirit to heaven and the body to earth.
477, b-c	222	<i>Gb</i> as a protector of the dead.
484, a-d	105	} The wrong-doer denied a passage on the Solar-boat.
485, a-c	105	
490, a-b	125	<i>Nht-ntw</i> in the bows of the Solar-boat.
494, a-b	146	A dialogue between the King and "Turn-face".
504, a-b	260	<i>skr</i> as the strong earth spirit.
511, a	299	Serpent guardians of the <i>Dst</i> .
514, b-c	58	Plural skies.
551, a-b	167	<i>Nwn</i> as counterpart of <i>igb</i> .
555	259	<i>skr</i> as the amiable earth-spirit.
576, c	217	<i>Gb</i> as the issuer of decrees.
583, a	221	<i>Gb</i> in the offering-formula.
594, a-f	141	} The <i>Mhnt</i> -boat. <i>Ttj</i> relates incident from Horus-Eye legend to Turn-face who finally consents to ferry him over to the east of the sky.
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598, a-c	143	
599, a-d	143	
600, a-b	143	
602, b-c	128	The golden Solar-boat.
604, a-d	162	<i>Nwn</i> and the Underworld and darkness.
604, e-f	162	Mention of the common people.
605, a-b	163	} The King kindles light in darkness, and <i>Nwn</i> protects the Goddesses.
606, a-d	163	
639, a-b	222	<i>Gb</i> as a protector of the dead.
655, c-d	218	} <i>Gb</i> as a helper of the dead to Heaven.
656, a-c	219	
658, d-e	260	<i>skr.w</i> as a strong, hostile earth-power.
661, c	112	A sail for the Day-boat.
663, a-c (2)	152	} Horus the Child with finger to mouth, known in the Old Kingdom.
664, a	152	
673, a-d	206	} <i>Tt</i> the earth, and <i>Gb</i> as the master and father of dangerous serpents.
674, a-b	207	
675, a-b	207	
675, c	260	} <i>skr</i> aids the dead against the dangerous <i>Srjw</i> -serpent.
676, a	260	
689, d.	206	} <i>Tt</i> as the father of serpents.
691, a-b	206	
693, a-d	204	<i>Tt</i> as the ground or soil.
698, a-c	210	<i>Gb</i> as the earth.
710, c	107	} The King as a judge in the Solar-boat.
711, a-d	107	
712, a-c	107	
713, a	108	

(1) Line 595, a-b, p. 7, for the Meandering Stream in the East of Heaven.

(2) Line 663, see also p. 207 for the centipede as an evil and dangerous creature as contrast to the uraeus.

NO. OF LINE	PAGE	SUBJECT
714, <i>a-b</i>	283	{ The King commanding and rejuvenated in the Celestial <i>Dst</i> .
715, <i>a-c</i>	283	
717, <i>a-d</i>	98	Meals in the Solar-boats.
782, <i>a-d</i>	199	<i>T₃</i> as "Land".
785, <i>a</i>	140	Each God possesses his own ship.
793, <i>b</i>	223	<i>Gb</i> as the father of Osiris.
795, <i>a-e</i>	205	{ <i>T₁</i> , the earth personified.
796, <i>a-c</i>	205	
802, <i>a-c</i> ⁽¹⁾	278	{ The <i>Dst</i> guides the King to Heaven.
803, <i>a</i>	278	
820, <i>c-e</i>	278	The King identified with Orion.
871, <i>a-d</i>	170	The King inspires awe in <i>Nwn</i> .
872, <i>d</i>	171	The King or Osiris as the Inhabitant of <i>Nwn</i> .
873, <i>c</i>	284	{ Cultivated land in the Celestial <i>Dst</i> .
873, <i>d</i>	285	
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877, <i>c-d</i>	295	
882, <i>b</i>	290	{ The <i>D_{3t}</i> as the Kingdom of Osiris.
882, <i>c</i>	291	
883, <i>a-d</i>	291	{ <i>Gb</i> as the head of the Ennead and Crown Prince.
895, <i>a-d</i>	215	
910, <i>c</i>	200	<i>T₃</i> in the sense of the Other World.
926, <i>a-d</i>	21	{ The reed-floats placed in the Solar-boat.
927, <i>a-d</i>	21	
928, <i>a-b</i>	21	{ The King meets the equipped spirits with their drinking-bowls.
930, <i>a-c</i>	24	
930, <i>d-f</i>	25	{ <i>T₃</i> the earth in a cosmic sense opposed to <i>pt</i> .
931, <i>a-d</i>	25	
941, <i>a-c</i>	198	{ <i>T₃</i> and <i>pt</i> in opposition.
951, <i>a-c</i>	198	
952, <i>a-d</i>	199	{ Stars as the Inhabitants of the <i>Dst</i> .
953, <i>a-c</i>	286	
956, <i>a-c</i>	216	{ <i>Gb</i> as the issuer of decrees usurping the functions of Thoth.
957, <i>a-c</i>	216	
958, <i>a</i>	217	{ <i>T₃</i> the earth in its cosmic sense.
961, <i>a-d</i>	198	
967, <i>a-c</i>	216	<i>Gb</i> as the issuer of decrees.
973, <i>a</i>	225	<i>Gb</i> as the father of <i>Horus</i> and the King.
977, <i>b-d</i>	218	<i>Gb</i> restores the eye of <i>Horus</i> .
999, <i>a-b</i>	25	{ The King is ferried to Heaven by Turn-face.
999, <i>c</i>	26	
1000, <i>a-e</i>	26	{ <i>Gb</i> issues decrees to the earth.
1001, <i>a-c</i>	26	
1013, <i>a</i>	218	<i>Gb</i> as the tomb.
1014, <i>a-b</i>	210	<i>skr</i> as the Underworld.
1014, <i>a</i>	259	The nether situation of the <i>Dst</i> .
1014, <i>a-b</i>	289	<i>Nwt</i> and <i>pt</i> interchangeable.
1016, <i>a-c</i>	191	Trial and punishment in the Other World.
1027, <i>a-c</i>	109	{ <i>Nwn</i> as the Primeval Ocean.
1039, <i>a-c</i>	165	
1040, <i>a-b</i>	166	{ <i>Gb</i> raises the dead to Heaven.
1045, <i>a</i>	219	
1045, <i>b-c</i>	220	{ <i>Nwn</i> as a God.
1057, <i>a</i>	172	
1078, <i>a-d</i>	168	<i>Nwn</i> as the source of the Nile.
1101, <i>b-c</i>	191	<i>pt</i> and <i>Nwt</i> interchangeable.

(1) Line 802, *a-b*, p. 7, for the Meandering Stream in the North of Heaven.

NO. OF LINE	PAGE	SUBJECT
1102, <i>a-d</i>	27	} The Celestial journey on the reed-floats.
1103, <i>a-b</i>	27	
1104, <i>a-d</i>	27	
1115, <i>a-b</i>	219	
1121, <i>a</i>	186	<i>Gb</i> as a helper of the dead to Heaven.
1134, <i>a-b</i>	284	The sky as a metal plate.
1142, <i>d-e</i>	220	The nature of the Celestial <i>Dst</i> .
1162, <i>a-c</i>	9	<i>Gb</i> is depicted reclining under <i>Nwt</i> .
1163, <i>a-b</i>	223	The Meandering Stream is shallow.
1164, <i>b-d</i>	282	<i>Gb</i> as the protector of the earth.
1165, <i>a</i>	282	} Purification of the dead in the Lake of the <i>Dst</i> and Field of <i>Irrw</i> .
1166, <i>a-b</i>	169	
1168, <i>a-c</i>	280	<i>Nwn</i> as a place of spirits.
1169, <i>a-b</i>	280	} The <i>Dst</i> may be reached by means of the Solar-boat.
1170, <i>a-b</i>	280	
1171, <i>a-d</i> ⁽¹⁾	280	
1172, <i>a-c</i> ⁽¹⁾	281	
1172, <i>a-b</i>	118	
1175, <i>a</i>	205	The cargo of the Solar-boat.
1188, <i>c</i>	190, 205	} <i>Tz</i> as the earth personified.
1188, <i>c</i>	190	
1194, <i>a-b</i>	97	The sky referred to as <i>pt</i> .
1195, <i>a-c</i>	224	The Day-boat identified with Isis.
1197, <i>a-d</i>	204	<i>Gb</i> as the father of Osiris.
1198, <i>a</i>	204	} <i>Tz</i> as the ground or soil.
1204, <i>d</i>	22	
1205, <i>a-c</i>	22	} The four young spirits bind and tie the reed-floats.
1205, <i>d</i>	23	
1206, <i>a-f</i>	23	
1207, <i>a-d</i>	23	
1208, <i>a</i> ⁽²⁾	23	
1208, <i>b-c</i>	24	
1209, <i>a-c</i> ⁽²⁾	24	
1210, <i>a</i>	24	} The boat of 770 ells length tied by the Gods of Buto and curved by the Gods of the Orient.
1212, <i>a-e</i>	73	
1222, <i>a-d</i>	45	The execution weapon of the King.
1235, <i>a-d</i>	211	The King's soul identified with the Imperishable Stars.
1247, <i>d</i>	190	<i>Gb</i> as the grave ordered to release the King.
1250, <i>d-f</i>	111	A distinction between <i>Nwt</i> and <i>pt</i> .
1255, <i>a-d</i>	127	The Ennead row the King in the Solar-boat.
1256, <i>a-b</i>	128	} Isis and Nephthys use the Day-boat in their search for Osiris.
1275, <i>a-c</i>	179	
1276, <i>a-b</i>	179	} The nether situation of <i>Nwn.t</i> .
1277, <i>a-d</i>	221	
1300, <i>b-c</i>	219	<i>Gb</i> as the provider of offerings.
1300, <i>b-c</i> ⁽³⁾	286	} <i>Gb</i> as a helper of the dead to Heaven.
1301, <i>a-b</i> ⁽³⁾	286	
1301, <i>c</i>	287	} Horus of the <i>Dst</i> as leader of the Imperishable Stars.
1301, <i>a</i>	45	
1306, <i>c</i>	86	The King identified with the Imperishable Stars.
1313, <i>a</i>	86	The tongue of the King and the <i>Mz't</i> -boat.
1315, <i>a</i>	86	The King's buttocks likened to the Solar-boats.
1321, <i>a-d</i>	212	The King's sandals likened to the Solar-Boats.
1322, <i>a-c</i>	212	} <i>Gb</i> as the grave in a hostile sense, threatened by the magician.

⁽¹⁾ Lines 1171, 1172, p. 52, for the Imperishable and Indifatigable stars rowing the Solar-boats.

⁽²⁾ Lines 1207, 1208, p. 287, for Horus of the *Dst* as the leader of the Inhabitants of the *Dst*.

⁽³⁾ Lines 1300-1301, p. 219, for *Gb* as the helper of the dead to Heaven.

NO. OF LINE	PAGE	SUBJECT
1325, <i>a-d</i>	140	} Each god has his own ship.
1326, <i>a-b</i>	140	
1327, <i>a-c</i>	217 (1)	} The judgment in the Hereafter. } <i>Gb</i> as a judge.
1344, <i>a-b</i>	192	
1345, <i>a</i>	193	} The sky as a cow.
1345, <i>c</i>	181	
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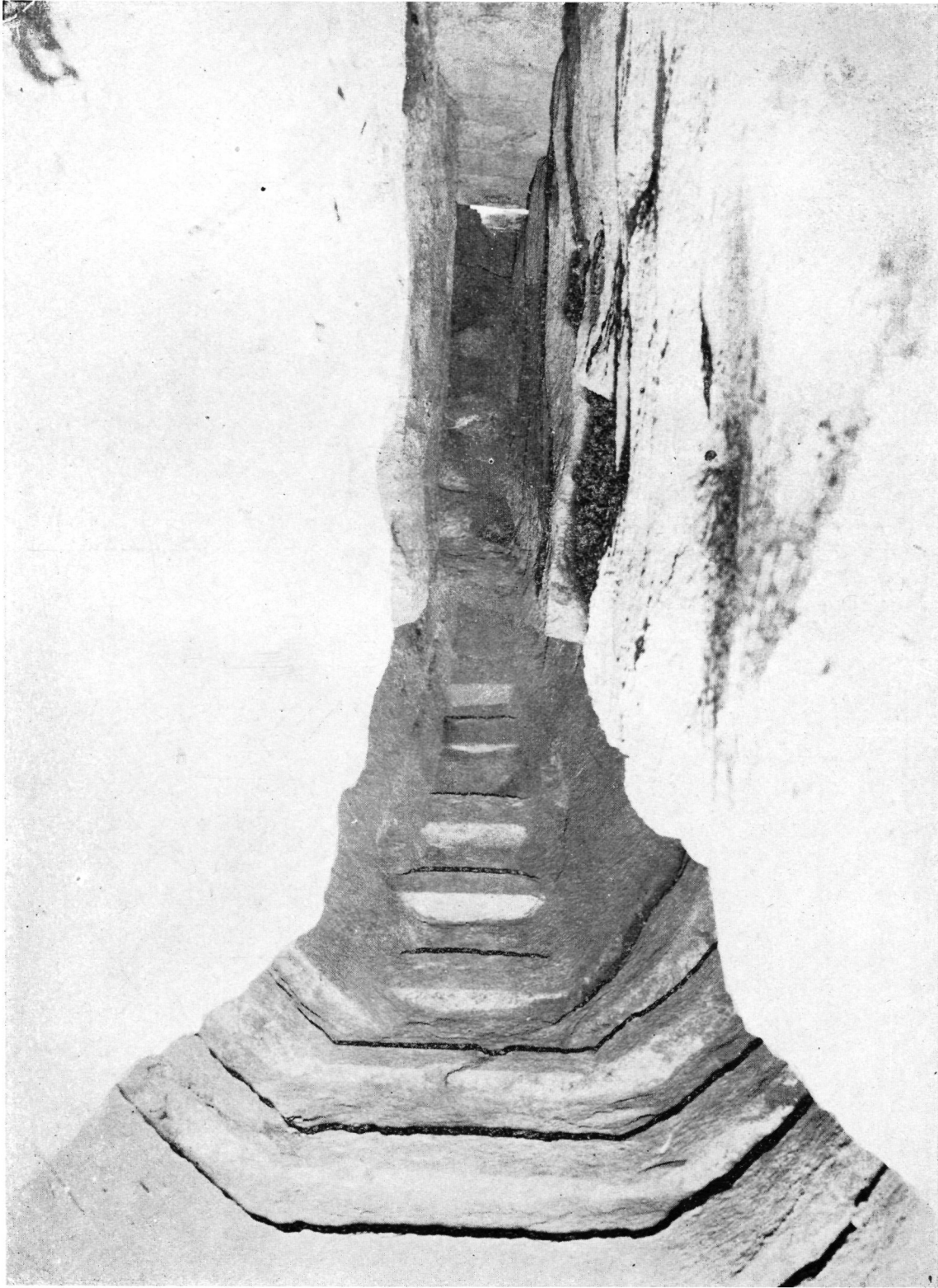
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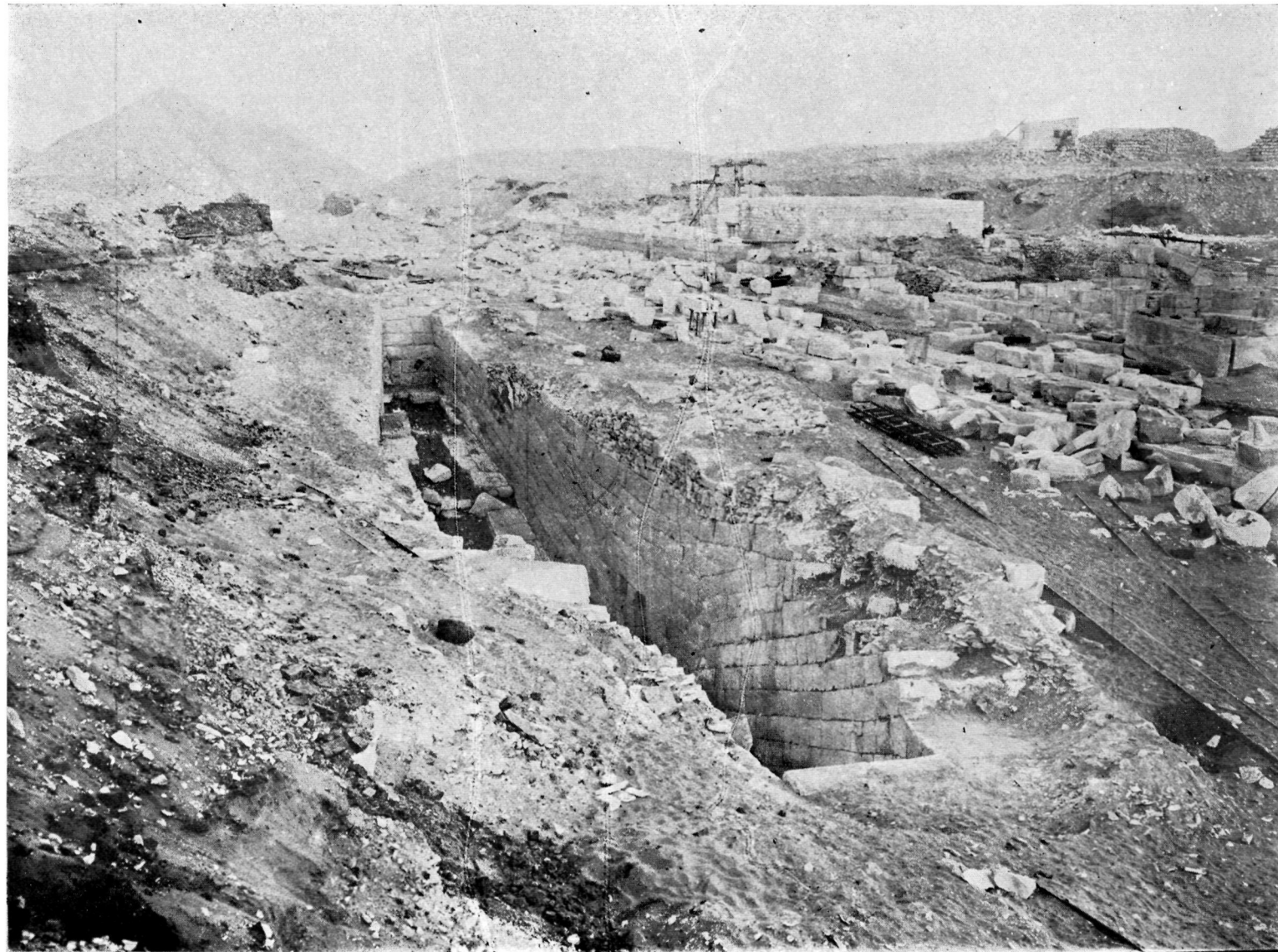
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PLATES



THE SOUTHERN NIGHT SOLAR-BOAT OF *H'j-f-R*



THE SOLAR-BOAT OF *Wn's*



THE SOLAR-BOAT OF *Wnis*, LOOKING WEST