

Examining Texts and Decoration of Peftjauuiaset's Coffins in Milan

Luca Miatello

Independent researcher

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM at the Sforza Castle in Milan exhibits a coffin set with mummy of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, whose features are outstanding. It comprises a rectangular trough in acacia wood (inv. no. E.0.9.40147), and a bivalve anthropoid coffin (inv. no. 0.9.40148), finely carved in cedar wood. A study of their texts and iconography was offered by Simeone Levi in 1884,¹ but the quality of transcription and translation is poor, reflecting obvious limits of the Egyptological knowledge of that time. In the years 70s of the last century, Giorgio Lise published two catalogues of the Egyptian collection in the Milan Museum, with photos and a brief description of the two coffins.² At that time, their inventory number was E.1011 and E.1012. A relevant feature of the anthropoid coffin is the presence on the lid interior of an image of the goddess Nut with a rare version of the text of the hour ritual, attested elsewhere up to now only in the sarcophagi of the Nubian kings Anlamani and Aspelta.³ This paper proposes an updated reading of the version, which drew scholarly attention especially in the years 70s and 80s of the last century, but with little references to the coffin of Peftjauuiaset.⁴ Parallel transcriptions are presented at the end [Plates 8-15].⁵ Texts and iconography of the trough and the anthropoid coffin are discussed by means of drawings and facsimiles of both examples, and images of the trough

¹ S. LEVI, "Le antichità egiziane in Brera", in *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali*, Series III, vol. XII, Roma, 1884, p. 535-583, pl. I. On-line pages of the volume: http://periodici.librari.beniculturali.it/visualizzatore.aspx?anno=1883-1884&ID_testata=14&ID_periodico=11274 (accessed October 30, 2017).


² G. LISE, *La civica raccolta Egizia, Castello Sforzesco*, 2nd edition, Milano, 1976, p. 7-13; G. LISE, *Musei e gallerie di Milano, Museo archeologico, raccolta egizia*, Milano, 1979, p. 22, p. 77-83 (pl. 30-41).

























³ Sarcophagi discovered at Nuri in 1914, in the underground burial chambers of pyramid 6 and 8, by George Reisner and Dows Dunham: D. DUNHAM, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush II. Nuri*, Boston Mass., 1955, p. 86-95 (fig. 57-68), pl. 26-28.

⁴ S.K. DOLL, *Texts and Decoration on the Napatan Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*, Thesis (Phd) Brandeis University, 1978, p. 31-61, p. 79-107; S.K. DOLL, "The Day Hour Texts on the Sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta", in W.K. Simpson, W.M. Davis (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980*, Boston, 1981, p. 44-54; G. SOUKIASSIAN, "Une version des veillées horaires d'Osisris", *BIFAO* 82, 1982, p. 333-348. The monograph by Marcus Müller-Roth on the Book of Day mentions the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta (M. Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage*, OBO 236, Fribourg, Göttingen, 2008, p. 34), but not the coffin of Peftjauuiaset, which is briefly mentioned in G. SOUKIASSIAN, *BIFAO* 82, esp. p. 333-334.

⁵ Reference for the hieroglyphic texts in the sarcophagus of Anlamani and Aspelta: D. DUNHAM, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush II*, p. 87 (fig. 58); S.K. DOLL, *Texts and Decoration*, p. 34-43, p. 85-91; S.K. DOLL, in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, p. 50-54; G. SOUKIASSIAN, *BIFAO* 82, p. 336-347.

taken from a 3D-model.⁶

The coffin set of Peftjauuiaset, originating from Thebes, was donated to the Braidense Library in Milan in 1830 by the general consul of Austria Giuseppe Acerbi. In a letter of him of that year, published in the journal “Biblioteca Italiana”, Acerbi writes that originally the mummy had four cases (“quattro casse”), but the first one pulverized just at the touch in the tomb, and the other two shattered during journey.⁷ As noted by Francesco Tiradritti, it is unlikely that the set comprised four coffins.⁸ Possibly with the term “case” Acerbi indicated both the trough and the lid separately: the lid of the outermost rectangular coffin pulverized in the tomb, while its trough and the lid of the inner one were lost during the journey.⁹ Only the inner trough, without the lid, and the mummy case, which fits perfectly in it, would have survived. Both rectangular boxes would have had a vaulted lid, with the posts of the *qersu* coffin (). However, this would be a peculiar arrangement, as usually when two rectangular coffins belong to a set, the inner one acts as a cover for the anthropoid coffin: it lacks the bottom surface and its vaulted top is an integrated element.¹⁰ A plausible hypothesis is that Acerbi was misled by the seller, who could have reported of “four cases” with reference to the vaulted lid, the rectangular box, and the two valves of the mummy case. The consul would have guessed wrongly that two “cases” were lost during transportation: the existing box would have been the only one.

The name of the deceased, written in the coffin set                        

On the opposite side, instead of the figure of Isis, is a series of mummiform figures of deities [Plates 3.c, 4.c], which appear also on the long sides [Plates 1-2]. Usually in *qersu* coffins Nephthys appears at the head wall, and Isis at the foot wall.¹⁵ This is also the iconographic pattern in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.¹⁶ However, there are exceptions, with Nephthys depicted at the foot end.¹⁷ This paper identifies conventionally the wall with the image of the goddess as “north side”.



Fig. 1. View from above of the trough of Peftjauuiaset, inv. no. E 0.9.40147. Image taken from a 3D model by “Computer Vision & Reverse Engineering Lab”.

The decorative and textual scheme of the trough is as follows:

- North side [Plates 3.d, 4.d]. Figure of Nephthys with spread wings and upraised arms, kneeling over the gold sign. She is surrounded by short lines and columns of hieroglyphic texts mentioning the name of the deceased and his parents.
- West side [Plates 1.a, 2.a]. Two registers of figures of deities with their names (mostly mummiform standing figures), and sacred objects. Both registers are preceded on the leftmost end by a standing figure of Nephthys with a serpent on her shoulder. At the beginning of the lower register, next to the figure of Nephthys, is a separated part framed by a text. Within this division are the gods Horus and the ibis-headed god Thoth, facing a series of food supplies. A long line of text runs on top of the wall, flanked by two columns with the name of the deceased near the left and right edges.
- East side [Plates 1.b, 2.b]. Two registers of figures of deities with their names (mostly mummiform standing figures), and sacred objects, preceded on the rightmost end by a standing figure of Nephthys with a serpent on her shoulder. The upper register ends with a damaged short column with the name of the deceased, after which the decoration is completely lost, as about one-third of the decoration on the lower register. A line of text devoted to Ra runs on top of the board for a short extent, interrupted by the full loss of decoration. It is preceded, near the right edge, by a column with the name of the deceased.

¹⁵ Cf. A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte I*, p. XII. For an example of *qersu* coffin with Nephthys with spread wings at one short side, and Isis with spread wings at the other, see A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte I*, pl. 35; II, p. 280.

¹⁶ See S.K. DOLL, *Texts and Decoration*, p. 7.

¹⁷ In the Twenty-first Dynasty outer anthropoid coffin of Imenniutnakht, Cairo CG 6173 (A. NIWINSKI, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies*, Mainz am Rhein, p. 121-122), the image of Nephthys appears both at the foot end and at the head end.

– South side [Plates 3.c, 4.c]. Two registers with divine and sacred images, mostly mummiform standing figures. The images on the upper register are almost completely missing. Both registers are preceded by a damaged column with the name of the deceased.

The bivalve anthropoid coffin, in cedar wood, measures 189 cm in height by 54.5 cm as maximum width. There are some splits and cracks, especially on the sides of both valves.¹⁸ Hieroglyphs and figures carved on the lid exterior were probably originally filled with multicoloured glassy paste and surrounded by paint, but traces of polychromy remain only on the broad collar. All hieroglyphs on the lid and lower valve interior are drawn in colour, mostly with black and red paint, but they are written with less care than those on the trough. In particular, the signs on the lid interior, surrounding the image of Nut, are in cursive writing. The image of the Goddess of the West on the floor board appeared only in 1969, when a restoration work removed the bitumen that covered it.¹⁹ A detail of the goddess is shown in figure 2.



Fig. 2. Detail of the image of Amentet on the interior of the lower valve in the anthropoid coffin of Peftjauuiaset, inv. no. 0.9.40148. Photo by the author.

The decorative and textual scheme of the anthropomorphic bivalve coffin is as follows:

– Lid exterior [Plate 5]. The deceased wears a wig and a richly decorated collar with falcon

¹⁸ See G. LISE, *Musei e gallerie di Milano*, p. 80 (pl. 35-37).

¹⁹ Details on the restoration in G.-L. NICOLA, “Restauro d’oggetti egizi conservati a Milano”, in *Notizie del Chiostro del Monastero Maggiore. Rassegna di Studi del Civico Museo Archeologico e del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano* V-VI, Milano, 1970, pp. 35-40.

heads. Below the collar is a horizontal vignette, with in the middle the crouched figure of the goddess Nut with spread wings holding the *ankh* sign in each hand. She is flanked by Isis and Nephthys, kneeling before the shen sign. Below Nut, a column of hieroglyphic text, mentioning food offering by Osiris to the *ka* of the deceased, covers the lower part of the body.

– Lid interior [Plate 6.a-b]. The outstretched body of Nut with up-raised arms, complemented by a red sun-disk above her hands and a yellow one below her toes, is surrounded by twenty-four registers containing a version of the hour ritual, in hieroglyphic writing. On the viewer's left is the text of the twelve hours of the night, each showing at the sides a kneeling worshipping goddess with a star on her head; on the viewer's right is the text of the twelve hours of the day, each showing at the sides a kneeling worshipping goddess with the sun disk on her head. A short separate text is inscribed within a lunette at the head end.

– Lower valve interior [Plate 7.a-b]. The Goddess of the West (Amentet), with falcon and ensign of the west on her head, is represented in the upper part, surrounded by lines of a funerary text in hieroglyphic writing, ending at the foot board. A short text is inscribed within a lunette at the head end.

Texts and decoration of the trough

North side of trough [fig. 3]



Fig. 3. North side of Peftjauuiaset's trough. Work by the author.

Rightmost column: *[dd]-mdw jn h3 wsjr pf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 '(-hrw)*.

“[Words] recited: O Osiris Peftjauuiaset justified!

Leftmost column: *[dd-mdw] jn h3 wsjr pf-t3w- 'wy-[3s.t m3 '-hrw]*.

“[Words recited]: O Osiris Peftjauaiaset justified!”

Columns on the right:

|1| *dd-mdw jn nb.t-hw.t nb(.t)* |2| *p.t jy.nzj* |3| *wnn m s3=k wsjr*.

|1| “Words recited by Nephthys, lady |2| of the sky: I have come |3| to be your protection, Osiris”.

Columns on the left:

|1| *pf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 '-* |2| *hrw s3 (n) p(3)-di-b3s.t m3 '-hrw* |3| *ms (n) t3-pr.t m3 '-hrw*.

|1| “Peftjauaiaset justified, |2| son of Padibast justified, |3| born (to) the lady of the house Taperet”.

West side of trough [Plates 1.a, 2.a]

Upper line of text [fig. 4]

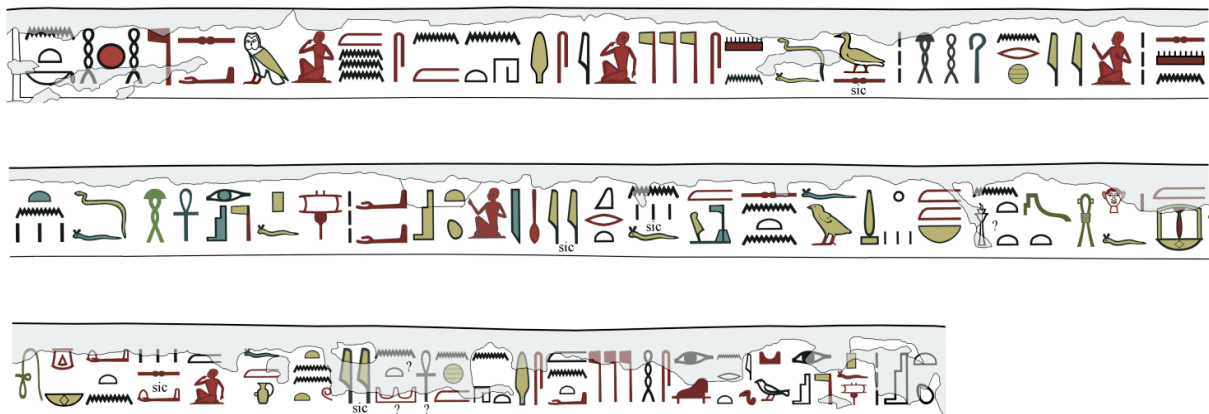


Fig. 4. Upper line on the west side of Peftjauaiaset's trough. Work by the author.

ntk nhḥ ntr s'm m mw snm n<h.t>=s j ntr.w smn df(3) w3h hq3 n rh.y(t) smn=tn df(3) w3h 'nh wsjr pf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 '-hrw jqr=tn m hr(.t)-ntr snṯ.n=f wd3.w gs.wy nb n [h3w.]tt(?) stp.t s3 hr=f [m] w3g mtn s<'>m=f m hnm.t n.tw [jn.t 'nh (?)] m n[h].t[=s] m nt' ntr.w ḥsī [wsjr nr]j.t dḡ wsjr pf-t3w-('wy-)3s.t.

“To you belongs the eternity of the god, swallowing with the water that feeds her sycamore. O gods who make endure the provisions²⁰ and establish the ruler of the humankind: you make endure the provisions and establish the life of the Osiris Peftjauaiaset justified, your excellent one in the necropolis. He has formed the protective spells of the two sides, the lord of the

²⁰  instead of .

altar (?),²¹ extending protection on him [in] the wag-festival.²² See (pl.), he swallows,²³ joining you (pl.), [the valley of life (?),²⁴ and her sycamore], in the custom²⁵ of the gods. [Osiris] praises [the terror] of evil,²⁶ the Osiris Peftjau(aui)aset”.

Leftmost and rightmost column of text [fig. 5]

Rightmost column: *dd[-mdw jn wsjr p]f-t3w-'.wy-3s.t [m3 '](-hrw).*

“[Words recited by the Osiris P]eftjau-auiaset [justified]”.

Leftmost column: *[dd-mdw jn wsjr pf-t3w]-'.wy-3s.t [m3 ']-hrw.*

“[Words recited by the Osiris Peftjau]-auiaset [justified]”.

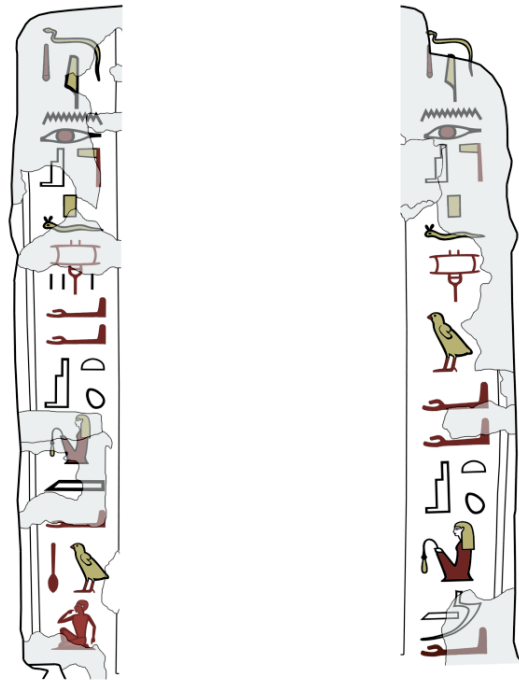



Fig. 5. Leftmost and rightmost column on the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough. Work by the author.

²¹ Cf. the New Kingdom variant *nb t3 h3w.t*, with female article, in the Temple of Mut at Karnak: *LGG* III, 710. For a variant of *h3w.t* with two *t*, see *DZA* 27.609.200.

²² *Wb* I, 263, 1-5.

²³ The hand holds a small bread: 

²⁴ The '*nh*' sign is unreadable today, but appears in the transcription by Simeone Levi (in *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, p. 538).

²⁵ Cf. L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, Providence RI, 2002, p. 253.

²⁶ Similar to the epithet *nrw hf.tyw* "Terror of the enemies": *LGG* IV, 257.

Leftmost figure with text [fig. 6]

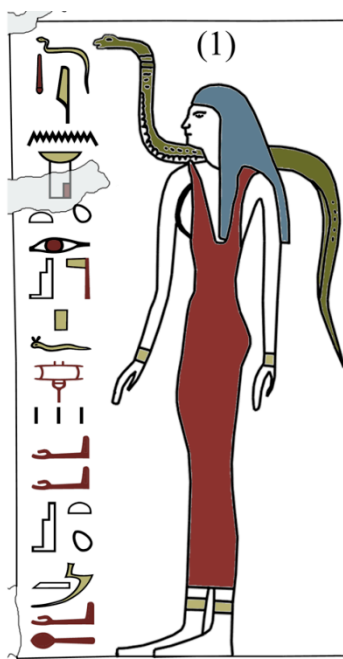


Fig. 6. Leftmost figure (1) with text on the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough. Work by the author.

ḏd-mdw jn nb.t-ḥw.t wsjr pf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 'ḥrw.

“Words recited by Nephthys: ‘The Osiris Peftjauuiaset (is) justified’”.

Upper register [fig. 7-11]

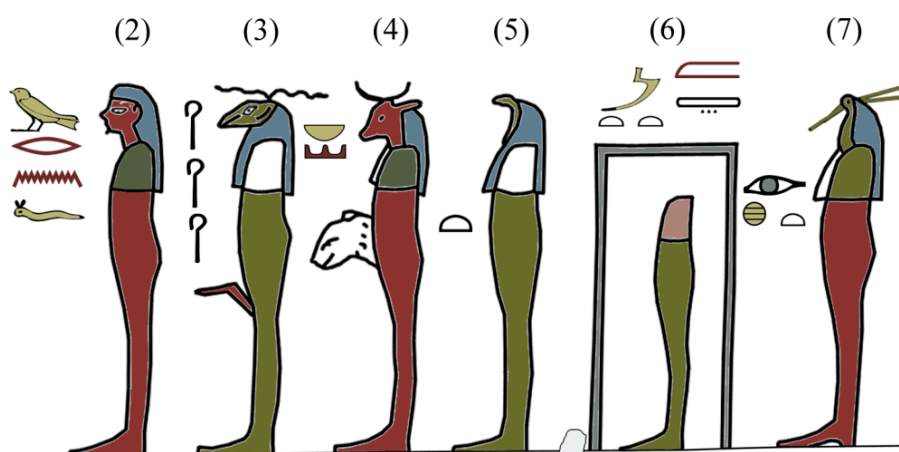


Fig. 7. Images 2-7 on the upper register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(2) *wr rnꜥf*. (3) *ḥq3.w*. (4) *nb ḥ3s.t*. (5) *t*. (6) *m3.ty m t3*. (7) *jr ḥ.t*.

(2) "His name is great".²⁷ (3) "Chieftains".²⁸ (4) "Lord of the foreign land".²⁹ (5) "Bread". (6) "Eyes in the land". (7) "He who creates the things".³⁰

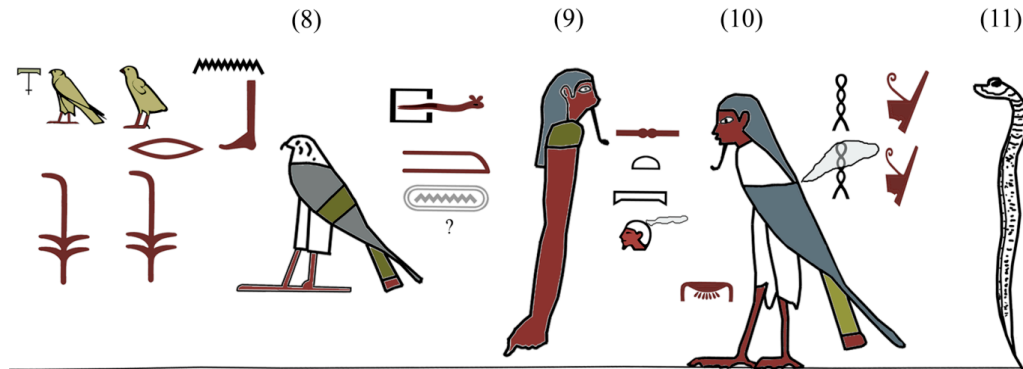


Fig. 8. Images 8-11 on the upper register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(8) *ḥr.w-grḥ wr nb nn*. (9) *pri m [jmn(?)]*. (10) *s.t ḥr(.y)-tp nbw*. (11) *ḥnhn*.

(8) "The great Horus of the night, lord of darkness". (9) "He who comes forth from [Amun (?)]".³¹ (10) "Seth the leader; the golden one".³² (11) "Vitality".³³

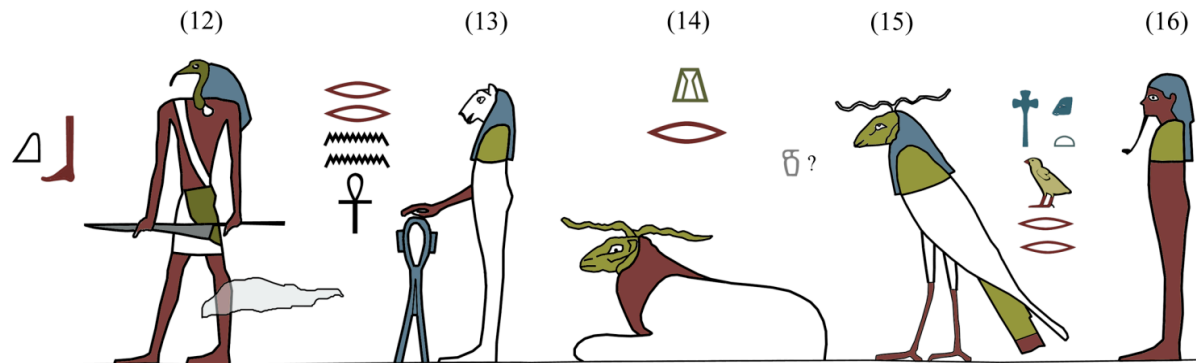


Fig. 9. Images 12-16 on the upper register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

²⁷ LGG II, 451.

²⁸ LGG II, 534.

²⁹ LGG III, 710.

³⁰ LGG I, 478.

³¹ The sign after *m* is unreadable today, but Simeone Levi (in *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 539) transcribed it as *[unintelligible]*. The body of the deity is apparently an arm with closed fist. On the epithet *pri m jmn*, attested in the Greco-Roman period: LGG III, 53.

³² Seth is occasionally represented as a falcon (LGG VI, 691). Here the bird is a human-headed *ba*.

³³ Cf. *ḥnhn* in a group of four gods in the coffin Cairo CG 29306: LGG V, 223. On the term *ḥnhn* "vitality", "vigour": G. ANDREU, S. CAUVILLE, "Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (II)", *RdE* 30, 1978, p. 16; D. MEEKS, *AnLex* 78.2729. See also the Demotic term *ḥnhn* "phallus": CDD H, 162. I am grateful to Eugene Cruz-Urbe, Indiana University, for suggesting this Demotic connection.

(12) *qb*. (13) *rrnn* 'nh. (14) *hr(y)*. (15) *hnm* (?). (16) *nd(w)* *hn.t(j)* *wrr*.

(12) “The cold one” (?).³⁴ (13) “Nurse of life”.³⁵ (14) “The one who is under”. (15) “Khnum” (?). (16) “The protector in front of the great one”.

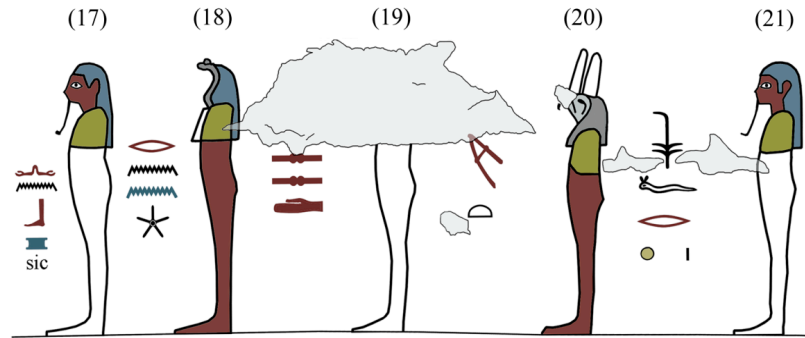


Fig. 10. Images 17-21 on the upper register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.

Work by the author.

(17) *nn b<g>* (?). (18) *rnn sb3*. (19) *ss(n)d*. (20) *mr.t*. (21) *sfr* (?).

(17) “Never <weary>” (?).³⁶ (18) “He who nourishes the star”.³⁷ (19) “He who frightens”.³⁸ (20) “Meret”.³⁹ (21) “Sefer-unguent” (?).⁴⁰

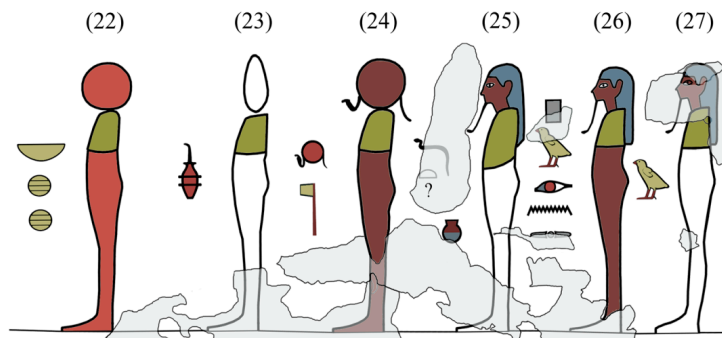


Fig. 11. Images 22-27 on the upper register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.

Work by the author.

³⁴ Cf. *LGG* VII, 179.

³⁵ Variant of the word *rnn* with initial part *rr*. Cf. DZA 25.962.150.

³⁶ The last sign resembles the channel hieroglyph (𓂏), but it is probably a defective writing of the Old Kingdom form of the ring-stand (𓂏). On *bg*, variant spelling of *b3gi*: *Wb* I, 431, 2-11, *Wb* I, 482. Detail of the two last

signs:

³⁷ Cf. *rnn sb3.w*: *LGG* IV, 693.

³⁸ From the causative verb *ssnd* (*Wb* IV, 278, 7-8), see the goddess *ssnd.t 3h.w* “She who frightens the 3h-spirits” in the second hour of the Amduat: *LGG* VI, 599. On the spelling *s(n)d*: *LGG* VI, 402.

³⁹ On Meret as epithet of goddesses: *LGG* III, 330. The damaged head of the mummiform figure is presumably that of a hawk or falcon. I am grateful to Kasia Szpakowska, Swansea University, for the identification.

⁴⁰ The determinative of the grain of sand (𓂏) may indicate here the materiality of the sefer-unguent (*Wb* IV, 115, 11; L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II, p. 35). On the value *s* for *sw* in cryptography: H.W. FAIRMAN, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and Their Values”, *BIFAO* 43, 1945, p. 77.

(22) *nb ḥḥ*. (23) *jrt.t*. (24) *r*'. (25) *d[.t n(?)] nw*. (26) *[p]w jr n [mnw]*. (27) *w(j)*.

(22) “Lord of the throat” (?). (23) “Milk”. (24) “Ra”. (25) [“The body of Nu”] (?). (26) “[This,] engendered by [Min]”.⁴¹ (27) “Mummy”.

Lower register [fig. 12-15]

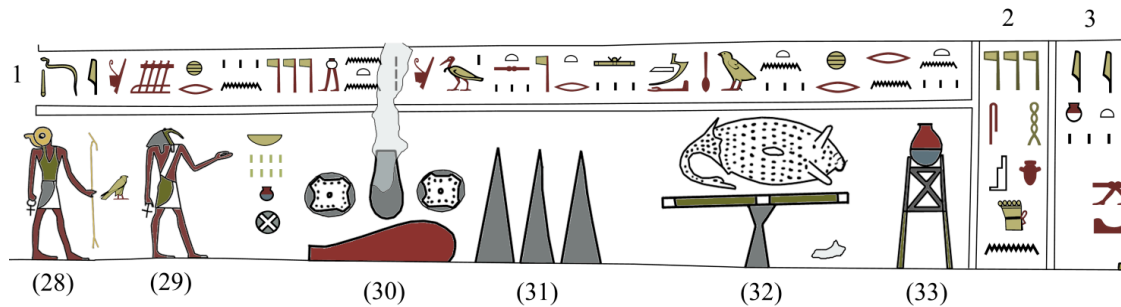


Fig. 12. Images 28-33 on the lower register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.

Work by the author.

|1| *ḏd-mdw jn šsp ḥr(.t) n ntr.w jni=tn n b3=tn <n> ntr(.y) m3'-ḥrw=tn ḥr rn=tn*.

|2| *sh-ntr.w st-jb ḏr n |3| jnw.t*.

|1| “Words recited by he who receives the products of the gods: ‘Your (pl.) justification near your (pl.) name brings you (pl.) to your (pl.) divine *ba*’”.



|2| “The gods’ hall is the place of the heart and the end of |3| pain”.⁴²

(28) *ḥr.w*. (29) *nb ḥmnw*. (30) -. (31) -. (32) -. (33) -.

(28) “Horus”. (29) “Lord of Hermopolis”. (30) A series of bread loaves. (31) Three triangular bread loaves. (32) A trussed duck on an offering table. (33) A *nw*-bowl on a pedestal.

⁴¹ Details of the damaged signs:



⁴²  is here interpreted as a defective variant of  *jn.wt* “pain” (*Wb* I, 93, 16). This term is written near a mummiform figure (image no. 34), but it belongs to the sentence on the previous column.

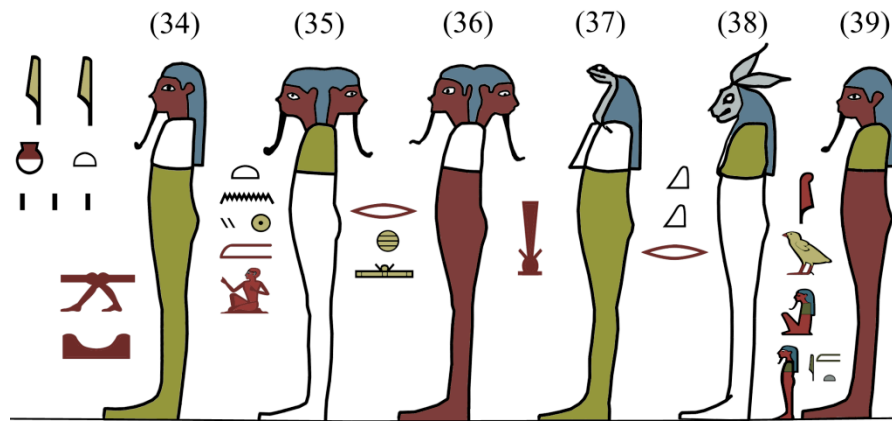


Fig. 13. Images 34-39 on the lower register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(34) *sbi ḏw*. (35) *<j>tn.y mꜛj*. (36) *rḥ*. (37) *sn*. (38) *q(3) qr (?)*. (39) *šw jm(3).t*.

(34) "He who passes the mountain". (35) "He of the sun disk is me". (36) "Wise".⁴³ (37) "Brother".⁴⁴ (38) "The thunderbolt is high" (?). (39) "Shu, form of beauty".⁴⁵

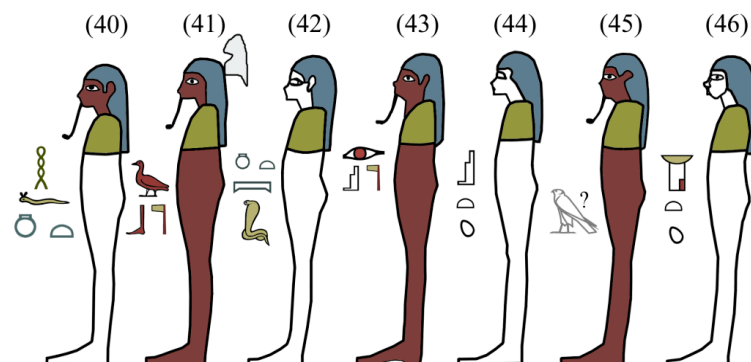


Fig. 14. Images 40-46 on the lower register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(40) *ḥfnwt*. (41) *gbb*. (42) *nw.t*. (43) *wsjr*. (44) *3s.t*. (45) *[ḥr.w (?)]*. (46) *nb.t-ḥw.t*.

(40) "Hefnut".⁴⁶ (41) "Geb". (42) "Nut". (43) "Osiris". (44) "Isis". (45) "[Horus]" (?).⁴⁷ (46) "Nephthys".

⁴³ LGG IV, 704-705.

⁴⁴ LGG VI, 366.

⁴⁵ On *jm(3)* "form of beauty": *Wb* I, 80, 10.

⁴⁶ Instead of the goddess Tefnut, there is a god with similar name (Hefnut). On *ḥfnw* as name of a serpent: LGG V, 131.

⁴⁷ The name of this god is missing, probably because of abrasion. The present reconstruction is supported by the sequence of figures and names in the invocations of the Litany of the Sun: Tefnut = no. 14; Geb = no. 15; Nut = no. 16; Isis = no. 17; Horus = no. 19; Nephthys = no. 18. See E. HORNING, *Das Buch Der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* II, Genève, 1976, p. 38, p. 44, p. 58-59.

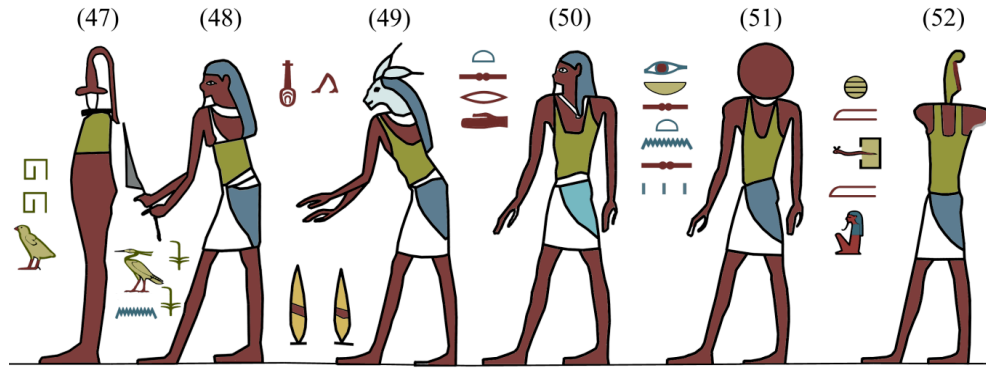


Fig. 15. Images 47-52 on the lower register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.

Work by the author.

(47) *hh.w.* (48) *bnw n nn.* (49) *nfr jw hkr.y.* (50) *t srd.* (51) *jr nb stnꜣs(n)w.* (52) *hm pri m nb.*

(47) "He of the brazier".⁴⁸ (48) "Phoenix of darkness". (49) "The perfect one, coming (with) two kheker-ornaments". (50) "Leavened bread" (?).⁴⁹ (51) "He who created all and they honour". (52) "The unknown,⁵⁰ coming forth from the lord".

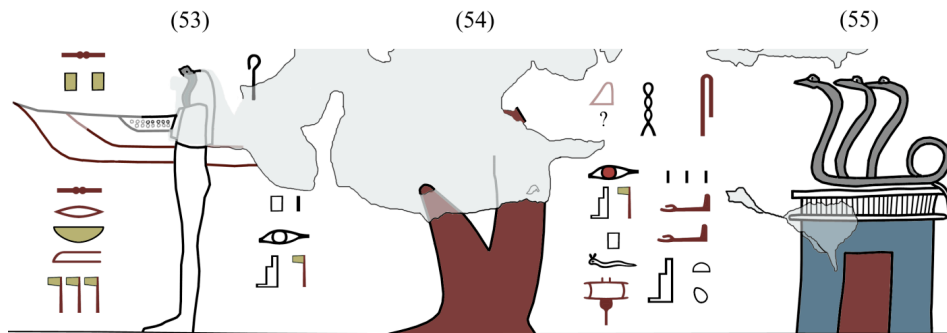


Fig. 15. Images 53-55 on the lower register of the west side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.

Work by the author.

(53) *spp sr nb m ntr.w.* (54) *[hq3...?] p wsjr [...]* (55) *[q?]hs wsjr pf-tꜣw-ꜣwy-ꜣs.t.*

(53) "Sepep (?),⁵¹ the noble, the lord among the gods". (54) "[The ruler ...?]. The throne of Osiris [...?]"⁵² (55) "The *qhs*-sanctuary (?)⁵³ of the Osiris Peftjauuiaset".

⁴⁸ Cf. *hh* in *LGG* IV, 811.

⁴⁹ See the mummiform figure named *t* "bread" (image no. 5). On the causative verb *srd* "to make grow": *Wb* IV, 205, 1-12.

⁵⁰ Name of god attested in the New Kingdom: *LGG* V, 732.

⁵¹ This could be the god Sepa as form of the sun god: *LGG* VI, 269 (cf. also the spellings *spꜣp.y*, *sp.y*). His wing reaches the shoulder of the deity before him (image no. 52).

⁵² Simeone Levi (in *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, p. 541) identifies the sign 𓂏 on the upper part, but it might be a wood knot or surface dirt. In fact, this trace is fully surrounded by erasure, and the upper part of the

hq3 sign is written in a higher position. Detail:



⁵³ Cf. the sanctuary *khss*, *qhs*, in Edfu: *Wb* V, 138, 9; D. MEEKS, "Notes de lexicographie (§ 5-8)", *BIFAO* 77, 1977, p. 86.

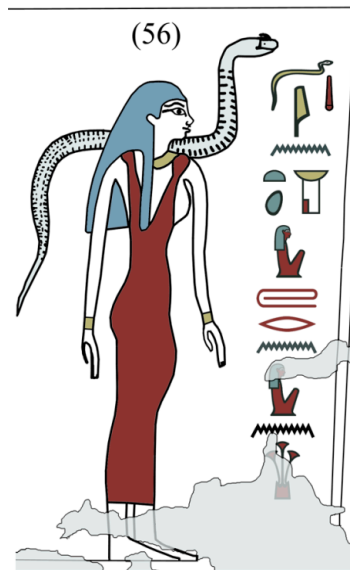
Rightmost figure with text [fig. 18]

Fig. 18. Rightmost figure with text on the east side of Peftjauuiaset's trough. Work by the author.

ḏd-mdw jn nbt-ḥwt phr.nꜣj n-[ḥ3ꜣk].

“Words recited by Nephthys: ‘I have travelled (in a circle) [behind you]’”.

Upper register [fig. 19-21]

(57) *sk* '(3)*pp*. (58) -.

(57) “She who wipes out⁵⁶ Apophys”. (58) Tree surrounded by lines of red dots.

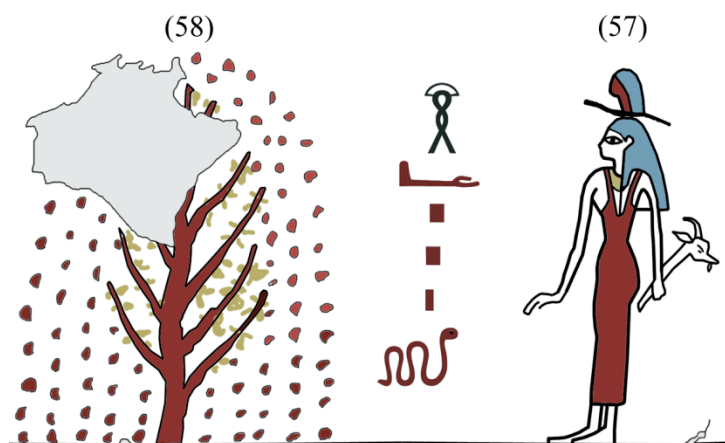


Fig. 19. Images 57-58 on the upper register of the east side Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

⁵⁶ On the verb *sk*: *Wb* IV, 310-311.

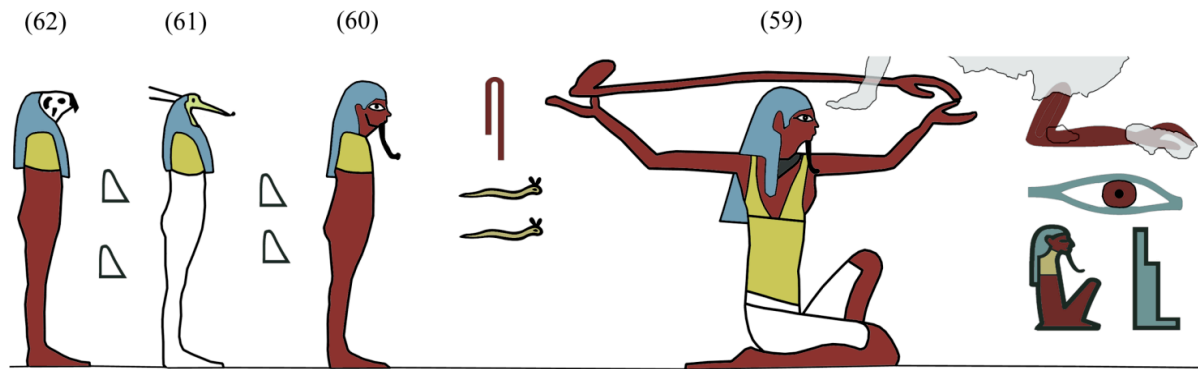


Fig. 20. Images 59-62 on the upper register of the east side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(59) *rmn wsjr*. (60) *sfꜣf*. (61) *qq*. (62) *qq*.

(59) "The arm of Osiris".⁵⁷ (60) "His son". (61) "Eater" (?).⁵⁸ (62) "Eater" (?).

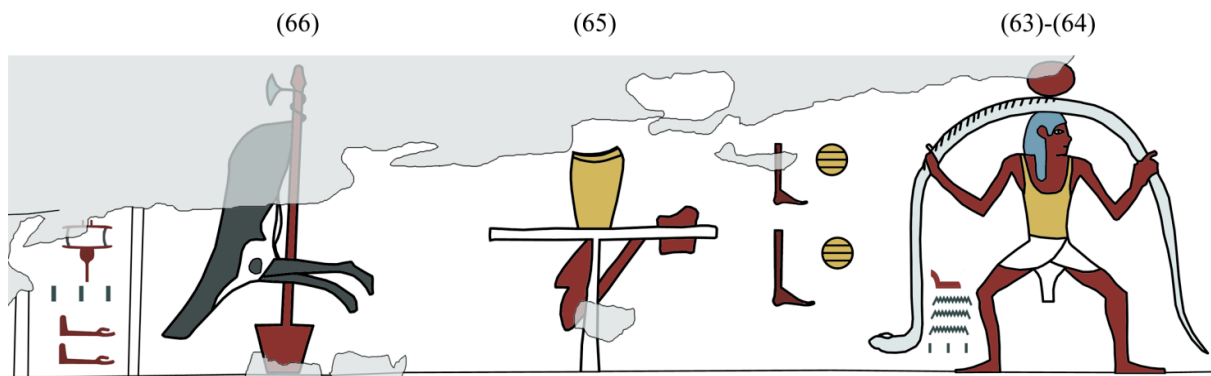


Fig. 21. Images 63-66 on the upper register of the east side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(63) *sqr mw*. (64) *hbhb*.

(63) "He who presents the water".⁵⁹ (64) "The *hbhb*-serpent" ("The one who slips into").⁶⁰ (65) Standard with a vessel on top. (66) *Imiut*-fetish.

⁵⁷ See *rmn hr.w* and *rmn gbb*: LGG IV, 669.

⁵⁸ Probably the name derives from *qq, q3q3* "to eat" (*Wb* V, 71, 10). Cf. the god *q3q3* in the Coffin Texts (*CT* III, 86c), who has power over meals.

⁵⁹ In the Coffin Texts (*CT* VII, 233), *di mw* "He who gives the water" is also a guardian of the water. The same function of offerer and protector is probably carried out by this deity bearing a heavy snake, whose solar character is indicated by the sun disc on top of his head. This god wears a short *shendyt*-kilt (*ⲙ*). His body is depicted frontally with a posture similar to that of Bes, who occasionally wears a short kilt with a rectangular ribbon in the middle.

⁶⁰ *Wb* III, 254, 13; LGG V, 683. The name of the snake derives from the verb *hbh* "to slip into" (*Wb* III, 254, 12).

Column near the *Imiut* fetish:

[... *wsjr pf-tjw*-.wy-[*3s.t*].

“[The Osiris Pef]tjauui[aset]”.

Lower register [fig. 22-25]

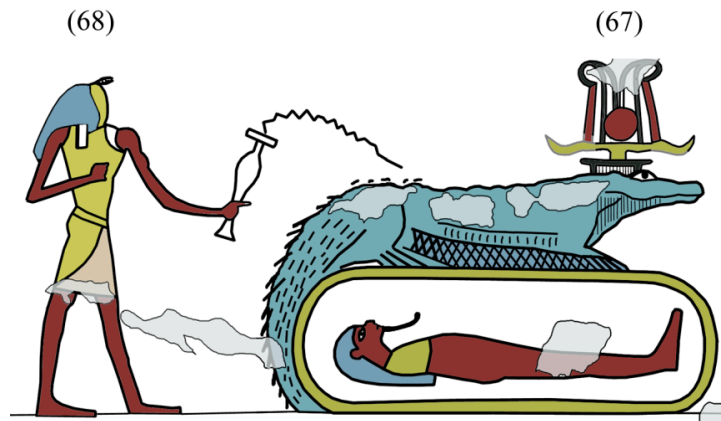


Figure 22. Images 67-68 on the lower register of the east side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(67) Crocodile with double-plume crown on top of a mummy lying in an elliptical coffin.

(68) Cobra-headed god making libation on the back of the crocodile.

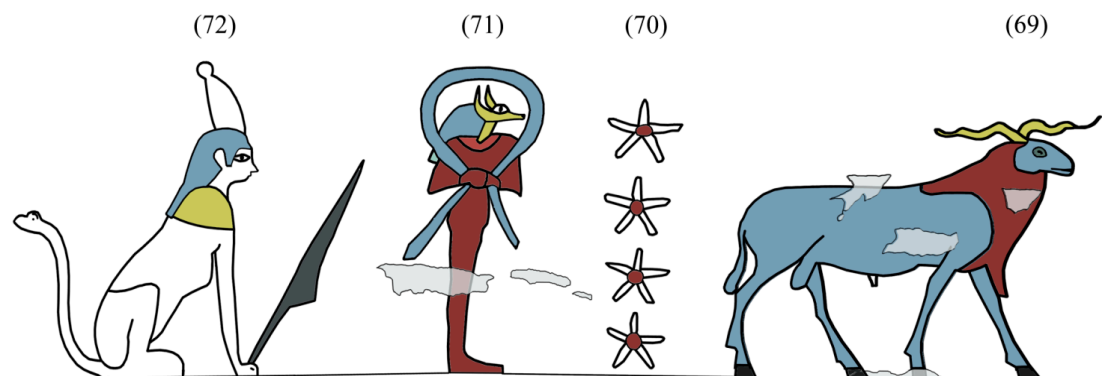


Figure 23. Images 69-72 on the lower register of the east side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(69) Ram. (70) Four stars. (71) Jackal headed standing figure with a strip in his hands forming the *sn* sign (V7). (72) Serpent tailed sphinx wearing the white crown, with a long knife between its paws.

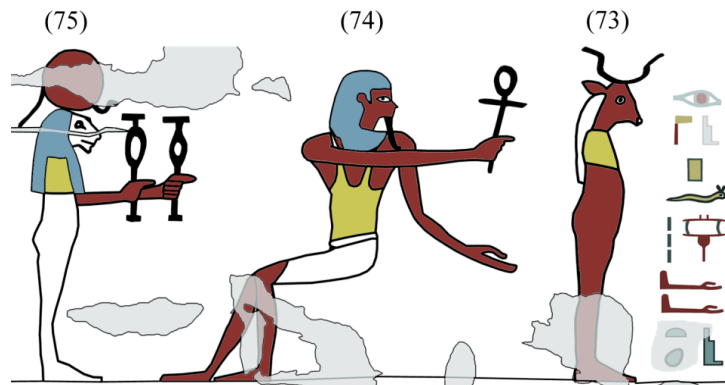


Figure 24. Images 73-75 on the lower register of the east side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(73) [*wsjr*] *pf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 'hrw*. (74) -. (75) -.

(73) "The Osiris Peftjauuiaset justified" (bull-headed mummiform standing figure).

(74) Figure of male in a seating posture similar to that of the child hieroglyph (A17), holding out the *ankh* sign towards the bull-headed figure.

(75) Lion-headed mummiform standing figure with the sun disk encircled by uraeus, holding out two vases.⁶¹

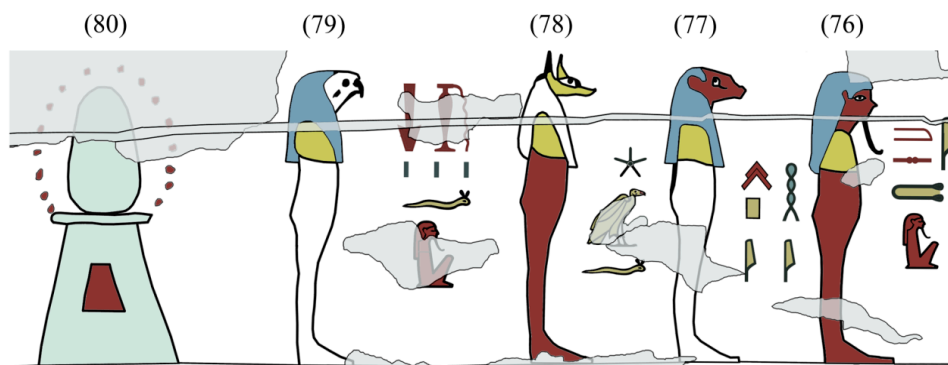


Fig. 25. Images 76-80 on the lower register of the east side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(76) *jmst*. (77) *hpy*. (78) *dw3-mw.t3f*. (79) *qbh-snw3f*.

(76) "Imseti". (77) "Hapi". (78) "Duamutef". (79) "Qebehsenuf".

(80) Shrine with an oval bread surrounded by a line of red dots.

⁶¹ The stem of the vases is slimmer than that of the water-pot in the hand of the deity making libation ($\overline{\text{V}}$, see image no. 68).

South side of trough*Leftmost column of text [fig. 26]*

Fig. 26. Leftmost column on the south side of Peftjauuiaset's trough. Work by the author.

[... *wsjr pf*]-*t3w*-*'wy-3s.t m3*-*hrrw*.

"[.... the Osiris Pef]tjauuiaset justified".

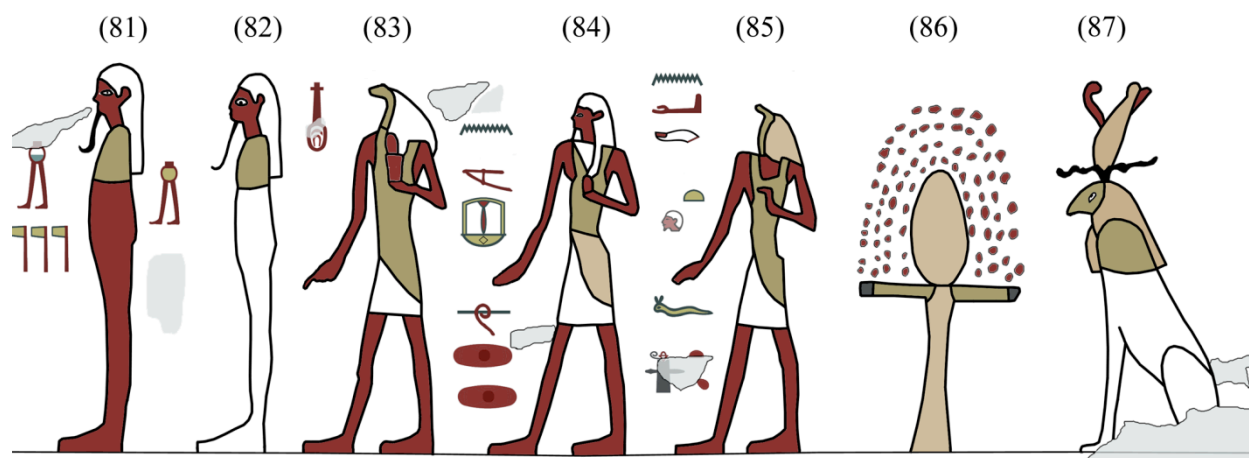
Lower register [fig. 27-28]

Fig. 27. Images 81-87 on the lower register of the south side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.
Work by the author.

(81) *jn ntr.w.* (82) *jn [...]*. (83) *nfr.* (84) *[...]n mri hb st3 'q.wy.* (85) *n '(w) tp.t3f [jwn.(y)t- 3(.t)].*

(81) “He who brings the gods”. (82) “He who brings [...]”. (83) “Perfection”. (84) “[...]n, he who loves the feast, bringing⁶² two loaves”.⁶³ (85) “Naw,⁶⁴ whose chief⁶⁵ is [‘The great Iunit’]”.⁶⁶

(86) Offering table with an oval bread surrounded by four lines of red dots. (87) Crouched ram with double crown.

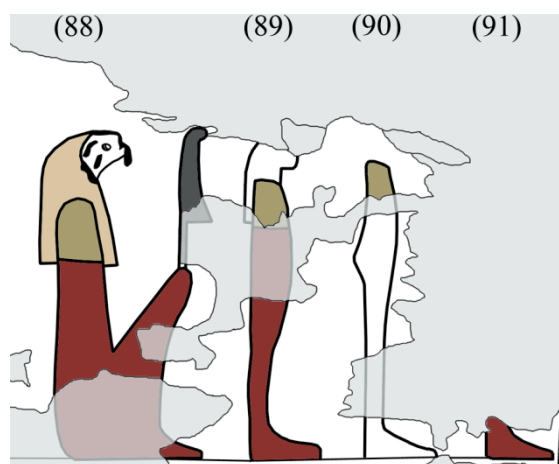


Fig. 28. Images 88-91 on the lower register of the south side of Peftjauuiaset's trough.

Work by the author.

(88) Seating falcon-headed figure with *m3 't*-feather. (89) Standing mummiform figure of male. (90) Standing mummiform figure without the head. (91) A foot, remnant of a standing mummiform figure (several remnants of figures are found also on the upper row).

List of iconographic elements with description

1. Standing figure of the goddess Nephthys, with a serpent on her shoulder.
2. Mummiform standing figure of male.
3. Ram-headed mummiform standing figure.

⁶² On *st3* “to bring”, “to carry”: L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* II, p. 92.

⁶³ On *'q.w* “loaf”: *Wb* I, 232, 16-22. This deity holds a small oval loaf in the left hand, and another kind of bread (*ḥ*) is in the left hand of the cobra-headed figure in front of him.

⁶⁴ On the serpent god *n 'w*: *LGG* III, 530-531. Instead of a serpent, the determinative is here a finger. This odd variant is accounted for by a spell the Coffin Texts (*CT* VII, 160b): in spell 945 each part of the deceased's body is identified with a deity, and the fingers are the Naw-snake. See R. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin*

Texts III. Warminster, 1978, p. 82-84. Detail of the third sign, with the finger's nail drawn in red:



⁶⁵ The traces of the head sign are faint:



⁶⁶ On the goddess Iunit: *LGG* I, 190-191. See also *jwn.yt wr.t*: *LGG* I, 191. Detail of the damaged glyphs at the

end:



4. Bull-headed mummiform standing figure with a feline head coming out of his chest.
5. Snake-headed mummiform standing figure.
6. Mummiform standing figure without the head, within a rectangular frame.
7. Heron-headed mummiform standing figure.
8. Falcon of Horus.
9. Male face with arm and fist instead of his body.
10. Human-headed *ba*-bird (Seth).
11. Erect serpent.
12. Ibis-headed standing figure with a long knife in his hands.
13. Lioness-headed mummiform standing figure holding with one hand a large *s3*-protection sign.
14. Squatting ram.
15. Ram-headed bird.
16. Mummiform standing figure of male.
17. Mummiform standing figure of male.
18. Snake-headed mummiform standing figure.
19. Mummiform standing figure, whose upper part is lost.
20. Falcon/hawk-headed mummiform standing figure with double plumes on the head.
21. Mummiform standing figure of male.
22. Mummiform standing figure with the sun disk in place of the head.
23. Mummiform standing figure with an oval in place of the head.
24. Mummiform standing figure with the sun disk encircled by uraeus in place of the head (Ra).
25. Mummiform standing figure of male.
26. Mummiform standing figure of male.
27. Mummiform standing figure of male.
28. Standing figure of male with sun disk and uraeus in place of the head, holding the *ankh* (Horus).
29. Ibis-headed standing figure holding the *ankh* (Thoth).
30. A series of bread loaves.
31. Three triangular bread loaves.
32. Trussed duck on an offering table.
33. A *nw*-bowl on a pedestal.
34. Mummiform standing figure of male.
35. Bi-facial mummiform standing figure of male.
36. Bi-facial mummiform standing figure of male.
37. Snake-headed mummiform standing figure.
38. Hare-headed mummiform standing figure.

39. Mummiiform standing figure of male (Shu).
40. Mummiiform standing figure of male (Tefnut).
41. Mummiiform standing figure of male (Geb).
42. Mummiiform standing figure of female (Nut).
43. Mummiiform standing figure of male (Osiris).
44. Mummiiform standing figure of female (Isis).
45. Mummiiform standing figure of male (Horus?).
46. Mummiiform standing figure of female (Nephthys).
47. Mummiiform standing figure with the brazier sign in place of the head.
48. Standing figure of male holding a knife with two hands.
49. Hare-headed standing figure holding out both hands over two khekher-ornaments.
50. Standing figure of male.
51. Standing figure with the sun disk in place of the head.
52. Standing figure with the *m3* 't-plume in place of the head.
53. Snake-headed mummiiform standing figure with large wings.
54. Squatting figure of god.
55. Façade of shrine with three serpents on top.
56. Standing figure of the goddess Nephthys, with a serpent on her shoulder.
57. Standing figure of female with horns and plume on her head, holding in her left hand an antelope-headed stick.
58. Tree surrounded by several lines of red dots.
59. Kneeling figure of male with a large arm sign in his hands.
60. Mummiiform standing figure of male.
61. Heron-headed mummiiform standing figure.
62. Falcon-headed mummiiform standing figure.
- 63-64. Standing figure of male wearing a short shendyt-kilt and carrying on his head and between his hands a large serpent; his body is represented frontally with the legs opened and slightly bent.
65. Standard with a vessel on top.
66. *Imiut*-fetish.
67. Crocodile with double-plume crown on top of a mummy lying in an elliptical coffin.
68. Cobra-headed god making libation on the back of the crocodile.
69. Ram.
70. Four stars.
71. Jackal headed standing figure with a strip in his hands forming the *šn* sign (V7).
72. Serpent tailed sphinx wearing the white crown, with a long knife between the paws.
73. Bull-headed mummiiform standing figure of the deceased.

74. Figure of male in a seating posture similar to that of the child hieroglyph (A17), holding out the *ankh* sign towards the bull-headed figure.
75. Lion-headed mummiiform standing figure with the sun disk encircled by uraeus, holding out two vases.
76. Mummiiform standing figure of male (Imseti).
77. Baboon-headed standing mummiiform figure (Hapi).
78. Jackal-headed standing mummiiform figure (Duamutef).
79. Falcon-headed standing mummiiform figure (Qebehsenuf).
80. Shrine with an oval bread surrounded by a line of red dots.
81. Mummiiform standing figure of male.
82. Mummiiform standing figure of male.
83. Serpent-headed standing figure.
84. Standing figure of male.
85. Serpent-headed standing figure.
86. Offering table with an oval bread surrounded by four lines of red dots.
87. Crouched ram with double crown.
88. Seating falcon-headed figure with *m3* 't'-feather.
89. Standing mummiiform figure of male.
90. Standing mummiiform figure without the head.
91. A foot, remnant of a standing mummiiform figure.

Texts and decoration of the anthropoid bivalve coffin

Lid exterior [fig. 29]



Fig. 29. Vignette and column of text on the lid exterior. Work by the author.

dd mdw jn wsjr hnt(.y) jmn.tjt ntr '3 nb 3bdw di:f pri nb hr wdḥ.w n k3 n wsjr p3(.y)ḏf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 'hrw s3 p(3)-di-b3s.t.

“Words recited by Osiris foremost of the west, the great god, the lord of Abydos. He gives all that comes forth from the offering table to the *ka* of the Osiris Peftjauuiaset justified, son of Padibast”.

Lid interior

Lunette at the head end [fig. 30]

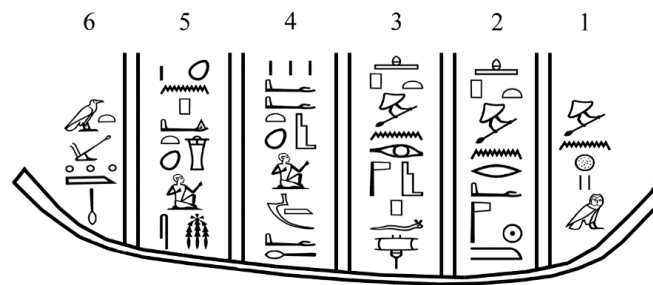


Fig. 30. Lunette at the head end. Transcription by the author.

|1| *hni sp-sn m* |2| *htp hni r' m* |3| *htp hni wsjr pf-t3w-* |4| *'wy-3s.t m3 'hrw* |5| *s3 n p(3)-di-b3s.t ms (n)* |6| *t3-pr.t m3 'hrw*.

|1| Sailing twice in |2| peace.⁶⁷ Ra sails in |3| peace. The Osiris Peftjau- |4| auiaset justified, |5| son of Padibast, born (to) |6| Taperet justified, sails.

Text of the hour ritual on the lid interior [fig. 31-54]

1st hour/portal of the night [fig. 31]



Fig. 31. Lid interior, 1st hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

⁶⁷ On *hni* “to row”, “to sail”: L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, p. 382.

|1| *k3 [h'] [dd-mdw j nb(.t)]* |2| *thn sbh.t [tp n.t wrd-]* |3| *jb [h'.t t(w) rs-tp t(w) nb.t mk s3z]* |4| *hr.w [jy] r m33z [dhwtj jnp(.w)] m-htz hr* |5| *nd.y hrz [m] qbh(.w).*

|1| “Bull [who appears]”,⁶⁸ words recited. O “Lady” |2| of gleaming”,⁶⁹ [1st] portal [of the Weary] |3| -hearted one, [where stands you (Osiris)]⁷⁰ Be you vigilant, lord!⁷¹ See, his son |4| Horus [comes] to see him. [Thoth and Anubis] are behind him, |5| while protecting him [with] libation water.

2nd hour/portal of the night [fig. 32]

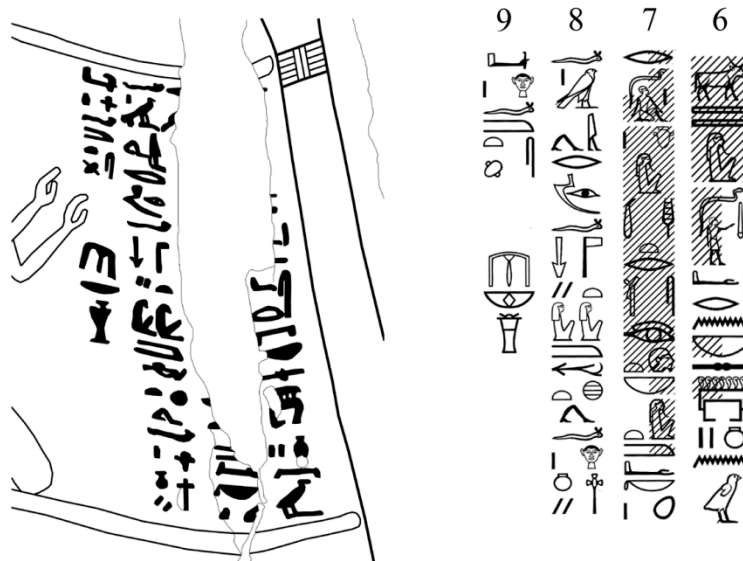


Fig. 32. Lid interior, 2nd hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

|6| *[k3 t3.wj] dd-mdw j s'r(.t) nbz sbh.t <2-nw> n(.t) w-* |7| *[rd-jb h'.t t(w) rs-tp t(w) nb].t mk s3* |8| *z hr.w jy r m33z sn.ty-ntr m-htz hr nd.y* |9| *hrz m stj-h3b.*

|6| “[Bull of the two lands]”,⁷² words recited. [O] “She who causes her lord to ascend”,⁷³ 2nd portal of the |7| [Weary-hearted one, where stands you (Osiris)] Be you vigilant, lord!] See, his son |8| Horus comes to see him. The two sisters of the god are behind him, |9| while protecting him with festival fragrance.

⁶⁸ Canonical name of guiding god (2nd night hour, 1st portal): *k3 j3h.w* “Bull of radiance”. See G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit. Une composition égyptienne de l’au-delà I*, OBO 147, Fribourg, Göttingen, 1996, p. 41.

⁶⁹ LGG IV, 165.

⁷⁰ Relative form (EG §380), followed by the pronoun *t(w)*.

⁷¹ On occurrences of the pronoun *tw* (*tw*, *t*) in the imperative: *Wb* V, 358, 7.

⁷² LGG VII, 275.

⁷³ LGG VI, 193-194.

|16| *m3' hr dd-mdw j '3 šfš.t* |17| *sbh.t 4-nw n.t wrd-jb 'h'.t t(w)* |18| *rs-tp t(w) nb.t mk s3f hr.w*
 |19| [*jy r m33f (j)sk jsds m-htf*] |20| [...].

|16| “Sincere of face”,⁷⁷ words recited. O “Great of dignity”,⁷⁸ |17| 4th portal of the Weary-hearted one, where stands you (Osiris)! |18| Be you vigilant, lord! See, his son Horus |19| [comes to see him. Then Isdes is behind him] |20| [...].⁷⁹

5th hour/portal of the night [fig. 35]

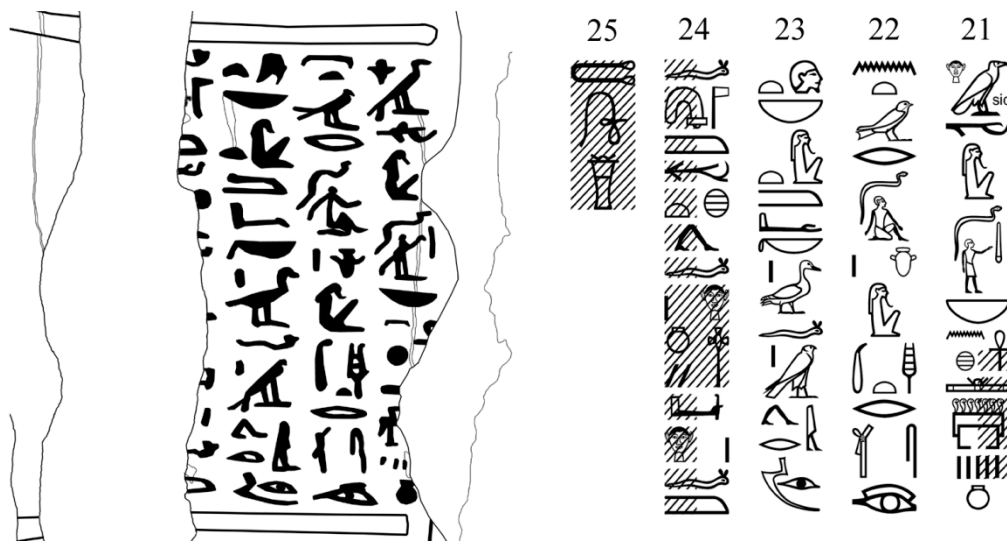


Fig. 35. Lid interior, 5th hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

|21| <*hr.w*> *hr h.t dd-mdw j nb(.t) 'nh sbh.t* [5]-nw |22| *n.t wrd-jb 'h'.t t(w) rs-* |23| *tp t(w) nb.t mk s3f hr.w jy r m33* |24| *f [h̄tm-]ntr [m-htf hr nd.y hr f m]* |25| [*tw3w*].

|21| “<Horus> on the wood”,⁸⁰ words recited. O “Lady of life”, [5]th portal |22| of the Weary-hearted one, where stands you (Osiris)! |23| Be you vigilant, lord! See, his son Horus comes to see |24| him. The god’s [sealer]⁸¹ [is behind him, while protecting] him with |25| [*tuaut-oil*].

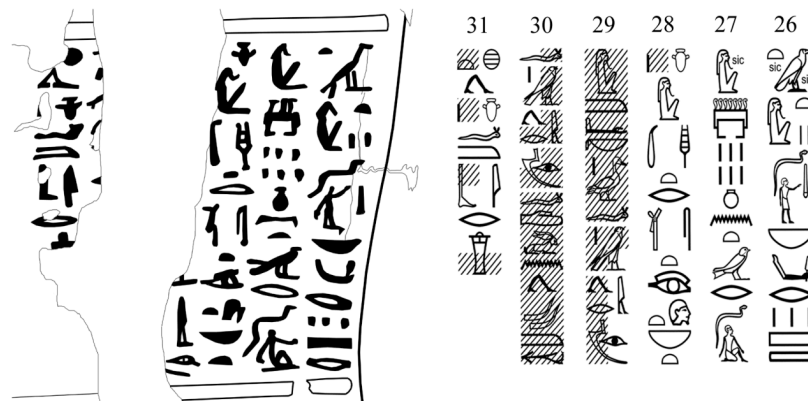
⁷⁷ LGG III, 215.

⁷⁸ LGG II, 48.

⁷⁹ The term *jsd* was apparently readable in 1884: S. LEVI, *Atti dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, p. 557. In Anlamani and Aspelta the ending part shows, instead of the standard formula “while protecting him with (...)oil”, the sentence *r s̄ndm stf m 'nty m db3 sf(t)* “to make pleasant his odour with myrrh, while providing *sft*-oil” [Plate 9, N4].

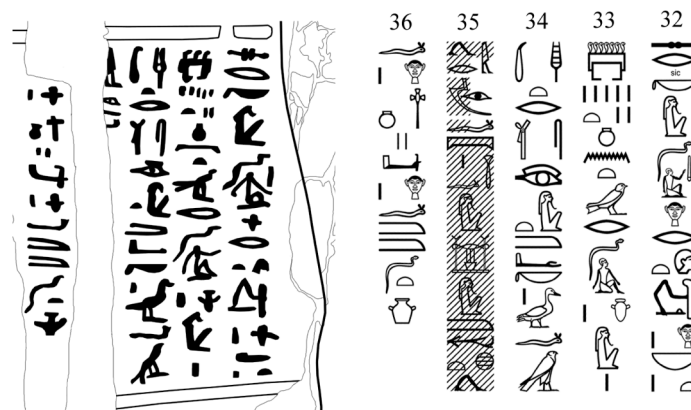
⁸⁰ LGG V, 276.

⁸¹ *Wb* V, 638, 15; D. JONES, “An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom”, Oxford, 2000, no. 2791. The sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta show the plural “The god’s sealers” [Plate 9, N5].

6th hour/portal of the night [fig. 36]Fig. 36. Lid interior, 6th hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

[26] <*hr.w dw3*>.ty *dd-mdw j nb(.t) dsr.w št3* [27] *sbh.t 6-nw n.t wrd* [28] -jb 'h'.t t(w) *rs-tp t(w) nb.t* [29] [*mk sz3f hr.w jy r m33*] [30] [*3f hr.w jy r m333f dwn- 'n.wj m-*] [31] *h[t] jb3f m jbr.*

[26] “<Horus inhabitant of the netherworld>”,⁸² words recited. O “Lady of secret sanctity”,⁸³ [27] 6th portal of the Weary [28] -hearted one, where stands you (Osiris)! Be you vigilant, lord! [29] [See, his son Horus comes to see] [30] [[him; his son Horus comes to see him. Dunanui⁸⁴] [31] [is behind] his heart⁸⁵ with *iber*-oil.

7th hour/portal of the night [fig. 37]Fig. 37. Lid interior, 7th hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

⁸² LGG V, 295-296.

⁸³ The land sign at the end of the first column is more similar to the mouth sign, but its extremities are highlighted.

⁸⁴ Divine falkon “He who spreads out his wings”: Wb V, 432, 16; LGG VII, 525-526. The sentence “His son Horus comes to see him” appears twice. The repetition is unreadable today, but it was transcribed by Simeone Levi (in *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, p. 558). This is a further indication that some hieroglyphs which are lost today were readable at that time.

⁸⁵ A variation of the standard formula “(...) is behind him, while protecting him”.

|32| *s<kr> dd-mdw j hr(.y)-tp.t 'h3 hr nb.t* |33| *sbh.t 7-nw.t n.t wrd-jb* |34| *'h'.t t(w) rs(-tp) nb.t*
mk szf hr.w |35| [*jy r*] *m33zf [hr(.y) w3dzf tsmw] m-ht* |36| *zf hr nd.y hrzf m mdt.*

|32| Sokar, words recited. O “Chieftainess who fought for the lady”,⁸⁶ |33| 7th portal of the Weary-hearted one, |34| where stands you (Osiris)! Be vigilant, lord! See, his son Horus |35| [comes to see] him. [“He who is over his papyrus plant” and Tjesmu]⁸⁷ are behind |36| him, while protecting him with *mdt*-oil.

8th hour/portal of the night [fig. 38]

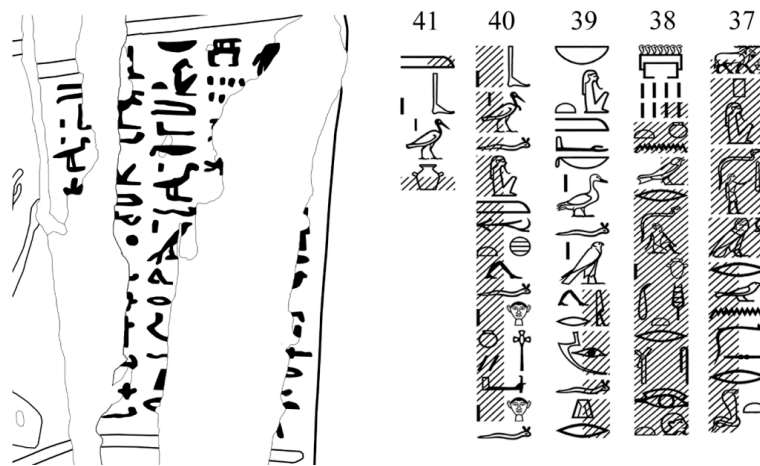


Fig. 38. Lid interior, 8th hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

|37| [*b3 p(w) dd-mdw j mr(.t) nsr.t*] |38| *sbh.t [8-nw.t n(t) wrd-jb 'h'.t t(w) rs-tp t(w)]* |39| *nb.t*
mk szf hr.w [jy r m33zf hr(.y)] |40| *b[3(q)]zf [m-htzf hr nd.y hr]zf* |41| [*m*] *b3(q).*

|37| [“This *ba*”, words recited. O “Painful of flame”]⁸⁸ |38| [8th] portal [of the Weary-hearted one, where stands you (Osiris)! Be you vigilant,] |39| lord! See, his son Horus [comes to see him. “He who is under] |40| [his moringa-tree”⁸⁹ is behind him, while protecting] him |41| [with] moringa[-oil].

⁸⁶ LGG V, 447.

⁸⁷ Reconstruction in compliance with the text in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspetla [Plate 10, N7]. On the god *hr.y w3dzf*, attested elsewhere in the Late and Greco-Roman Period: LGG V, 360.

⁸⁸ LGG III, 326-327.

⁸⁹ LGG VI, 35.

9th hour/portal of the night, text corresponding to the 9th hour of the day [fig. 39]

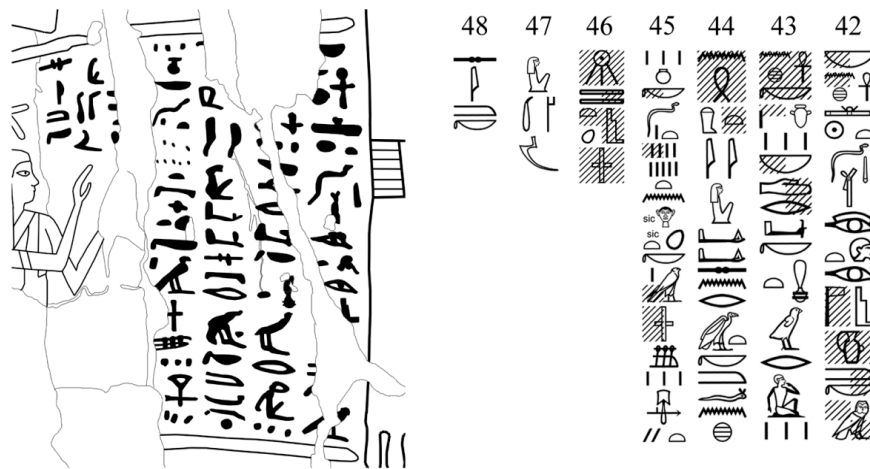


Fig. 39. Lid interior, 9th hour/portal of the night (= 9th day hour).

Facsimile and transcription by the author.

|42| *nb.t 'nh dd-mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr [hnm=k] m* |43| [*'nh=k*] *jb.w [nb dr]=k mjt.w r.w* |44| [*n šn*] *tzy.(t) di=s nr.t=k m fnh-* |45|.w (*j*) *nk d.t [9]-(nw).t n<.t> <s3>=k hr.w [jm.y] šsp.w st.y* |46| [*t3.wy 3s.t jm.y*] |47| [*zj*] *ts t(w) m3(3)* |48| *ss jm=k*.

|42| “Lady of life”, words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! [You unite] |43| all hearts [with your life,] you [repress] the imitation of voice |44| [of Shen]tayt, which causes awe of you in the Phoenicians. |45| I am the 9th body <of> your <son> Horus, [who is in] the light illumining |46| [the two lands: Isis, who is in] |47| [me]. Raise you up! |48| She <sees> with you.⁹⁰

10th hour/portal of the night [fig. 40]

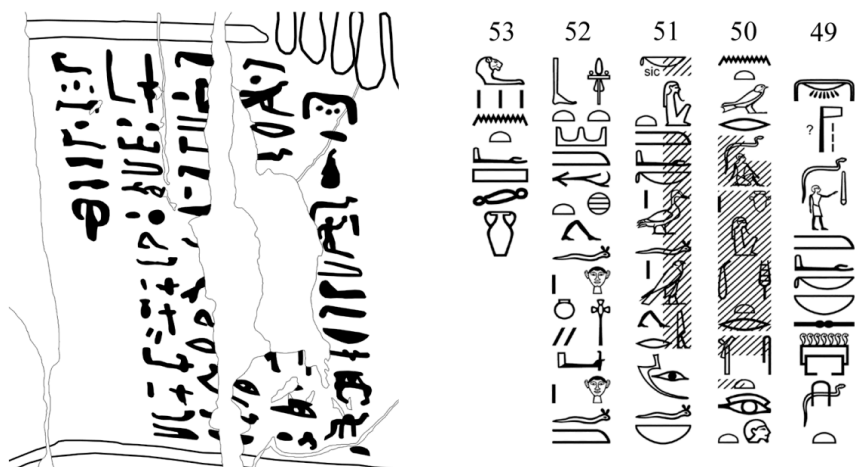


Fig. 40. Lid interior, 10th hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

⁹⁰ See the identical text of the 9th day hour.

[49] *nbw* (/nb) *ntr.w(?)* *dd-mdw j mk nbzs sbh.t md-[nw].t* [50] *n.t wr[d-jb 'h'.t t(w) r]s-tp t(w)*
 [51] *<nb>.t [mk szzf hr.w jy] r m33zf nb* [52] *j3b.tt m-htzf hr nd.y hrzf m* [53] *h3.t n.t 'š*.

[49] “Golden one (/ Lord) <of the gods>(?)”,⁹¹ words recited. O “She who protects her lord”,⁹² 10th portal [50] of the Weary[-hearted one, where stands you (Osiris)!] Be you vigilant, [51] <lord>! [See, his son Horus] comes to see him. The lord [52] of the East⁹³ is behind him, while protecting him with [53] the best cedar oil.

11th hour/portal of the night [fig. 41]

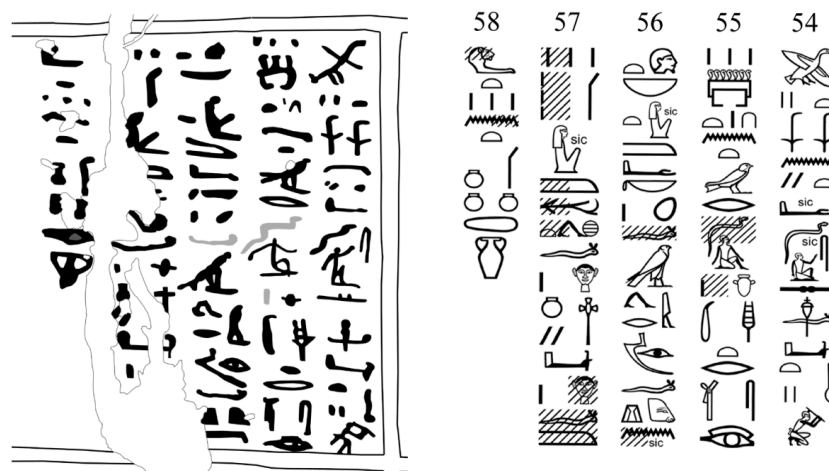


Fig. 41. Lid interior, 11th hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

[54] *p3w.ty nn.ty*⁹⁴ *dd-<mdw> j hsf(.t) hrw.tyw* [55] *sbh.t 11(-nw).t n.t wr[d-jb 'h'.t t(w) rs-* [56] *tp t(w) nb.t mk sz[zf] hr.w jy r m33zf hnt(.y)-hr(.y)-* [57] *<thn>.w*⁹⁵ *m-htzf hr nd.y [hrzf m]* [58] *h3.t n.t thnw*.

[54] “Primeval god of <the lower sky>”,⁹⁶ <words> recited. O “She who repels the enemies”,⁹⁷ [55] 11th portal of the Weary-hearted one, where stands you (Osiris)! [56] Be you vigilant, lord! See, [his] son Horus comes to see him. The foremost of Kheri- [57] Tjehenu⁹⁸ is behind him, while protecting him with [58] the best Lybian-oil.

⁹¹ The sign after *nbw* resembles a pillar with a detached horizontal stroke on top. The sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta show *nbw ntr.w* [Plate 11, N10], who is the god who acts as guide at the 10th portal (11th hour) in the tomb of Ramses VI. See G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* II, p. 145; I, p. 310.

⁹² LGG III, 453-454.

⁹³ LGG III, 571.

⁹⁴ — instead of —.

⁹⁵ The signs — are erroneously written in place of the hieroglyph —.

⁹⁶ See LGG III, 22.

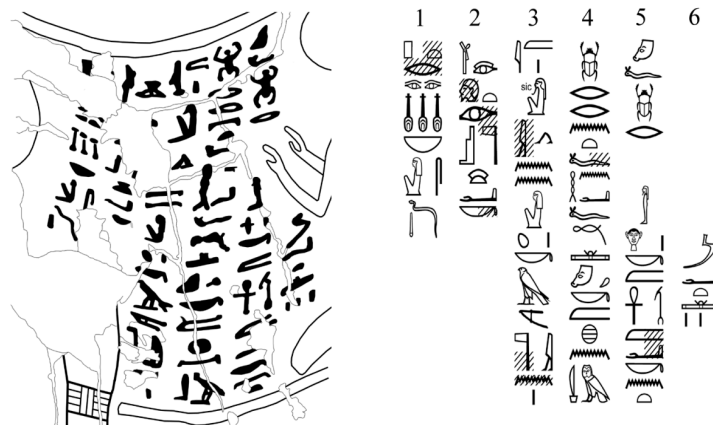
⁹⁷ On *hrw.y* “enemies”: Wb III, 325, 17-21; LGG V, 947. In the version of the tomb of Ramses VI, the name of the 11th portal (12th night hour) is “He who repels the destroyers (*hm.yw*)”: G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* II, p. 148; LGG V, 960.

⁹⁸ LGG V, 848.

12th hour/portal of the night [fig. 42]Fig. 42. Lid interior, 12th hour/portal of the night. Facsimile and transcription by the author.




[59] *pri* <*m*> *zh.t dd*<-*mdw*> *j ptr nfr.w* <*nb*> [60] *ss sbh.t 12*-(*nw*).*t n.t wrd-jb* [61] *h* '[.t] *t(w)* *rs-tp t(w) nb.t mk* <*s3*>*f* [62] *hr.w jy r m33f wjn-dw* [*n-*] [63] *.t m-h3f hr nd.y hr3f* *h* ' *s-* [64] *h3f* *3 ntr*.

[59] “He who comes forth <from> the horizon”,⁹⁹ <words> recited. O “She who sees the beauty of her <lord>”, [60] 12th portal of the Weary-hearted one, [61] where stands you (Osiris)! Be you vigilant, lord! See, his <son> [62] Horus comes to see him. “He who pushes aside evil”¹⁰⁰ [63] and Neith are behind him, while protecting him. [64] His great mummy of god stands up.¹⁰¹

1st hour of the day [fig. 43]Fig. 43. Lid interior, 1st hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

⁹⁹ The sarcophagus of Aspelta shows *pri m zh.t* [Plate 11, N12].

¹⁰⁰ LGG II, 279.

¹⁰¹ Georges Soukiassian (in *BIFAO* 82, p. 341), relying on the reading by Simeone Levi (in *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, p. 560), wrote the last phrase with the sign  instead of , but the following detail of the traces before the *ntr* sign does not support such a reading: .

[1] *ptr nfr.w nb(.t)s dd mdw* [2] *rs-tp t(w) wsjr h'ik* [3] *jm=j jy.n n=j sz=k hr.w mr ntr jy.n* [4] *hpr.r.n (j)t hn'ef mhi fnd=k m hnm(.w)* [5] *ef hpr(.w) hr=k m 'nh w3s mk(.t) n.t* [6] *m3't*.

[1] “She who sees the beauty of her lady”,¹⁰² words recited. [2] Be you vigilant, Osiris! You appear [3] in me. Your son Horus, beloved of the god, has come to me, [4] and the father has come into being together with him.¹⁰³ Your nose fills with his fragrance.¹⁰⁴ [5] The form upon you¹⁰⁵ is life and dominion. Protection of [6] Maat.

2nd hour of the day [fig. 44]

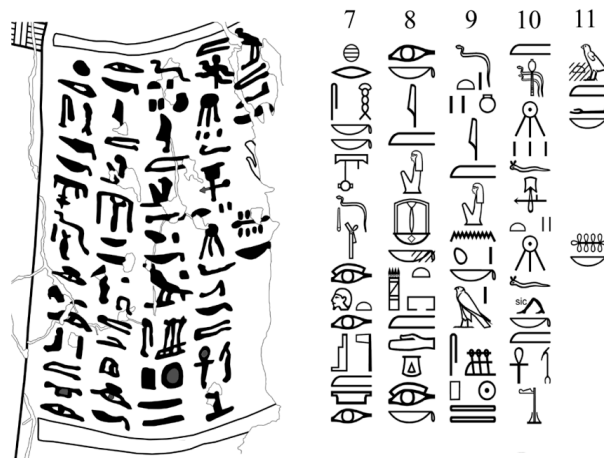



Fig. 44. Lid interior, 2nd hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

[7] *hrs(.t) kk(.w) dd mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr m wn jr-* [8] *.ty=k jm=j (s)h3b[=k] 'h.t m dgi=k* [9] *d.t 2-nw* [10] *jm=j n(.t) sz=k hr.w ssp t3.wy* [11] *m hnd=st.yef <hr>=k m 'nh w3s tz* [11] *[t]w m[k] <hw> sz=k*.

[7] “She who dispels the darkness”,¹⁰⁶ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! Opening [8] your eyes in me you make jubilant the palace,¹⁰⁷ as you see. [9] (This is) the 2nd body in me of your son Horus, who illuminates the two lands [10] with his light. His rays <upon>¹⁰⁸ you are life and dominion. Raise you up! [11] See, <Hu> is your protection!¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Similar to the name of the 12th portal of the night, “She who sees the beauty of her lord (the Sun)”, but here the beauty/perfection seen by the goddess of the hour is that of her lady (the Sky). The name of the goddess of the hour in the version of Ramses VI is *sh' nfrw r'* “She who causes the beauty of Ra to appear”: see M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 100-101.

¹⁰³ On the reconstruction of the auxiliary verb *jy.n* (*Wb* I, 37, 30; *EG* §483.1) at the end of column 3, see the parallel text in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta [Plate 12, D1]. See also the translation of this sentence in G. SOUKIASSIAN, *BIFAO* 82, p. 342.

¹⁰⁴ For an example of the writing , with the determinative of the piece of flesh, see *DZA* 23.571.590. In place of this determinative, the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta have the vertical stroke [Plate 12, D1].

¹⁰⁵ In the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta: “His form upon you” [Plate 12, D1].

¹⁰⁶ Variant spelling of *hrs*: *Wb* III, 338, 7-15. On *hrs.t kk.w*: *LGG* V, 964-965.

¹⁰⁷ Here *h3b* acts as the causative *sh3b*, which appears in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta [Plate 12, D2].

¹⁰⁸ See *hr=k* “upon you” in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta [Plate 12, D2].

¹⁰⁹ In the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta: “See, Hu is your protection!” [Plate 12, D2].

3rd hour of the day [fig. 45]

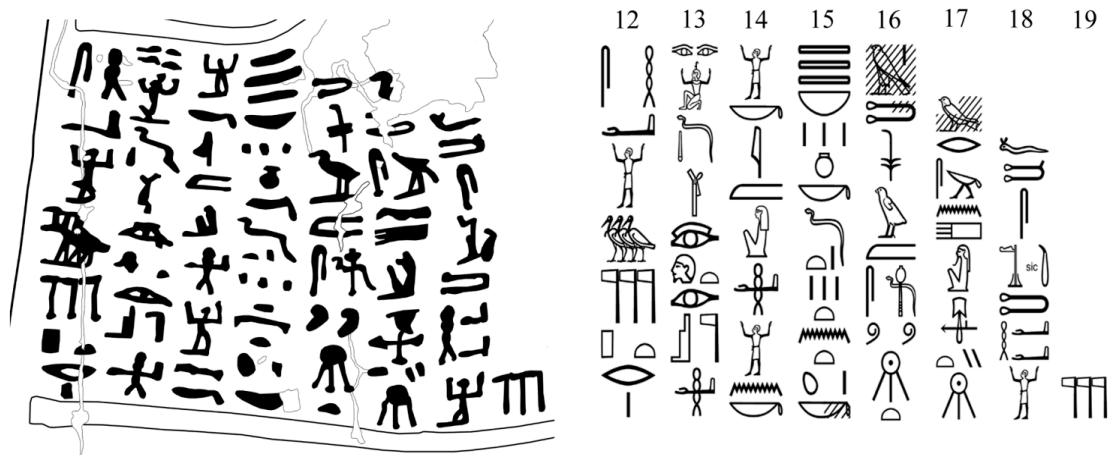


Fig. 45. Lid interior, 3rd hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

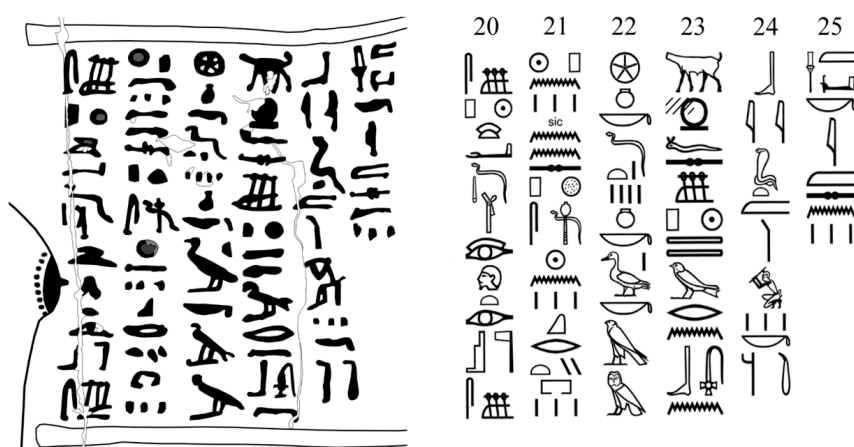
|12| *sh'(.t) b3.w ntr.w ptr* |13| *hh dd mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr h'* |14| *sk jmj h' nsk* |15| *t3.w nb.w (j)nk d.t 3-nw n.t szsk* |16| [*hr.w*] *t sw m shd.wt* |17| [*wr*] *sšm sj3 st.y* |18| *sf t3 t(w) h'* |19| *ntr.w*.

|12| “She who acclaims the *bas* of the gods, who sees |13| the great quantity”,¹¹⁰ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! You rejoice |14| in me, and all the lands rejoice because of you. |15| I am¹¹¹ the 3rd body of your son |16| [Horus,] when he is¹¹² the [great] illuminator. |17| Sia leads his rays. |18|-|19| Raise you up! The gods rejoice!

¹¹⁰ LGG VI, 449.

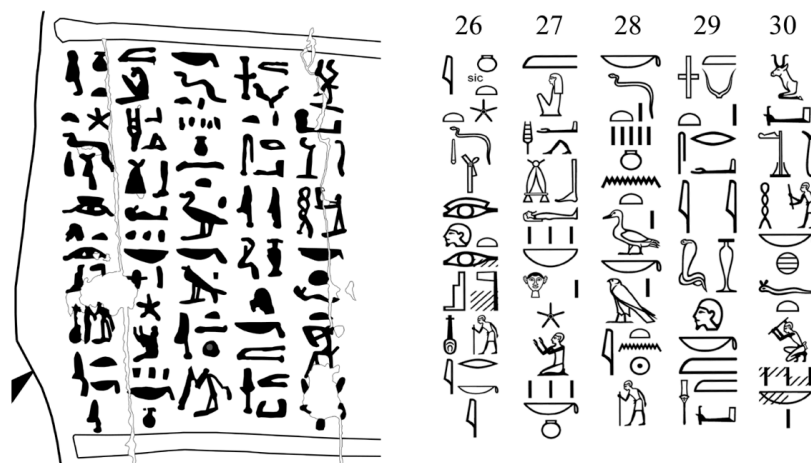
¹¹¹ The independent pronoun *jnk* here can mean both “I am” and “to me belongs”, as the goddesses of the hours identify with the form of the sun god within their body.

¹¹² Susan Doll (in *Texts and Decoration*, p. 47; *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, p. 44) and Georges Soukiassian (in *BIFAO* 82, p. 343) consider *t sw* as the verb *tsi* in the passive perfect participle. In my reading, *t* is here the particle *tj* (*Wb* V, 237-238). See, for example, the following sentence in the Altar of Sobekhotep, Asuan Museum 1353, Thirteenth-Fourteenth Dynasty: *mri.n nswt tj sw m sd.tj n [hr.w]* “beloved of the king, when he was a disciple of [Horus]” (D. FRANKE, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, SAGA 9, Heidelberg, 1994, 74, Taf. 8). See also *t / tj sw* in the text of the seventh hour of the day [Plate 14, D7].

4th hour of the day [fig. 46]Fig. 46. Lid interior, 4th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

[20] *sšp(.t) ḥ'(.w) ḏd mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr sšp* [21] *zn <m>-sp shḏzn qr.tyw* [22] *dw3.t (j)nk ḏ.t 4-nwz k s3z k hr.w m* [23] *hnw šnf sšp t3.wy wr nb(.t) n-* [24] *by.t m sbj.wz k t3 t(w)* [25] *shmwz k jm sn.*

[20] “She who lights up appearances”,¹¹³ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! [21] We light up <at> the same time,¹¹⁴ we illumine the twin caverns [22] and the netherworld. I am your 4th body of your son Horus,¹¹⁵ [23] the one within his circuit lighting up the two lands, [24] the flame, the one who is flamed¹¹⁶ with your rebels. Raise you up! [25] You have power over them!

5th hour of the day [fig. 47]Fig. 47. Lid interior, 5th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

¹¹³ LGG VI, 618.

¹¹⁴ The sarcophagus of Anlamani has *m m-sp*; the sarcophagus of Aspelta *m-sp* [Plate 13, D4].

¹¹⁵ “Your 4th body of your son Horus” expresses the solar-Osirian unity.

¹¹⁶ Cf. LGG I, 195.

[26] *jnw.tt (j<gr>.t ?) dd-mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr nfr wr jr=k j-* [27] *m=j 'h' db3.w(t) nb hr dw3.w=k (j)n-* [28] *k d.t 5-nw n.t s3=k hr.w jtn wr* [29] *jm.y m wp.t s(j)<'r>.y(t) hsi tp=k m shm* [30] *šs3 nh.t tz t(w) h(w)=k hft.(y)w=k.*

[26] “<The silent one>” (?),¹¹⁷ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! The perfection of the great one according to you [27] is in me.¹¹⁸ All mummy boards stand up to your worshipers. [28] I am the 5th body of your son Horus, the great disk [29] which is in the zenith.¹¹⁹ The uraeus decorating your head¹²⁰ is power, [30] wisdom, and victory.¹²¹ Raise you up! You strike your enemies!

6th hour of the day [fig. 48]

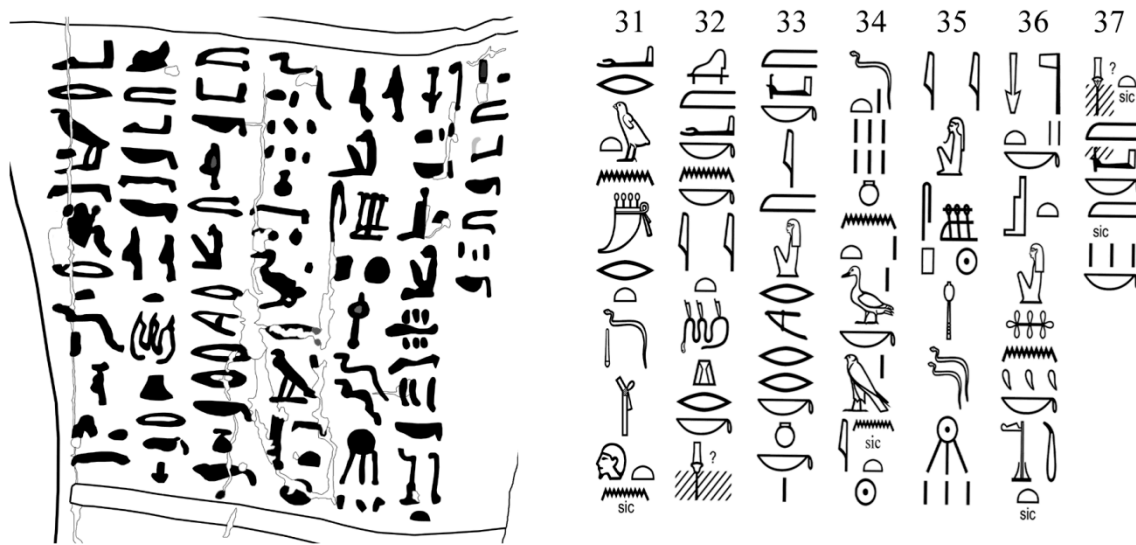


Fig. 48. Lid interior, 6th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

[31] *'r.wt ndr.t dd-mdw rs-tp t(w)* [32] *<wsjr> mki nk.yt hr=k <shm>* [33] *=k jm=j r mrr=k jnk* [34] *d.t 6-nw n.t s3=k hr.w j<tn>-* [35] *.y ššp hdd* [36] *sn.ty=k 3s.t s3 n h'.w tz t(w)* [37] *<sh>m=k m <pr>=k.*


[31] “Gate which holds firmly”,¹²² words recited. Be you vigilant, <Osiris>! [32] “She who

¹¹⁷ The usual name for the fifth day hour is *jgr.t* “The silent one” (*LGG* I, 573), which appears also in the sarcophagus of Aspelta. The sarcophagus of Anlamani shows *h'.yt* “she who arises” [Plate 13, D5].

¹¹⁸ The perfection of the son, akin to the father. In the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta: “The great one according to you is in me” [Plate 13, D5].

¹¹⁹ At the end of the fifth hour, the sun is in the zenith (midday).

¹²⁰ In the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta: *h3=k* “around you”, or *h3 tp=k* “around your head” [Plate 13, D5]. If *hsi* (*Wb* III, 154-155) is not a faulty copy of *h3*, here it can mean “to reward”, “to decorate”, with reference to the uraeus of the royal crown.

¹²¹ The sign  is written with an unduly large stick. The sign of the arm with stick appears also in the sarcophagus of Aspelta [Plate 13, D5, col. 22].

¹²² The sarcophagus of Anlamani has *nk.yt* “She who chastises” as goddess of the sixth hour [Plate 13, D6]. On the conditional reading of *'r.wt* as a variant of *j'r.t* “uraeus”: *LGG* II, 178-179. The reading *(j) 'rw.t* “She who mounts up” is proposed in M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 202-203. On the reading “Door which grasps”: B. ANDELKOVIĆ, J.P. ELIAS, “Inscriptions on the Interior of the 30th Dynasty Coffin of Neferrenepet from Akhmim”, *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* 10/3, 2015, p. 708. In this interpretation, suggested also

chastises”¹²³ protects under you. |33| You are <powerful> in me according to your will. I am |34| the 6th body of your son Horus, the one of the sun disk |35| who illumines, the light |36| of your two sisters. Isis is the protection of your flesh. Raise you up! |37| You <are powerful> in your <house>!¹²⁴

7th hour of the day [fig. 49]

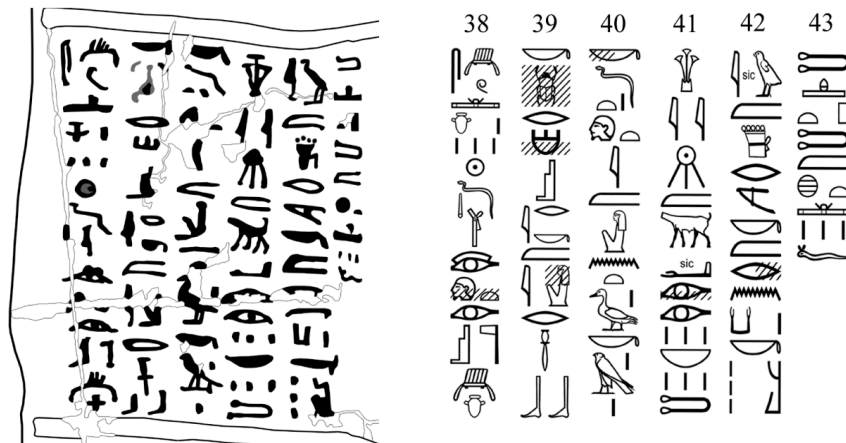


Fig. 49. Lid interior, 7th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

|38| *s3w(.t) jb.w dd-mdw rs-t[p t(w)] wsjr 3w jb* |39| *≠k [hp]r hm s.t jr≠k <jm>≠j r 3bi* |40| *≠k d.t 7-(nw.)t jm≠j n.t s3≠k hr.w* |41| *h3y m hnw jrt.yw nb.w t* |42| *<s>w m-dr≠k m rn k3≠k tz* |43| *t(w) htp t(w) m h.t≠f*.

|38| “She who makes glad the hearts”,¹²⁵ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! Your heart is glad. |39| The place regarding you comes into being indeed in me as you wish. |40| (This is) the 7th body¹²⁶ in me of your son Horus, |41| the one who illumines within all eyes, when |42| <he>¹²⁷ is with you in the name of your *ka*.¹²⁸ Raise |43| you up! Be pleased with his offering!

by Susan Doll (in *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, p. 45), ‘*r.wt* would mean “door”: *Wb* I, 210, 13-17. Usually no determinative appears in attestations of the Book of Day for this term, apart from a circle in the variant from the tomb of Padihorresnet, TT 196 (Twenty-sixth Dynasty), which seems to allude to the solar attribute of the goddess. See E. GRAEFE, “Stundenritual”, hour 6, p. 1:

<http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/org/WMA/graefe/stunden/> (accessed October 30, 2017).

However, the word ‘*rr.t*, ‘*rr.yt*, “gate”, “door”, appears frequently in the Amduat and the Book of Gates, and such a reading seems the most plausible.

¹²³ *LGG* IV, 363.

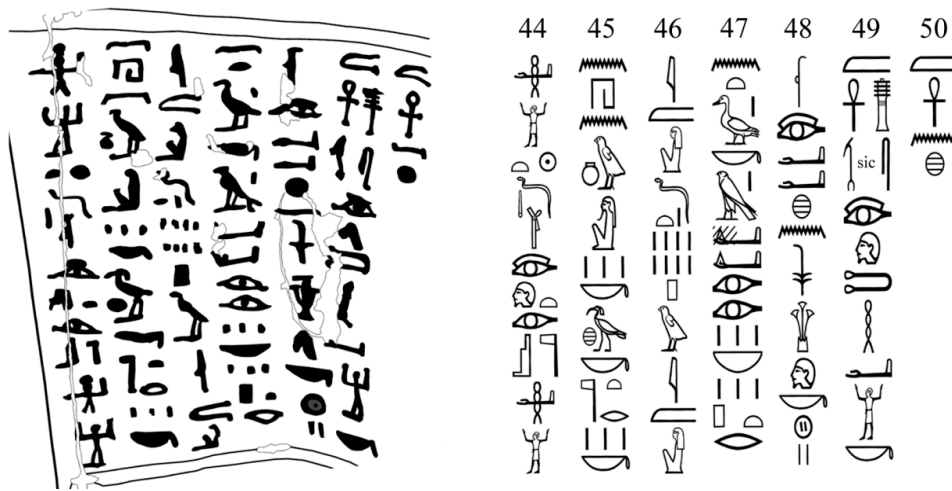
¹²⁴ See the last sentence in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta [Plate 13, D6]. As in column 32, it seems that only the upper part of the *shm*-sceptre was drawn, although abrasion of the lower part in both occurrences is not excluded.

¹²⁵ *LGG* VI, 142.

¹²⁶ On the head hieroglyph as cryptic sign for the numeral 7 (*sfh*), as 7 are the openings in the head: H.W. FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43, 103.

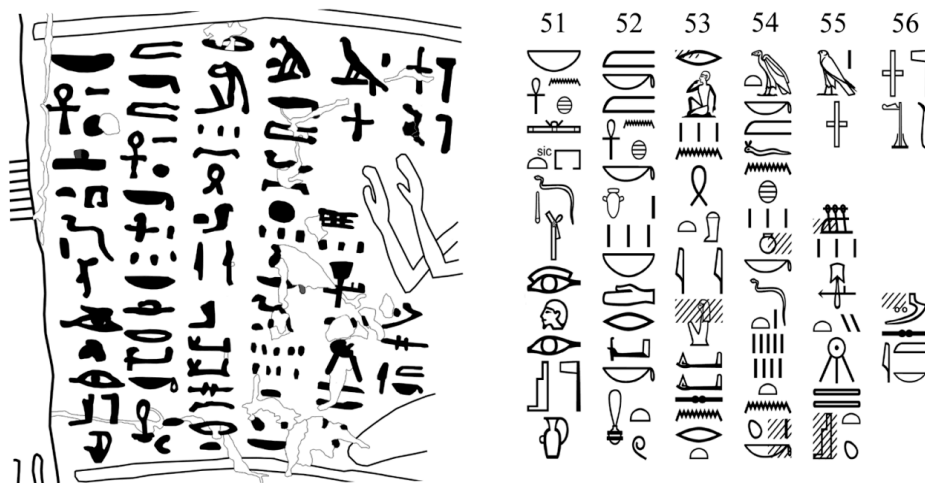
¹²⁷ See *tj sw* “when he is”, in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta [Plate 14, D7].

¹²⁸ In the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta: *m-dr≠k m rn.w nb≠f* “when he is with you with all his names” [Plate 14, D7].

8th hour of the day [fig. 50]Fig. 50. Lid interior, 8th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

[44] *h' t dd-mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr h'* [45] *.n hnw.w=k 3h=k ntr.w=k* [46] *jm=j d.t 8(-nw) pw jm=j* [47] *n.t s3=k hr.w dd jrt.yw nb.w ptr* [48] *'wy hns w h3=k sp-sn* [49] *m 'nh dd(t) w3s <rs>-tp t(w) h' =k* [50] *m 'nh*.

[44] “Jubilation”,¹²⁹ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! [45] Your family rejoiced. Your *3h*-spirit of your divine ones [46] is in me. This is the 8^(th) body in me [47] of your son Horus, who allows all eyes to see. [48] The hands of Khonsu are behind you and behind you, [49] with life, stability, and dominion. Be you vigilant! You rejoice [50] in life!

9th hour of the day [fig. 51]Fig. 51. Lid interior, 9th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

¹²⁹ LGG V, 42-43.

|51| *nb.t 'nh dd-mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr hn-* |52| *m=k m 'nh=k jb.w nb dr=k mj.tw* |53| *r.w n šntzy dī=s nr.t* |54| *=k m fnh.w (j)nk d.t 9-(nw).t <n.t> s3=k* |55| *hr.w jm.y šsp.w sti t3.wy [3s].t* |56| *im.y<j> tz t(w) m3 's jm=k.*

|51| “Lady of life”,¹³⁰ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! |52| You unite all hearts with your life, you repress the imitation |53| of voice of Shentayt,¹³¹ which causes awe |54| of you in the Phoenicians.¹³² I am the 9th body of your son |55| Horus, who is in the light that illumines the two lands: [Isis], |56| who is in <me>.¹³³ Raise you up! She sees as you!¹³⁴

10th hour of the day, text corresponding to the 12th hour of the day [fig. 52]

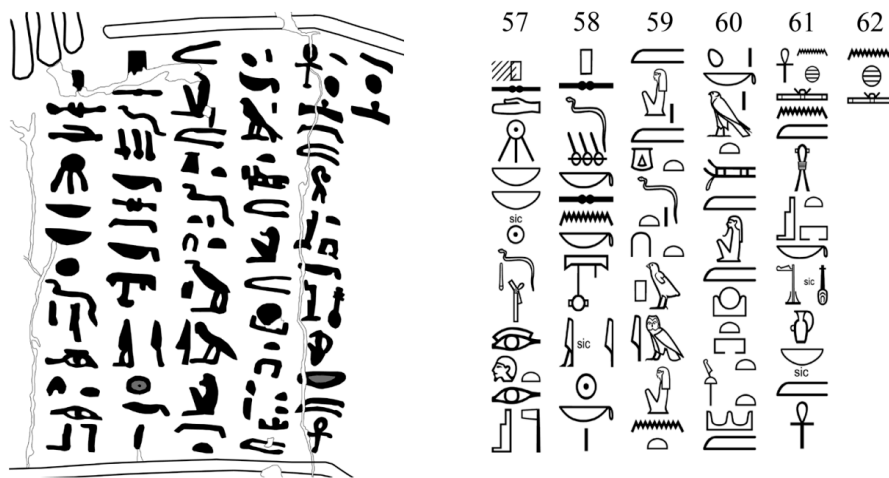


Fig. 52. Lid interior, 10th hour of the day (= 12th day hour). Facsimile and transcription by the author.

|57| *psd(.t) nb<.wt> dd-mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr* |58| *psd=k snk.y=k* |59| *(j)m=j m ns.t d.t 10-(nw).t pw jm=j n.t* |60| *s3=k hr.w (j)tm m 3h.t jmn.tjt m* |61| *'nh nm s3 s.t=k tz <t(w)> hnm<=k> m* |62| *'nh.*

|57| “She who lights up <the isles>”, words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! |58| You shine! Your “dark one” |59| is in me with the throne! This is the 10th body in me of |60| your son Horus: Atum in the western horizon, |61| living in the protection of your place. Raise <you> up! <You> unite with |62| life!¹³⁵

¹³⁰ LGG IV, 28-29.

¹³¹ Lit. “the like of voice”, with allusion to weepers. In the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, there is only *mj.(t)w* (Wb II, 40, 1-3). On Shentayt, “The widow”, identified with Isis: Wb IV, 518, 3-10; LGG VII, 105-106; S. CAUVILLE, “Chentayt et Merkhètes, des avatars d’Isis et de Nephthys”, BIFAO 81, 1981, p. 21-40.

¹³² The term *fnh.w* “Phoenicians” (Wb I, 577, 3-4; LĀ IV, 1039) is probably used here to indicate foreigners.

¹³³ 𓂏 instead of 𓂐. See [jm.y]j “who is in me” in the identical text that appears at the 9th night hour. In the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta there is the sentence *ntr=j jm.y=j 3s.t* “My god, who is in me, is Isis” [Plate 14, D9].

¹³⁴ Isis, the solar form within the goddess of the hour, is regenerated as Osiris.

¹³⁵ See the identical text of the 12th day hour.

11th hour of the day [fig. 53]

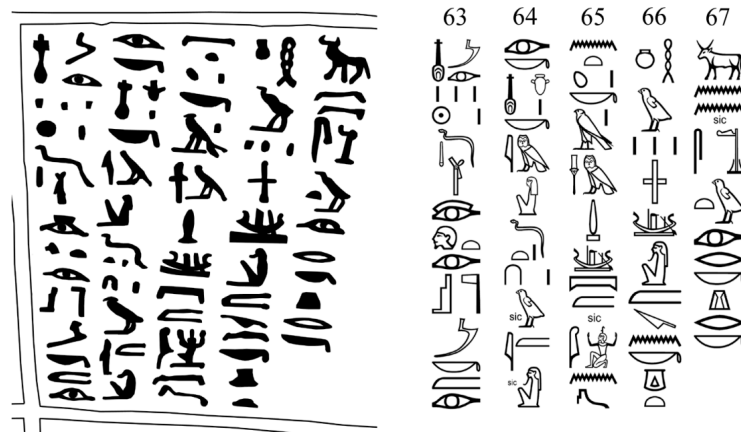


Fig. 53. Lid interior, 11th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

[63] *nfr(.t) m3.w dd-mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr m3(3)z k m ir-* [64] *.tyz k nfr jbz k d.t 11(-nw) <p>w jmzj*
 [65] *n.t szz k hr.w shm d'i p.t m <hh m3'> n-* [66] *wh.w jm.y wj' m dm(.t) n(.y)z k ns.t* [67] *k3 <t> z*
tw jr(.w) rz k hrz k.

[63] “Beautiful of sight”, words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! You see with your [64] eyes; the beauty of your heart is in me. <This is> the 11th body in me [65] of your son Horus, the powerful one crossing the sky with Hah¹³⁶ and “He who guides [66] the ropes which are in the sacred bark”,¹³⁷ with the knife belonging to you and the throne [67] of the bull.¹³⁸ <Raise> you up! The one who acted against you is under you!

12th hour of the day [fig. 54]



Fig. 54. Lid interior, 12th hour of the day. Facsimile and transcription by the author.

¹³⁶ Inversion of signs.

¹³⁷ On this god: M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 266-267; *LGG* III, 232.

¹³⁸ The knife of Osiris and the throne of Amun-Ra the in the solar bark.

|68| *psd <nb.wt> dd-mdw rs-tp t(w) wsjr ps-* |69| *d=k snk.y=k jm=j m [ns.t]* |70| *d.t 12-(nw).t pw jm=j n.t sz=k hr.w (j)tm* |71| *m 3h.t jmn.tjt m 'nh m sz* |72| *zs.t=k tz [t(w)] hnm=k m 'nh.*

|68| “She who lights up <the isles>”,¹³⁹ words recited. Be you vigilant, Osiris! |69| You shine! Your “dark one”¹⁴⁰ is in me [with the throne].¹⁴¹ |70| This is the 12th body of your son Horus, |71| Atum in the western horizon, living in the protection |72| of your place. Raise [you] up! You unite with life!

Foot of the lid interior [fig. 55]

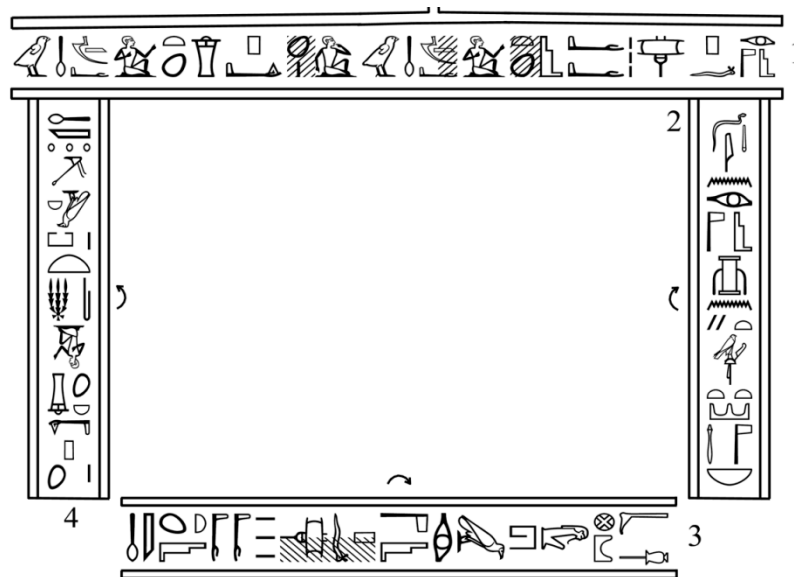


Fig. 55. Text at the foot of the lid interior. Work by the author.

External line:

|1| *wsjr pf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 '-hrw sz (n) p(3)-di-b3s.t m3 '-hrw.*

|1| The Osiris Peftjauuiaset justified, son (of) Padibast justified.

Text on the inner sides:

|2| *dd-mdw jn wsjr hn.ty jmn.tjt ntr '3 nb* |3| *3bdw h3 wsjr pf-t3w- 'wy-3s.t m3 '-hrw* |4| *sz (n) p(3)-di-b3s.t ms (n) t3-pr.t m3 '-hrw.*

|2| Words recited by Osiris Foremost of the West, the great god, the lord |3| of Abydos. O the Osiris Peftjauuiaset justified, |4| son (of) Padibast, born (to) Taperet justified.

¹³⁹ Full expression of this name: *psd.t nb.wt hnm.t 'nh* “She who lights up the isles, she who unites with life”. See *LGG* III, 131.

¹⁴⁰ Epithet of the sun god in the netherworld, here identified with Atum: *Wb* IV, 176, 2; *LGG* VI, 398.

¹⁴¹ Sarcophagus of Aspelta: *jm=j m jtn* “in me with the sun disk”. Sarcophagus of Anlamani: *jm=j m tp dw3.t* “in me at the beginning of the netherworld” [Plate 15, D12].

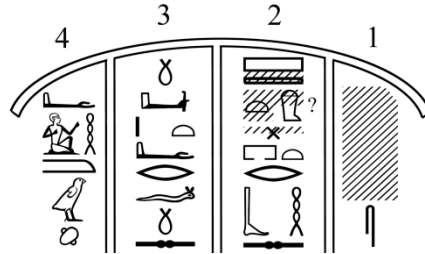
Lower valve interior*Lunette at the head end [fig. 56]*

Fig. 56. Lunette at the head end of the lower valve interior. Work by the author.

|1| [...]s |2| š[*tA*].(y)t r *hbs*- |3| .t 'r*f*s- |4| 'h m w(*t*).

|1| She (?) [...] |2| [the tomb] to give shelter,¹⁴² |3| enveloping |4| the deceased with mummy bandage.

Figure of Amentet with text on the floor board [fig. 57-58]

|1| [...] mw [...] .t r jwd m*h* p.t*š* [š*h*(3)p.n*š*(?)*š*] sw |2| jr n*tr*.w [n*tr*.tw] [...]r*h*š*š* jw (j)tm(.w) nn m33 s(my).t [r(m)*š*] |3| nb [sdg.n s]w [wsjr pf-t3w]- 'wy-3s.t m3 '-*h*rw |4| [s3 n p(3)-di]-b3s.t m3 '-*h*rw |5| ms (n) nb(.t) [pr] t3-pr.t m3 '- |5| *h*rw [...] sdg.n sw nb *hmn*.t *h*3p |6| .n*š* sw [...] sdg.n sw nb *hmnw* [sdg] wsjr |7| pf-t3w-['wy-3s.t m3 '-*h*rw]w s3 (n) p(3)-di-b3s.t m3 '-*h*rw |8| (n) nb(.t) pr [t3]-pr.t [m3 '-*h*rw m-(*h*)nw n p.t sdg n sw |9| nb *hmnw* [...] t3 š sdg.n sw nb *hmnw* 'q |10| .n*š* [...] mw*š* [...] nb *hmnw* jy.n*š* |11| mw.t *h*3.t 'n n*š* ['n(?)*š*]s [...]r r[...] gm*h*w*š* |12| [n]sw[t] n nw n*h*.t*š* s(.t)(?) *h*ri s.t(?) [...] gm*h*w (j)r*š* nn |13| [...] mj *hnt*.(y) nw [...] *š*ff jw*š* *h*r jr.y *h*nw |14| js n*tr*.w n*tr*[.tw] j[...] r*š* w3b *h*r jr s3 |15| [...] *h*r n p3 *h* [...] [...] [wr]d-jb *š*h3p |16| *h*nk.t*š* [...] wsjr pw ntf [...] j 'h wp.tw |17| [dw.t(?)] nb.t [t3].w nb *h*r*š* m [...] jmn.tjt j3b.tt [...] |18| [...] [...] *h*w [...] |19| [...] [gm*h*]w r*š* jr.t n*š* j nb*š* j [...] [...].

|1| [...] the water [...] will separate, filling his sky. [He (?) has concealed (?)] himself, |2| making (?) gods [and goddesses] [...] his acquaintance (?). Atum is invisible (to) the necropolis and all [people]. |3| [(He) has hidden himself, the Osiris Peftjauuiaset justified, |4| [son of Padi]bast justified, born (to) the lady of the house Taperet |5| justified [...]. (He) has hidden himself the lord of Hermopolis, he has concealed |6| himself [...]. (He) has hidden himself the lord of Hermopolis. Hidden is the Osiris |7| Peftjauuiaset justified, son of Padibast justified, born |8| (to) the lady of the house Taperet, justified within the sky. (He) has hidden himself |9| the lord of Hermopolis, [...] land and lake. (He) has hidden himself the lord of Hermopolis, who has |10| entered [...] his water. [...] the lord of Hermopolis who has come. |11| The mother of the tomb (is) the beauty for him [...] [...]. He sees |12| [the king] of these, who is mighty. His throne (?) being far, the throne (?) [...]. He sees indeed, without (?) |13| [...] come <in front> of these [...]. He is making the goods |14| and the tomb of gods and goddesses. [...] his spell (?), cleansing the face, protecting |15| [...] the face of this [...] [...] the weary-of-heart, concealing |16| his offering [...] this Osiris. He is [...] the Moon-god and the judges, without |17| all [evil (?)]. [All winds] are upon him in the [...] of east and west [...]. |18| [...] [...] [...] |19| [...] He sees indeed. The eye (?) for me and my lord [...] [...]

¹⁴² On *hbs* “to clothe”, “to cover”, “to give shelter”: L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, p. 308.

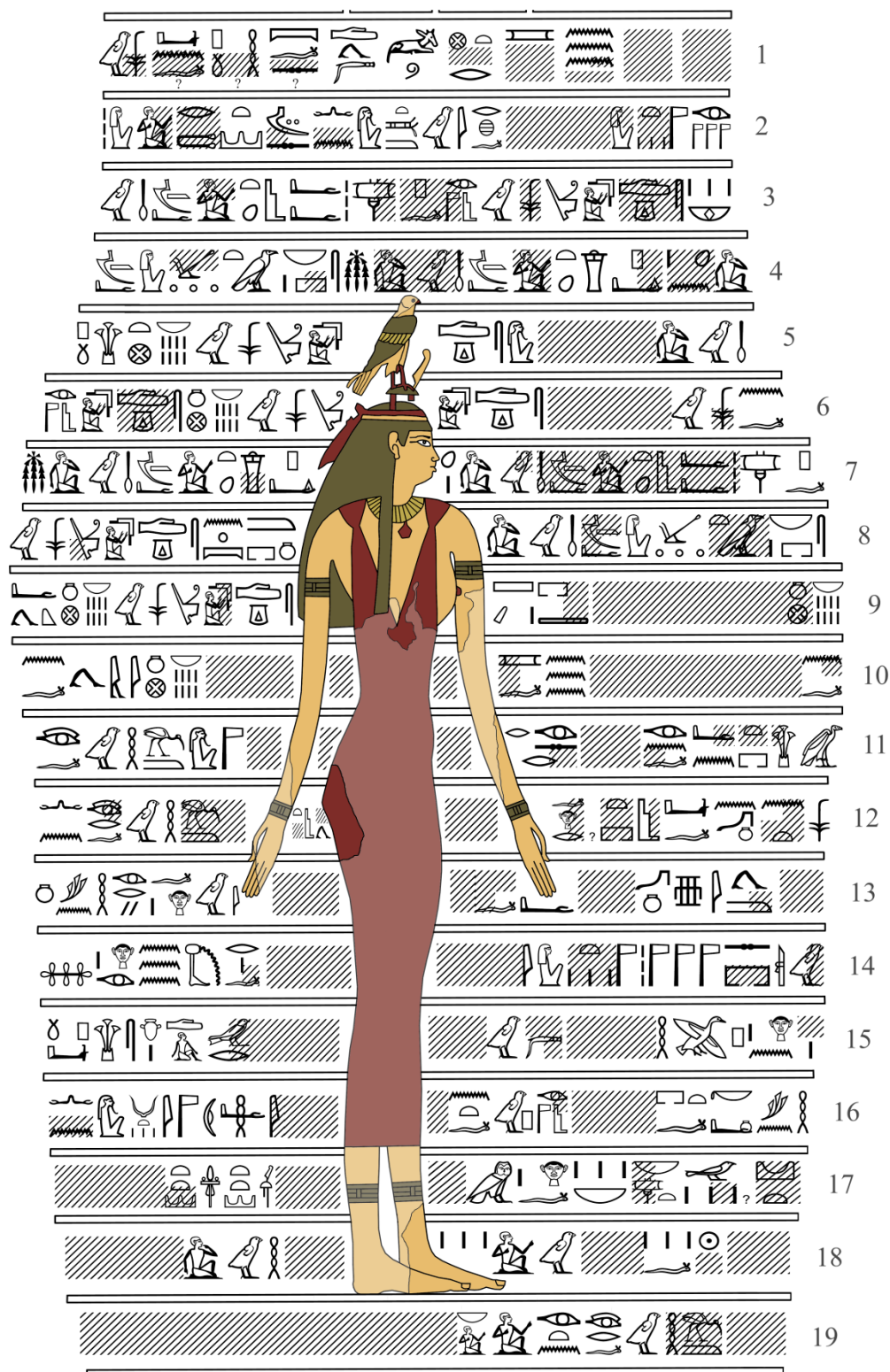


Fig. 57. Upper part of the floor board of the lower valve. Work by the author.

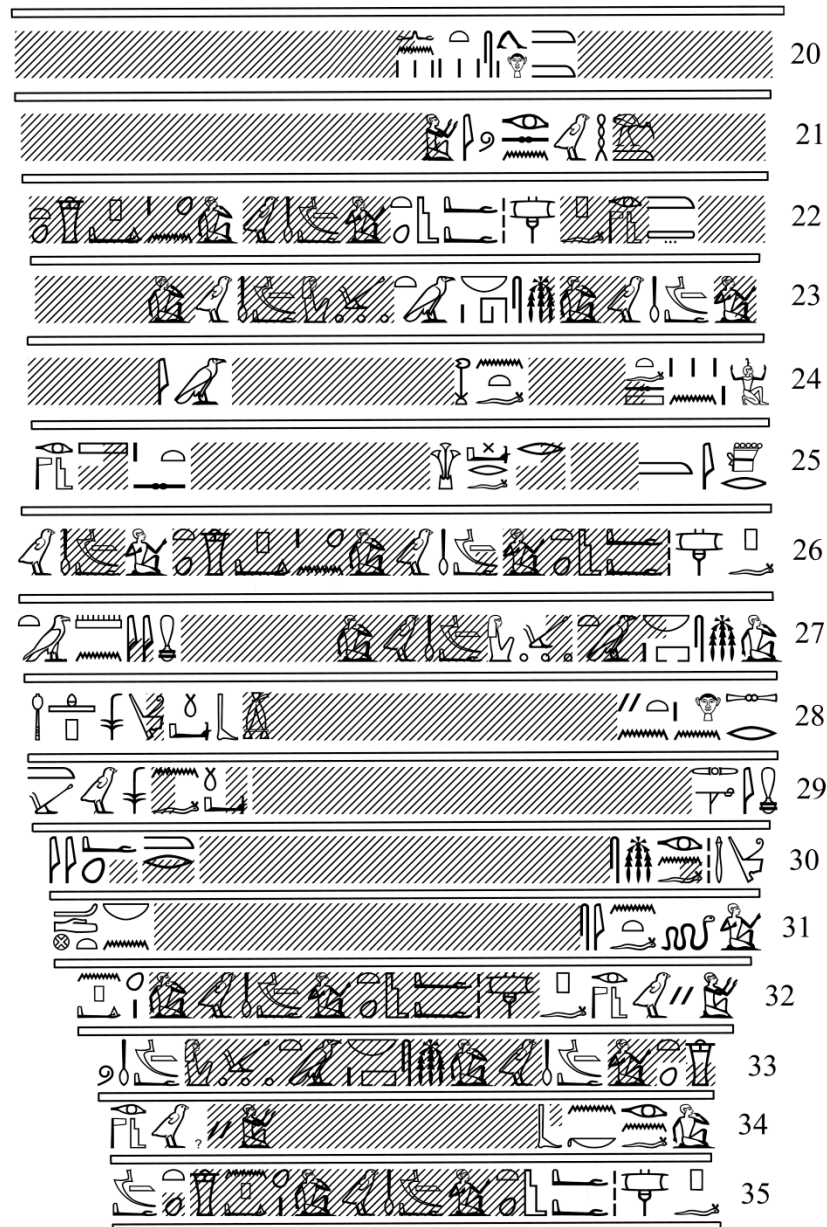


Fig. 58. Lower part of the floor board of the lower valve. Work by the author.

|20| [...] [h3]mm(?) hr s.t n=n |21| [...] [gm]hw=sn [...] [...] |22| m t3 [wsjr pf]-t3w-'.wy-3s.t m3'-
 hrw [s3 n p(3)-di-b3s.t] |23| m3'-hrw ms (n) nb.(t) pr t3-[pr.t m3'-hrw] [...] |24| hh.w ntf sš[...] ntf
 h3 [...]3j[...] |25| drj jm[...] ršf h3[...] [...] .t sš[...] wsjr |26| pf-t3w[-'.wy-3s.t] m3'-hrw [s3 n p(3)-
 di-b3s.t m3'-hrw] |27| ms (n) nb.(t) pr [t3-pr.t m3'-hrw] [...] mj jmn.tyw |28| t3s r-hr n.ty n[...]
 [...] [d]b3 n sw htp hq |29| mj mnw [...] [...] [sh3p(?).nšf] sw m hb |30| n '3.w jr.nšf ms[...] [...] |
 |31| [...] ntf js[...] [...] [...] nb [n] bh.d.t |32| jmn.yw wsjr pf-[t3w-'.wy-3s.t m3'-hrw] s3 n p(3)-di-
 |33| [b3s.t] m3'-hrw [ms (n) nb.(t) pr t3-pr.t] m3'-hrw |34| jr.nšf n=k b[...] [...] [jmn.y(?)]w wsjr
 |35| pf-t3w-'.wy-[3s.t m3'-hrw s3 n p(3)-di-b3s.t] m3'-.

|20| [...] coming quickly (?)¹⁴³ to them. Without us [...] [...] |21| [...] They see [...] [...] |22|

¹⁴³ Wb III, 231, 14.

from (?) the land the Osiris Peftjau]auiaset justified, son of Padibast |23| justified, born (to) the lady of the house Ta[peret justified] [...] |24| millions. He is [...] [...] great [...] |25| making strong (?) [...] [...] the Osiris |26| Peftjau]auiaset justified, [son of Padibast justified], |27| born (to) the lady of the house [Ta[peret justified] [...] like the inhabitants of the west, |28| tied on what is [...] [...] [providing] to him the bright offering, |29| like Min [...] [...] [he has concealed (?)] himself. With the plough |30| of the great ones, he has made [...] [...] |31| [...] [...] the lord [of] Edfu [...] |32| the hidden one,¹⁴⁴ the Osiris Pef[tjau]auiaset justified], son of Padi- |33| [bast] justified, [born (to) the lady of the house Ta[peret] justified. |34| He has made for you [...] [...] [the hidden one (?)], the Osiris |35| Peftjau]auiaset justified, son of Padibast].

Text on the foot board [fig. 59]

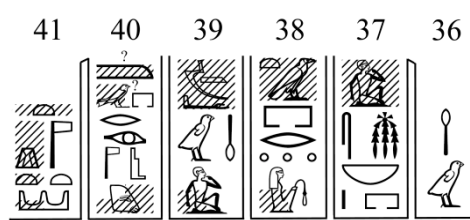


Fig. 59. Transcription of the text on the foot board. Work by the author

|36| *hrw* |37| *ms nb(.t) pr* |38| [*t3*]-*pr(.t)* |39| [*m3*']-*hrw* |40| [*m(?)*] *pr-[w]r(?) wsjr [hnt(.y)]* |41| [*hr*].*t-ntr*.

|36| justified, |37| born (to) the lady of the house |38| [Ta]per(et), |39| [justified] |40| [in the sanctuary (?)] of Osiris [foremost] |41| [of the necropolis].

Comment to the trough

The number of figures on three outer sides of the rectangular trough of Peftjauauiaset is far larger than in *qersu* coffins of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty. In these coffins, the four sons of Horus are frequently depicted on the two long sides,¹⁴⁵ and the number of deities, occasionally provided with the protective feature of the knife,¹⁴⁶ usually does not exceeds the eleven unities.¹⁴⁷ About ninety figures of deities and sacred objects appear on three outer sides of Peftjauauiaset's trough, several bearing names unattested elsewhere. The original number was even larger, as wide areas of decoration are missing on the east and south sides. In this respect, the decorative scheme is more similar to that of anthropoid coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, whose inner and/or outer sides show rows of standing mummiform figures with names of the Litany of the Sun, and other deities and demons.¹⁴⁸

An example of this kind is the outer anthropoid coffin of Sutimes, Louvre N 2609, from the

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *LGG* I, 353.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte* I, pl. 9, 14, 24, 29-30, 38.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example, the seven seating deities on the long sides of CG 41001, below the 12 goddesses of the hours: A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte* I, pl. 6.

¹⁴⁷ Eleven standing mummiform figures are depicted on the long sides of CG 41030: see A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte* I, pl. 33.

¹⁴⁸ L. MIATELLO, "Texts and Iconography of Padiamun's Coffin in the Liverpool Museum", *BEJ* 4, 2016, p. 44-46.

Twenty-first Dynasty, decorated on the outer sides of the trough with a long series of images of deities, mostly standing mummiform figures, for a total of fifty-one figures. Iconographic features and names of some of these deities are those of the series of figures with names of the Litany of the Sun, inscribed first in New Kingdom royal tombs and temples.¹⁴⁹ For example, on the left-hand side there is the form no. 21 (*rmy*), 40 (*rkḥ*), 9a (*b3-r*), 66 (*t3-tnn*), 2 (*hpr*), 19 (*hr.w-s3-s.t*).¹⁵⁰ On the same row are also deities, like Nehebkau and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who do not belong to the classic series of 74 figures with names of the Litany. The representation of mummiform corpses of the netherworld – some with demonic, nocturnal or Osirian characters, others with typical solar attributes – is extended.¹⁵¹

The practice of decorating the sides of the trough with long rows of deities and demons, in order to protect the body of the deceased, is attested also at the end of the Dynastic Period. For example, in the *qersu* coffin of Meretites, from the Thirtieth Dynasty, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art 2007.12.1.A-C,¹⁵² whose lid exterior presents two rows of standing worshipping goddesses of the night and day hours with their names, on each outer side is a series of twenty-one standing mummiform figures, each holding a knife. Among these: *qr.ty* “He of the cavern” (figure no. 28 of the Litany of the Sun);¹⁵³ *hr:f h3:f* “He whose face is behind him”, depicted with the head turned behind; *jm.y snf* “He who is in the blood”. Here the derivation from the Litany of the Sun is limited, even if the iconography of standing mummiform corpses is a common element.

Decoration and texts on three sides of the trough of Peftjauuiaset presents explicit references to the Litany of the Sun. On the lower row of deities on the west side is a series of fourteen standing mummiform figures (images nos. 34-47 in the previous description). Some of them correspond to the figures of the Litany: Shu (no. 13 of the Litany), Tefnut (no. 14), Geb (no. 15), Nut (no. 16), Osiris (non-typical figure), Isis (no. 17), Horus? (no. 19), Nephthys (no. 18). Behind Nephthys is a mummiform god labelled *hh.w* “He of the brazier”, depicted with a brazier in place of his head. A god with the brazier named *rkḥ.y* “The flaming one” is the figure no. 40 of the Litany of the Sun, which, as previously mentioned, appears also on the outer coffin of Sutimes at the Louvre. All these deities are preceded by standing mummiform figures with the following names: “He who passes the mountain”, “He of the sun disk is me”, “Wise”, “Brother”, “The thunderbolt is high” (?). Noteworthy is the image of the two bi-faced mummiform gods named *<j>tn.y m:j* “He of the sun disk is me”, and *rh* “Wise” (images no. 35 and no. 36 in the previous description). “Ra, he of the sun disk” (*r' jtn.y*) is the form no. 4 of the Litany of the Sun, usually represented as a scarab within the sun disk.¹⁵⁴ In the tomb of Tausret-Sethnakht (KV 14), a bi-faced deity named *3h*, with a knife in each hand, is one of the guardians of the portals in spell 145 of the Book of the Dead. Solar significance is attributed to the bi-faced god on the trough of Peftjauuiaset, as in the classic scheme of

¹⁴⁹ E. HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II*, p. 37-49, p. 56-59.

¹⁵⁰ See A. NIWINSKI, “The Book of the Dead on the Coffins of the 21st Dynasty”, in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stöhr (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen. Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*, SAT 11, Wiesbaden, 2006, pl. 3.

¹⁵¹ On the process of including more deities, attested as early as the New Kingdom: E. HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II*, p. 50-51.

¹⁵² Unpublished.

¹⁵³ E. HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II*, p. 45.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43, p. 56, p. 59.

Ptolemaic hypocephali, where he is depicted in the middle of the upper register.¹⁵⁵ In the hypocephalus London BM 37909, the bi-faced god bears the labels *jw rh.y* “There is one who knows”, and *jw rh.kw* “I know”, in compliance with the name “Wise”.

It is therefore evident that the function of the deities represented on three sides of Peftjauuiaset’s trough transcends the mere protection of the deceased. They are forms of Ra in the netherworld, regenerated by his solar energy, at the service of the sun god and the deceased with their protection, offerings, and vital energies. One of these forms is the deceased himself, represented as a bull-headed mummiform standing figure (image no. 73). This interesting feature is found also in papyri with hybrid elements of the Litany of the Sun, from the Third Intermediate Period: among a series of standing mummiform figures and other images of deities, some with iconography and names of the Litany, there is the deceased, occasionally with his wife.¹⁵⁶ In these papyri, the deceased has human face. The bull head of Peftjauuiaset is an attribute of strength of his corpse, regenerated by the sun god in the netherworld.

Names of deities like “Bread” and “Milk” indicate that their bodies are vital energies of the sun god. Such an interpretation accounts also for the presence of images of sacred elements among the images of gods and goddesses. Red dots around the sacred tree, shrines and offering tables, mark them as solar regenerative forces. These dots appear occasionally in the iconography of the Litany of the Sun around solar forms as the scarab (form no. 4), the ram-headed *ba* (no. 9a), the sacred eye (no. 24),¹⁵⁷ and mummiform corpses.¹⁵⁸

The following is a classification of images on the sides of the trough, on the basis of their names and/or iconographic features. Obviously, a corpse characterized by its vital energy can be also a protector, and vice versa.

– Vital energies:

(5) Bread; (11) Vitality; (13) “Nurse of life”; (17) “Never <weary>” (?). (18) “He who nourishes the star”; (21) “Sefer-unguent” (?); (23) “Milk”; (47) “He of the brazier”; (50) “Leavened bread” (?); (63) “He who presents the water”; (83) “Perfection”; (84) “[...]n, he who loves the feast, bringing two loaves”.

– Protectors:

(16) “The protector in front of the great one”; (19) “He who frightens”; (48) “Phoenix of darkness” (with knife); (57) “She who wipes out Apophis”; (64) “The *hbb*-serpent”; (67) Crocodile with double-plume crown on top of a mummy lying in an elliptical coffin; (68) Cobra-headed god making libation on the back of the crocodile; (71) Jackal headed standing figure with a strip in his hands forming the *šn* sign (V7); (72) Serpent tailed sphinx wearing the white crown, with a long knife between its paws; (74) Figure of male holding out the *ankh* sign towards the deceased; (76) “Imseti”; (77) “Hapi”; (78) “Duamutef”; (79) “Qebehsenuf”; (81) “He who brings the gods”; (85) “Naw, whose chief is [‘The great Iunit’]”.

¹⁵⁵ The mummy mask of Shakhper, Louvre E 26834a, shows the label “Amun” for the bi-faced god: L. MIATELLO “Ptolemaic Mummy Masks with Spells from the Book of the Dead Concerning the Head”, *JSSEA* 39, 2012-13, p. 53-56, p. 82, fig. 1.

¹⁵⁶ See A. PIANKOFF, *The Litany of Re*, New York, 1964, p. 68 (13), p. 113 (11), p. 105 (14 and 15).

¹⁵⁷ See the images in the Twentieth Dynasty Padiamun’s coffin in Liverpool: L. MIATELLO, *BEJ* 4, p. 26-27.

¹⁵⁸ See the corpses depicted within an ellipsis in the tomb of Tuthmosis III: E. HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II*, p. 56-57.

– Creational entities:

(7) “He who creates the things”; (51) “He who created all and they honour”; (87) Crouched ram with double crown.

– Sacred elements with regenerative energies:

(55) “The *qhs*-sanctuary (?) of the Orisis Peftjauuiaset”; (58) Tree surrounded by lines of red dots; (66) *Imiut*-fetish; (65) Standard with a vessel on top; (80) Shrine with an oval bread surrounded by a line of red dots; (86) Offering table with an oval bread surrounded by four lines of red dots.

– Solar forms belonging the main deities of the Egyptian pantheon:

(8) “The great Horus of the night, lord of darkness”; (10) “Seth the leader; the golden one”; (15) “Khnum” (?); (24) “Ra”; (25) [“The body of Nu”] (?); (35) “He of the sun disk is me”; (39) “Shu, form of beauty”; (40) “<T>efnut”; (41) “Geb”; (42) “Nut”; (43) “Osiris”; (44) “Isis”; (45) “[Horus]” (?); (46) “Nephthys”.

Noteworthy is the presence of Seth, depicted as a human headed *ba*-bird. As known, his role is rarely positive in religious texts of this period. The god appears also as a form of Ra in the long series of figures of the Litany of the Sun in the Book of the Dead of Inpehufnakht, papyrus Cambridge E.92.1904, from the Twenty-first Dynasty.¹⁵⁹ His function in Peftjauuiaset's coffin is similar to that of the erect serpent next to him, labelled *hn̄hn* “vitality”: he is a vital force at the service of the sun god and the deceased. In fact, in the Litany of the Sun even the Asiatic prisoner bound at the stake is a form of Ra (form no. 8): evil forces are turned into positive energies and assimilated by the unlimited power of the sun god.

A section of the lower register on the west side of the trough is of particular interest: Horus and Thoth appear next to bread loaves, a trussed duck on an offering table, and a *nw*-bowl on a pedestal. This part is framed by a line and column of text: “Words recited by he who receives the products of the gods: your (pl.) justification near your (pl.) name brings you (pl.) to your (pl.) divine *ba*. The gods' hall is the place of the heart and the end of pain”. As the text indicates, this is the gods' hall, in which Thoth and Horus receive all sorts of provisions and goods for the deceased and other inhabitants of the netherworld. Those who pass the divine judgement can be united with their *ba* and led to the “House of the heart” (*pr jb.w*),¹⁶⁰ which, as this text and vignette suggests, is a place for the well-being of the deceased in the afterlife.

The line of text on top of the east side is devoted to Ra, but only the incipit remains. The reference to the power of Ra crossing the sky over Egypt complies with the solar attribute of the images on the outer sides.

More interesting is the long line of text on top of the west side. The deceased obtains divine eternity “swallowing with the water that feeds her sycamore”. This is presumably a reference to a ritual of libation performed on the sycamore trees in front of the Mentuhotep temple.¹⁶¹ In the vignette of spell 59 of the Book of the Dead, Nut in a sycamore tree pours water and gives bread to the deceased.¹⁶² With the water of this ritual the deceased joins the divine assembly,

¹⁵⁹ See the photographs of the papyrus online at Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134405.

¹⁶⁰ On the “House of the hearts”, mentioned in the vignette of the judgement in the coffin of Padiamun in Liverpool: L. MIATELLO, *BEJ* 4, p. 12, p. 29.

¹⁶¹ Cf. A. NIWINSKI, in *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, p. 263.

¹⁶² T.G. ALLEN, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day*, SAOC 37, Chicago, 1974, p. 55.

obtaining eternal life and durable provisions. Offerings of food and libations were performed for the deceased during the *Wag*-festival, mentioned in this text with reference to extended funerary protection obtained from the “god of the altar”.¹⁶³ Rituals of this kind are attested in Book of the Dead papyri of the Third Intermediate Period from Thebes.¹⁶⁴

Comment to the lid interior

Lunette at the head end

The short text at the head end of the lid interior is found also on the lid exterior of *qersu* coffins, for example on the lid of the coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu (CG 41001), depicted with the solar barks, and Nut with the goddesses of the hours.¹⁶⁵ In this text, the deceased sails in peace (*hni m htp*) like Ra. It is a short introduction to the text of the ritual of the night and day hours, written below. In the version of the ritual from the tomb of Ramses VI, the text of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth hour of the day begins with the sentence *sqd.wt m htp m-hnw wnw.t* “navigating in peace within the hour”.¹⁶⁶

Figure of Nut with texts of the hour ritual on the lid interior

The concept of protection and rebirth of the deceased as Osiris within the body of Nut appears first in the Pyramid Texts. In the Nut group of spells, the goddess is the “Great Protectress” (*hnm.t wr.t*). She assembles the body of Osiris and gives birth to him. These texts appear on the west side of the burial chamber of Old Kingdom pyramids, near the texts on the resurrection of Horus.¹⁶⁷

Even older is the concept of the deceased sailing in the afterlife with two boats, depicted on the walls of private tombs of the early Fourth Dynasty.¹⁶⁸ They can be considered the prototype of the iconography of the barks prow to prow, symbolic of the solar cycle.¹⁶⁹

A ritual for the protection, embalming and resuscitation of the corpse of Osiris throughout night and day hours was composed in the Ptolemaic Period. For this composition Hermann Junker coined the term *Stundenwaken*, “hourly vigil”.¹⁷⁰ A ritual of the hours was performed in the place of embalming for the high class already in the Middle Kingdom. A group of officiants worked in shift: each hour a new officiant, representing a deity, replaced the previous one around the bier.¹⁷¹

The Book of Night, composed in the New Kingdom and describing the journey of the sun god

¹⁶³ On the *Wag*-festival, attested as early as the Pyramid Texts: *LÄ* VI, 1135-1139.

¹⁶⁴ See R. LUCARELLI, “A Libation Text in the Book of the Dead of Gatseshen”, in Alessia Amenta *et al.* (eds.), *L’acqua nell’antico Egitto. Vita, rigenerazione, incantesimo, medicamento. Proceedings of the First International Conference for Young Egyptologists*, Roma, 2005, 319-328.

¹⁶⁵ A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l’époque Bubastite à l’époque Saïte I*, p. 1-6. See also *ibid.* p. 69, 118-119.

¹⁶⁶ See M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 261-262; 264-266, 268-270.

¹⁶⁷ See J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Atlanta, 2005, p. 5-9; H.M. HAYS, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts*, Leiden, 2012, p. 101-103, 681 (Tab. D, E). A.J. MORALES, *The Pyramid Texts of Nut in the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, Hamburg, 2016; A.J. MORALES, “El Ritual de Vigilia en el Antiguo Egipto. Nut in the Pyramid Texts”, *HABIS* 47, 2016, p. 7-25.

¹⁶⁸ H. ALTENMÜLLER, “Funerary Boats and Boat Pits of the Old Kingdom”, *ArOr* 70/3, 2002, p. 269-290.

¹⁶⁹ E. THOMAS, “Solar Barks Prow to Prow”, *JEA* 42, 1956, p. 65-79.

¹⁷⁰ H. JUNKER, *Die Stundenwaken in den Osirismysterien nach des Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae*, Wien, 1910; *LÄ* VI, 104-105.

¹⁷¹ See H. WILLEMS, *The coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, *OLA* 70, Leuven, 1996, p. 382-384.

in his solar bark during the twelve hours of the night, protected and guided by goddesses and gods at each hour and portal, was probably inspired by the Amduat, with which it will be later inscribed in sarcophagi of the last Dynasties and Greek Period.¹⁷² In the Amduat, the sun god, traversing by night the netherworld with his bark, encounters its inhabitants and creatures, whose corpses, in particular that of Sokar and Osiris, are regenerated by him during a perilous journey, continuously threatened by evil forces but leading to the final glory. The names of several deities of the Book of Night are found in the Amduat, which, together with other “netherworld books”, including the Book of the Dead and the Litany of the Sun, provides the guide for the destiny of the deceased in the afterlife. But the deceased with his *ba* was destined also to a joyful rebirth like the sun in the *akhet* and the day sky, as described in the last hour of the Amduat and the Book of Gates. This concept is developed in the Book of Day, which describes the journey of the solar bark during the twelve hours of the day, protected and helped by goddesses and gods at each hour. Fragmentary elements of the Book of Night and Book of Day are found in the southern hall of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, with the monarch depicted in the solar bark and worshipping the goddesses of the hours.¹⁷³ As we will see, the ritual of the night hours is here a peculiar composition derived from spells of the Book of the Dead. However, remnants of the second night hour in accordance with the version in the tomb of Ramses VI appear on a wall of the sixth vestibule.¹⁷⁴ An almost complete copy of the Book of Night is inscribed in the Osireion of Sethi I at Abydos, while the entire composition, including the Book of Day, is recorded on the corridor and burial chamber of the tomb of Ramses VI. Elements of the hour ritual are found in tombs, cenotaphs, temples, papyri, coffins and sarcophagi, from the Third Intermediate Period to the Greco-Roman Period.¹⁷⁵ In particular, they are inscribed in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban tombs of Ramose (TT 132), Karachamun (TT 223), Padiamunipet (TT 33), Montuemhat (TT 34), Pabasa (TT 279), Padihorresnet (TT 196), Sheshonq (TT 27), Pestjenfi (TT 128), and the cenotaph of Harwa (TT 37).¹⁷⁶

The elongated body of Nut with upraised arms, surrounded by worshipping goddesses of the hours with their names, decorates the lid interior of a rather limited number of anthropoid coffins from the Twenty-sixth to the Thirtyrd Dynasty, namely:

- a. Anthropoid coffin of Khonsutefnakht, from El-Hibeh, Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E.0586, Twenty-sixth Dynasty.¹⁷⁷
- b. Anthropoid coffin of Peftjauuineith, from Saqqara, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. AMM 5, Twenty-sixth Dynasty.¹⁷⁸
- c. Anthropoid coffin of Ramose, from Edfu, necropolis of Nag El-Hassaya, Narni, Museo Civico di Palazzo Erolì, Inv.Com.2007 1-3, Twenty-sixth Dynasty.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² See G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* I, p. 22-25.

¹⁷³ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* IV, London, 1901, p. 10-11, pl. 114-116.

¹⁷⁴ See G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* II, 3-7; I, p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ See: G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* I, p. 1-25; M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 22-49.

¹⁷⁶ See the synoptic edition of texts of the hours in: E. GRAEFE, “Stundenritual”:

<http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/org/WMA/graefe/stunden/> (accessed October 30, 2017).

¹⁷⁷ V. SCHMIDT, *Levende og Døde I det Gamle Aegypten Album til ordning af Sarkofager, Mumiekister, Mumiehylstre o Lign*, Copenhagen, 1919, 218, fig. 1238; L. SPELEERS, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles, 1923, p. 89-91 (no. 337).

¹⁷⁸ C. LEEMANS, *Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandse Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*, III.30, Leiden, 1890, pl. I-VIII; M.J. RAVEN, *De Dodencultus van het Oude Egypte*, Amsterdam, 1992, p. 60-62, no. 23.

¹⁷⁹ E. BRESCIANI, F. SILVANO, F. BRUSCHI, M. MASETTI, M.-T. LOCCI, R. CIRANNI, G. FORNACIARI, “Ricerche sul sarcofago e sulla mummia di Narni”, *EVO* 26, 2003, p. 41-62.

- d. Anthropoid coffin of Peftjauuiaset, from Thebes, Milan, inv. no. 0.9.40148, Twenty-sixth Dynasty.
- e. Anthropoid coffin of Neferrenepet, from Akhmim, National Museum in Belgrade, reg. no. 13/VI, transferred in 1992 at the University of Belgrade, Thirtyth Dynasty.¹⁸⁰

Among these examples, the coffin of Peftjauuiaset is the only one with a text of the hour ritual: in all other cases, near the worshiping goddesses are only hour numbers with the names of the twelve portals of the night and the twelve hours of the day. In the coffin of Peftjauuineith in Leiden (b), from Saqqara, all around the edge of the lid interior there is a mirrored text, referred to the goddesses of the night and day hours, running symmetrically from the head end to the foot end. The goddesses are exhorted to be vigilant on the deceased as they are vigilant on Osiris:

j w3d.tyw jp n.t grh (/ hrw) n.ty rs hr wsjr jr.y tn rs hr wsjr shm-hw.tw pf-t3w- 'w(y)-njt m3 '-hrw s3 shm-hw.tw hm hr.w-wr-w3d.ty hm-ntr jmn jwn(.w)-mh.wj (/ w3s.t-mh.wj) hp.t-wd3.t hk3-t(3)f-nht m3 '-hrw s3 mj-nn hm-ntr nj.t wr.t mw.t ntr pf-t3w- 'w(y)-njt m3 '-hrw ms n mr.t-njt m3 '(t)-hrw jw w '-nb jm tn r wnwts mj jr.y=tn hr nb=tn wsjr-wn-nfr m3 '-hrw.

“O expert double-uraei-goddesses of the night (/day), who are vigilant upon Osiris: make yourself vigilant upon the Osiris, powerful of the temples, Peftjauuineith justified, son of the powerful of the temples, servant of Haroeris of the two crowns, prophet of Amun of the northern Heliopolis (/northern Thebes), Hepet-udjat, Hekatjafnakht justified, son of the same priest-rank, prophet of the great Neith mother of the god, Peftjauuineith justified. Each of you is according to her hour, like you make upon your lord, Osiris-Wennefer justified”.

This text appears also on the edge of the lid interior of the coffin of Ramose in Narni (c), and at each side of the figure of Nut on the lid interior of the coffin of Khonsutefnakht in Bruxelles (a).

Between the hands of Nut on the lid of Peftjauuineith are two short columns of text, written upside-down:

p.t htp t(w) hr b3=k “The sky, making content you with your *ba*”.

dw3.t jmn t(w) hr h3.t=k “The netherworld, hiding you with your corpse”.

Here the hours of the night are associated with the netherworld, and those of the day with the (upper) sky. The sky brings joy to the *ba*, while the netherworld gives a hiding place to the corpse of the deceased.

Versions of the hour ritual in tombs and temples of the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate and Late Period, make usually reference to the text of the Book of Night and Book of Day inscribed on the corridor and the vault of the burial chamber of Ramses VI. As previously pointed out, the anthropoid coffin of Peftjauuiaset shows a peculiar version of the hour ritual, identified up to now only in two Nubian royal sarcophagi of the Napatan Period, during the Saite Period of Egypt.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Dating suggested by collar style and orthographic features. See: B. ANDELKOVIC, J.P. ELIAS, “Ernest Brummer and the Coffin of Nefer-renepet from Akhmim”, *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* 8/2, 2013, p. 565-584; B. ANDELKOVIC, J.P. ELIAS, *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* 10/3, p. 701-716.

¹⁸¹ Bibliographic references are indicated in the introduction of this paper.

- a. *Qersu* sarcophagus of Anlamani (*jnr-jmn*, prenomen 'nh-k3-r'), from Nuri, Khartoum Sudan National Museum no. 1868, ca. 600 BC.
- b. *Qersu* sarcophagus of Aspelta (*jsprt3*), from Nuri, Boston MFA no. 73.729, ca. 580 BC.

The names of gods and goddesses of the hours in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta are in general the canonical ones of the version in the tomb of Ramses VI. Plates 16-21 allow to compare the names of gods and goddesses of the hours in coffins and sarcophagi, previously labelled from a) to g), with the following occurrences from the Book of Night and Book of Day, in tombs, temples and papyri from the New Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period:¹⁸²

- A. Funerary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁸³
- B. Funerary temple of Thutmosis III, Deir el-Bahari, Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁸⁴
- C. Cenotaph of Sethi I (Osireion), Abydos, Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁸⁵
- D. Tomb of Ramses VI KV9 (corridor), Thebes, Twentyth Dynasty.¹⁸⁶
- E. Tomb of Ramses VI KV9 (vault of burial chamber), Thebes, Twentyth Dynasty.¹⁸⁷
- F. Tomb of Ramose TT132, Thebes, Twenty-fifth Dynasty.¹⁸⁸
- G. Tomb of Padihorresnet, TT196, Thebes, Twenty-sixth Dynasty.¹⁸⁹
- H. Temple of Edfu, Ptolemaic Period.¹⁹⁰
- I. Papyri from Tebtunis, Roman Period.¹⁹¹

Qersu coffins of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty from Deir el-Bahari are frequently depicted on the two halves of the lid exterior with the barks of day and night, and on the lid interior with the outstretched body of Nut flanked by the goddesses of the night and day hours.¹⁹²

- *Qersu* coffin of Ankhefenkhonsu, Cairo CG 41001, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior,¹⁹³ Nut with the goddesses of the night and day hours, without their names, on the lid interior.¹⁹⁴
- *Qersu* coffin of Neseramun, Cairo CG 41002, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks and deities with

¹⁸² Main reference for the names of the day hours: E. Graefe, "Stundenritual": <http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/org/WMA/graefe/stunden/> (accessed October 30, 2017).

¹⁸³ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* IV, pl.114-115.

¹⁸⁴ H. RICKE, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III*, Cairo, 1939, pl. 9-10.

¹⁸⁵ G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* II, p. 3-155.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3-155; M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 98-272.

¹⁸⁷ G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* II, p. 3-155; M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 98-272.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98-272.

¹⁸⁹ E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun* II, Tournhout, 2003, p. 109-120.

¹⁹⁰ É. CHASSINAT, *Le temple d'Edfou* III, Cairo, 1928, p. 213-228.

¹⁹¹ J. OSING, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* II, Copenhagen, 1998, pl. 17; II, p. 200-201.

¹⁹² For a more detailed description: M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 33-40. The list is not exhaustive.

¹⁹³ A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte* I, p. 2-4.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5-6.

names of the crew of Ra from Ramses VI version (Siaryt, Hu, Sia, etc.) on the lid exterior.¹⁹⁵

– *Qersu* coffin of Tabatjat, Cairo CG 41009, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior;¹⁹⁶ Nut with the goddesses of the night and day hours, without their names, on the lid interior.¹⁹⁷

– *Qersu* coffin of Tjesmutperet, Cairo CG 41014, Twenty-fifth-Twenty-sixth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.¹⁹⁸

– *Qersu* coffin of Hor, Cairo CG 41017, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior;¹⁹⁹ Nut with the goddesses of the night and day hours, without their names, on the lid interior.²⁰⁰

– *Qersu* coffin of Gatseshen, Cairo CG 41018, Twenty-fifth-Twenty-sixth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.²⁰¹

– *Qersu* coffin of Ankhhor, Leiden RO III, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.²⁰²

– *Qersu* coffin of Djedthotefankh, Oxford 1895.153, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.²⁰³

– *Qersu* coffin of Usai, Bologna KS 1957, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.²⁰⁴

– *Qersu* coffin of Iahtesnakht, private collection, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.²⁰⁵

– *Qersu* coffin of Heribsens, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.²⁰⁶

– *Qersu* coffin lid of Tauher, New York MMA 86.1.30, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: solar barks with hymn on the lid exterior; text of the 12th hour of the night at one end, text of the 12th hour of the day at the opposite end.²⁰⁷

– *Qersu* coffin of Heresenes, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior; outstretched body of Nut with upraised arms, flanked by the goddesses of the night and day hours, with texts for the night hours and only the numeration for the day hours, on the lid interior.²⁰⁸

– *Qersu* coffin of Padiamonet, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior; outstretched body of Nut with upraised arms, flanked by the goddesses of the night and day hours, on the lid interior.²⁰⁹

– *Qersu* coffin of Nespaqashuty, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior; outstretched

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38-43, pl. 9.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118, pl. 16.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121, pl. 15.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 159-160, pl. 18.

¹⁹⁹ A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte II*, p. 176-178.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 178-179.

²⁰¹ A. MORET, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte I*, pl. 19; II, p. 188-190.

²⁰² V. SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten; typologisk Atlas med Indledning*, Copenhagen, 1919, p. 175, pl. 961-966.

²⁰³ V. SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager*, p. 198, pl. 1136; J.H. TAYLOR, *Egyptian Coffins*, Aylesbury, 1989, p. 54, pl. 42.

²⁰⁴ S. PERNIGOTTI, *Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna. La Collezione Egiziana*, Corsico, 1994, p. 136.

²⁰⁵ P. DILS, "Die Särge der Iahtesnacht", in U. Verhoeven, *Das Saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht (P. Colon. Aeg. 10207)*, PTA 41, Bonn, 1993, p. 6-12, pl. 1-2.

²⁰⁶ B. BRUYÈRE, "Une nouvelle famille de prêtres de Montou trouvée par Baraize à Deir el Bahri", *ASAE* 54/1, 1956, p. 11-20, pl. 6-7.

²⁰⁷ M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, 40, 269-270, pl. 25.

²⁰⁸ C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, "The Night and Day Hours in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Sarcophagi from Thebes", in L. Bareš, F. Coppens, K. Smoláriková (eds.), *Egypt in Transition. Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE*, Prague, 2010, p. 381-385, fig. 1.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 381-385, fig. 2-4.

body of Nut with upraised arms, flanked by the goddesses of the night and day hours, with texts for night and day hours, on the lid interior.²¹⁰

– *Qersu* coffin of Tjesraperet, Firenze Inv. 2161, Twenty-fifth Dynasty: solar barks on the lid exterior.²¹¹

Only three of these coffins show excerpts from the Book of Night and Book of Day near the goddesses of the hours: the coffin of Tauher, with the text of the twelfth day hour and twelfth night hour; the coffin of Heresenes, with texts for the night hours; and that of Nespaqashuty, with texts for the night and day hours. The texts of the latter two coffins have been published only in part. Eleventh and twelfth hour of the day in the coffin of Nespaqashuty are in compliance with the version from the tomb of Ramses VI.²¹² On the lid interior of the coffin of Heresenes, instead, the texts of the night hours and the names of the goddesses follow a different pattern,²¹³ which is found also in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.²¹⁴ The composition is derived from spells of the Book of the Dead dealing with the assembling and revivification of the corpse of Osiris (spell 22, 59, 71, etc.).²¹⁵

The Late Period practice of drawing on the lid interior of anthropoid and *qersu* coffins the image of Nut finds an antecedent in Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins: the goddess appears with star deities in a central strip on the underside of the flat lid. This strip is surrounded by “diagonal star tables”, representing the sky throughout the year.²¹⁶ That the concept of Nut representing the daily cycle of the sun and the annual cycle of the stars survived for two millennia is demonstrated by the Theban *qersu* coffin of Soter (London BM EA 6705), from the Roman Period, which presents on the lid interior the elongated body of Nut with upraised arms surrounded by the goddesses of the hours and the twelve zodiac signs.²¹⁷

An image of Nut with upraised arms, wearing a star-studded dress, appears in the sarcophagus of Psusennes I at Tanis (ca. 1,000 BC).²¹⁸ She wears an Old-Kingdom style wig, as in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset. In this latter the artist outlined also long upward-streaming hair, which characterize the frontal image of the goddess in other coffins.²¹⁹ However, a reconsideration was apparently made, as the contours were not filled with black paint [Plate 6]. On the lid interior of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin of Wedjarenes in New York (MMA O.C.22a), the goddess is depicted with only the wig, without upward-streaming hair.²²⁰

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 386-387, fig. 5.

²¹¹ C. GRECO, “Il sarcofago esterno di Tjesraperet, nutrice del faraone Taharqa. Analisi iconografica preliminare”, *EVO* 32, 2010, p. 31-45.

²¹² See E. GRAEFE, “Stundenritual”, hour 11 p. 1-2, hour 12 p. 1-3:

<http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/org/WMA/graefe/stunden/> (accessed October 30, 2017).

²¹³ For example, the name of the fourth hour is *h3p.t šwt m jwnw* “She who hides the shadow in Heliopolis”: *LGG* V, 25.

²¹⁴ See E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* IV, p. 11, pl. 115-116.

²¹⁵ C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, in *Egypt in Transition*, p. 383-385.

²¹⁶ O. NEUGEBAUER, R.A. PARKER, *Egyptian astronomical texts* I, London, 1960, pl. 1-23.

²¹⁷ O. NEUGEBAUER, R.A. PARKER, *Egyptian astronomical texts* III, London, 1969, pl. 47A. See also the similar iconography in the coffin of Heter: C. RIGGS, “Archaism and Artistic Sources in Roman Egypt. The Coffins of the Soter Family and the Temple of Deir el-Medina”, *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 329, fig. 3.

²¹⁸ O. NEUGEBAUER, R.A. PARKER, *Egyptian astronomical texts* III, pl. 16.

²¹⁹ The Archaeological Museum in Milan exhibits at the Sforza Castle a burial shroud from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (E 0.9.40903), of unknown provenance, in which Nut with outstretched body and upraised arms is depicted with both the wig and upward-streaming hair. The goddess is surrounded by four worshipping baboons.

²²⁰ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inscriben der Spätzeit IV. Die 26. Dynastie II*, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 1034-1035.

As is typical of frontal images of Nut from the Late Period, her nose has broad nostrils, and vertical lines connect the mouth with the jaw. The iconography of her naked body, which is uncommon for an Egyptian goddess, may be the result of foreign influence. It was conceived in the New Kingdom, when the goddess Qadesh, commonly represented naked, was introduced into the Egyptian pantheon under the influence of foreign counterparts like Ishtar, Asherah, and Astarte.²²¹

One red solar disk, mostly damaged, is visible above the hands of Nut, and a yellow solar disk under her feet [Plate 6]. More common in coffins of the Saite Period is the depiction of one sun disk at the neck of the goddess, and another one at her vulva, as in the coffin of Khonsutefnakht in Bruxelles (a), Peftjauauineith in Leiden (b), and Ramose in Narni (c). A white crescent is present at the lower part of a pinkish disk below the pubic triangle of Nut in the coffin of Peftjauauineith in Leiden, probably to indicate the solar rebirth at dawn in the union with the Osirian character of the waxing moon [fig. 60, left]. A semicircular segment of light colour appears also at the lower part of a red solar disk in the coffin of Ramose in Narni [fig. 60, right].

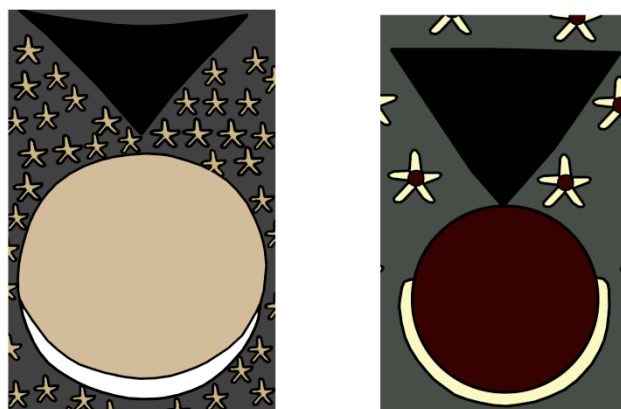


Fig. 60. Disk below the pubic triangle of Nut in the coffin of Peftjauauineith in Leiden (left), and Ramose in Narni (right). Drawing by the author.

On the lid interior of the coffin of Wedjarenes in New York (MMA O.C.22a), a red solar disk lies between the hands of Nut, and another one below her pubic triangle.

The most logic position of the two disks should be at the mouth and vulva of the goddess: the sun is swallowed by the goddess at sunset and delivered from her womb at dawn. This position is respected also in the image of the arched body of Nut at the head end of the trough interior in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin of Padiamun in Liverpool (Inv. 1953.72), from Thebes, where both disks are yellow.²²²

Table 1 shows colour and position of upper and lower disks in the previously mentioned coffins from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

In the famous double image of the arched body of Nut represented back-to-back on the vault of the burial chamber of Ramses VI, the direction of the sun from west to east during the night, from the mouth of the goddess to her vulva, is opposite to that from east to west during

²²¹ Cf. G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* I, p. 33.

²²² L. MIATELLO, *BEJ* 4, p. 28, fig. 18.

the day, from her vulva to her mouth. These opposite directions represent the circular path of the sun. In the iconography of Nut with outstretched corpse and upraised arms, as in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset, the mirrored realities of night and day are represented by the goddesses of the hours, on the sides of the sky goddess. The first hour of night and day is above the hands of Nut; the twelfth hour of night and day is under her feet. Here the principle is the symmetrical arrangement of worshiping goddesses of the night and day hours, instead of the representation of the opposite directions of the sun. The lid is the vault of the lower and upper sky, in which the darkness of the night hours alternates with the brightness of the day hours. In this respect, it is incorrect to see the west on the right of Nut and the east on her left: the west corresponds to the twelfth hour of the day and the first hour of the night, and the east to the twelfth hour of the night and the first hour of the day. Both are on either side of the goddess.

	Upper disk colour	Upper disk position	Lower disk colour	Lower disk position
Khonsutefnakht, Bruxelles (a)	Yellow	Mouth	Yellow	Vulva
Peftjauuineith, Leiden (b)	Red	Mouth	Pink + white	Vulva
Ramose, Narni (c)	Red	Mouth	Red + white	Vulva
Peftjauuiaset, Milan (d)	Red	Hands	Yellow	Feet
Wedjarenes, New York O.C.22a	Red	Hands	Red	Vulva

Tab. 1. Colour and position of upper and lower disks on the body of Nut in Twenty-sixth Dynasty anthropoid coffins.

“Mirrored hours” of night and day are found also in *qersu* coffins and sarcophagi, from the head end to the foot end. In the Nubian *qersu* sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, on one half of the lid exterior is the day bark with the “Hymn of the Baboons”, and the text of the day hours and worshiping goddesses of the day; on the other half is the night bark with the Hymn to the Setting Sun, and the text of the night hours with worshiping goddesses of the night.²²³

I will discuss now the main features of the version of the hour ritual in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, comparing them with those of the version of the Book of Day and Book of Night in the tomb of Ramses VI.

Hours and portals of the night

In the version of the Book of Night from the cenotaph of Sethi I and the tomb of Ramses VI, inscribed also in royal tombs of the Third Intermediate Period (Osorkon II and Sheshonq III at Tanis), the scheme for each night hour is simple. It can be described as follows:

- Number and name of the portal are designated.
- The solar bark reaches the portal, whose name is repeated, and the hour, whose name is indicated.

²²³ See the drawing of the lid exterior in the sarcophagus of Aspelta: D. DUNHAM, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush II. Nuri*, p. 86, fig. 58.

- A god acting as guide to the sun god is appointed.

In this composition, the first night hour and the twelfth portal are missing: the first portal is mentioned at the second hour, and the eleventh portal at the twelfth hour. The portals are conceived as separators of the night hours. This means that there are eleven portals and eleven hours. We can write the equivalence $h = p + 1$, where h is the hour number, and p the portal number from 1 to 11.

For example, the text of the fifth portal, sixth hour, recites:²²⁴

“Fifth portal, ‘Lady of life’. Sailing for the majesty of this god, reaching the fifth portal, ‘Lady of life’, and the sixth hour, ‘The shelter’. The god who is in this hour as guide to this god is ‘Horus on the wood’”.

The scheme for each hour of the night in the version of the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta is more complex:

- A god of the hour speaks (guiding god).
- A guardian goddess for each portal is invoked.
- Osiris is exhorted to be vigilant.
- Horus comes to visit his father.
- Deities protect with libation or sacred oils.

Here there is a perfect correspondence between hour number and portal number: $h = p$. For example, the name of the goddess of the fifth portal, “Lady of life”, which appears at the sixth hour in the version of Ramses VI, in this composition occurs at the fifth hour.

Such a pattern is followed also in the other coffins of the Late Period with the image of Nut, previously labelled from a) to e): each worshipping goddess with a star on her head bears the name of a portal, for a total of twelve portals. The names of the goddesses of the hours are missing; there are only the names of the goddesses of the portals.

In the two versions of the Book of Night, the names of the portals and the gods who act as guide correspond almost entirely [Plates 16-18]. Transliteration and translation of these names are indicated in Tables 2 and 3.

The name of the guiding god at the twelfth portal, which is missing in the version of Ramses VI, in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagus of Aspelta is *prỉ m 3ḥ.t* “He who comes forth from the horizon”. The goddess of the twelfth portal is *ptr nfr.w nbꜣs* “She who sees the beauty of her lord”, as in other Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffins inscribed with the names of the twelve portals [Plate 18].

In temples of the Greco-Roman period, the two series of names of goddesses of the portals and guiding gods show limited differences. In Dendera, the guiding god at the twelfth portal/hour is “Khepri”. At the ninth portal/hour, instead of *w3ḏ.w mw.tꜣf* “He who makes flourish his mother”, there is *jwn mw.tꜣf* “Pillar of his mother”.²²⁵ Another variation appears at

²²⁴ Cf. G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* I, p. 179-180.

²²⁵ Cf. H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum. Altaegyptische Inschriften* I, Leipzig, 1883, p. 28.

the eleventh portal/hour: *wb(3) m ḏwꜣf* “He who drills in his mountain”.²²⁶ Other names in Dendera are canonical, including all names of the portals.

In the coffin of Peftjauaiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, the name of the guiding god at the first portal/hour is *k3 ḥa* “Bull of appearance”, instead of the canonical name *k3 j ḥ.w* “Bull of radiance”. The names of the guiding gods at the sixth and seventh portal, “Horus inhabitant of the netherworld” and Sokar, in the version from the tomb of Ramses VI appear at the seventh portal (eighth hour) and sixth portal (seventh hour), respectively.

In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, and in the tomb of Ramses VI, the name of the goddess of the first portal (second hour) is *nb.t jdw* “Lady of pestilence”,²²⁷ replaced in the Saite Period by *nb.t tḥn* “Lady of gleaming”.²²⁸

	Guiding god	Translation
Night, portal 1	<i>k3 j3ḥ.w /ḥ</i>	Bull of radiance /appearance
Night, portal 2	<i>k3 t3.wj</i>	Bull of the two lands
Night, portal 3	<i>psš ḥtpꜣf /t3 ḥtpꜣf</i>	He who shares his offering /the land and his offering
Night, portal 4	<i>m3 ḥr</i>	Sincere of face
Night, portal 5	<i>ḥr.w ḥr ḥ.t</i>	Horus on the wood
Night, portal 6 (7)	<i>ḥr.w ḏw3.ty</i>	Horus inhabitant of the netherworld
Night, portal 7 (6)	<i>skr</i>	Sokar
Night, portal 8	<i>b3 pn /p(w)</i>	This <i>ba</i>
Night, portal 9	<i>w3ḏ.w mw.tꜣf</i>	He who makes flourish his mother
Night, portal 10	<i>nbw nṯr.w</i>	Golden one of the gods
Night, portal 11	<i>p3w.ty nn.ty</i>	Primeval god of the lower sky
Night, portal 12	<i>pri m 3ḥ.t</i>	He who comes forth from the horizon

Tab. 2. Names of guiding gods of the night hours.

²²⁶ LGG II, 300.

²²⁷ See G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit* II, p. 5; LGG IV, 8.

²²⁸ LGG IV, 165.

	Name of goddess of the portal	Translation
Night, portal 1	<i>nb.t jdw /tḥn</i>	Lady of pestilence /gleaming
Night, portal 2	<i>s 'r nbꜣs</i>	She who causes her lord to ascend
Night, portal 3	<i>šḥr ḏw</i>	She who drives away evil
Night, portal 4	<i>'ḏ šḥs.t</i>	Great of dignity
Night, portal 5	<i>nb.t 'nh</i>	Lady of life
Night, portal 6	<i>nb.t ḏsr.w štḏ</i>	Lady of secret sanctity
Night, portal 7	<i>ḥr-tp.t 'ḥḏ ḥr nbꜣs /ḥr nb.t</i>	Chieftainess who fought for her lord /for the lady
Night, portal 8	<i>mr nsr.t</i>	Painful of flame
Night, portal 9	<i>nb.t snd</i>	Lady of fear
Night, portal 10	<i>mk nbꜣs</i>	She who protects her lord
Night, portal 11	<i>ḥsf ḥm.yw /ḥrw.tyw</i>	She who repels the destroyers /the enemies
Night, portal 12	<i>ptr nfr.w nbꜣs</i>	She who sees the beauty of her lord

Tab. 3. Names of goddesses of the portals.

An almost complete correspondence results also from the comparison of the names of the portals in Twenty-sixth Dynasty anthropoid coffins [Plates 16-18]. An inversion of names, in comparison with the canonical series, occurs for the fourth and fifth portals in the coffin of Peftjauauineith in Leiden (b): the name of the goddess of the fourth portal is *nb.t 'nh* “Lady of life”, and that of the fifth portal is *'ḏ šḥs.t* “Great of dignity”. These are usually the names of the fifth and fourth portal, respectively.

In the version of the coffin of Peftjauauiset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, at the end of each night hour the corpse of Osiris is protected by deities, who, in the first eleven hours, pour on him sacred fluids, in accordance with ritual acts performed on the mummy in the place of embalming. This part is completely missing in the version of Ramses VI. Substances for each hour are as follows:

1. *qbḥ(.w)* “libation water”.
2. *stj-ḥḏb* “festival fragrance”.
3. *ḥkn* “hekenu-oil”.
4. *'nty, sft* “myrrh”, “sefetj-oil”.
5. *twḏ(w)* “tuaut-oil”.
6. *jbr* “iber-oil”.
7. *md.t* “medjet-oil”.
8. *bḏ(q)* “moringa-oil”.
9. *(n)ḥnm* “nekhem-oil”.
10. *ḥḏ.t n.t 'š* “the best cedar oil”.
11. *ḥḏ.t n.t tḥnw* “the best Lybian-oil”.

At the ninth hour of the night in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, the deity *hsb-qdw*, “He who reckons the forms”, protects with (*n*)*hnm*-oil.²²⁹ This hour is missing in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset. In place of it, there is a duplication of the ninth hour of the day.

The ritual comprises libation in the first hour, and effusion of eleven oils: the seven sacred oils (festival fragrance, *hekenu*, *sefetj*, *tuaut*, *nechenem*, the best cedar oil, the best Lybian-oil), with the addition of myrrh, *iber*-oil, *medjet*-oil, and moringa-oil. At the twelfth hour of the night, when the solar rebirth is imminent, “He who pushes aside evil” and Neith protect without use of liquids. In the coffin of Peftjauuiaset, the mummy of Osiris stands up (*h*), with probable allusion to the act of raising up the anthropoid coffin in the place of embalming, evoked also by the sentence at the fifth hour of the day, “all mummy boards stand up to your worshipers”. The text of the day hours presents multiple exhortations to Osiris to raise up (*ts*).

These are the names of the deities who protect the body of Osiris with libation and sacred oils:

1. Thoth and Anubis.
2. “The two sisters”.
3. “The lord of Punt”.
4. Isdes.
5. “The god's sealer”.
6. Dunanui.
7. “He who is over his papyrus plant” and Tjesmu.
8. “He who is under his moringa-tree”.
9. “He who reckons the forms”.
10. “The lord of the east”.
11. “The foremost of Kheri-Tjehenu”.
12. “He who pushes aside evil” and Neith.

An important feature of the version of the Book of Night in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta is the visit of Horus to his father in the netherworld. This is the prelude to the union of the solar form of Horus with the body of Osiris at the first hour of the day, marking the solar resurrection of both. As highlighted in religious texts of all periods, it is by reciprocal aid that Osiris and Horus become an *akh*.²³⁰

Hours of the day

As in the case of the text of the night hours, the version of the ritual of the day hours in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta is substantially different from that in the tomb of Ramses VI. The standard scheme for each of the twelve hours of the day in the latter version can be described as follows:

²²⁹ See G. SOUKIASSIAN, *BIFAO* 82, p. 339-340. On the protector: *LGG* V, 486.

²³⁰ Cf. D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* I, Oxford, 2001, p. 47-48.

- The solar bark reaches the hour, whose name is specified.
- Attributes of the hour are presented.
- The goddess of the hour stands up (*ḥꜣs*) for a deity.

For example, the text of the second hour of the day recites:²³¹

“The majesty of this god travels toward the hour whose name is ‘She who dispels the darkness’. This is the hour of triumph. It is the second hour, in which the majesty of this god comes out. This is the hour of jubilation and adoration of Ra when he comes out of her. She stands up for Hu”.

Text of the eleventh hour:²³²

“Navigating in peace inside the eleventh hour, whose name is ‘Beautiful of sight’. It is the hour of adjusting the ropes toward the western horizon, descending in the sacred bark upon the west. She stands up for ‘He who guides the ropes which are in the sacred bark’ ”.

At the end of each hour, the goddess of the hour arises for a deity, usually composing the crew of the solar bark, from Maat in the first hour to “He who protects in the twilight” in the twelfth hour.²³³ These deities are listed in the first column of Table 5.

The version of the Book of Day in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta comply with the following scheme for each day hour:

- A goddess of the hour speaks.
- Osiris is exhorted to be vigilant.
- The goddess says that Osiris is in her.
- The goddess says that a solar form of Horus is in her, whose attributes are presented.
- Osiris is exhorted to raise up and/or formulae of protection are recited.

The correspondence between the names of the goddesses of the day hours in the two versions is almost complete, as illustrated in Plates 19-21. Transliteration and translation of these names are shown in Table 4.

The tenth hour of the day is missing on the lid interior of Peftjauuiaset. In place of it, there is a duplication of the twelfth hour of the day.

In the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta there is a different name for the goddess of the first hour of the day: instead of the canonical name *shꜣ nfr.w rꜣ* “She who causes the beauty of Ra to appear”, there is *ptr nfr.w nb(.t)ꜣs* “She who sees the beauty of her lady”. Such a name is almost identical to that of the twelfth portal of the night, “She who sees the beauty of her lord”.

²³¹ Cf. A. PIANKOFF, N. RAMBOVA, *The Tomb of Ramesses VII*, New York, 1954, p. 401; M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 107-111.

²³² Cf. A. PIANKOFF, N. RAMBOVA, *The Tomb of Ramesses VII*, p. 402; M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 264-267.

²³³ Cf. M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 460.

It should be noted that the first hour of the day on the vault of Ramses VI is written in cryptic order [fig. 61.a]. Some scholars have read the name of the hour as *ḥ.t nfr.w r*, without the *s* of the causative.²³⁴ Figure 61.b shows that the *s* is written detached from *ḥ*, but it is present.²³⁵ The text in the burial chamber of Ramses VI was certainly taken as benchmark, and its cryptic order of writing may have deceived also the Egyptians, as *ḥ.t nfr.w r*, without the *s*, appears in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin of Padiamun in Liverpool,²³⁶ and in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffin of Khonsutefnakht in Bruxelles [Plate 19].

	Name of goddess of the hour	Translation
Day, hour 1	<i>sh' nfr.w r</i> <i>/ptr nfr.w nb(.t)ꜣs</i>	She who causes the beauty of Ra to appear /She who sees the beauty of her lady
Day, hour 2	<i>ḥsr/ḥrs kk.w</i>	She who dispels the darkness
Day, hour 3	<i>sh'.t/ḥ' bꜣ.w ntr.w</i> <i>ptr ḥḥ.w</i>	She who acclaims the <i>bas</i> of the gods, who sees the great quantities
Day, hour 4	<i>sšp ḥ'.w</i>	She who lights up appearances
Day, hour 5	<i>(wnw.t) jgr.t /jqr.t</i> <i>/'ḥ'.yt</i>	(The hour of) the silent one /the excellent one /She who arises
Day, hour 6	<i>'rw.t ndr.t</i> <i>/nky.t</i>	Door which grasps /She who chastises
Day, hour 7	<i>sꜣw jb.w</i>	She who makes glad the hearts
Day, hour 8	<i>ḥ'.t</i>	Jubilation
Day, hour 9	<i>nb.t 'nh</i>	Lady of life
Day, hour 10	<i>wpš bjꜣ sqb ḥp.wt</i>	She who lights up the water-sky, who refreshes the oars
Day, hour 11	<i>nfr.t mꜣ.w</i>	Beautiful of sight
Day, hour 12	<i>psꜥ nb.wt ḥnm.t 'nh</i>	She who lights up the isles, protectress of life

Tab. 4. Names of goddesses of the day hours.

The name of the third hour of the day is occasionally abbreviated to “She who acclaims the *bas* of the gods”, as in the coffins of Peftjauuineith in Leiden (b) and the Tebtunis papyri (I), or to “She who sees the great quantity”, as in the coffin of Ramose in Narni (c). The reading “great quantity” seems more suitable than the literal rendering “one million”. In New Kingdom occurrences the noun is in the plural *ḥḥ.w* [Plate 19]. The concept of the *bas* giving “the great quantity” is elucidated by the following text, in the upper register of the

²³⁴ E.g.: B. ANDEKOVIC, J.P. ELIAS, *Issues in Ethnology and Anthropology* 10/3, p. 707.

²³⁵ See the photo in A. PIANKOFF, N. RAMBOVA, *The Tomb of Ramesses VII*, p. 187. Correct transcription in M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 100.

²³⁶ See L. MIATELLO, *BEJ* 4, p. 28, fig. 18.

The name of the goddess of the sixth hour of the day in this scheme, *ḥ'yt* "She who arises", in the sarcophagus of Anlamani (f) designates the name of the goddess of the fifth hour, replacing the canonical name *jgr.t* "The silent one", belonging to the pattern of the tomb of Ramses VI, or *jgr.t* "The excellent one" [Plate 20].²⁴⁰ The name of the tenth hour, "She who lights up the water-sky, who refreshes the oars" is abbreviated to "She who lights up the water-sky" in the sarcophagus of Anlamani (f), and to "She who refreshes the oars" in the temple of Hatshepsut (A), in the coffin of Khonsutefnakht (a), and in the coffin of Ramose (c) [Plate 21].

Protectors or helpers are appointed at the end of several day hours in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta. Their names are derived from those of the deities for whom the goddess of the hour arises in the version of the Book of Day in the tomb of Ramses VI, but the correspondence is incomplete, as indicated in Table 5. In the eleventh hour of the day, the name of the body of Horus is "The powerful one crossing the sky with Hah and 'He who guides the ropes which are in the sacred bark'". This is a derivation from the version of Ramses VI, where "He who guides the ropes which are in the sacred bark" is the deity for whom the goddess of the eleventh hour stands up.²⁴¹ Other deities who correspond in the two versions are Maat, Hu, Sia, and Khonsu. In the version of the tomb of Ramses VI Isis protects at the ninth hour, while in the version of the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta she protects at the sixth hour, instead of Seth.²⁴² The goddess is also a corpse of Horus at the ninth hour in the latter version, in analogy with the Litany of the Sun, in which she is one of the forms of Ra.²⁴³ On the other hand, "Isis lady of life" is the name of the goddess of the ninth hour of the day at Dendera.²⁴⁴ Clearly, the goddesses of the day hours identify with the solar form within their womb, as explicitly declared by some of them: "I am the *nth* body of your son Horus". In this connection, the frequent use of the god determinative instead of that of the goddess, common also in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, appears as a minor mistake, if not even a deliberate hint at the divine union of male and female characters.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ On *jgr.t*: LGG I, 566.

²⁴¹ M. MÜLLER-ROTH, *Das Buch vom Tage*, p. 266.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

²⁴³ E. HORNUNG, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen* II, p. 38, 64.

²⁴⁴ H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* I, p. 31 (9 B').

²⁴⁵ See also K.M. COONEY, "Where does the Masculine Begin and the Feminine End? The Merging of the Two Genders in Egyptian Coffins during the Ramesside Period", in B. Heininger (ed.), *Ehrenmord und Emanzipation: Die Geschlechterfrage in Ritualen von Parallelgesellschaften*, Münster, 2009, p. 99-124.

	Ramses VI. Deity for whom the goddess arises	Anlamani and Aspelta. Protector or helper	Peftjauaiaset. Protector or helper
Day, hour 1	Maat	Maat	Maat
Day, hour 2	Hu	Hu	<Hu>
Day, hour 3	Sia	Sia	Sia
Day, hour 4	Asebit	--	--
Day, hour 5	Siarit	--	--
Day, hour 6	Seth	Isis	Isis
Day, hour 7	Horus	--	--
Day, hour 8	Khonsu	Khonsu	Khonsu
Day, hour 9	Isis	--	--
Day, hour 10	Hekasemsu	"Two hands of magic"	n.a.
Day, hour 11	"He who guides the ropes in the sacred bark"	Hah and "He who guides the ropes in the sacred bark"	Hah and "He who guides the ropes in the sacred bark"
Day, hour 12	"He who protects in the twilight"	--	--

Tab. 5. Names of protectors and helpers.

The most striking feature of the version of the Book of Day in the coffins of Peftjauaiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta is the concept of solar maternity within the body of the goddesses of the hour, as manifestations within the body of Nut, and the concept of solar-Osirian unity. The following sentences from the text of the day hours illustrate the role of the goddesses of the hours and the solar forms of Horus in the resurrection of Osiris and the luminous revivification of his corpse:

- First hour: "You appear in me. Your son Horus, beloved of the god, has come to me, and the father has come into being together with him. Your nose fills with his fragrance. The form upon you is life and dominion".
- Second hour: "Opening your eyes in me you make jubilant the palace, as you see. (This is) the 2nd body in me of your son Horus, who illumines the two lands with his light. His rays <upon> you are life and dominion. Raise you up!".
- Third hour: "You rejoice in me, and all the lands rejoice because of you. I am the 3rd body of your son [Horus,] when he is the [great] illuminator. Sia leads his rays. Raise you up!".
- Fourth hour: "We light up <at> the same time, we illumine the twin caverns and the netherworld. I am your 4th body of your son Horus, the one within his circuit lighting up the two lands, the flame, the one who is flamed with your rebels. Raise you up!".
- Fifth hour: "The perfection of the great one according to you is in me. All mummy boards stand up to your worshipers. I am the 5th body of your son Horus, the great disk which is in the zenith. The uraeus decorating your head is power, [30] wisdom, and victory. Raise you up!".
- Sixth hour: "You are <powerful> in me according to your will. I am the 6th body of your son

Horus, the one of the sun disk who illumines, the light of your two sisters. Isis is the protection of your flesh. Raise you up!”.

– Seventh hour: “The place regarding you comes into being indeed in me as you wish. (This is) the 7th body in me of your son Horus, the one who illumines within all eyes, when <he> is with you in the name of your *ka*. Raise you up!”.

– Eighth hour: “Your *ꜥh*-spirit of your divine ones is in me. This is the 8th) body in me of your son Horus, who allows all eyes to see”.

– Ninth hour: “You unite all hearts with your life, you repress the imitation of voice of Shentayt, which causes awe of you in the Phoenicians. I am the 9th body of your son Horus, who is in the light that illumines the two lands: [Isis], who is in <me>. Raise you up! She sees as you!”.

– Eleventh hour: “You see with your eyes; the beauty of your heart is in me. <This is> the 11th) body in me of your son Horus, the powerful one crossing the sky with Hah and ‘He who guides the ropes which are in the sacred bark’, with the knife belonging to you and the throne of the bull”.

– Twelfth hour: “Your ‘dark one’ is in me with the throne. This is the 10th body in me of your son Horus: Atum in the western horizon, living in the protection of your place. Raise <you> up! <You> unite with life!”.

No other text of this period is more explicit in describing the solar maternity and the solar-Osirian unity, as parallel solar rebirth.²⁴⁶ The goddesses of the hours declare that both Osiris and a solar form of his son Horus are in them. The following sentences are referred to Osiris: “You appear in me” (first hour); “The father has come into being together with him” (first hour); “Opening your eyes in me you make jubilant the palace, as you see” (second hour); “You rejoice in me” (third hour); “You are <powerful> in me according to your will” (sixth hour); “You see with your eyes; the beauty of your heart is in me” (eleventh hour). In the first hour of the day, the nose of Osiris fills with the fragrance of his son, with a presumable reference to fumigations performed at dawn in the place of embalming. The verb *hpr* “coming into being” and the noun *hpr(.w)* “form” are both symbolic of the corpse of Khepri, with which Osiris and his son identify as solar forms appearing at dawn.²⁴⁷ It is the only hour in which the number of body of Horus is not indicated: the sacrality of the moment transcends limits of time and space. Osiris is regenerated by the solar energy of his son, who “allows all to see” (eighth hour). At the same time, the solar flame is the instrument for the annihilation of the enemies of Osiris (fourth hour). At sunset, when dusk approaches, “the dark one” (Atum) is the solar form within the goddess of the twelfth hour, protected in the west.

The association of each day hour with a corpse of the sun god builds on the classic attribution of a divine embodiment in correspondence with a geographical position of the sun in its daily cycle: Khepri in the east, Ra in the zenith, and Atum in the west. In the temple of Edfu, twelve barks, each with a solar form of the hour, are depicted underneath the arched body of Nut.²⁴⁸ This concept is already present in the Twenty-first Dynasty outer coffin of Tjanefer,

²⁴⁶ Criticisms to the concept of solar-Osirian unity as permanent merging between Ra and Osiris are expressed in M. SMITH, *Following Osiris. Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia*, New York, 2017, p. 306-322.

²⁴⁷ Censing is a ritual act performed with the solar bark at dawn. See, for example, the prescription in spell 136A of the Book of the Dead: T.G. ALLEN, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day*, p. 111-112.

²⁴⁸ See E. CHASSINAT, *Le temple d'Edfou IX*, Cairo, 1929, pl. 33c.

Cairo JE 29736, decorated on its interior with twelve solar barks.²⁴⁹








Noteworthy in the text of the ninth hour of the day in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset is the sentence “You unite all hearts with your life, you repress the imitation of voice of Shentayt, which causes awe of you in the Phoenicians”. As we have seen, this text appears incorrectly also as ninth hour of the night. The terms *mj.tw r.w* “the imitation of voice” allows to clarify the word *mj.w* in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta [Plate 14], whose meaning in previous readings could not be fully understood.²⁵⁰ It is a reference to lamentations of weepers, impersonating the role of “the widow” Shentayt. Their cry must have been frightful for foreigners unaware of Egyptian funerary practices. Osiris is resurrected, and with his living presence he represses all mournings. This could be a further ritual act performed at the vigil in the place of embalming.







Particularly interesting is the constant exhortation made to Osiris to be vigilant (*rs tp tw*) and to raise himself up (*ts tw*). Both expressions are found in the Nut group of spells in the Pyramid Texts. Utterance 451 recites:

“O Osiris NN, be vigilant (*j.rs*), raise you up (*ts tw*), stand up (*h*) and become clean, and your controlling power become clean. Your mother comes to you, Nut comes to you, the Great Protectress (*hnm.t wr.t*) comes to you, and she will cleanse you (...)”²⁵¹

Peculiarities and writing style in the version of the hour ritual of Peftjauuiaset

Excepting variants of terms and errors of transcription, there are limited differences in the text of the hour ritual in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, as shown in Table 6.

The text of the hour ritual in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset is written in cursive hieroglyphic writing, with a number of signs clearly identifiable as belonging to the hieratic. For example, in the second hour of the day (col. 8), the palace sign is written , akin to the hieratic sign no. 348 ( in Möller II;  in Möller III).²⁵² In the fifth hour of the day (col. 30), the head of bubalis (F5), written , can be paralleled to the hieratic sign no. 151 ( in Möller III). In the tenth hour of the day (col. 61), the post of balance (U39), written , is similar to the hieratic sign n. 405 ( in Möller III).

However, it is uncertain that the text in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset was copied directly from a papyrus in hieratic. The confusion of the sign  with  (6th and 7th night hour), which in hieratic are unmistakable, indicates that more probably a first copy was executed in cursive hieroglyphic on papyrus from an original source in hieratic belonged to a temple. A double copy would account also for the number of errors of transcription, which is higher than in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta. For example, the name of the fifth day hour, *jnw.tt*, is probably a miswriting of *jgr.t*, with  mistaken for , and  for .

Instead of the ninth hour of the night and the tenth hour of the day there is a duplication of the ninth and twelfth hour of the day, respectively. This kind of error is not unparalleled in coffins

²⁴⁹ See A. NIWIŃSKI, in *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 253, 254, fig. 8.

²⁵⁰ Georges Soukiassian translated “the enemies of Shentayt” (*BIFAO* 82, 346).

²⁵¹ See K. SETHE, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* I, Leipzig, 1908, p. 466-467; J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 109.

²⁵² Cf. G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, Leipzig, 1909; III, Leipzig, 1912.

of this period.²⁵³

In the construction of ordinal numbers for portals of the night and bodies of Horus, the abbreviation \triangle , instead of $\bigcirc\triangle$, is common also in the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta. Its use is attested also in the Greco-Roman Period, for example for the portal numbers in the Papyrus of Imhotep (P. New York MMA 35.9.21), from Meir,²⁵⁴ and in Dendera, for the portal numbers of the night hours.²⁵⁵

	Peftjauuiaset	Anlamani	Aspelta
Night, hour 6	[Dunanui is behind] his heart with iber-oil.	Dunanui is behind him, while protecting him with iber-oil.	Dunanui is behind him, while protecting him with iber-oil
Night, hour 12	... protecting him. His great mummy of god stands up.	[... protecting him as god].	[... protecting him] as god.
Day, hour 5	"<The silent one>" (?), words recited.	"She who arises", words recited.	"The silent one", words recited.
Day, hour 6	"Door which grasps", words recited.	"She who chastises", words recited.	"Door which grasps", words recited.
Day, hour 9	"You repress the imitation of voice of Shentayt".	"You repress the imitation of Shentayt".	"You repress the imitation of Shentayt".
Day, hour 9	[Isis], who is in <me>.	My god, who is in me, is Isis.	My god, who is in me, is Isis.
Day, hour 12	Your "dark one" is in me [with the throne].	Your "dark one" is in me at the beginning of the netherworld.	Your "dark one" is in me with the sun disk.

Tab. 6. Main differences in the three versions of the hour ritual.

Comment to the lower valve interior

Lunette at the head end

The short text written within the lunette at the head end, damaged in the first column, is presumably referred to the Goddess of the West (Amentet), represented with the typical gesture of the open arms on the floor board of the lower valve. Some of her functions are specified in the Litany of the Sun: mysterious and hidden, she hides the corpse of the deceased, welcoming him with open arms at his arrival in the tomb.²⁵⁶ In this short text at the

²⁵³ See the erroneous copy of the 5th and 6th portal of spell 145 of the Book of the Dead, in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin of Padiamun in Liverpool: L. MIATELLO, *BEJ* 4, p. 22-23.

²⁵⁴ A. KUCHARÉK, *Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephthys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit, Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 4, Heidelberg, 2010, 48-49, 275-423.

²⁵⁵ H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* I, p. 28.

²⁵⁶ Litany of the Sun, § 256-261: E. HORNING, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen* II, p. 95. See also *LGG* I, 362-363.

head end, the goddess performs the task of giving shelter (*hbs.t*) to the deceased in the tomb (*št3.yt* “the hidden one”), enveloping him with mummy bandage. As indicated already in spell 229 of the Coffin Texts, the act of swathing the deceased in wrappings made the corpse hidden.²⁵⁷

Text surrounding the figure of Amentet on the floor board of the lower valve

As previously indicated, on the lid interior of the coffin of Peftjauauineith in Leiden, between the hands of Nut are two short columns of text, one mentioning the (upper) sky and the *ba*, the other the duat and the corpse of the deceased: *dw3.t jmn t(w) hr h3.t=k* “The netherworld, hiding you with your corpse”. On the interior of the lower valve the coffin of Peftjauuiaset, this concept, already touched upon on the lunette at the head end, characterizes the first part of text surrounding the goddess Amentet. The constant repetition of the sentence *sdg.n(=f) sw* “he has hidden himself”, referred to the deceased, also in his identification with “the lord of Hermopolis” Thoth, links the text to Amun rituals. Interestingly, the incipit mentions Atum as transcendent god, instead of Amun: “Atum is invisible (to) the necropolis and all [people]” (line 2). On the other hand, the deceased is not hidden by the goddess Amentet, even if, as we have seen, this is one of her main functions, but by his own act. This is an attribute of Amun, as god whose substance is unperceivable.²⁵⁸ Unfortunately, the second part is very fragmentary, and few remarks can be made, without the identification of a parallel text. It deals with the arrival of the deceased in netherworld, where he joins Osiris (“The weary of heart” in line 15), and other inhabitants of the netherworld, as “The mother of the tomb” (line 11). In line 32, the epithet *jmn.yw*, “The hidden one”, is apparently referred to the deceased, also in considerations of the previous observations. The identification of the deceased with Thoth suggests that he had been a scribe or an official in his life, even if no title is attributed to him on the coffins.

Concluding remarks

The anthropoid coffin of Peftjauuiaset is inscribed on the lid interior with a version of the hour ritual attested also in the Nubian sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta. The names of deities are in general those of the version of the Book of Night and Book of Day in the tomb of Ramses VI, but the scheme of the composition presents relevant peculiarities. Some features, as references to acts of purification, characterize also the nocturnal vigil in Ptolemaic Stundenwachen texts, whose origins date back at least to the Middle Kingdom.²⁵⁹ Undoubtedly, the composition was constructed from multiple sources. Exhortations to Osiris to “be vigilant” and “raise up” derive from the Nut group of the Pyramid Texts, which was inscribed in the burial chamber of Old Kingdom pyramids near the texts on the resurrection of Horus. The visit of Horus to his father in the version of the hour ritual of Peftjauuiaset and the two Nubian rulers is evidently of ritual nature. Libation and effusion of sacred oils were executed during the night hours by officiants working in shift in the place of embalming. The text of the day hours is of particular interest. Instead of a description of the journey of the solar bark in the day sky, as in the version in the tomb of Ramses VI, there is the

²⁵⁷ See H. WILLEMS, *The coffin of Heqata*, p. 100.

²⁵⁸ Cf. A. WÜTHRICH, *Eléments de théologie thébaine: les chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, SAT 16, Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 70-72.

²⁵⁹ On the hour ritual in the decoration of Middle Kingdom coffins: J. ASSMANN, “Neith spricht als Mutter und Sarg”, *MDAIK* 28/2, 1973, p. 115-139.

identification of each hour with solar forms of Horus. Censing was performed in the place of embalming at dawn, when Osiris resurrects with his son as the sun in the first day hour. During all day hours, Osiris remains with the solar forms of Horus within the womb of the goddesses of the hours, regenerated by the light of his son and protected against evil forces. Probably the version for Peftjauuiaset was first copied on papyrus from an original in hieratic belonged to a temple, as indicated also by the presence of some hieratic signs.

The text of the hour ritual in Peftjauuiaset's coffin is almost identical to that of the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta. Jonathan Elias suggested that the funerary texts in these sarcophagi were not derived from Thebes, but from a location south of it.²⁶⁰ However, the presence of the hour ritual on the Theban coffin of Peftjauuiaset is partly in contrast with this deduction. Another composition, derived from spells of the Book of the Dead and inscribed in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, is also rarely attested, but the fact that the version of the hour ritual on the lid interior of Peftjauuiaset's coffin is up to now the only example found in Egyptian territory is noteworthy. It is possible that Peftjauuiaset was an official under the reign of Tanutamun in Thebes, and with the unification of Egypt by Psamtek I in 656 BC, he lost his titles. He would have been buried in Thebes around 650 BC.²⁶¹ Dating of his coffins to ca. 640 BC was proposed by Giorgio Lise for stylistic reasons.²⁶²

The figure of Amentet on the interior of the lower valve is accompanied by a text with evident references to Amun rituals: the deceased, to whom Thoth's epithet of Lord of Hermopolis is attributed, is repeatedly said to have hidden himself. The decorative program of the interior of the anthropoid coffin is in accordance with theological concepts characterizing royal temples of the Kushite-Saite Period, in particular the decorative program of the edifice of Taharqa at Karnak, dedicated to Osiris in his association with the solar cycle of Amun-Ra. Room D, preceded by a long descending staircase decorated with the figures of the Litany of the Sun, presents the second hour (first portal) of the Book of Night, and Hymns to the Rising Sun, including the "Hymn of the Baboons".²⁶³ The decorative program of the Twenty-fifth Dyansty tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) is similar, with the hour ritual inscribed on pillars of a chamber, as in the cenotaph of Harwa (TT 37).²⁶⁴

The decoration of the rectangular trough of Peftjauuiaset is also strongly marked by solar-Osirian concepts. The long rows of deities depicted on three outer sides represent forms of the sun god in the netherworld, regenerated by his solar energy. They are at the service of the sun god and the deceased with their protection, provisions and vital energies, as indicated also by their names. One of these figures is the deceased himself, represented as a bull-headed mummy. Red dots surrounding sacred objects, as a tree and an offering table, symbolize in addition solar regenerative forces. A long line of text on top of the west side concerns a ritual of libation performed on sycamore trees. By swallowing this sacred water the deceased is admitted among the deities and obtains eternal life and provisions. The pleasant destiny of the

²⁶⁰ J.P. ELIAS, *Coffin Inscription in Egypt After the New Kingdom. A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation I*, Thesis (Phd) University of Chicago, 1993, p. 390-391, n. 68.

²⁶¹ X-ray analysis of the mummy, which fits perfectly the anthropoid coffin, led to estimate an age of about thirty years at death: G. LISE, *Musei e gallerie di Milano*, p. 22.

²⁶² G. LISE, *Musei e gallerie di Milano*, p. 22.

²⁶³ See K.M. COONEY, "The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Role of the King", *JARCE* 37, 2000, p. 15-47, esp. p. 21-27; G. ROULIN, *Le livre de la nuit II*, p. 3-5; I, p. 16.

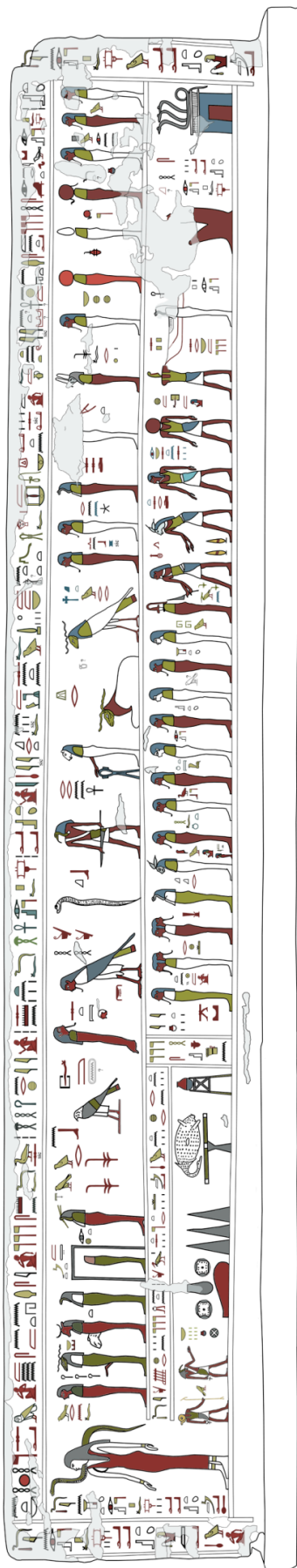
²⁶⁴ See E. PISCHIKOVA, *The History of the South Asasif Necropolis and its Exploration: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT 223), and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty*, Cairo, 2014, p. 39; F. TIRADRITTI, "La tombe de Haroua à Louqsour: un chef-d'œuvre de la renaissance pharaonique", *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 54, 2009, p. 30, p. 31, fig. 5.

deceased after the justification to share divine supplies in the afterlife, without earthly pains, is illustrated in a register on the same side of the trough. Several names of deities are not attested elsewhere, and in general the decorative program of the coffin set, which originally was even more magnificent, is characterized by rarity of texts and iconography, and constitutes a remarkable example of innovation within the tradition, in a period of major political changes.



Plate 1. Outer sides of the trough of Peftjauuiaset (a = west; b = east). Images taken from 3D model by "Computer Vision & Reverse Engineering Lab".

a.



b.

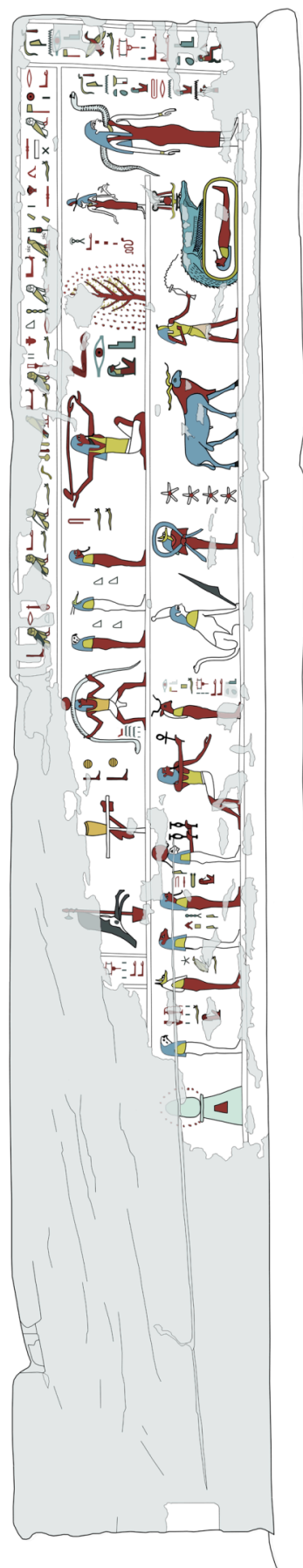


Plate 2. Outer sides of the trough of Pefjauuiaset (a = west; b = east). Milan, Museo Archeologico E 0.9.40147. Work by the author.

c.



d.

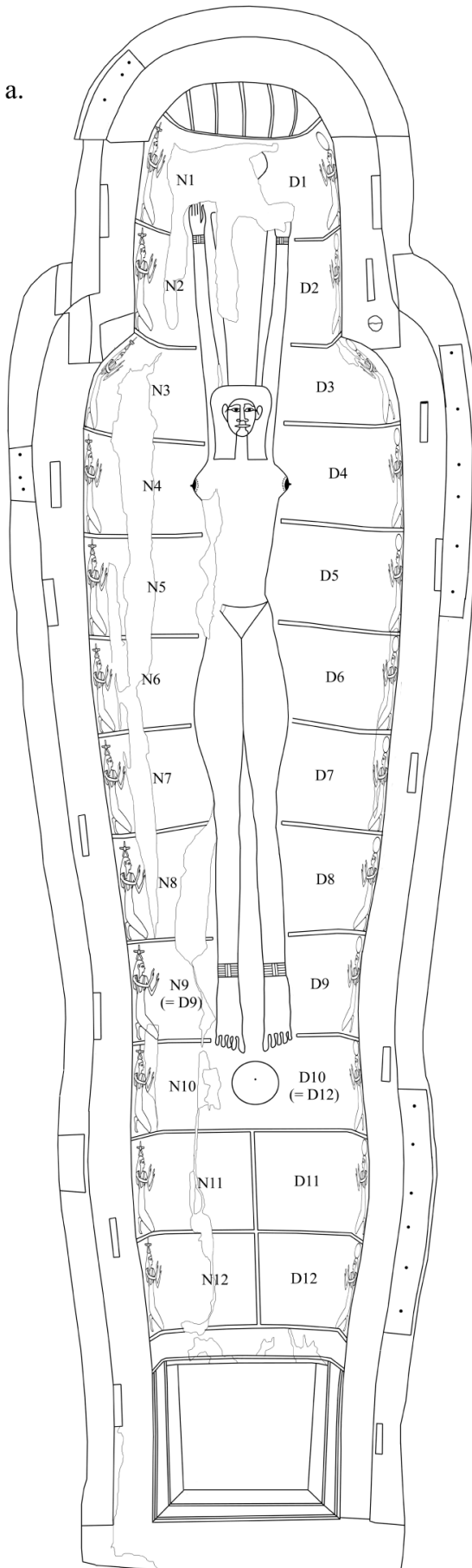


Plate 3. Outer sides of the trough of Peftjauuiaset (c = south; d = north).
Images taken from 3D model by “Computer Vision & Reverse Engineering Lab”.



Plate 5. Lid exterior of the anthropoid bivalve coffin of Pefthauauiaiset. Milan, Museo Archeologico 0.9.40148. Work by the author.

a.



b.

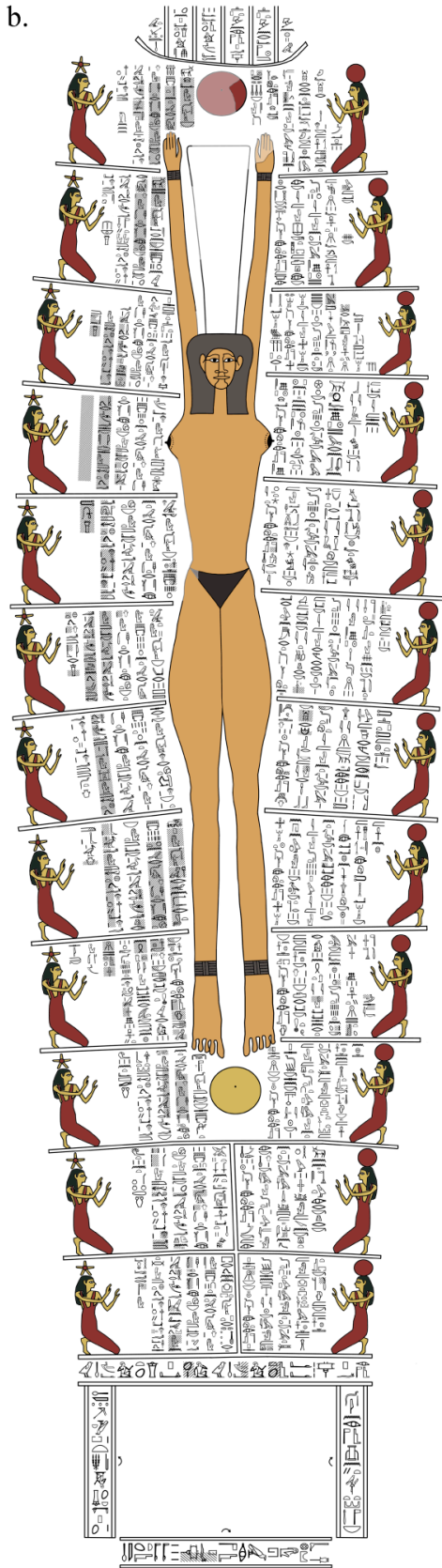


Plate 6. Lid interior of the anthropoid bivalve coffin of Pefthjauuiaset (a = drawing with hour number; b = drawing with transcription). Work by the author.

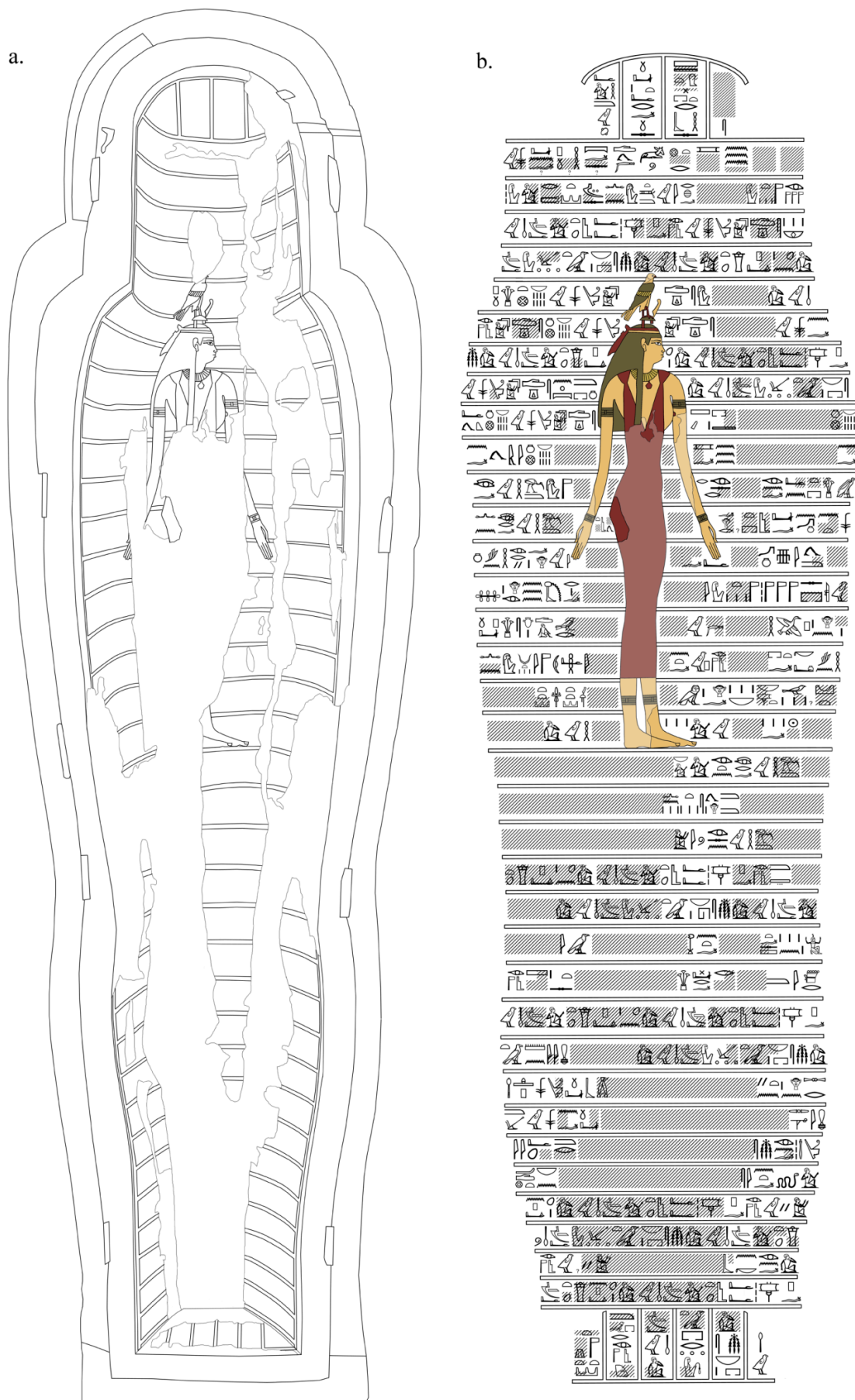


Plate 7. Lower valve interior of the anthropoid bivalve coffin of Peftjauuiaset (a = drawing with registers; b = drawing with transcription). Work by the author.

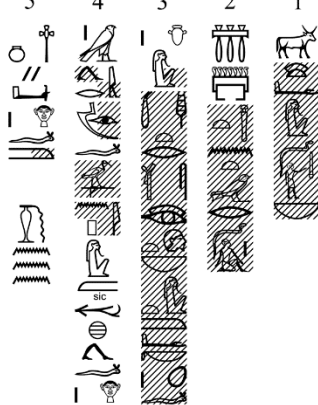


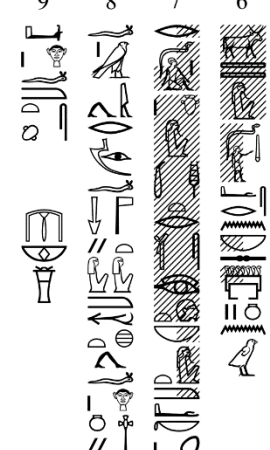





	Peftjauuiaset	Anlamani	Aspelta
N1	<p>5 4 3 2 1</p> 	<p>5 4 3 2 1</p> 	<p>4 3 2 1</p> 
N2	<p>9 8 7 6</p> 	<p>10 9 8 7 6</p> 	<p>8 7 6 5</p> 
N3	<p>15 14 13 12 11 10</p> 	<p>16 15 14 13 12 11</p> 	<p>12 11 10 9</p> 

Plate 8. Transcription of the text of the night hours (1st-3rd) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta. Work by the author.







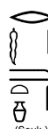


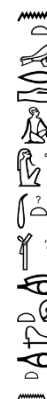

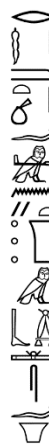














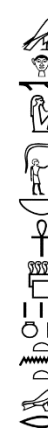














	Peftjauuiaset					Anlamani					Aspelta					
N4	20	19	18	17	16	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	
							 (Souk.)									
N5	25	24	23	22	21	28	27	26	25	24	23	20	19	18	17	
																
N6	31	30	29	28	27	26	34	33	32	31	30	29	24	23	22	21
																

Plate 9. Transcription of the text of the night hours (4th-6th) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.

	Peftjauuiaset					Anlamani						Aspelta			
N7	36	35	34	33	32	40	39	38	37	36	35	28	27	26	25
N8	41	40	39	38	37	46	45	44	43	42	41	32	31	30	29
N9	47	46	45	44	43	52	51	50	49	48	47	36	35	34	33
					48										

Plate 10. Transcription of the text of the night hours (7th-9th) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.

	Peftjauuiaset					Anlamani						Aspelta					
N10	53	52	51	50	49	58	57	56	55	54	53	40	39	38	37		
N11	58	57	56	55	54	64	63	62	61	60	59	44	43	42	41		
N12	64	63	62	61	60	59	70	69	68	67	66	65	49	48	47	46	45

Plate 11. Transcription of the text of the night hours (10th-12th) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.

	Peftjauuiaset						Anlamani						Aspelta				
D1	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5
D2	7	8	9	10	11		7	8	9	10	11	12	6	7	8	9	10
D3	12	13	14	15	16	17	13	14	15	16	17	18	11	12	13	14	

Plate 12. Transcription of the text of the day hours (1st-3rd) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.

	Peftjauuiaset						Anlamani						Aspelta			
D4	20	21	22	23	24	25	19	20	21	22	23	24	15	16	17	18
D5	26	27	28	29	30		25	26	27	28			19	20	21	22
D6	31	32	33	34	35	36	29	30	31	32	33	34	23	24	25	26
	37															

Plate 13. Transcription of the text of the day hours (4th-6th) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.

	Peftjauuiaset						Anlamani				Aspelta						
D7	38	39	40	41	42	43	35	36	37	38	39	40	27	28	29	30	
D8	44	45	46	47	48	49	41	42	43	44	45		31	32	33	34	
D9	51	52	53	54	55	56	46	47	48	49	50	51	35	36	37	38	39

Plate 14. Transcription of the text of the day hours (7th-9th) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.

	Peftjauuiaset	Anlamani	Aspelta
D10	<p>57 </p> <p>58 </p> <p>59 </p> <p>60 </p> <p>61 </p> <p>62 </p>	<p>52 </p> <p>53 </p> <p>54 </p> <p>55 </p> <p>56 </p> <p>57 </p>	<p>40 </p> <p>41 </p> <p>42 </p> <p>43 </p>
D11	<p>63 </p> <p>64 </p> <p>65 </p> <p>66 </p> <p>67 </p>	<p>58 </p> <p>59 </p> <p>60 </p> <p>61 </p> <p>62 </p> <p>63 </p>	<p>44 </p> <p>45 </p> <p>46 </p> <p>47 </p> <p>48 </p>
D12	<p>68 </p> <p>69 </p> <p>70 </p> <p>71 </p> <p>72 </p>	<p>64 </p> <p>65 </p> <p>66 </p> <p>67 </p> <p>68 </p> <p>69 </p>	<p>49 </p> <p>50 </p> <p>51 </p> <p>52 </p> <p>53 </p>

Plate 15. Transcription of the text of the day hours (10th-12th) in the coffin of Peftjauuiaset and the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta.

Plate 17. Names of goddesses and gods associated with a portal (5th-8th portal).

Hour 4 Day Goddess	Hour 3 Day Goddess	Hour 2 Day Goddess	Hour 1 Day Goddess	
				B) Thutmosis III 18. Dyn.
				D) Ramses VI (corr.) 20 Dyn.
				E) Ramses VI (vault) 20 Dyn.
				F) Ramose 25. Dyn.
				G) Padihorresnet 26. Dyn
				H) Edfu Temple Ptolemaic P.
				I) Tebtunis Papyri Roman Period
				a) Khonsutefnakht Brux., 26. Dyn.
				b) Pefjauaineith Leiden, 26. Dyn.
				c) Ramose Narni, 26. Dyn.
				d) Anlamani, Khartoum, ca. 600 BC
				e) Aspetta, Boston, ca. 580 BC
				f) Pefjauaiaset Milan, 26. Dyn.

Plate 19. Names of day goddesses (1st-4th hour).

Plate 21. Names of day goddesses (9th-12th hour).