

Osiris and the Solar Barks

New readings of two enigmatic compositions

David Klotz

nfr.wy m33
hṭp.wy ptr
m33 Hr dīṣf 'nh n itṣf
3wīṣf w3s n Wsir
How good it is to see!
How satisfying to behold!
To see Horus as he gives *ankh* to his father,
as he extends the *was*-scepter to Osiris.
Pyramid Text 670 (*Pyr.* 1980-82)

A FULL DECADE ago now, Joshua A. Roberson offered the first comprehensive translation and analysis of two scenes that frequently occur together in royal tombs and related monuments.¹ Too short to be called *Netherworld Books* proper, these vignettes nonetheless share enough features in common to be considered a cohesive composition, sometimes called the bipartite tableau [pl. 1].

In the bottom register (“Awakening Osiris”),² Harendotes extends a *was*-scepter, almost like a microphone, to the face of his newly awoken but still mummified father, Osiris. The latter, recumbent on his belly like a sphinx, reposes on an elaborate bier surrounded by apotropaic uraei, with a panoply of crowns and weapons beneath. A company of 36 assorted divinities witness this archetypal, father-son reunion in the Netherworld. A large *rs*-hieroglyph behind Osiris confirms he has been “awaken” (*rs*).³

Immediately above this chthonic scene is a tableau celebrating the circuit of the sun (“Transit of the Solar Barques”). The day and night barks meet at an oversized *zm3-t3.wy* symbol, and in either vessel the king (or private tomb owner) accompanied by a goddess meets Re-Harakhty and Atum. Accompanying this celestial tableau are the gods of the northern and southern skies, perhaps to be identified with the decan stars. Curiously the two scenes are

¹ J.A. ROBERSON, *The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques: Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky*, OBO 262, 2013 [<https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-135412>] (hereafter: J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*).

² For a detailed description of the scenes, iconography, and variants, see primarily J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 9-17; C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris. Eine Studie zu den apotropäischen Gottheiten auf den Kairener Sarkophagen des Djedher (CG 29304) und Ankhapi (CG 29303)*, SSR 35, 2022, pp. 201-216.


³ For the hieroglyphic *rs*-sign behind Osiris and the weapons beneath the bier, see C. LARCHER, “Le sens des rites. §1 – La scène du découpage rituel des armes dans la tombe de Montouherkhepechef à Dra Abou el-Naga (TT 20),” *SAK* 44, 2015, pp. 206-210.

separated not by a register line or sky sign, but a thick stretch of water, framed by the goddesses of the West and East.

Roberson dubbed this a “concise” cosmographic book, and indeed the two registers capture the essential wishes of every deceased ancient Egyptian, known from countless religious sources:

1. That their Ba might board both solar barks and travel with Re and Atum throughout all cyclical, *nḥḥ*-eternity;
2. That Osiris might allow their corpses to join his following, and thus receive funerary offerings for all linear, *ḏ.t*-eternity.

Besides these common religious themes and the similar groups of attending divinities, how precisely do these compositions relate to each other? For Roberson, the enigmatic texts make explicit connections between the two vignettes. According to his translation, Osiris permits the deceased to “withdraw” himself from his father as a solar disk; in other words, granting his heir a solar apotheosis. The king as solar disk then joins Re and Atum above in the transit of the solar barks.



Yet Roberson’s translations, while commendable for avoiding acrophonic solutions, and for incorporating all the most recent literature on enigmatic Netherworld books, are not entirely persuasive.⁴ As one example, the “Awakening Osiris” scene features multiple attestations of the rare sign . Roberson’s translation assumes this hieroglyph assumes an otherwise unattested value (*wṯ*; the first person singular dependent pronoun), in order to employ a rare grammatical form (*sw sdm=f*), which is nowhere else employed in the first person singular.⁵ More importantly, the resulting translation of the “Awakening Osiris” text does not clearly relate to the scene. According to Roberson, Osiris speaks to a group of gods who pull tow ropes (*st3ty.w*), discoursing about both his and the deceased’s transformation into the physical solar disk (*itn*). Yet neither tow-ropes nor barks are present in this scene, none of the attending divinities are depicted as pulling anything, and Osiris is firmly stationed in place within his colossal funerary bier.

Furthermore, while Roberson’s edition made frequent use of modern sign lists and reference books, the comparative material for individual sign values and possible parallels was largely based on other Netherworld books. As will be seen in the Nephthys text (*infra*, 1.2.2), divine speeches from offering scenes in New Kingdom temples sometimes offer closer parallels. Moreover, enigmatic values from New Kingdom non-royal monuments, where their correct reading is well established, lead to different interpretations. Two major examples come from the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11), not included in Roberson’s bibliography:⁶

⁴ See already the review by D.A. WERNING, *BiOr* 73/1-2, 2016, cols. 69-78.

⁵ Critiqued already by D.A. WERNING, *art. cit.*, cols. 74-75.

⁶ A. DIEGO ESPINEL, “Play and display in Egyptian high culture. The cryptographic texts of Djehuty (TT 11) and their sociocultural contexts”, in J.M. Galán, B.M. Bryan, P.F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, *SAOC* 69, 2014, pp. 297-335. Although that publication only appeared shortly after Roberson’s book, the inscription had been published long ago by Kurt Sethe, who had correctly identified these same sign values: K. SETHE, “The Enigmatical Inscriptions in the Tomb of Tehuti (Die enigmatischen Inschriften)”, in: The Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, P.E. Newberry (eds), *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-1899*, 1908, pp. 3*-12* (a work not cited by Roberson).

- , *im* (Roberson: *imy-itn*; see *infra*, 2.2, n. g);
- , *mw.t=k*, “your mother” (Roberson: *diz(i) itn=k*; see *infra*, 1.1.2, n. d).

Finally, Roberson’s synoptic text edition is neither complete, nor fully accurate.⁷ While he claimed to have included all known and published versions,⁸ he overlooked two previously edited versions of the “Transit of the Solar Barques” scene including variants of this text: a second copy from the tomb of Ramesses IX,⁹ and the Late Period sarcophagus of Tadipakem (CG 29316).¹⁰ For the earliest copy of these scenes, the Osireion of Sety I at Abydos, Roberson relied on the hand-copy published by Henry Frankfort, and does not seem to have collated that text copy with the published photograph.¹¹ Yet Frankfort made that copy from a damaged area of the ceiling, apparently unaware of most extant parallels, so his interpretation of certain details on these unusual hieroglyphs, particularly in damaged areas, demand close review. While I have not managed to obtain newer photographs of this scene, many readings of the Osireion copy can be improved with enlargements of the published photograph.¹² Finally, related scenes from Hibis and Dendera, not considered by Roberson, have shaped my overall interpretation of the religious themes, even though the hieroglyphic texts diverge considerably.

The present contribution proposes alternative readings to all relevant enigmatic texts, leaving aside the identification of the numerous attending deities,¹³ and the royal protocols of Sety I that occur only in the Osireion.¹⁴ My personal interest in these texts began in 2012, when I briefly discussed the caption to Atum and researched a related scene from Hibis temple.¹⁵ When I learned of Roberson’s forthcoming book, I put my own work on hold. While I greatly admire Prof. Roberson’s scholarly output and methodology, my own experience with Egyptian texts – based more on temple inscriptions and private monuments than on

⁷ Minor details concerning damaged signs or orientations noted by D.A. WERNING, *art. cit.*, cols. 70-72.

⁸ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 2, with n. 5.

⁹ Noted by D.A. WERNING, *art. cit.*, p. 70, n. 4. This scene was not included in Guilmant’s publication of the tomb, but does appear in O. NEUGEBAUER, R.A. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts II: The Ramesside Star Clocks*, 1964, pl. 8 (right); see also Oriental Institute negatives 9282, 9283, 9347, 9352 [available at: <https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/>].

¹⁰ G. MASPERO, H. GAUTHIER, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque II*, 1939, pp. 107-108, pl. 32. This parallel was already noted by C. MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, *ÄAT* 72, 2007, I, p. 149, n. 392.

¹¹ H. FRANKFORT, A. DE BUCK, B. GUNN, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, *EEF* 39, 1933, II, pls. 74-75. J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 1, n. 2, notes that he did collate the versions from the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX.

¹² I also benefitted from high-resolution scans of the original glass negatives in the Egypt Exploration Society, kindly provided by Carl Graves. Various photographs can be found online: <https://flic.kr/p/bjRNxR> (accessed 2/3/2023) and <http://temples-egypte.net/Abydos/osireion/Nout/est/section01.html> (accessed 28/7/2023).

¹³ These figures occur in a wide range of monuments and scenes, far exceeding the scope of this paper. See recently K.-A. GILL, “It Looks Like a Hypocephalus, but It Is Not: Some Extraordinary Papyrus Fragments in the Museo Egizio (Prov. 6133),” *RiME* 2, 2018, pp. 1-19; C. TEOTINO, “The Apotropaic Entourage of Osiris,” *SAK* 49, 2020, pp. 217-232; and above all C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, pp. 193-304.

¹⁴ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 112-117 (T21). Variant readings and sign derivations to that text have already been presented by D. KLOTZ, “Thoth as Textual Critic: The Interrupting Baboons at Esna Temple,” *ENiM* 7, 2014, p. 51; *idem*, “Two Hymns to Isis from Philae Revisited (Žabkar, *Hymns* 1-2),” *BSEG* 30, 2014-2015, p. 9, n. 36; *idem*, “The Enigmatic Frieze of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple,” in D. Klotz, A. Stauder (eds), *Enigmatic Writing in the New Kingdom I*, *ZÄS-B* 12/1, 2020, p. 65 (1-3).

¹⁵ D. KLOTZ, “Once Again ‘Min’: Acrophony or Phonetic Change?”, *GM* 233, 2012, pp. 21-23.

Netherworld Books – led me to very different readings for certain passages of these particular texts.

As outlined above, this updated edition aims to improve upon Roberson's monograph by establishing a more complete and accurate synoptic text, including enigmatic values from private inscriptions and parallels from temple offering scenes, and supporting the overall interpretation with other sources.¹⁶ I do not pretend to have solved every difficulty – and indeed I expect another scholar will offer more convincing interpretations for the Re-Harakhty text discussed below. It is hoped that the resulting translations align closer to expectations for conventional Egyptian religious texts, at least in terms of theological content, grammar, and phraseology.

Towards a New Edition

Daniel A. Werning asserted there are at least sixteen versions of these compositions, over half of which were omitted from Roberson's book.¹⁷ This is hardly a fair assessment: as Roberson had already noted, some of these scenes simply represent the *iconography* of Osiris recumbent on a bed,¹⁸ the two solar barks prow to prow, or a subset of the guardian deities.¹⁹ Although some of those other examples of Awakening Osiris scenes do have hieroglyphic texts, they are either illegible,²⁰ or demonstrably different from the present inscription.²¹

As noted above, Roberson had overlooked two previously published exemplars (**R9b**, **T**). To these we may also add: **P** from the tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33);²² acknowledged by Roberson, yet unavailable for his edition), and **W**, a corrupt version on the lid of the Late Period sarcophagus of Wereshnefer. Jan Assmann had signalled a possible copy from the

¹⁶ This work was aided considerably by Roberson's subsequent volume of New Kingdom enigmatic sign values, which includes both royal and private monuments: J.A. ROBERSON *Enigmatic Writing in the New Kingdom, II: A Lexicon of Ancient Egyptian Cryptography of the New Kingdom*, ZÄS-B 12/2, 2020 (hereafter: J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*).

¹⁷ D.A. WERNING, *art. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁸ For example, the tomb of Ramose from the reign of Taharqa: *LD Text* III, p. 284; C. GRECO, "The forgotten Tomb of Ramose (TT 132)," in J. Budka, K. Griffin, E. Pischikova (eds), 2014, *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, pp. 179-180, fig. 8-1 (mentioned by D.A. WERNING, *art. cit.*, p. 69, n. 2): the deceased extends a *was*-scepter with an *ankh*-sign to a recumbent Osiris, but the short texts surrounding this scene are damaged, and the remaining traces have little in common with the Awakening Osiris texts discussed below; see already J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 2, n. 5. Compare also scenes of a revived Osiris on coffins (CG 41001bis; CG 6003; cited by A. PIANKOFF, N. RAMBOVA, *Mythological Papyri I, Bollingen Series XL/3*, 1957, p. 57, n. 57; see also the fragment in the World Museum, Liverpool, 55.5.63: <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/coffin-fragment-4>). To this category belong other depictions of awakening Osirises on naoi and in temples such as Hibis and Dendera.

¹⁹ *supra*, n. 13.

²⁰ For example the inscriptions over the Awakening Osiris scenes from the tombs of Tanutamuni and Qalhata from El-Kurru: D. DUNHAM, *El Kurru*, RCK 1, 1950, pls. 9-10, 19-20; JWIS III, p. 242 (49.10), 244-245 (49.17). While the texts over the symmetric scenes with Osiris on his back can be identified as BD 30A (Dunham, *op. cit.*, pls. 10, 20), the hieroglyphs in columns above Osiris upon his belly are very difficult to identify on the published photographs (*ibid.*, pls. 9, 19).

²¹ E.g. an adapted version of this scene from an Osirian chapel at Hibis temple: *Hibis* III, pl. 24; D. KLOTZ, "Hibis Varia (§1-3): Diverse Liturgical Texts from Hibis Temple," *SAK* 43, 2013, pp. 202-207.

²² Acknowledged by J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 2, n. 5, but as of yet unavailable for his edition.

tomb of Pabasa (TT 279),²³ but that is still unpublished and is reportedly only fragmentarily preserved.²⁴

The following abbreviations will be used in our text (new versions indicated in **bold**):

S1	Osireion of Sety I. ²⁵
R6	Tomb of Ramesses VI (see Plate 1). ²⁶
R9	Tomb of Ramesses IX. ²⁷
R9b	Additional variant from the tomb of Ramesses IX. ²⁸
Sh3	Tomb of Sheshonq III from Tanis. ²⁹
M	Tomb of Mutirdis, TT 410 (multiple copies) ³⁰
P	Tomb of Padiamenope, TT 33. ³¹
T	Sarcophagus of Tadipakem, CG 29316. ³²
W	Sarcophagus of Wereshnefer, MMA 14.7.1b. ³³

²³ J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, AV 13, 1977, pp. 14, n. 21; 90, n. 73.

²⁴ Personal communication from Prof. Silvia Einaudi (December 2022). Note finally that another example of this scene (now lost) might have featured in TT 390: E. PISCHIKOVA, “Self-Presentation of the *šmst-ʿjt n dwʿt ntr* Irtieru in her Tomb (TT 390) in the South Asasif Necropolis,” *BSFE* 203, 2020, pp. 111-112.

²⁵ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pl. 1; corrected after photographs (*supra*, nn. 11-12).

²⁶ *ibid.*, pl. 2; collated with the high-resolution color photograph: <https://flic.kr/p/2jC45VJ> (accessed 2/3/2023).

²⁷ *ibid.*, pl. 3.

²⁸ *supra*, n. 9.

²⁹ J.A. ROBERSON, *op. cit.*, pl. 4; P. MONTET, *Tanis III. Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis*, 1960, pls. 30, 35-37.

³⁰ *ibid.*, pl. 5; J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, p. 91 (Abb. 41), pls. 28, 34b, 41.

³¹ Noted by J.A. ROBERSON, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 5. Photographs and hand copies of the unpublished version of the Night Bark scene were kindly provided to the author by Prof. Claude Traunecker. Portions of the Awakening Osiris scene can be seen in the final minutes of a recent documentary: https://youtu.be/xGEjraK5_j8?t=5015.

³² *supra*, n. 10.

³³ For bibliography on this sarcophagus, see C. MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Netherworld I*, pp. 480-481; M.-A. CALMETTES, “La représentation cosmologique du sarcophage d’Ourechnefer,” *ENiM* 10, 2017, pp. 25-50 (who briefly mentioned the Awakening Osiris scene on pp. 37-38). The relevant scenes of the bipartite tableau have not been published before, but the “Transit of the Solar Barks” scene and the text over Osiris can be seen in an archival photograph:

<https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/eg/original/157473.jpg> (accessed 2/3/2023; an additional study photograph kindly provided by Janice Kamrin). J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 13, n. 7, seems to have registered the existence of these scenes, but did not incorporate the fragmentary texts or representations into his discussion. The importance of this unpublished scene was already recognized by C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, p. 198, with n. 23.

1. Transit of the Solar Barks

1.1. Right Side – the Night Bark

1.1.1. Text above Atum (= J.A. Roberson, *AOTSB*, pp. 89-92, T13)

	a	b	c	d
S1				
R6				
R9b				
Sh3				
P				
M				
T				

Previous readings: **a.** <BLANK> , **b.** **c-d.**

Ītm ntr ʿ3 nb p.t

hry-tp zm3(.t)

h̥tp m skt.t m M3nw

Atum, the great god, lord of heaven,

he who is in charge of ^(a) the *zm3(.t)*-throne ^(b),

who sets inside the night-bark into Manu. ^(c)

(a) The various editions write this group quite differently. In **S1**, **M**, **P**, and **T**, the hair sign writes *hry-tp* (<*hr.t-tp*, “hair”, lit. “that which is on the head”; note this writing occurs already in standard New Kingdom texts: P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes And Model Sarcophagi* II, 1937, p. 371, bottom), and the second sign writes *tp*. In **R6**, the tall sharp sign somehow represents *tp*. I had previously suggested a derivation from (*tp* < *idb*), and Roberson alternatively proposed this could be the blade of a dagger, *pars pro toto* for the usual *tp*-sign ().³⁴

As a third option, one might note the use of the similarly triangular canine tooth sign () as a determinative in *dpi*, “to taste”, and related words (*Wb* V, 444, 16). Compare the similar use of the tongue to write *tp*, “upon” in the Awakening Osiris scene (*infra*). For this interchange, note also that the epithet *tpy*, “first-born (child)” is sportively written with a child placing his hand to lips, also from *dpi*, “to taste” (*Philä* II, 400-1, 11).

³⁴ D. KLOTZ, “Once Again ‘Min’: Acrophony or Phonetic Change?”, *GM* 233, 2012, 23, n. 22; J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 90-91, n. d.

(b) The ceremonial *zm3-t3.wy* throne is appropriate for Atum, a god closely linked to coronation and kingship, who always wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt.³⁷ This word is likely identical with the term *zm3.t*, “throne,” attested from other sources.³⁸

One may suppose the theme of uniting the two lands (*zm3-t3.wy*), North and South, is closely linked to the abutting twin solar barks, East and West: all cardinal directions being joined at this critical moment of rebirth and cosmic generation. Several versions of this scene further underscore this idea by representing a large *zm3-t3.wy* emblem between the two barks (**S1**, **R6**, especially **W**), comparable to the unusually tall *zm3*-hieroglyph used in **S1**. In that respect, one might alternatively understand this designation of Atum as “he who presides over (*hry-tp*) the conjunction (of the two barks) (*zm3*).” For such an epithet, might compare the epithet of a mummified, solar deity (although not explicitly labelled as Atum) as “he who presides over the two skies (*hry-tp p.ty*).”⁴⁰

(c) Other texts frequently associate Atum with both the night-bark and *Manu*.⁴¹

S1

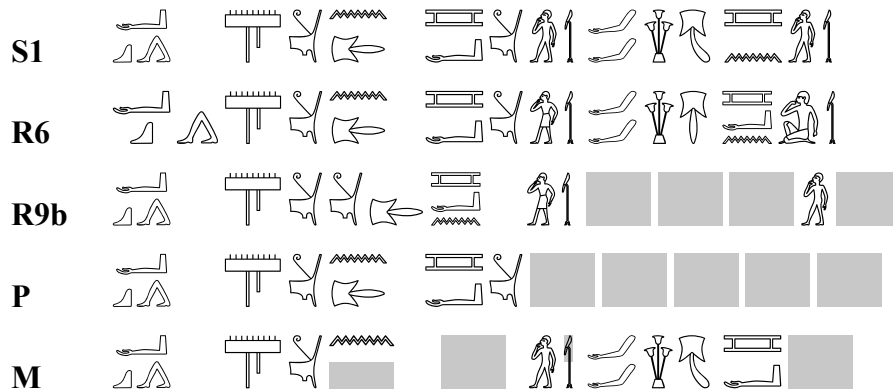
R6

R9b

P

M

⁴¹ K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, II: *Name, Epitheta, Ikonographie*, *HÄB* 8, 1979, pp. 154-155, 163.



Previous translation by J.A. Roberson, *AOTSB*, p. 97:

“Recitation:

O, my lord,

You have come,

so that I might present your disc.

You have spoken by means of my *ba*,

so that they might enter.

Present dominion on my behalf,

while (my) arms are around you!

Present dominion on my behalf!”

ḏḏ mdw in ^(a) *Nb.t-ḥw.t* ^(b)

ink ^(c) *mw.tzḳ* ^(d)

snq.nzḳ ^(e) *m irṯ.tzṯ* ^(f)

qzsn ^(g) *nzḳ* ^(h)

m nḥ-w3s ⁽ⁱ⁾

wy(=i) ḥ3zḳ

m nḥ-w3s

Words spoken by Nephthys:

“I am your mother,



and it is of my milk you have nursed.


May it (the milk) enter you

as life and dominion!

My arms surround you

with life and dominion!”

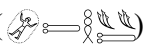
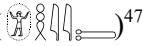

NB: Roberson assumed this text records the speech of the king to Atum, resulting in novel readings of well-established phonetic values (e.g.  = *in*,  = *ḥ*). Most of these issues are resolved by assuming the text is spoken by the goddess to the king.⁴² This relation between the scene and its caption should be clear from one of the final phrases, correctly translated by Roberson: “my arms are behind/around (*ḥ3*) you.” The king’s arms are at his sides, not at all embracing Atum. Meanwhile the goddess stands behind the king with her arm upon his back.

(a) Roberson argued this sign was a mistake for another standing man () and thus restored the vocative particle *i*.⁴³ Nonetheless, all versions except **R6** employ the running man (A27), a


⁴² Noted already by D.A. WERNING, *art. cit.*, p. 74.

⁴³ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 66, n. b; 97, n. b.

hieroglyph that frequently represents the phoneme *in*, in both standard enigmatic and normal inscriptions since the Old Kingdom.⁴⁴

(b) Roberson already noted this composite sign could conceivably write the divine name Nephthys, but he dismissed the idea because of the masculine second person suffix pronoun, and his assumption that this text is spoken by the king to a divinity.⁴⁵ Accordingly, Roberson interpreted this entire group as *nb*, “lord,” with the clearly written *hw.t*-sign substituting for water signs based on similar shapes.⁴⁶ If one supposes this text is the speech of the goddess to the king, this can easily be read as “Words spoken by Nephthys.” Similar spellings of her divine name with the swimming man occur in the tombs of Tutankhamun () and Ramesses VI ()⁴⁷, as well as on Late Period sarcophagi (e.g. ).⁴⁸

Nephthys and Isis were linked respectively to the night and day barks, at least since the Pyramid Texts (e.g. *Pyr.* 210a-b), so her presence in the current scene is entirely appropriate.

(c) For this group, Roberson reasonably proposed the verbal phrase *iw.n=k*, “you have come.”⁴⁹ Based on the context, however, I prefer to understand this group as a phonetic variant of the first person singular independent pronoun: *ink* < *i(w)-n-k*, relying on the consonantal principle.⁵⁰ Indeed, a similar writing of *i(w)nk* () for *ink* occurs on a Late Period statue.⁵¹ The bubalis itself could represent initial uniliteral *i* < *iw* in divine names:



Is.t, “Isis”⁵²



Isdn, “Isden”⁵³

More importantly, the same sign can interchange with a simple *yod* already in banal words already in the Old Kingdom:



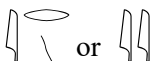
vs.



iw’, “to inherit” (*Wb* I, 50, 8)



vs.



iwr, “to conceive” (*Wb* I, 56, 1)

⁴⁴ *Wb* I, 89, 1; J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 21; noted for the present text already by D.A. WERNING, “Aenigmatische Schreibungen in Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches: gesicherte Entsprechungen und Ersetzungsprinzipien,” in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf*, *GM-B* 3, 2008, p. 137; *idem*, *BiOr* 73/1-2, 2016, p. 73.

⁴⁵ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 98, n. c.

⁴⁶ The argumentation was already criticized by D.A. WERNING, *BiOr* 73/1-2, 2016, pp. 73-74; acknowledged by J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 29.

⁴⁷ J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX*, *OBO* 198, 2004, p. 40-41, n. 18, p. 194; pls. 4, B, 15.

⁴⁸ *Wb* II, 233, 6; G. VITTMANN, “Eine bemerkenswerte Schreibung des Namens der Göttin Nephthys,” *GM* 11, 1974, p. 49; *idem*, *GM* 17, 1975, p. 45; Chr. LEITZ, *Der Sarg des Panehemisis in Wien*, pp. 323-325, col. 5. col. 5; D. KURTH, *Materialien zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten*, 2017, pp. 144, 150, 166, 185 (who interpreted all examples as Mehet-weret, not Nephthys, despite the Osirian context).

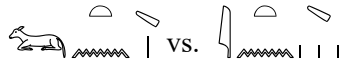
⁴⁹ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 98, n. d.

⁵⁰ D. KURTH, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische. Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken* I, 2007, p. 466 (*i* for *iw*), 477-478 (*iw* for *i*); H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)*, *OLA* 70, 1996, p. 446, n. g (*iw* for *i*).

⁵¹ H. WILD, “Statue de Hor-Néfer au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne,” *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 206, col. 9; 209, n. 62. The *iwn*-pillar frequently represents the biliteral *vaue in* after the New Kingdom: É. DRIOTON, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40, 1940, p. 36 (167); D. KURTH, *op. cit.*, p. 344, 352, n. 197.



⁵² *Mam. Edfou* 159, 3 (noted by D. KURTH, *op. cit.*, p. 211, n. 128). For Isis spelled as *Is.t*, see also J.C. DARNELL, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵³ L. HABACHI, “Athribis in the XXVIth Dynasty,” *BIFAO* 82, 1982, p. 226, fig. 6.





itn, “earth” (*Wb* I, 58, 5).

Finally, the full spelling *i(w)nk* might better represent the pronunciation of the initial vowel in this independent pronoun (Coptic: *ανοκ*), similar to the word *iwf*, “flesh” (Coptic: *αϣ*).

(d) Roberson translated this phrase “so that I might present your (Re’s) disc (*dj(zj) jtn=k*),” while admitting the difficulty of such an interpretation: “The notion that the deceased might physically manipulate the sun disc, in this case “presenting” (*dj*) it to the god, is unusual.”⁵⁴ Remarkably, an identical group of signs occurs twice in the enigmatic texts of Djehuty, where it writes *mw.t=k*, “your mother,” a reading supported in one case by a direct parallel from the Pyramid Texts (PT 593 [1703a]).⁵⁵ Similar, non-enigmatic spellings of “mother” (, ) are attested already in the Middle Kingdom, and are ubiquitous in later eras.⁵⁶

One might be surprised to see Nephthys – not her sister, Isis – claim to be the mother of the king or of Horus. Yet numerous religious texts, going back to the Pyramid Texts, identify both Isis and Nephthys as “the two mothers” of the king.⁵⁷ Nephthys’s maternal duties are generally limited to nursing the king with her milk,⁵⁸ just as in the present composition (see the subsequent text note). Moreover, other goddesses such as Mut or Hathor also identify themselves as the king’s mother in similar nursing scenes (see *infra*).

(e) Roberson took the bovid sign as a phonetic spelling of *k3*, “to say.” The indirect object, however, is spelled differently across versions. Roberson preferred the problematic Osireion copy (Frankfort copied  but the photograph supports ), and accordingly emended all texts to *b3*, “soul,” thus obtaining: “You have spoken by means of my *ba*, so that they might enter (*k3.n=k m b3=j*, ‘*q=sn n=sn*).”⁵⁹ The purport of this statement elicits multiple questions: how and why does Re-Harakhty speak through the king’s *ba*?⁶⁰ Who are the “they” that the king refers to, and where do they enter?

Based on the majority of textual witnesses, the hieroglyph in question is most likely a milk jug, an ideogram for *irt.t*; the only clear outlier is **R6**. Since Nephthys introduces herself as the king’s mother, and then mentions milk, it is clear this is a type of nursing formula.

For the verb, none of the typical values for simple bovid signs (cow or bull) would seem to fit the present context. Fortunately, **P** clearly shows a remarkable detail: the bovid creature is a cow, with

⁵⁴ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 97-98, with n. e.

⁵⁵ A. DIEGO ESPINEL, in J.M. Galán, B.M. Bryan, P.F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, pp. 313–314, fig. 13.8, cols. 4, 6; K. Sethe had already deduced the correct reading in his *editio princeps*.

⁵⁶ *Wb* II, 54, 1; W. SPIEGELBERG, “Varia,” *ZÄS* 53, 1917, p. 105; R. VAN DER MOLEN, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, *PdÄ* 15, 2000, pp. 164-165; J.F. BORGHOUTS, *Egyptian: an introduction to the writing and language of the Middle Kingdom II*, *EgUit* 24, 2010, p. 34; for later periods, see J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 20-21, n. b; *idem*, *Lexicon*, pp. 59-60; see now I. SEMENENKO, D. HEREIKHANOVA, “The unusual writings of the name of the god Duamutef in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom,” *PES* 28, 2022, pp. 129-145.

⁵⁷ J.F. BORGHOUTS, *The magical texts of papyrus Leiden I 348*, 1971, p. 37-39.

⁵⁸ J. LECLANT, “Le rôle du lait et de l’allaitement d’après les Textes des Pyramides,” *JNES* 10/2, 1951, pp. 123-127 (esp. 123, n. 3). Compare, among many similar examples, *Edfou* VII, 24, 10, where the king is: “born of Isis, (but) nursed by Nephthys (*p p’ n Is.t, rr n Nb.t-ḥw.t*).”

⁵⁹ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 99, n. f.

⁶⁰ In the text Roberson cites for support (*CT* II, 67c-d), the prepositional phrase (*im=f*) refers to the verb *nk*, “to copulate,” not *wḏ*, “to command”, as is clear from a similar passage in *BD* 17: J.C. DARNELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-396.

a kneeling royal figure nursing from her udders.⁶¹ A similar relief of Hatshepsut suckling occurs most famously at Deir el-Bahari, as well as on other royal and private monuments.⁶² Those texts, as well as other nursing reliefs featuring fully anthropomorphic goddesses, all employ the verb *snq* “to nurse” (see below), and that is likely how to read the bovid sign in the present text. The same verb is spelled phonetically in the symmetric caption to Isis (*infra*, 1.2.2).

(g) Milk, like water and other liquids, is normally treated as a plural noun in ancient Egyptian.⁶³ This explains why the present text continues that “they (the milk) enter (*q̄sn*) to you in life and dominion.” Similar formulas, using the same verb, plural suffix pronoun, and concluding phrase (“in life and dominion”) occur in numerous milk-offering and nursing scenes from the New Kingdom onwards.⁶⁴ Moreover, a derived term *nh-w3s*, “milk” occurs frequently in the Graeco-Roman period (*Wb* I, 204, 1) confirming the general interpretation proposed here.

(h) Roberson understood these signs quite differently. He identified the first horizontal sign as a sideways harpoon (*sn*). Yet collation with photographs, comparison with the parallels, and consideration of the nursing texts below, indicate this is merely a rotated version of the animal tail hieroglyph, writing the second person singular suffix pronoun as elsewhere in this text.⁶⁵

(i) For the standing man, Roberson advanced a solution without parallel. According to this reading, the man pointing a hand to his mouth “serves as a direct representation of the first-person suffix in a dative construction, i.e. ‘for me.’”⁶⁶

However, the standing figure in **S1** is clearly naked, and apparently so as well in **M**, and thus it represents a child with his hand to his mouth. As such, this sign is most likely a standing variant of the seated youth for *hy*, “child,” resulting in the uniliteral *h* via the consonantal principle, as already proposed by Drioton for the Awakening Osiris text below (*infra*, 2.2).⁶⁷ Note that in **R6** and **M**, a seated child with hand to mouth is seated upon the bow of the night bark, immediately behind the present hieroglyph.

In **R6**, this hieroglyph has been changed to a standing man, perhaps merely a graphic error, or perhaps the sign was reinterpreted as the interjection *hy*, often determined with similar hieroglyphs (*Wb* III, 236, 10-16).⁶⁸

As a result, it is easy to recognize the expression *m nh w3s*, “in life and dominion,” not just here, but in the next phrase, and in the Awakening Osiris text (*infra*, 2.2, n. d). Note that in several versions of this tableau, Nephthys illustrates her final statement: she stands behind the king, protects him with her arm, and even holds multiple *ankh*-signs (**R6**, **R9**, **R9b**).⁶⁹ Note also that a large hieroglyph for *h3*, “to surround”, appears between the king and Nephthys inside the night bark.

⁶¹ The same detail might occur in **R9b**, and possibly other versions, but it is difficult to confirm based solely on available photographs.

⁶² G. MAROHN, “Ein wiedergefundenes Relieffragment aus dem Grab des Veziers Paser (TT 106),” *GM* 149, 1995, pp. 63-66; Y. VOLOKHINE, “Le lait et l’allaitement dans le discours égyptien sur la constitution du corps,” in F. Arena, Y. Foehr-Janssens, I. Papaikonomou, F. Prescendi (eds), *Allaitement entre humains et animaux: représentations et pratiques de l’Antiquité à aujourd’hui*, *Anthropozoologica* 52 (1), 2017, p. 86.

⁶³ P. LACAU, “Liquides et matières en grains employés au pluriel,” *BIFAO* 56, 1967, 161-172.

⁶⁴ E.g. *Urk.* IV, 237, 17; 578, 6; 579, 11; 581, 6; see further versions quoted below. Variants include: *Urk.* IV, 239, 12-13; 578, 10-11; H. JUNKER, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, *DKAW* 56, 1913 p. 11, right column: ‘*q̄sn* [not: ‘*q̄s*] *r h.t nt Wsir*, “may they (the milk) enter the belly of Osiris” (collated with Berlin Photos 373-374); *Mam. Dendara* 7, 5.

⁶⁵ Noted already by D.A. WERNING, *art. cit.*, p. 71.

⁶⁶ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 69, n. g; 100, n. h.

⁶⁷ É DRIOTON, “Inscription énigmatique du tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis,” *Kēmi* 12, 1952, p. 28-29, n. B.

⁶⁸ Note the repeated use of this sign in a sportive writing of “scribe” in a Ptolemaic tomb from Tuna el-Gebel: D. KLOTZ, in D. Klotz, A. Stauder (eds), *Enigmatic Writing in the New Kingdom* I, pp. 57, 59 (5).

⁶⁹ Noted by J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 15.

The version in **S1** misses the expected ‘*ayin*’ in the second occurrence of the word ‘*nh*’. While this could be dismissed as a mistake, the same omission also happens in T19. In this regard, note that the *mr*-canal often has the specific phonetic value in initial position of /*me*/, as in terms like *minb* (*Wb* II, 44, 7-8), *mid3* (*Wb* II, 45), *m’h3.t* (*Wb* II, 49, 7-14), and especially in foreign loanwords. Compare a similar example in *Esna* IV, p. 9, n. b (*mī* for *m-*).

In summary, a coherent translation follows for this text by applying well-attested enigmatic values. More importantly, the text does not present a theological conundrum like with Roberson’s interpretation; namely, why does the deceased give Atum the solar disk? Rather, it makes excellent sense in a scene where Nephthys embraces the king.

As noted in the textual commentary, the closest parallels to this text come not from the Netherworld Books, but from temple reliefs: milk-offering scenes, or depictions of goddesses nursing the king. While there is no single exact copy of this text, the following scenes employ the same key vocabulary and expressions (noted in **bold**):⁷⁰

Urk. IV, 237, 15-17 (Deir el-Bahari, the cow of Hathor speaks to Hatshepsut)⁷¹



ink mw.t=t, bnr.t irt.t, snq.n hm.t=t m mnd(.t=i), ‘q=sn n=t m ‘nh-w3s

I am your mother, sweet of **milk**. Your majesty has **nursed** from my breast. **It enters you as life and dominion**.

Luxor Temple, Sanctuary of Amenhotep III (Mut nurses the king):⁷²



snq.n=k m irt.t(=i), ink mw.t[=k]

You have nursed from my milk, I am [your] mother.

LD III, Pl 131f (Temple of Sety I, Gurna; Hathor nurses the king):



ink mw.t=k, qm3(.t) nfrw=k, snq=k m irt.t(=i)

I am your mother, who created your perfection. **You nurse from my milk**.

LD III, pl. 150b (Temple of Sety I, Gurna; Mut nurses the king):



ink mw.t=k qm3(.t) nfrw=k snq=k m irt.t(=i) ‘[q]=sn n=k m ‘nh-[w3s]

⁷⁰ See already R.A. CAMINOS, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, *AnOr* 37, 1958, pp. 32-33, n. g, for these and additional examples.

⁷¹ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* IV, 1901, pl. 94

⁷² M. ABDEL-RAZIQ, *Das Sanktuar Amenophis III im Luxor-Tempel*, *SEC* 3, 1986, p. 93-95.

I am your mother, who created your perfection.

You nurse from my milk, and it en[ters] you as life [and dominion].

LD III, pl. 173a (Tomb of Paser, TT 106; King suckling from Hathor cow):



ink mw.t[=k qm3].t nfrw=k snq.n=k m irt.t(=i)

I am [your] mother, [who create]d your perfection.

You have nursed from my milk.

Karnak, Shrine of Phillip Arrhidæus (Amunet nurses the king):⁷³



snq=k m irt.t=i (...) 'q=sn n=k m 'nh-w3s

You nurse from my milk (...) it enters you as life and dominion.

One could reasonably object that in the present scene, Nephthys is not actually shown nursing the king, as in most of the scenes quoted here. Yet as Jean Leclant already noted, the act of nursing the king by goddesses is a sign of royal legitimacy, and it also purifies and divinizes the king, preparing him to encounter directly the main god of a temple (here Atum).⁷⁴ As the king enters the solar barks, he is supported by the traditional goddesses of those vessels (Nephthys and Isis), who greet him as their mother, equipping him with life and dominion to join Atum and Re for all cyclical eternity.

While not directly related to the Transit of the Solar Bark scenes, one might briefly mention an important link between milk and the bier of Osiris.⁷⁵ Recent excavations at Umm el-Qa'ab uncovered thousands of fragments of the original shrine surrounding the colossal Osiris bed (Dynasty 13), which most likely inspired the various "Awakening Osiris" scenes. Of the surviving pieces of the shrine, the best preserved relief happens to show the king presenting a milk offering.⁷⁶

1.1.2.b. *Night Bark – Late Period variant*

The sarcophagus of Tadipakem has a different speech for this section. Here it is spoken by the deceased, not Nephthys:⁷⁷

⁷³ LD IV, 2c¹; better copy in A.H. Karar, Chr. Thiers (eds), *French-Egyptian Centre for the Study of the Temples of Karnak. Activity Report 2014*, 2015, p. 43. See now also KIU 2615 (<http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/2615>).

⁷⁴ J. LECLANT, "Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa. Allaitement et apparition royale," in *Mélanges Mariette*, BdE 32, 1961, pp. 259-267.

⁷⁵ This is not the place to go into details about Graeco-Roman milk offerings for Osiris, or the milk offering rituals in general.

⁷⁶ U. EFFLAND, A. EFFLAND, "„Und dann kam Osiris aus der Unterwelt...“: Kultbild und Naos des Osiris vom »Gottesgrab« in Abydos," *Sokar* 34, 2017, pp. 18-19; J. BUDKA, "Re-awakening Osiris at Umm el-Qaab (Abydos). New Evidence for Votive Offerings and other Religious Practices," in N. Staring, H. Twiston Davies, L. Weiss (eds), *Perspectives on Lived Religion. Practices - Transmission – Landscape*, PALMA 21, 2019, p. 23.

⁷⁷ G. MASPERO, H. GAUTHIER, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque II*, p. 108 (top), pl. 32.

Looking closely at photographs from **R6**, it becomes clear that the child sits atop the masculine god Re, who has a falcon's beak, wig, and unambiguous solar disk atop his head [fig. 1]. The solar disk on the enthroned god is also clear in **S1** and **R9b**. Roberson correctly copied this detail in drawing of **R6** (*AOTSB*, pl. 2), but not in his synoptic edition.



Fig. 1. Rebus writing of *z3 R'*, “son of Re” in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

(b) Roberson read the first group as “Sety”, but unlike in the symmetric text (*infra*, 1.2.3 = T18), the nomen is not followed by the expected epithet “Beloved of Ptah.” Moreover, the seated king most likely writes *nh*, since without the *atef*-crown, it is hard to identify him positively as “an Osirian king with flail.”⁸²

Instead, as Ludwig D. Morenz had already supposed, this group most likely writes the king's prenomen, preceded by the epithet “Lord of the Two Lands.”⁸³ Morenz assumed the name must occur in the damaged area, but Roberson thought this unlikely due to Frankfort's copy of the first sign. Nevertheless, collation with photographs shows the first sign is simply a hill, which often stands for the value *mn* (< *mn.t*, “hill”).⁸⁴ The other elements of Menmaatre are also discernible, and the final *t*-ending in Maat is written with the same tall bread sign (X4A) as in the label to Maat (*infra*, 1.2.3).

It is therefore inaccurate to conclude that “such an interpretation would negate the occurrence of the king's name, which appears in all parallel sources.”⁸⁵ Instead, Sety's full name is split symmetrically between the West (prenomen) and the East (nomen).

(c) In the final phrase, the scarab writes ‘*nh*’, as again in the symmetric scene (*infra*, 1.2.3), rather than the feminine ending for *d.t*, “eternity”.⁸⁶ The granary determinative for *d.t* is unusual, but an identical spelling of this word occurs in the enigmatic inscription of Khaemhat.⁸⁷

1.1.4. *Speech of Atum* (= J.A. Roberson, *AOTSB*, p. 92-93, T14)



dd' nh w3s

Stability, life, and dominion

r fnd=k

are at your nose. (a)


⁸² J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 95, n. c.

⁸³ L.D. MORENZ, *Sinn und Spiel der Zeichen: visuelle Poesie im Alten Ägypten, Pictura et Poesis* 21, 2008, p. 180.

⁸⁴ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 131.

⁸⁵ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB* p. 95, n. c.

⁸⁶ *Contra* J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB* p. 96, n. d.

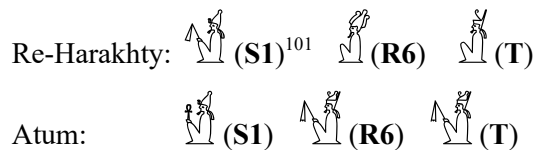
⁸⁷ É. DRIOTON, “Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIIIe dynastie,” *RdE* 1, 1933, p. 8, No. 142. Perhaps there is some implied word association between the Netherworld (*dw3.t* > *d.t*) as a granary or storehouse of souls, for which see: J. RUFFLE, “A new meaning of the word ,” *JEA* 50, 1964, p. 177-179.

<http://www.enim-egyptologie.fr>



(b) Roberson interpreted the plant as a phonetic complement *i* to *hnti* (“before”), and the circle as *itn*, “(solar) disk,” for the epithet “he who is before the disc.” Yet such an epithet is not otherwise applied to Re or Re-Harakhty.⁹⁶ The bovid head (S1) alone suffices to write *hnty*, “foremost.” If the elaborate plant writes *i*, its most common enigmatic value, and the circle instead represents *nw* (< *niw.t*),⁹⁷ one obtains a phonetic spelling for *I(w)nw*, “Heliopolis.”⁹⁸ This epithet is attested elsewhere for both Re-Harakhty and Atum.⁹⁹

(c) For the first group, Roberson assumed the epithet was just a variant of Atum’s from the symmetric scene (T13), “lord of the sky (*nb p.t*).”¹⁰⁰ While this proposal is perfectly reasonable, one may note that the “lordly figure” varies between the two texts:



Since the following epithet begins with the red crown (S1, R6), a sign which could also write *bity*,¹⁰² one might alternatively propose to read the figure with the white crown as an ideogram for *nsw.t*.

This assumed parallelism suggests reading the following epithet as the opposite: namely “*bity*-king of the earth.” The only challenge is the unique rendering of *t3*, “earth,” with the *ti*- and *t*-signs. While neither hieroglyph is attested elsewhere to write this noun, both can be used to render the

⁹² For M, Roberson interpreted the traces as an arm (); J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 101, 104, n. p), but the facsimile shows clear traces of the road sign (; *ibid*, pl. 5). The road sign writes the element *Hr* in very frequently in other Netherworld Books: J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 104, n. 498; *idem*, *Lexicon*, pp. 132-133; V. BERTEAUX, *Harachte: Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Einordnung einer komplexen Gottheit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (PhD Diss., Munich), 2002 (<https://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/4144/>, accessed 2/3/2023), p. 29.

⁹³ The first plant writes *3h* (< *3hy*, “papyrus thicket”, H.W. FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43, 1945, p. 63, n. 5; or < *3h3h*, “to be green”; *Wb* I, 18, 16-21) in the New Kingdom: J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 119. On a sportive level, the figure of a child hiding behind papyrus evokes Horus concealed in Chemmis, an idea exploited in Graeco-Roman spellings of that toponym: (H.W. FAIRMAN, “Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu,” *ASAE* 43, p. 273; A.M. BLACKMAN, H.W. FAIRMAN, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies a Sacred Drama (Concluded),” *JEA* 30, 1944, p. 20). The generic plant sign used in R6 and possibly S1 is not elsewhere used to write *3h*, but it can write *h* (< *h3*), and substitution with the more elaborate papyrus thicket aligns with enigmatic principles. Moreover, the toponym Chemmis often uses the generic plant sign in the Ptolemaic spellings noted by Blackman and Fairman.

⁹⁴ As elsewhere in this text, the simple cup (R) stands for the fancy bread sign: J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 102, n. j.

⁹⁵ For interchange between the horizontal land and water signs, see J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 110, n. b.

⁹⁶ The parallels cited by J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 191, n. c, only apply to minor divinities, not the sun god.

⁹⁷ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 52.

⁹⁸ For such spellings of Heliopolis with initial reed leaf, see already *Wb* I, 54, 6; J.A. ROBERSON, in D. Klotz, A. Stauder (eds), *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom I*, p. 162, n. L.

⁹⁹ V. BERTEAUX, *Harachte*, p. 223; K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, II, p. 101; *LGG* V, 780.

¹⁰⁰ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 101-102, nn. d and h. Roberson argued the apparent *t3*-sign in S1 (in Frankfurt’s hand-copy) substituted for the similar *p.t*-sign in R6. Yet collation with the published photograph would support a very thin *p.t*-sign in S1 as well.

¹⁰¹ J.A. Roberson reproduced a figure wearing an *atef*-crown here.

¹⁰² Noted already by J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 148.

homophonous, feminine demonstrative *t3* in personal names as early as the Middle Kingdom,¹⁰³ and both are standard spellings for the same demonstrative in Late Egyptian.¹⁰⁴

(d) This final group is perhaps the most difficult section of the Transit of the Solar Barks texts. In the earliest edition (S1), the first sign is a quadruped with an exceptionally long tail, indistinct head, and bent legs. Roberson identified this as a mouse, a sign which elsewhere writes the uniliteral value *h*.¹⁰⁵ Yet comparing published photographs of those examples does not support this claim. Rather, the angled back is more appropriate for a standard crocodile sign, a creature which also has bent legs and a very long tail.¹⁰⁶ If the animal has been correctly identified, it could be an ideogram for *hnty*,¹⁰⁷ but it might also write *ity*, “sovereign.” Confirming either reading are the subsequent *t* + two strokes, which occur in the same form in the speech of Osiris (*infra*, 2.2; also S1) to write the *ty*-ending. Collation with the published photograph of S1 shows Frankfort incorrectly drew a line connecting the two strokes to create a *pr*-sign, an error apparently repeated by the scribes of R6 and T.

Another, previously unrecognized, New Kingdom example of the crocodile writing *hnty* occurs on the enigmatic scribal palette (MMA 30.7.1).¹⁰⁸ The local god Thoth of Hermopolis Parva, is addressed with various standard epithets, including the following (column 1):



Drioton and J.C. Darnell agreed this excerpt begins: “in this your name of Bull of Maat (*m rn=k p(w)y n k3 m3 .t*),” with the figure of Min spelling “Ka”, and both assumed the crocodile and bread loaf where phonetic complements to the *m3 .t*-sign. Drioton naturally assumed an acrophonic reading of the crocodile (‘ < *ff*, “crocodile”), but Darnell preferred a derivation from ‘*3*’, “to ejaculate.”

However, if one assumes the *m3 .t*-sign serves as an ideogram, then the crocodile can represent its more typical value of *hnty*, with the elaborate bread loaf serving as phonetic complement (𐩣𐩠), just as in the present caption to Re-Harakhty. This alternate parsing enables a very different translation than Drioton’s original proposal,¹⁰⁹ yielding instead quite expected designations of Thoth:

¹⁰³ Wb V, 211, 12; 212, 1 (citing only the Late Period), but see multiple examples from the Middle and New Kingdoms in H. RANKE, *PN I*, pp. 357-363; II, p. 238, n. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Fr. JUNGE, *Late Egyptian Grammar: an introduction*, 2005, p. 93; D. KURTH, *EP II*, p. 617, §72a.

¹⁰⁵ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 101, 102, n. f.

¹⁰⁶ Contrast the diminutive hieroglyph of a mouse (fifth sign from top) from the crocodile on the MMA palette: J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pl. 1D; E. DRIOTON, *RdE* 1, 1933, pl. II, col. 1; see the translation below in this text note. Similar characteristics (bent legs, long tail) can occur in representations of both the *hts*-rat and the *hḏr*-shrew (cf. Chr. LEITZ, “Einige Bezeichnungen für kleine und mittelgroße Säugetiere im Alten Ägypten,” *BIFAO* 118, 2019, p. 248, 251-253), but the sign in S1 appears to have a longer head than those rodents.

¹⁰⁷ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 105; P. VERNUS, *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l’histoire d’une ville du delta égyptien à l’époque pharaonique*, *BdE* 74, 1978, p. 368, n. 2; D. KURTH, *EP I*, p. 276; Chr. LEITZ, “Die beiden kryptographischen Inschriften aus Esna mit den Widdern und Krokodilen,” *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 272.

¹⁰⁸ E. DRIOTON, *RdE* 1, 1933, pl. II, col. 1, pp. 15-16; J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pl. 1D, pp. 26-27 (partial text and translation); for the text on the other side of this palette, see A.-P. ZIVIE, *Hermopolis et le nome de l’Ibis: recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en basse Egypte*, *BdE* 66, 1975, pp. 51-60.

¹⁰⁹ E. DRIOTON, *RdE* 1, 1933, p. 15: “(Taureau de la Justice), au temple de qui on accourt plus qu’au tribunal d’aucun roi! (*hs.tw r prꜥf r bḥd bity nb*).” J.C. DARNELL, *loc. cit.*, did not translate past the epithet “Bull of Maat.”


They [...]

On your behalf, through the agency of my [ba],
at the very moment my arms surround you –
let the dawn break!

Present dominion on my behalf!”

<i>ḏḏ-mdw in [I]s.t</i>	Words spoken by [I]sis: ^(a)
<i>in[k mw.t]≠k</i>	“I [am] your [mother],
<i>snq.n≠k m ir.t.t≠i</i>	and it is of my milk that you have nursed. ^(b)
<i>‘wy≠(i) h3≠k</i>	My arms are around you
<i>m (‘)nh-w3s</i>	in life and dominion.” ^(b)

NB: As in section 2 above, Roberson assumed this text was spoken by the king to Re-Horakhty. Yet the king faces the god and does not place his arms around him. Substantial parts of this text can be restored thanks to the symmetric speech of Nephthys in the night bark (*supra*, 1.1.2).

(a) Restorations to this section are based on the symmetric text of Nephthys and collations with the published photograph. It is unclear how exactly the name of Isis was originally spelled here. Traces can be seen of the *s.t*-throne, but that would leave a large vertical space to the left. One might compare a spelling with initial ‘aleph which occurs multiple times in the Coffin Texts: .¹¹⁵

(b) Roberson relied on Frankfort’s hand copy here, but suggested emending the water sign after the apparent white crown to a land hieroglyph, resulting in an interesting jussive exclamation by the king (“let the dawn break (*hḏ t3*)!”),¹¹⁶ which seems out of place for such a caption.

(c) For the omission of the ‘ayin in ‘nh, see *supra*, 1.1.2, text note (i).

1.2.2b. Day Bark – Late Period Variant

Once again, the Thirtieth Dynasty sarcophagus of Tadipakem features a different text in this location, apparently spoken by the deceased to Re-Harakhty.¹¹⁷






<i>ḏḏ-mdw</i>	Words spoken:
<i>i R ‘ i(3w) n≠k</i>	O Re, praise ¹¹⁸ be unto you!

¹¹⁵ R. VAN DER MOLEN, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 8.

¹¹⁶ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 110-11, n. b.

¹¹⁷ G. MASPERO, H. GAUTHIER, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque II*, p. 107 (a), pl. 32.

(b) Roberson copied this peculiar sign as:  (a lump of clay, mistaken for the pustule), writing the stative ending *ꜥw* (< *wt*, “mummy; bandage”). Not only would the proposed stative ending precede the verb (*‘nh*), but the hieroglyph in question is much more symmetric in the published photograph.

With its round bottom and three equal protrusions on the top, it more closely resembles a flower () or a more conventional plant sign (). Both would conceivably write the verb *rdi*, “to give” < *rd/rwd*, “a plant” or “to flourish”.¹²¹ Similar blossom signs seem to write *rdi* in the conclusion to the Awakening Osiris text (*infra*, 2.2, text note k).

(c) Roberson connected the final signs of **S1** to the epithets of the king. However, this results in a completely unparalleled set of royal epithets: “may he live and be equipped.”¹²²

In the published photograph, the characteristic details of the *pr*-sign are not evident. More importantly, these particular signs occur directly in front of the statuette of Maat. A similar caption occurs behind the day bark in the tomb of Ramesses VI, where it has been displaced due to lack of space. Roberson assumed this labelled the goddess in the day-bark, but we have already seen she is most likely Isis (*supra*, 1.2.2). Instead, both mentions of Maat should refer to the small effigy of the same goddess held by the king and Re-Harakhty. The final *t*-ending in **S1** is written with a variant of the bread sign (X3A), which occurs in similar position above in 1.1.3.



A

Ramesses VI holding Maat and club as a rebus for his prenomen, Day Bark scene (photo: <https://flic.kr/p/228ZoBa>).



B

Heraldic spelling of the royal titulary, where the third figure from the right writes *nb* in “Nebmaatre” (photo: <https://flic.kr/p/2jC45VJ>).

Fig. 2. Rebuses for “Nebmaatre” from the tomb of Ramesses VI.

Previous scholars have noted the interesting combination of Re and Maat in this scene, correctly observing that these figures formed rebus spellings of the royal prenomens in **S1** and **Sh3**.¹²³ The same can be said of the example in **R6**: the king, holding a club in his right hand [fig. 2A], writes

¹²¹ For similar signs during the Ramesside Period, see Ph. COLLOMBERT, *RdE* 65, 2014, p. 8, fig. 6.

¹²² J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 109, n. h, who already noted: “the description of the king as having been ‘equipped’ is unexpected here.”

¹²³ Discussed by J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 15-16. Note that in **S1**, collation suggests the object the king holds to support Maat might be an obelisk, as in the spelling of his name immediately to the right (*ibid*, pp. 112, 117, n. l), so it would not be necessary to posit substitution of similar shapes here (*ibid*, p. 16, n. 69).

nb, just as elsewhere in his tomb [fig. 2 B]¹²⁴, thus resulting in a rebus for his prenomen “Nebmaatre.”

1.2.4. *Later Adaptations*

Although the accompanying hieroglyphic texts are quite different, another version of this tableau occurs much later in one of the Osirian roof-top chapels from Dendera. Immediately before the Eastern Chapel No. 2, similar scenes of the solar barks appear inside the windows [fig. 3]:¹²⁵

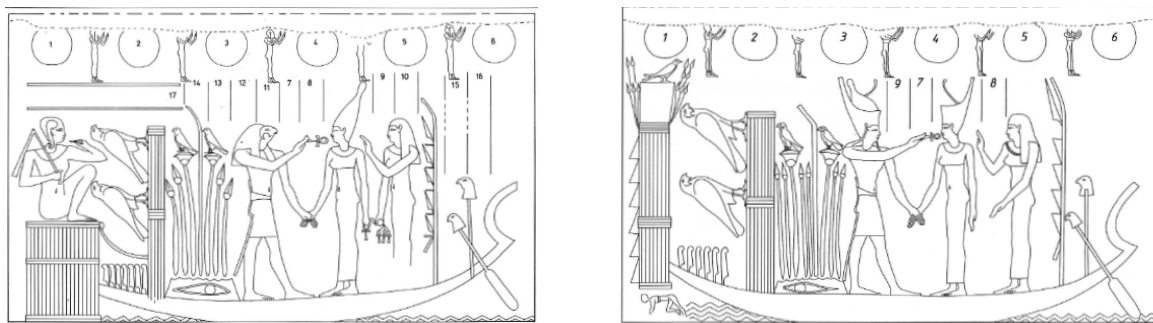


Fig. 3. Hathor before Atum and Re-Harakhty in the solar barks (from: *Dendara X*, pl. 58).

Yet at Dendera, the king or private official is replaced by Hathor, primary goddess of the temple, wearing two different crowns. Many of the iconographic details are the same as in the New Kingdom scenes of the Transit of the Solar Barks. The biggest difference is that Nephthys accompanies Hathor in both the night and day barks. Furthermore, the surviving captions to Re and Nephthys reflect solar theology from Dendera, and bear little resemblance to the enigmatic texts discussed above.

Carolina Teotino recognized a more subtle allusion to this composition elsewhere in the Osirian chapels at Dendera.¹²⁶ On the rear wall of the Eastern Chapel No. 3, Osiris is depicted upon his elaborate bier surrounded by divinities, reminiscent of the ‘Awakening Osiris’ scene, except here Osiris is on his back. A couple registers above this scene are symmetrical scenes of the king offering the two solar barks to Hathor.

2. Awakening Osiris

2.1. *Caption to Horus* (= J.A. Roberson, *AOTSB*, pp. 56-61, A9 + A10)

NB: These captions apply to the figure extending the was-scepter to Osiris. This figure can appear with either a human (**S1**, **R6**, **Sh3**, **W**) or falcon (**M**, **P**) head. The epithets of Harendotes follow after the royal cartouche or personal name, not translated here.

¹²⁴ For the first heraldic spelling of Ramesses VI, see D.A. WERNING, in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf*, p. 126. Similar royal figures write *nb* frequently in the New Kingdom: J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, pp. 23-25, 32-33.

¹²⁵ *Dendara X*, 162-163, pls. 58, 84.

¹²⁶ C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, pp. 210-211; discussing *Dendara X*, pl. 87.

Roberson split the texts into two sections, but the main epithets of Harendotes continue before his body (**S1**, **P**), and between his legs (**R6**). The latter example is partially visible in Roberson's line drawing, but not included in the synoptic edition.

Roberson compared these epithets and spellings to captions from the abbreviated Osiris scene on the sarcophagi of Psusennes and Khaf.¹²⁷ One should also compare the label to Harendotes from Hour 8 of the Book of the Night, where the same god extends a *was*-scepter to an enthroned Osiris [fig. 4].¹²⁸



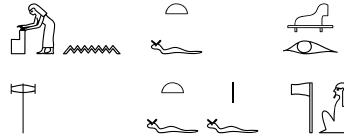
Fig. 4. Hour 8 of the *Book of the Night*, middle register. Tomb of Ramesses VI (photo: <https://flic.kr/p/23yJsh5>).

Not only are the compositions similar, but the same enigmatic values from the present scene occur in the Late Period variants of the Book of the Night.

S1	
R6	
R9	
Sh3	
M	
Book of the Night (LP)	
Book of the Night (NK)	

¹²⁷ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 56, nn. 277-278; to these examples, one should also add the identical label from the tomb of Psusennes: MONTET, *Tanis II*, pl. 11.

¹²⁸ G. ROULIN, *La Livre de la Nuit. Une composition égyptienne de l'au-delà*, *OBO* 147, 1996, I, pp. 254-255; II, pp. 108-109, No. 17, pls. XII, XXI; for the Late Period version from Roda, see most recently N. ABDELWAHED, J.M. ISKANDER, T.S. TAWFIK, "The Blocks from the Nilometer at Roda Preliminary Report on the Reconstruction Work," *SAK* 45, 2016, pp. 30-31, pl. 15/1.

Psusennes**Khaf****S1****R6****P**Previous readings: **a-b***nd itꜥf Wsir**ꜥwꜥf wꜥs n nꜥr 'nh*He who protects^(a) his father,^(b) Osiris,^(c)as he extends the *was*-scepter to the living god.^(d)

(a) Roberson understood the first wavy snake as the suffix pronoun *ꜥf*, thus translating a dramatic *sdmꜥf*, “he protects his father.” That reading is possible and supported by the repetition of this serpent for that purpose in the subsequent phrase (“he extends the *was*-scepter...”). Nonetheless, the shorter variants (Psusennes, Khaf), and comparisons with the Book of the Night suggest this is just a participle, the standard epithet of Harendotes. In this case, the first rampant serpent just writes *d*, a phonetic complement to *nd*.

For Roberson, the hieroglyph of the woman grinding bread “might be interpreted more generally as ‘fashioning,’ in addition to ‘grinding,’” and suggested this might allude to Horus revivifying his father.¹²⁹ Yet this figure never holds a “lump of dough,” but rather a large stone to crush grain in the large basin, as many tomb scenes, wooden models, and archaeological evidence demonstrate.¹³⁰

If there is any sportive cryptography here, it is that of destruction: Horus, encounters his father only after having killed the enemies of his father: Seth, Apophis, or other rebels. In the related vignette from Book of the Night (Hour 8), the enthroned Osiris has a bound figure of Seth under his throne.¹³¹ The key verb *nd* is written with a figure grinding things into pieces, followed by a serpent. Together these hieroglyphs form concise “visual poetry”, alluding to the smashing of serpentine enemies.¹³²

¹²⁹ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 58, n. b.

¹³⁰ See, for example, E. LANG, *Journal of Lithic Studies* 3/3, 2016, pp. 279-289.

¹³¹ G. ROULIN, *La Livre de la Nuit*, I, p. 255; II, pp. 108-111, pl. XII (No. 18).

¹³² Compare the symbolic destruction of worms during threshing in the ritual of Driving the Calves, where these creatures which could devour grain (Osiris) symbolize Apophis and other enemies: A. EGBERTS, *In Quest of Meaning* I, pp. 341-344. Cf. also a similar enigmatic reference to striking Apophis in the frieze text of Ramesses II in Luxor: D. KLOTZ, in D. Klotz, A. Stauder (eds), *Enigmatic Writing in the New Kingdom*, I, pp. 86, 88, No. 94. Compare also New Kingdom statues which represent the deceased grinding his own grain (i.e. *nd itꜥf*), and where inscriptions sportively link this action to the divine name Harendotes: E. FROOD, “Minmose the Miller. A Ramessid Serving Statue Preparing Incense (Berlin ÄM 24179),” *BIFAO* 123, 2023, p. 160.

(b) Comparison with the Book of the Night suggests the baboon alone writes *it*, “father,” with the scarab in the Book of the Night serving as a phonetic complement (*t*). Roberson had argued the baboon might acquire the value *t* < *d*(*d*), “to say”, and that is certainly possible. As he notes, however, that value typically applies to a seated baboon.¹³³ Yet while the rampant simian sometimes acquires values of Thoth, it is otherwise linked to verbs of anger, especially *qnd*, “to rage.”¹³⁴ This suggests deriving the entire word *it*, “father,” from *jd*, “(to be) angry”, via the consonantal principle.

(c) As noted by Roberson, the spelling of “Osiris” in **S1** appears to be the most correct option, with the traditional flesh sign being simplified to an egg in later copies.¹³⁵ In most cases, the determinative to Osiris is an over-sized enthroned image of the god. Even though Osiris does not appear this way in the present Awakening scene, Harendotes does extend a *was*-scepter to a similar image in the related scene from the Book of the Night (Hour 8), as well as the columned hall of the Osireion (see *infra*, 3.3.1).

(d) The signs following the falcon are difficult to make out in S1, but collation confirms they are similar to the larger hieroglyphs from P. Osiris is here referred to as “the living god,” either a euphemism (cf. PT 666A, 717), or a reference to the revivification depicted in this scene.

2.2. *Speech of Osiris* (= J.A. Roberson, *AOTSB*, pp. 64-75, A15)

NB: This is perhaps the most difficult and important text of the composition. Drioton and Roberson produced very different translations, but both were directed towards a group of “haulers” or “those who tow.”

É. Drioton, *Kêmi* 12, 1952, p. 27:

Sont dites les paroles :

ô Haleurs!

Je donne l'éternité de vie à (ce) roi (...) (justifié).

Je suis le vengeur de mon père.

Je suis le Grand qui donne la vie aux morts en son nom de Vivant.

J.A. Roberson, *AOTSB*, p. 66:

Recitation:

O, you who tow!

I have caused that *N.* withdraw on my behalf,
after he emerged as the one who is in the disc.

I am protected,

So that I might become exalted in the disc eternally,

¹³³ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 59-60, n. d, alternatively suggested the uniliteral *i*, another phonetic value for the seated baboon attested elsewhere, which also occurs once at Hibis: D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 204, 218, nn. 316-317.

¹³⁴ *Wb* V, 56, 16 (noting the baboon was used already in Dynasty 18); D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 204.

¹³⁵ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 60, n. e; for the spellings in the Book of the Night versions, see C. MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, I, p. 147, n. 382.

rd(i)/wd=i n=f nswy.t R^c

I shall grant/give^(k) him the kingship of Re.^(l)

(a) The same sign appears throughout this text, and how one interprets its transcription and grammatical function influences the overall interpretation. Similar hieroglyphs have the phonetic value *ink* (< *inq*, “to embrace”) in other New Kingdom cryptographic texts.¹³⁶ Drioton assumed this figure had the same value here, but then the first instance of this independent pronoun would occur immediately before a *sdm.n=f* verbal form. More importantly, Drioton assumed the speaker was Harendotes, not Osiris, even though the hieroglyphs are always oriented in the same direction as the senior god.

Roberson, taking a slightly different approach, claimed this peculiar sign could represent any first-person singular pronoun and opted for the dependent *wi*, and apparently unique use of an ideogram for this pronoun. Again, this solution creates more problems, since it requires reading each phrase as the rare grammatical form *sw sdm=f*, an idiom nowhere else attested in the first person.¹³⁷

Neither scholar noted, however, that this figure reproduces the typical gesture of Osiris, precisely as he appears in this scene, with both hands bound together on the middle of his chest.¹³⁸ In the **R6** version, the torso even appears to be tightly bound like a mummy [fig. 5].



Fig. 5. Hieroglyphs of semi-mummified man from the “Awakening Osiris” scene.

A seated variant of this hieroglyph, depicting a man with hands grasped together, in some cases bound like a mummy, occurs frequently beginning in the Ramesside Period, where it replaces the seated man or woman as a determinative to personal names.¹³⁹ As such, the present sign can be an elaborate depiction of the first-person singular suffix pronoun, a phenomenon well-attested in standard texts of all eras, and especially common in Graeco-Roman inscriptions.¹⁴⁰ Roberson had

¹³⁶ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 33, A359. A similar sign serves as determinative for other words such as “to be cold”, “to bend”, and “hidden”: H.G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies III: Varia Nova*, 1996, p. 108, n. 3; J.F. BORGHOUTS, *Egyptian: an introduction to the writing and language of the Middle Kingdom II*, p. 18 (A28+). J. ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern, Theben 1*, 1983, p. 10, Text 11, 5.

¹³⁷ See the remarks of D.A. WERNING, *BiOr*, 73/1-2, 2016, cols. 74-75.

¹³⁸ Some depictions of the recumbent Osiris or other mummies show his arms outstretched in front of him: J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pls. 10-11; N. SPENCER, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis*, p. 80, fig. 8a. In all editions of the Awakening Osiris scene, however, there is no room for this posture, implying his hands are crossed over his chest. In other scenes, the recumbent Osiris sometimes rises slightly higher from the bier, and one can see his arms are crossed in his typical pose: e.g. *Hibis III*, pl. 3, Register VI, left; *Dendara X*, pls. 5, 107, 256.

¹³⁹ J. BERLANDINI, “Le ‘double-chaouabti gisant’ des princes Ramsès et Khâemouaset,” *RdE* 53, 2002, pp. 22-23, n. b; M. BROWN, “A New Analysis of the Titles of Teti on Statue BM EA 888,” *SAK* 45, 2016, pp. 83-84, n. d.

¹⁴⁰ D. KURTH, *EP II*, p. 591. Note especially the repeated use of a standing mummy hieroglyph for the first person singular suffix pronoun in the biographical text of Panehemisis: Chr. LEITZ, *Der Sarg des Panehemisis in Wien*, pp. 229 (P8); 230 (P9; multiple examples; P10; P11), etc. Compare also É. VAN ESSCHE, “La valeur ajoutée du signe déterminatif dans l’écriture figurative ramesside,” *RdE* 48, 1997, pp. 201-217.

already suggested this reading, but only in one instance within the speech of Osiris (following *ndty*).¹⁴¹



Understanding this sign as a suffix pronoun changes the relationship between Osiris and all substantives mentioned in the following text. For the present example, he aptly addresses the divinities surrounding him as his group.

(b) Both Drioton and Roberson read the first group as *st3(t)y.w*, “the haulers,” a reference to the gods who usually tow the solar bark. While this interpretation seems reasonable enough, there are no tow-ropes or barks present in this scene, and thus it is difficult to reconcile either translation with the accompanying relief, which depicts Osiris stationary within the embalming hall.

Manassa endorsed this reading of the signs, but proposed a more idiomatic translation involving a passive participle: “those who are ushered in.”¹⁴² That translation is based on a comparison to a scene in Hour 8 of the Book of the Night. As noted above (2.1), that scene has much in common with the Awakening Osiris scene: Harendotes extends a *was*-scepter to an enthroned figure of Osiris, all attended by a group of divinities. Although Osiris lies on his belly in the present scene, the determinatives to his name in the caption to Horus (2.1) generally depict him enthroned, possibly an illusion to the Book of the Night. Moreover, the various gods and goddesses before Osiris in the Book of the Night all feature in the Awakening Osiris scene and its related scenes, including some more obscure members such as Sendet and Hepwy/Hephep.¹⁴³

In the Book of the Night, several of these divinities hold long ropes attached to the colossal, enthroned Osiris.¹⁴⁴ The purpose of these ropes are unclear, but the Late Period versions added an enigmatic caption that appears to mention Horus and “haulers (*st3(t)y.w*).”¹⁴⁵ If that interpretation is correct, one could propose that the entourage of Osiris were sometimes required to transport his statue or mummy, so even though they are not depicted that way in the Awakening Osiris scene, the epithet was still appropriate, an intertextual allusion between netherworld and cosmographic books.

Nonetheless, the numerous representations of the burial of Osiris - from temples, tombs, sarcophagi, and coffins – demonstrate that the deities attending him are his chthonic protectors, not the crew who hauls the solar bark.¹⁴⁶ These considerations lead to a different interpretation of the sign in question.

As background motivation, one may compare the elaborate cloth sign () which normally functions as a logogram (*mnḥ.t*, *ḥbs*), but in enigmatic texts very frequently substitutes for the simple cloth sign to write the unliteral *s* ().¹⁴⁷ By analogy, one might interpret the sign in question, which would typically write either *st3* or *3s*, as an elaboration of the simple coiled rope. That is:

¹⁴¹ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 65-66, 67, n. 319; 73, n. m.

¹⁴² C. MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Underworld I*, p. 149, n. a.







¹⁴³ G. ROULIN, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, I, pp. 256-257, 260; II, pl. 112, Nos. 19-28. For a comparison to the ‘Awakening Osiris’ scenes, see also C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, pp. 209-210.







¹⁴⁴ G. ROULIN, *op. cit.*, II, pls. XII, XXI; see also F. PAYRAUDEAU, “Contribution à l’étude de la diffusion des Livres de l’Au-delà aux particuliers: trois scènes du Livre du Jour et du Livre de la Nuit sur un ensemble funéraire de la XXIIe dynastie,” *BSFE* 195-196, 2016, p. 75, Fig. 8.

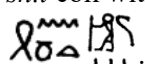
¹⁴⁵ G. ROULIN, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 110-111. An attempt to decipher this text appears in C. MANASSA, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 147-148. However, the overall interpretation is problematic, as Manassa suggests reading the six Heh-figures following the verb *ip*, “to reckon”, as *ḥzy.w*, overlooking that a divine figure in the adjacent scene is similarly called *ip ḥḥ n ḥḥ.w*, “the one who reckons millions of millions” (G. ROULIN, *op. cit.*, II, p. 109, No. 13).

¹⁴⁶ For the apotropaic entourage of Osiris, see primarily C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, and the references cited *supra*, n. 13.

¹⁴⁷ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 156. For an alternate derivation (specific cloth sign substituted for the generic cloth classifier), see also D.A. WERNING, “Semiotic Aspects of Alienated and Cryptographic Encodings in the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom,” in D. Klotz, A. Stauder (eds), *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom, I: Revealing, transforming, and display in Egyptian hieroglyphs I*, 2020, pp. 230-231.

Original Sign	Elaborate Version	Transliteration
		<i>s</i>
* 		* <i>šn.t</i>
* 		* <i>šnw.t</i>

One phonetic value for the coil is *šn.t* (“hundred”),¹⁴⁸ and thus three coils would write *šn.wt*, hence the conventional interpretation of the divine name Horus-*imy-šn.w.t*:   .¹⁴⁹ Phonetically, this group might be a variant spelling of *šnw.y.t*, “entourage.”¹⁵⁰ One might also decompose each composite sign as:  =  (*šn.t*) +  (*t < t3*) + plural strokes (*w*) = *šnw(y).t*. A connection of the *šn.t* coil with the term *šnw.y.t*-entourage can be found in a spelling of the latter term in CT IV, 179b:



Various Egyptian texts refer to such guardians or companions a group called the “entourage of Osiris.”¹⁵¹ Already in the First Intermediate Period, the “Abydos Formula” on funerary stelae frequently requests that the deceased be “transfigured (*s3h*)” by “the **Entourage** in Abydos.”¹⁵² Much later, the Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Khaf from Saqqara (discussed by Roberson), which contains the same guardian deities as the Awakening Osiris scene, including Harendotes presenting a *w3s*-scepter, the netherworldly gods who serve Osiris are described as follows:¹⁵³

<i>iw=sn dy hn' Wsir H'fy</i>	They are here, together with the Osiris, Khaf,
<i>ms rnp.t-nfr.t m3'(.t)-h'rw</i>	born of Renpet-nefret, justified.
<i>wn=sn n'f m šnw(y).t</i>	They exist for him as an entourage ,
<i>sšm=sn sw m w3.wt dw3.t</i>	they guide him on the paths of the Duat.

Multiple examples occur in texts from the Osirian chapels at Edfu, describing similar groups of divinities who guard the god's bier:

¹⁴⁸ *Wb* IV, 497-498. Note especially the use of the simple coil (V1) as an abbreviation in the title *imy-r3 šnt*: G. ANDREU, “Deux stèles de commissaires de police (*jmy-r šnt*) de la Première Période Intermédiaire,” *CRIPEL* 13, 1991, pp. 17-23; J.C. DARNELL, *Theban Desert Road Survey I*, p. 63, n. a; H.G. FISCHER, *Varia Nova*, p. 208, n. l; or as a determinative to *šnt*, “to encircle”: *Wb* IV, 489.

¹⁴⁹ H. TE VELDE, “Horus imi-Schenut,” *LÄ* III, cols. 47-48, who noted (48, n. 1) that multiple scholars (e.g. K. Sethe, H.W. Fairman) had interpreted the coiled rope signs in this epithet as simplified writings of *st3* or *s3t*.

¹⁵⁰ Given his prominent role in Egyptian magic and the protection of the king, particularly in pLeiden I, 347 (cf. S. BECK, “Hail to you Horus imi-Shenut? – First Thoughts on papyrus Leiden I 347,” in M.P. Hlouchová, D. Belohoubková, J. Honzl, V. Nováková, (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2018, 2019*, pp. 17-22), one wonder whether Horus-*imy-šn.w.t* might be interpreted as “Horus who is within the (royal) entourage”, or alternatively “Horus who has [reverse nisbeh] incantation spells (*šn.w*).”

¹⁵¹ *Wb* IV, 511, 13–512, 5; *LGG* VII, 101-102; with variants such as: “entourage of Wennefer,” “entourage of the Lord of Abydos,” “the entourage which is before/around Osiris” (e.g. *CT* V, 243e; *CT* VII, 290b; 500e; *BD* 144).

¹⁵² M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: a Study and an Anthology*, *OBO* 84, 1988, pp. 62, 79, 86, 95, 114. An Entourage of Osiris is also mentioned on the Iykhnofret stela (line 24): H. SCHÄFER, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III*, *UGAA* 4/2, 1904, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵³ G. DARESSY, *ASAE* 17, 1917, pp. 5.

Edfou I, 178, 14-15:

The great gods who protect the divine body,
 who repel the Rebel from Weary of Heart (Osiris),
 the gods of the bier, who protect the bed,
 the **Entourage** of Wennefer, justified,
 who protect the Portal of the Horizon for the majesty of Osiris.

Edfou I, 186, 11-12:

The Children of Horus within the Osiris chapel,¹⁵⁴
 who protect the bier of Weary of Heart (...)
 the great crew who makes his protection,
his Entourage in his following,
 who guard over him when the evening arrives,
 and protect his body until dawn.

Edfou I, 189, 9-10:

The sharp-eyed gods in the following of Osiris,
 the **Entourage** of Weary of Heart,
 knife-wielders, who live from slaughter,
 who put enemies into the abattoir.


Edfou I, 191, 6:

The **Entourage** of Foremost of his Bier (Osiris),
 who are beside him in all his places,
 never leaving his station.

Edfou I, 196, 12:

The **Great Entourage** of the King (Osiris),
 the grand crew of Khentiamenti,
 who are with him wherever he may be,
 never leaving him, ever.

¹⁵⁴ Note the Children of Horus also appear among the guardian divinities in the present scene of “Awakening Osiris”: J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 20-23, 39-41; C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, pp. 232-237, 273-274.

Alternatively, the same group () could conceivably write *mḥ.wt*, “entrails”, a word frequently determined with the simple coil, as a sportive spelling for *imy.w-ḥt*, “those who are in the following of NN,” another apt designation of the chthonic divinities. Note also that the divine name Osiris itself can be represented with three coils, a variant of the same name featuring three quail chicks, but such spellings first occur in the Roman Period.¹⁵⁵

Finally, even if one prefers the reading *stȝty.w* here, the interpretation of the standing figure as first person singular suffix pronoun would still apply. In this case, Osiris would address the group: “O my haulers” or “O you who tow me (both: *stȝty.w=ī*),” to be understood as an intertextual allusion to the Book of the Night.



In summary, the specific group Osiris addresses here is far from certain. The simplest reading is to take the *stȝ*-signs with their standard value, but that solution makes little sense if applied to the present vignette. The alternate reading proposed here, “entourage,” would aptly describe the guardian divinities accompanying Osiris here. But even though this new reading does not contradict established principles of sign derivations, the particular phonetic value for the sign in question is not attested elsewhere.

(c) Both Drioton and Roberson understood these signs as: *dī.n(=ī)*, “(I) have given” (Drioton) or “(I) have caused” (Roberson). While this is certainly possible, the standing Osiris figure expressly writes the first-person suffix pronoun several times in this short text (*supra*, n. a), but not here. Instead, I prefer to see a jussive subjunctive in the first-person plural, as Osiris exhorts his entourage to protect and reward the king.

(d) Here Roberson recognized the verb *nḥm*, “to seize; take away,” but this also raises various red flags. This would be the only word in the “Awakening Osiris” text to employ a determinative, and the first-person suffix would be omitted (*supra*, n. c). More importantly, the intransitive meaning of *nḥm* (*“to withdraw”) is otherwise unattested,¹⁵⁶ and this translation required Roberson to argue away the *n* preceding *nsw.t-bīty* in **S1** and **R6**.

(e) For the reading of this group, already proposed by Drioton, see *supra*, 1.1.2, text note (i).

(f) Drioton read this entire sequence as *mȝ-ḥrw*, “justified,” requiring many complicated sign derivations. Roberson, meanwhile, preferred *pri.w m imy-ītn*, “after he emerged as the one who is in the disc”.



Only **S1** contains the correct sign: ; the scribes in **R6** confused it for the similarly shaped intestines: ¹⁵⁷. In the hand copy of **S1**, Frankfort copied half of an ovoid shape as a determinative. Roberson interpreted this as an *m*, requiring a complicated explanation for the book-roll in **R6**. However, collation simply shows a flat horizontal sign in **S1**, similar enough to other examples in the text.


¹⁵⁵ D. KURTH, *EP*, I, p. 419, n. 16; D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, p. 351, n. 846.

¹⁵⁶ R.D. FAULKNER, *CDME*, p. 136, lists the nuance “withdraw o’self” (Pyr. 1098c), but that example is an active, transitive participle (“he who rescued his body (*nḥm(.w) d.tṣf*)”); similarly L.H. LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, I, p. 243, cites the meaning “withdraw,” but again that singular example takes a reflexive pronoun.

¹⁵⁷ Suggested already by J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 71, n. i. For a possible later version of such confusion, compare L. COULON, “Jeux d’écriture sur un monument privé thébain d’époque ptolémaïque. La statue de Nespedou fils de Paouenhor (New York, MMA 07.228.228),” in Ph. Collombert, L. Coulon, I. Guermeur, Chr. Thiers (eds), *Questionner le Sphinx. Mélanges offerts à Christiane Zivie-Coche II*, *BdE* 178, 2021, pp. 590-591, figs. 10, 12, col. 7h. Coulon interpreted this sign as two intestines, representing the rare verb *dbndbn*, “to circulate” (*ibid*, pp. 582, 585, n. s); but the photograph would also support seeing two snakes, one entering the other exiting their respective nooks, thus writing the more common funerary wish: *‘q-prṣf mī nty ḥr-tp tȝ*, “may he enter and exit like one who is on earth.”

(g) Drioton understood the circular bird sign as part of the phrase *m3* [‘]*hrw* (reading the ingenious rebus: * [‘]*hr-w*, “a thing carrying a quail”). Roberson proposed an *ad hoc* interpretation for the epithet *imy-itn*, “he who is within the solar disk,” whereas Werning alternatively suggested the circle could represent the Duat, and thus “he who is in the Duat.”¹⁵⁸

Roberson had already noted that a very similar hieroglyph, a chick within an egg ¹⁵⁹ simply spells *im* and *imy* in other enigmatic texts,¹⁶⁰ occurring already in the titles of a Middle Kingdom vizier (Dynasty 13):  = *imy dsrw Hr*, “He who (has access) inside the sacred area of Horus.”¹⁶¹ A simple egg, without a chick, can even represent the same phonetic value *pars pro toto*:

 | = *imy-ib*, “he who is in the heart (of his Mistress)”¹⁶²

 = *imy-hnt*, “He who is at the Front” (an administrative title)¹⁶³

Rather than introducing a new reading for this sign, one can simply use its well-established value *im*. Osiris thus refers to the king using a common designation for a son: *pr i im=i* “he who came forth from me” (*Wb* I, 522, 5). In the related text PT 670 (1986b) discussed below (*infra*, 3.2), Osiris is called “he who came forth from Geb (*pr(w) m Gbb*).”


In the late, corrupt version of **W**, the scribe swapped the order of the standing man, and replaced the bird inside an egg sign with an ibis.

(h) Only **R6** substitutes the *tzw*-bird for the recurrent standing man sign. Based on the parallels, this seems to be a mistake, most likely based on hieratic confusion.¹⁶⁴

(i) There are many possible values for the small, circular sign here.¹⁶⁵ One of the most common options, attested already in the Coffin Texts, is *iri n*, “to act on behalf of.” The only problem with this interpretation is that the first person suffix pronoun is missing. Alternate choices, in descending order of likelihood, include: “*this* my eldest one (*smsw=i pn*) upon the earth”, with the circle substituting for the city sign;¹⁶⁶ “you all (*tn*) are upon the earth”, or “he who remains/exists (*mn/wn*) upon the earth.”¹⁶⁷ Roberson’s proposal to read this as an ideogram (“the disc (*jtn*)”) does not appear to fit the context.¹⁶⁸

A long transfiguration text preserved in the sarcophagus chambers from the tombs of Mutirdis and Montuemhat, in precisely the same context as the Awakening Osiris scene, highlights the same

¹⁵⁸ D.A. WERNING, *BiOr*, 73/1-2, 2016, col. 74.

¹⁵⁹ In the Pyramid and Coffin texts, the basic value of this sign is *sw h.t*, “egg”: M.G. RASHED, “The Hieroglyph  and its Assimilation with the Iconography of the Sun God,” *ENiM* 8, 2015, pp. 11-31.

¹⁶⁰ M.G. RASHED, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14; J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, pp. 102, 104.

¹⁶¹ H.G. FISCHER, *Varia Nova*, p. 104

¹⁶² *Urk.* IV, 46, 14; 49, 7; cited by M.G. RASHED, *op. cit.*, p. 13, n. 20.

¹⁶³ E. DRIOTON, *RdE* 1, 1933, pp. 24, 26 (D1), 43 (99).

¹⁶⁴ So also D.A. WERNING, *BiOr*, 73/1-2, 2016, col. 74.

¹⁶⁵ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, pp. 51-54; J.F. BORGHOUTS, *Egyptian* II, pp. 28-29.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54 (D12+D12), 141 (O49).

¹⁶⁷ The examples for these two uniliteral values cited in *ibid.*, p. 52, are both hapaxes, and the attestation for *m* from the tomb of Djehuty is more likely to be read *b(w)* based on a Pyramid Text parallel, as noted already by A. DIEGO ESPINEL, in Galán, Bryan, Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, pp. 316-317, n. r.

¹⁶⁸ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 74, n. p.

theological concept. Similar to the present text, the speaker addresses the group of guardian deities, noting the following relationships:¹⁶⁹

<i>nṯf nṯr pw imy dw3.t</i>	For he (Osiris) is this god within the Duat,
<i>rdi.nṯf z3ṯf Hr</i>	he placed his son Horus
<i>m nd(ty)ṯf tp-t3</i>	as his protector upon earth ,
<i>iw nṯf dw3.t dsr.t</i>	while the sacred Duat belongs to him.

(j) Roberson emended the tongue signs in various copies to the *d*-serpent, thus obtaining the word *d.t*, “eternally.” However, one can just as easily read the tongue sign as *dp* (< *dpi*, “to taste”), to obtain the set phrase *tp-t3*, “upon earth.”¹⁷⁰

(k) The various plant signs could be read different ways, since they could interchange and represent divergent values in enigmatic texts. Roberson assumed the present statement referred to Osiris somehow “shining” (*h3y*) on behalf of the sundisk, which would be an unexpected role-reversal. Based on similar uses of signs in the same composition, the plants could all write *3h* (*supra*, 1.2.1, text note a). In this case, Osiris could be promising to serve as an effective spirit (*3h*) for Horus from within the underworld, while Horus dwells on earth.

Alternatively, this could also be another example of using different plants to write *rdi* < *rd/rwd*, “plant” (*supra*, 1.2.3, text note b). In **S1**, the signs appear to be identical between both texts. Similarly, from the same principle, all plants here might write *wḏ* < *w3ḏ*, “papyrus plant.” In either case, Osiris would be giving (*rdi*) or commending (*wḏ*) something to Horus.

Finally, the plants might conceivably write ‘*nh*’ < ‘*nh*’, “flowers.”¹⁷¹ Osiris is said to “live on behalf of (‘*nh n*’)” his son, Horus, on a statue of Khaemwase (*KRI* II, 889, 15). Admittedly, it would be difficult to connect this final reading to what follows.

(l) This group is exceedingly obscure, given the differences between all versions. In **S1**, the published photograph reveals the figure held a wide horizontal shape in his hand, difficult to identify conclusively [fig. 6]. The object in **R6** is unique, Roberson copied it as a crocodile hide, but it could plausibly represent a fish or something else, perhaps a confused transcription of a rare hieratic group. In **Sh3**, this seems most likely to be the “meat-in-bone” hieroglyph,¹⁷² but the aspect is so unusual that Montet copied it as the white crown (followed by Roberson); based on the shape, one might also consider the double-plumed headdress of Tatenen.

¹⁶⁹ J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Mutirdis*, pp. 98-99, cols. 3-4; L. GESTERMANN, C. TEOTINO, M. WAGNER, *Die Grabanlage des Monthemhet (TT 34)*, I: *Der Weg zur Sargkammer (R 44.1 bis R 53)*, *SSR* 31, 2021, pp. 968-969, cols. 10-12; a more fragmentary text on the East wall of the same chamber of TT 34 mentions: “Horus, your throne is upon earth [...] (*Hr ns.tḥk tp-t3* [...])”: *ibid*, pp. 982-983, col. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Compare the possible use of the tooth to write *dp*, “to taste” for *tp* above in 1.1.1, text note a. Regardless of where one falls on the debate regarding the original vocalization of *tp/dp*, “head; upon,” (cf. J.A. ROBERSON, “Tête-à-tête: Some Observations and Counter-Arguments Regarding a Contentious Phonological Value, *dp* or *tp*,” *LingAeg* 26, 2018, pp. 185-202), that word was spelled *dp* in other New Kingdom enigmatic books (*ibid*, pp. 187-188), so this phonetic interchange would be appropriate here.

¹⁷¹ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 119.

¹⁷² So identified by D.A. WERNING, *BiOr*, 73/1-2, 2016, col. 71.

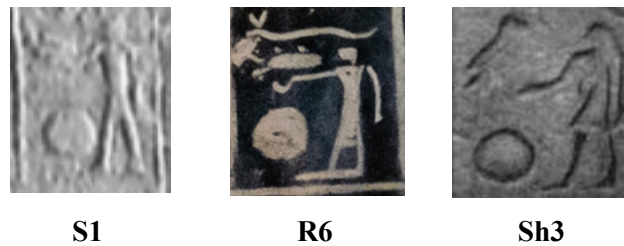
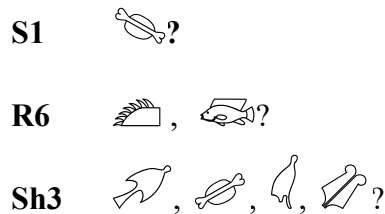


Fig. 6. Details of the enigmatic sign.



Based on the **S1** and **Sh3** versions, one might suggest the unusual shape in **R6** is some sort of hieratic confusion for the meat with bone hieroglyph. Indeed, that sign is rarely if ever recorded in New Kingdom hieratic, and Late Period variants are vaguely similar.¹⁷³ Yet the meat sign occurs in a nearby enigmatic text from the tomb of Ramesses VI, very similar in epigraphy to the present text, where it appears in a perfectly conventional form.¹⁷⁴ It is also possible that the **R6** object is indeed a fish (see below), and that the object was misinterpreted in **Sh3**.

Much simpler is the version from **M**, and possibly also in **W**, where the figure holds a simple heart sign.¹⁷⁵ Unlike the other versions, that composite sign is attested elsewhere: once in the Book of the Day,¹⁷⁶ and many years later it resurfaced on a Ptolemaic private statue.¹⁷⁷ In both cases, the hieroglyph serves as a rebus for the phrase *ẓw.t-ib*, “happiness”, since the person literally extends (*ẓw*) a heart (*ib*). Similarly in certain vignettes to BD 106, the deceased holds out the hieroglyphic group for *ẓw.t-ib* in their hand:

¹⁷³ Cf. G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Palaeographie* III, p. 16, No. 176; this sign is absent from volumes I-II. A hieratic ideogram for the meat sign writing *isw*, “reward,” is noted in DZA 21.299.960 (pTurin 20, I, 3).

¹⁷⁴ J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pls. 16 (middle, left); 22B, col. 4; pp. 196-197.

¹⁷⁵ Note, however, that this very tiny detail is difficult to confirm in the publication by J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, p. 91 (Abb. 41), and pl. 41. The text copy is Assmann’s reconstruction of the scene based on three versions and comparison with textual variants.

¹⁷⁶ M. MÜLLER-ROTHER, *Das Buch vom Tage*, OBO 236, 2008, p. 143, 150, No. 15a; noted by J.A. Roberson, *Lexicon*, p. 31 (A245c.1), without connecting it to the Mutirdis version of the present text (*ibid*, p. 21, A26 + F34, I6, S1).

¹⁷⁷ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften*, I, pp. 271, n. 12, 326; II, 440, a4 (JE 37339). Another example of this sign was recorded in *JWIS* IV, p. 309, No. 31 (two times). But photos show it is more likely the running man, writing the verb *inī*, “to bring,” as copied already in an early edition by R. LEPSIUS, “Ueber ein zu Pompeji gefundene hieroglyphische Inschrift,” *ZÄS* 6, 1868, p. 85.



Fig. 7. Vignette to BD 106 = pTurin 1791 (from: R. LEPSIUS, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, 1842, pl. 38).

Divine “happiness (*ꜥw.t-ib*)” is elsewhere linked to divine kingship, and to the state of justification Horus receives after his trial,¹⁷⁸ so this would be an expected gift from Osiris. This composite hieroglyph would be appropriate for the Osirian context, as Anubis and other figures sometimes offer a heart to the deceased in the Book of the Dead.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, the Opening of the Mouth ritual features multiple instances of giving the deceased the heart of a sacrificed bull. Indeed, an associated area of the tomb of Mutirdis features PT 364, also part of the liturgy *szh.w*-III (Spell 8), where she is identified with Osiris and told: “lift up your heart towards him (Horus), may your heart be great towards him (*wꜥꜥz ibꜥk rꜥf*, *ꜥz ibꜥk rꜥf* (...)) Horus has avenged you (*nd.n ꜥ(w) Hr*).”¹⁸⁰

Yet despite these various attempts to connect the **M** version to the earlier witnesses, I am convinced there is no way to explain away the objects of **R6** and **Sh3** (as well as **S1**) as corruptions, graphic variants, or sportive writings of *ib*, “heart.” This suggests the **M** version was itself a reinterpretation of the confusing, New Kingdom object.

For Roberson, the inconsistency of this sign implied the object in the hand was meaningless, so that the figure simply wrote *f* < *fꜥi*, “to carry.” But typically, when figures carry hieroglyphs, those signs are also read. One exception is a very detailed ideogram of the king lifting up a plate of offerings, which can write the uniliteral *f* < *fꜥi-ihꜥt* (a standard ritual offering),¹⁸¹ but that is not what we have here.

The same principle applies from other semantophors from the New Kingdom, where a person holding an object represents the uniliteral *m* (< *imi*, “give!”) plus the ideographic or phonetic value of that object.¹⁸² While such spellings were quite popular in the New Kingdom, another rebus was also operative then. Namely, the god Thoth (baboon or ibis-headed) carrying the wedjat-eye could write *nsw.t*, “king” from the rebus *imi-sy*, “he who brings it (the wedjat-eye) back (from Nubia)”, an allusion to the Wandering Goddess.¹⁸³ This value occurs already in inscriptions of Ramesses II from Luxor temple, and a variant with and ibis-headed Thoth occurs at Hibis temple under Darius

¹⁷⁸ D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, p. 82 (with references to previous literature).

¹⁷⁹ R.F. DE SOUSA, “The Cardiac Vignets of the Book of the Dead (Late Period),” *BAEDE* 17, 2007, pp. 39-53.

¹⁸⁰ J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, pp. 95, col. 13, 97 = PT 364 (618a); idem, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, Band 3: *Osirisliturgien in Papyri der Spätzeit*, 2008, p. 446 (Szene 42)

¹⁸¹ D. KLOTZ, in D. Klotz, A. Stauder (eds), *Enigmatic Writing in the New Kingdom I*, pp. 77, 83, Nos. 49-50. 80; J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 27 (A57c).

¹⁸² D. KLOTZ, M. BROWN, “The Enigmatic Statuette of Djehutymose (MFA 24.743): Deputy of Wawat and Viceroy of Kush,” *JARCE* 52, 2016, pp. 273-274; J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, pp. 21 (A26+D53), 30 (A114.1), 59 (D36+V17).

¹⁸³ These values occur several times in texts of Ramesses II from Luxor Temple: J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, pp. 48 (C284.1), 72 (E36); to which add another example from the triple bark shrine of Luxor, discussed by K. SETHE, “Das Wort für König von Oberägypten,” *ZÄS* 49, 1911, pp. 23-24.

I.¹⁸⁴ In the Ptolemaic period, a man carrying the *sw*-plant at least once writes *nsw.t*.¹⁸⁵ One might also compare the composite sign of a man carrying bread (**ini di*) as a rebus for “myrrh (*ntyw*).”¹⁸⁶

With this paradigm in mind, the sign in **R6** could similarly write *nsw.t* as a rebus for *ini-sy*, “he who brings it (object uncertain)”, or even “one who brings a fish” (*ini-s*) since the fish writes the uniliteral *s* very frequently in New Kingdom enigmatic texts.¹⁸⁷

For **S1** and **Sh3**, the object in the hand could have resulted from confusion, but since the meat sign is a standard ideogram for *isw*, “reward,” this could be a different rebus: *nsw.t* < *ini-isw*, “he who brings back the reward.” The meat sign would suggest a sportive etymology for “king; kingship”: that is, “he who holds the inheritance (meat sign = *iw*).”

Since this word is something that Osiris gives to Horus, it most likely represents the abstract noun *nswy.t*, “kingship.” The large circular sign can easily write “Re”, thus resulting in the standard phrase “kingship of Re” (*Wb* II, 333, 16), a boon frequently promised to the ruling pharaoh.

For the emphasis on Horus as king in this particular context, compare also a related texts from the sarcophagus chamber of Montuemhat (TT 34), warning potential enemies about the guardian deities surrounding the bier: “O enemy: Remember that Osiris is Lord of the West! Remember that Horus is *nsw.t*-king (*sh3 rꜥf Hr m nsw.t*)!”¹⁸⁸

In summary, the enigmatic speech of Osiris reflects precisely what one would expect in the ritual context. Horus takes care of him as a protector (*ndty*), and in return Osiris grants him a long reign upon earth. Osiris does not speak often in Egyptian texts, but he often decrees kingship to Horus and/or the Pharaoh, as in the conclusion to the Tale of Horus and Seth, or the Decrees of Osiris of the Graeco-Roman period.

Indeed, a variant from Hibis temple, not discussed by Roberson, confirms this interpretation. In an Osiris chapel located within staircase K of the main temple, one tableau shows Thoth (not Horus) presenting only the *was*-scepter to a recumbent Osiris, surrounded by Isis and Nephthys.¹⁸⁹ Although the short speech of Osiris is badly damaged, a larger text above the scene, spoken by the two goddesses, commemorates how Horus successfully avenged his father and seized the double crown of Egypt. In return, he receives the inheritance as dictated by Osiris-Wennefer himself: namely dominion over the entire cosmos.

3. Comparable Scenes and Texts

3.1. Iconography: Sarcophagus Chamber (*hꜥnky.t*) Embalming Hall (*wry.t*, *w'b.t*)

Commentary on the bipartite composition has focussed most heavily on the “Awakening Osiris” scene, particularly the entourage of protective deities surrounding the bier.¹⁹⁰ Jan Assmann had long ago connected the act commemorated here with the general context of the

¹⁸⁴ E. DRIOTON, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40, 1940, p. 362, No. 120.

¹⁸⁵ D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 133, No. 29; see already K. SETHE, *ZAS* 49, 1911, p. 24.

¹⁸⁶ *Esna* II, 16, 1; 20, 1; 102, 1; *Esna* III, 237, B; *Esna* VII, 560, 1; 605, 12; 611, 1, 11. Variants from Edfu employ a man with his head turned backwards, a rebus for *n*, “to turn back”: D. KURTH, *EP* I, pp. 134, No. 33d; 154, n. 282.

¹⁸⁷ J.A. ROBERSON, *Lexicon*, p. 111 (multiple variants).

¹⁸⁸ L. GESTERMANN, C. TEOTINO, M. WAGNER, *Die Grabanlage des Monthemhet (TT 34)*, I, pp. 982, 984, cols. 14-15.

¹⁸⁹ *Hibis* III, pl. 24; D. KLOTZ, *SAK* 43, 2013, pp. 202-207.

¹⁹⁰ See references in J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 132-133; C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*. See additional references noted *supra*, n. 13.

Stundenwachen,¹⁹¹ especially the ritual acts of Hour 2 of the Day, when Horus brings *ankh* and *was* to Osiris, the god is asked to awaken, and to see the morning sun which shines over his chest.¹⁹² As noted above in the commentary (*supra*, 2.1; 2.2, n. a), this precise chronological detail could be challenged by the very similar vignette to Hour 8 of the Night in the *Book of the Night*: there Harendotes offers the same things to an *enthroned* figure of Osiris, accompanied by several divinities from the “Awakening Osiris” scene, and labelled with a very similar enigmatic caption.

This minor quibble notwithstanding, the standard interpretation of the lower scene still holds: this scene provides a rare illustration of nocturnal rituals performed around the mummy or a statue of Osiris, otherwise known primarily from the *Stundenwachen*, *Totenliturgien*, or *Osirisliturgien*. Such actions could have taken place in the Emblaming hall or tent before burial, or around the sarcophagus within the tomb.¹⁹³ For the conceptual setting of this ritual, one should also compare an interesting variant of this scene from the naos of Nectanebo I from Saft el-Henna (CG 70021), not typically discussed in relation with the “Awakening Osiris” variants [fig. 8].¹⁹⁴

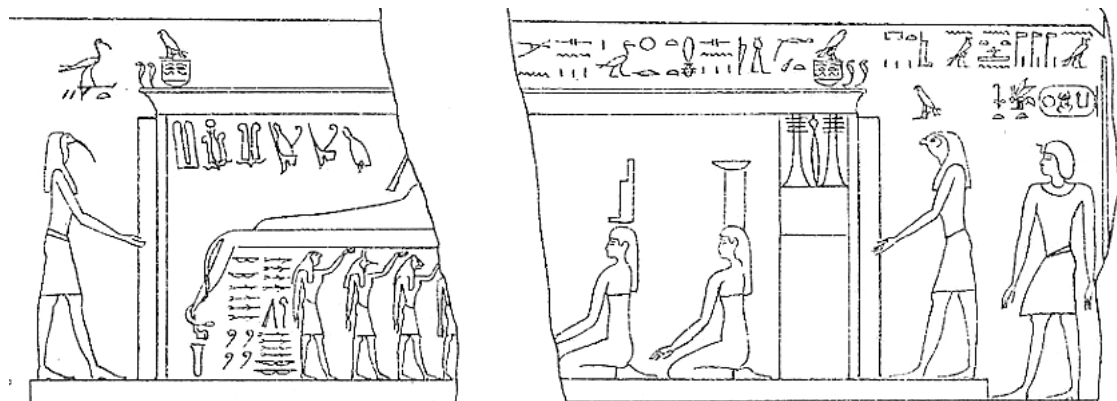


Fig. 8. Detail from the Naos of Saft el-Henna (CG 70021) (from: E. Naville, *The shrine of Saft el Henneh*, pl. 7, 2).

This partially damaged scene shows Horus and Thoth entering through double doors into a sarcophagus chamber, similar to the famous golden shrines of Tutankhamun. Inside is Osiris, recumbent on his front over a funerary bier, below which stand the Children of Horus. As in

¹⁹¹ J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, p. 14.

¹⁹² A. PRIES, *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult*, I, pp. 361 (α-β), 364-365 (θ-ι). For the theme of Re shining on the chest of Osiris, see further M. BOMMAS, “Das Motiv der Sonnenstrahlen auf der Brust des Toten. Zur Frage der *Stundenwachen* im Alten Reich,” *SAK* 36, 2007, pp. 15-22; H. KOCKELMANN, “Sunshine for the Dead: on the role and representation of light in the vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 154 and other funerary sources from Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman Egypt,” in R. Jasnow, Gh. Widmer (eds), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, 2017, pp. 181-196. Note, however, that in the “Awakening Osiris” scene, Osiris is already lying on his chest, so this particular type of solar union is not possible.

¹⁹³ See primarily H. WILLEMS, “The Emblamer Embalmed: remarks on the meaning of the decoration of some Middle Kingdom coffins,” in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, Egyptological Memoirs, 1997, pp. 335-364.

¹⁹⁴ E. NAVILLE, *The shrine of Saft el Henneh and the land of Goshen* (1885), MEEF 5, 1887, pl. 7,2; G. ROEDER, *Naos*, 1914, p. 96, pl. 32; H. KOCKELMANN, “Drei Götter unterm Totenbett. Zu einem ungewöhnlichen Bildmotiv in einer späten Totenbuch-Handschrift,” *RdE* 57, 2006, pp. 83-84, No. 6.

the “Awakening Osiris” scene, Osiris is surrounded by a range of weapons and crowns. This iconographic variant recalls the various mortuary liturgies discussed below (3.2), in addition to the *Stundenwachen*, where Horus and Thoth enter the embalming chamber to perform various rites for Osiris, and ultimately awaken him.

Indeed, the architectural projection of the divine entourage in niches around the sarcophagus chamber (Osireion, Ramesside and Late Period tombs),¹⁹⁵ or in miniature as represented on private coffins and sarcophagi, and frequent allusions to the bipartite composition in the great mortuary liturgies all confirm the well-understood context of the “Awakening Osiris” tableau.¹⁹⁶ Nonetheless, there are still a few additional textual and iconographic parallels worth discussing.

3.2. Textual Allusions: Mortuary Liturgies

In his description of the “Awakening Osiris” scene, Roberson only briefly quoted some Book of the Dead passages which refer to Horus awakening Osiris, or bringing him *ankh* and *was*, and noted that various Coffin Texts allude “obliquely” to the same event.¹⁹⁷ There indeed exist numerous references to the Horus-Osiris constellation, and to gods visiting or protecting the sacred bier in the underworld.¹⁹⁸ Moreover Osiris liturgies from papyri and temples frequently urge the god to: “awaken (*nhs*)”, “lift yourself up (*tz tw*)!”, “flip yourself over (*pn' twz*) on your bier”, and “raise your face (*fzi hrz*) so you might behold the solar rays.”¹⁹⁹ But there is one particular text, not mentioned by Roberson or most commentators, which perfectly illustrates this scene, even employing the same technical phrase “extending (*zwt*) the *was*-scepter” from the caption to Harendotes (*supra*, 2.1), and which furthermore connects the Osirian scene to the solar barks above.²⁰⁰

This early source is PT 670 (Pyr. 1972-1986), a spell attested in multiple pyramids (P, N),²⁰¹ more frequently in the Coffin Texts,²⁰² and ultimately in Late Period tombs and papyri.²⁰³ It

¹⁹⁵ A. VON LIEVEN, “Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos,” in A. Klug, B. Haring (eds), *6. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*, KSGFH 3, 2007, pp. 180-185; S. EINAUDI, *La rhétorique des tombes monumentales tardives (XXV^e-XXVI^e dynasties). Une vue d'ensemble de leur architecture et de leur programme décoratif*, CENiM 28, 2021, pp. 376-378; Cl. TRAUNECKER, “Tombeaux de l'élite et tombeaux de rois: de la montagne thébaine à la quatrième cataracte. Une brève histoire des palais funéraires de Thèbes et de Napata,” in V. Rondot (ed.), *Pharaon des Deux Terres: l'épopée africaine des Rois de Napata*, 2022, pp. 232-239.

¹⁹⁶ C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, pp. 193-304.

¹⁹⁷ J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, p. 12, citing *BD* 171 (Pleyte) and 146w (for the latter passage, see U. VERHOEVEN, “Textgeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Schlusstext von Totenbuchspruch 146,” *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 172, 184, Section E; add *Hibis* III, pl. 23, North Wall, cols. 13-14). One might also compare the rare vignette to *BD* 182, noted already by J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, p. 14, n. 18. See now R. LUCARELLI, “The So-called Vignette of Spell 182 of the Book of the Dead,” in R. Lucarelli, M. Müller-Roth, A. Wüthrich (eds), *Herausgehen am Tage. Gesammelte Schriften zum altägyptischen Totenbuch*, SAT 17, 2012, pp. 79-91.

¹⁹⁸ For the divinities around the bier, see C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*.

¹⁹⁹ Fr.-R. HERBIN, “La renaissance d'Osiris au temple d'Opet (P. Vatican Inv. 38608),” *RdE* 54, 2003, pp. 85-86, 91, 107; a connection between the verb *pn'* and the pose of Osiris in this scene was noted already by C. MANASSA, *The Late Egyptian Netherworld* I, p. 149, n. 349.

²⁰⁰ Already compared to the “Awakening Osiris” scene by J. ASSMANN, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* I. *Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, 2002, p. 434; *idem*, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* III, p. 59; Y. BARBASH, *The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikakem: Walters Art Museum 551*, *YES* 8, 2011, pp. 144-145.

²⁰¹ There are also many similarities between this utterance and PT 482, but not the sections relating directly to the “Awakening Osiris” tableau.

was so popular it was incorporated into multiple mortuary liturgies: CT.3 of the Middle Kingdom (see *infra*), *szh.w*-III of the Late Period, while certain excerpts were adapted into *szh.w*-I.²⁰⁴

PT 670 narrates various events following the death of Osiris, culminating in an encounter between Horus and his father. Rather than offering a complete translation here, a brief synopsis of the earliest version and its variants will highlight its connections to both the Awakening Osiris and Transit of the Solar Bark tableaux.²⁰⁵

The heaven and the firmament open up, and the Bas of Pe enter the Duat to visit Osiris, prompted by the wailing of Isis and Nephthys (Pyr. 1972-1973). The assembled divinities perform various mourning rites for Osiris (1974), and then address him as follows (Pyr. 1975-1976):²⁰⁶

<i>dd=sn r=k Wsir</i>	They say to you, Osiris:
<i>šm.n=k ii.n=k</i>	“As you departed, so you have returned;
<i>sd=r=k rs=k</i>	as you slept, so you awake;
<i>mny=k 'nh=k</i>	as you died, so you live.
<i>Wsir</i>	“O Osiris:
<i>'h</i>	Stand up,
<i>m33=k ir.t.n=k z3=k (Hr)</i>	and see what your son (Horus) has done for you!
<i>rs</i>	Awaken,
<i>sdm=k ir.n=k z3=k Hr</i>	and hear what your son Horus has done for you!”

After a brief narration of how Horus attacked and tied up the enemies of his father, the awakened Osiris is said to speak directly to his son (Pyr. 1978b: *mdw Wsir n z3=f*; CT VI, 383i; CT VIII, 420), but unfortunately the elder god’s words are not recorded.²⁰⁷ After a purification, Horus and Thoth enter before Osiris, placing defeated rebels beneath his feet.

²⁰² Both in the original Pyramid Text form (CT VIII, 414-424; 8 witnesses), and in an abbreviated form (Spell 754 = CT VI, 383-384; 1 witness). For both the CT and PT versions, see J. ASSMANN, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 1, pp. 427-436; B. MATHIEU, *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier*, MIFAO 142, 2018, pp. 290-292.

²⁰³ M.F. AYAD, “The Pyramid Texts of Amenirdis I: Selection and Layout,” *JARCE* 43, 2007, pp. 88-89 (W1-W25); G. DARESSY, “Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametik à Saqqarah,” *RT* 17, 1895, 18-19, lines 8-28; N. ABDELWAHED, J.M. ISKANDER, T.S. TAWFIK, *SAK* 45, 2016, p. 50; Y. BARBASH, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-155, 324-327; the additional version on pBM 10081 will be published by Francois-René Herbin, but a translation can already be found in J. ASSMANN, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 3, pp. 417-421.

²⁰⁴ A. SZCZUDŁOWSKA, “Liturgical Text Preserved on Sękowski Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 98, 1970, pp. 56-57 (14,5-6); J. ASSMANN, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 3, p. 50 (Dritte Strophe); since all copies of *szh.w*, I are later than the scenes of “Awakening Osiris”, they will not be discussed in detail here.

²⁰⁵ The earliest witnesses from the Old Kingdom contain sizeable lacunae, so the following summary relies heavily on later versions, especially from the Coffin Texts.

²⁰⁶ For this preliminary section, see also PT 482 (1004a-1007b).

²⁰⁷ A “great speech (*mdw ʿ3*)” that Horus makes for Osiris is recorded in Coffin Text Spell 72 (CT I, 298i-j), from the same sequence containing PT 670: J. ASSMANN, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 1, pp. 395-396, 399-401. A much longer dialog between the revived Osiris and Horus occurs in *Coffin Text* Spell 313 (CT IV, especially 88b and 93i): H. ALTENMÜLLER, “Bemerkungen zu Spruch 313 der Sargtexte,” in J. Osing, G. Dreyer (eds), *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des Alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*, ÄAT 12, Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 1-17.

Finally, we arrive at an allusion to the precise ritual act depicted in the “Awakening Osiris” scene (Pyr. 1980; CT VI, 383o-q; CT VIII, 422):

<i>nfr.wy m33</i>	How good it is to see!
<i>htp.wy ptr/sdm</i>	How satisfying to behold/see!
<i>m33 Hr dīsf ‘nh n itzf</i>	Seeing Horus as he gives <i>ankh</i> to his father,
<i>3wi3f w3s n Wsir</i>	as he extends the <i>was</i> -scepter to Osiris.

Remarkably, the spell continues by mentioning prominent elements from the “Transit of the Solar Barks” scene; namely, Isis, Nephthys, the solar barks, and Atum (Pyr. 1981-82; CT VI, 383o-384g; CT VIII, 422-3):

<i>z3t z3t=k in Is.t</i>	Your purity is purified by <i>Isis</i> ,
<i>w ‘b tw Nb.t-ḥw.t</i>	<i>Nephthys</i> purifies you:
<i>sn.ty=k wr.ty ‘3.ty</i>	Your <i>two very great sisters</i> ,
<i>s3q.ty iw3k</i>	who reassemble your flesh,
<i>tz.ty ‘wt=k</i>	who bind together your limbs,
<i>i.sh ‘ty ir.ty m tpk</i>	who make the eyes appear on your head,
<i>m skt.t m ‘nd.t</i>	as <i>the day and night barks</i>
<i>sšm.ty tw hr w3.wt p.t</i>	who guide you upon the roads of heaven.
<i>rdi.n n=k Itm</i>	(So) <i>Atum</i> has granted you,
<i>ir.n n=k Psd.t</i>	and so the Ennead has acted for you.

The text continues by mentioning various benefactions for Osiris, performed by the Children of Horus (1983b), as well as Shu and Tefnut (1985c). Perhaps not surprisingly, all divinities mentioned by name in PT 670, excluding the Bas of Pe and Nekhen, also attend the bier in the “Awakening Osiris” scene.²⁰⁸

As Jan Assmann and others have discussed, PT 670 also belonged to a larger sequence of utterances found in the Coffin Texts, which he dubbed “CT.3”, within which this popular spell forms “Spruch 21.”²⁰⁹ Other allusions to the “Awakening Osiris (AO)” or “Transit of the Solar Barks (TSB)” episodes occur throughout that broader liturgy, including the following:

- Spell 66:²¹⁰ Isis and Nephthys nurse Osiris with their breasts (CT I, 281a-b, f; TSB)
- Spell 72:²¹¹ the speaker demands silence so one may hear the great speech (*mdw ‘3*) Horus speaks for his father, Osiris (CT I, 298i-j; AO).
- Spell 73 = PT 532:²¹² Isis (West) and Nephthys (East) arrive together with the Day Bark (Pyr. 1255a-c; CT I, 303b-d; TSB).

²⁰⁸ Children of Horus (J.A. ROBERSON, *AOTSB*, pp. 20-22, A1/1-2, 39-41, A15/1-2), Thoth (*ibid*, p. 22, A1/3), Shu (*ibid*, p. 23, A1/4), Tefnut (*ibid*, p. 27, A2/3), Isis (*ibid*, p. 34, A4/1), Nephthys (*ibid*, p. 51, A8/1).

²⁰⁹ J. ASSMANN, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* 1, pp. 333-468.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 350 (Spruch 4).

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 395 (Spruch 12).

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 405 (Spruch 13).

- Spell 74:²¹³ Isis and Nephthys tell Osiris to come alive and stand up, since Horus is speaking to him (CT I, 307f-h, 308h, 309f,o, 310i, 313b). Isis and Nephthys also command Osiris: “awaken, arise, Sacred one! Put yourself on this side of yours (*nhs rs dsr, di tw hr gs=k pw*: CT I, 309i-j; AO).”²¹⁴
- Spell 832:²¹⁵ As in PT 670, this spell begins with the refrain “How good it is to see...” (CT VII, 32a; AO).
- Spell 837:²¹⁶ As in the introduction to PT 670, the firmament opens so Horus and Thoth can enter and awaken Osiris (CT VII, 37a-c). Among other requests, they ask him to “lift up your arm bearing the *ankh*, and establish your arm upon the *was*-scepter (CT VII, 38h; AO).
- PT 532:²¹⁷ this spell begins with a direct address to the deceased: “Awaken for Horus, o this Osiris, awaken for Horus! (...) lift yourself up, o this Osiris NN” (CT VIII, 385 = Pyr. 1259a-b; AO).

The final section of this liturgy, Spell 839, further connects the awakening and transfiguration of Osiris in the lower register to his ascension to the solar barks in the upper register.²¹⁸ In this spell, the deceased boards the bark of Re, and does everything that Re does therein (CT VII, 41n-42a; TSB).²¹⁹

Finally, the awakened Osiris is summoned (“O this my father, Osiris NN: be powerful, be awake, be effective! (*3h n=k, rs n=k, spd <n>=k*)” (AO), and asked to traverse the earth during the day and night (CT VII, 44c-e).²²⁰ With another allusion to the conjunction of boats in the upper tableau, the Osiris will even “spend the night at that dam of Re (*sdr=k hr nd.t tw n.t R*), **which divides the day bark from the night bark** (*wpp.t m nd.t r mskt.t*)” (CT VII, 44e-f; TSB).²²¹

This leads to the concluding statement of the entire Osirian liturgy (CT VII, 44h-I, 45d-g):²²²

<i>h3=k r=k m m nd.t</i>	Descend into the day bark!
<i>R 3hty nb 3h.t hn=f tw</i>	Re-Akhty, lord of the Akhet , will row you
<i>m mskt.t hn m nd.t</i>	in the night bark and the day bark ,
<i>m R r nb</i>	just like Re, every day.
<i>h r=k Wsir</i>	Arise, Osiris!
<i>i(w)=k nh.t(i) r nh hn d.t</i>	you shall live for all eternity.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 412 (Spruch 14), 414-415 (Spruch 15).

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 417 (Spruch 17).

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 421 (Spruch 20), 423-424. Similar exclamations occur in Night Hour 2 of the *Stundenwachen*, but there in reference to burning incense: A. PRIES, *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult* I, pp. 155-156 (ç), 170-173, n. c.

²¹⁶ J. ASSMANN, *op. cit.* 1, p. 447 (Spruch 23).

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 442-444 (Spruch 22).

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 456-462 (Spruch 25). The two Coffin Text witnesses are quite fragmentary, but multiple sections can be restored thanks to Ptolemaic ritual papyri, where this spell forms Spell 25B of the liturgy *s3h.w-II*. See B. BACKES, *Der Papyrus Schmitt (Berlin P. 3057). Ein funeräres Ritualbuch der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, AÖP 4, 2016, pp. 705-724.

²¹⁹ J. ASSMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 457; B. BACKES, *op. cit.*, p. 709.

²²⁰ J. ASSMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 459; B. BACKES, *op. cit.*, p. 721.

²²¹ J. ASSMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 461; B. BACKES, *op. cit.*, p. 722.

²²² J. ASSMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-2; B. BACKES, *op. cit.*, p. 724.

This is not the place to adequately summarize all complex themes, ritual acts, and mythological events alluded to in the lengthy Coffin Texts liturgy CT.3, not to mention the Late Period liturgies *szh.w*-I and -III which all adapt PT 670. Nonetheless, the earlier spells focus more on the mummification of Osiris and vengeance against his enemies. With these preliminary steps completed, in PT 670, Horus is prepared to visit Osiris, awaken him, and recite the various deeds he accomplished as his protector. The gods then acclaim Horus as the rightful heir, and Osiris, having received a proper ritual burial, can ascend from the Duat and board the solar barks with Re and Atum. Once again, these are all general themes from Egyptian religious texts, and many more parallels could be found in other sources.²²³ Yet their thematic unity in CT.3 demonstrates how the two elements from the bipartite netherworld composition of the New Kingdom and Late Period relate to one another, and already in the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom.

3.3. *Parallels from Abydos*

As noted in the introduction, the earliest complete example of the bipartite tableau occurs in the Osireion of Sety I at Abydos. Multiple allusions to the theological themes, both iconographic and textual, occur in nearly contemporaneous monuments of Sety I and Ramesses II.²²⁴

3.3.1. *The Osireion*

Not far off in the Osireion, a large relief covers the south end of the western wall of the hall [fig. 9].²²⁵ There, Harendotes extends a composite *was*-scepter with *ankh*-sign to Osiris, enthroned within a shrine, similar to the ideograms of his name above (*supra*, 2.1).²²⁶

As in the Awakening Osiris scene, Horus is captioned as “Harendotes.” Above and behind him is inscribed BD 173, a long text in which he narrates to Osiris the numerous filial and ritual acts he has performed for him, similar in content to the various transfiguration liturgies discussed above (*supra*, 3.2).

Von Lieven has linked this particular relief to the Awakening Osiris tableau elsewhere in the Osireion, and concluded this iconographic clue hints at the original theological concept behind the entire structure. Namely, the main hall of the Osireion was conceived as a replica of the embalming hall, much like sarcophagus chambers in New Kingdom and Late Period tombs which featured the Awakening Osiris scene or elements thereof.

²²³ For Osiris entering the solar barks, see for example M.A. STADLER, “The funerary texts of Papyrus Turin N. 766: A demotic book of breathing (Part I),” *Enchoria* 25, 1999 (Papyrus Turin N. 766), p. 101.

²²⁴ A similar scene most likely featured in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, but only part of the decoration survives: C. TEOTINO, *Der Schutz des Osiris*, p. 194, n. 5.

²²⁵ PM VI, p. 29 (9-10).

²²⁶ M.A. MURRAY, *The Osireion at Abydos*, ERA 6, 1904, pl. viii; A. VON LIEVEN, “Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos,” in A. Klug, B. Haring (eds), 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*, KSGFH 3, 2007, p. 169; C.H. HERZER, *Study of the Osireion at Abydos. Code Book and Source Document for the Birth House of Isis*, 2022, pp. 350-357.

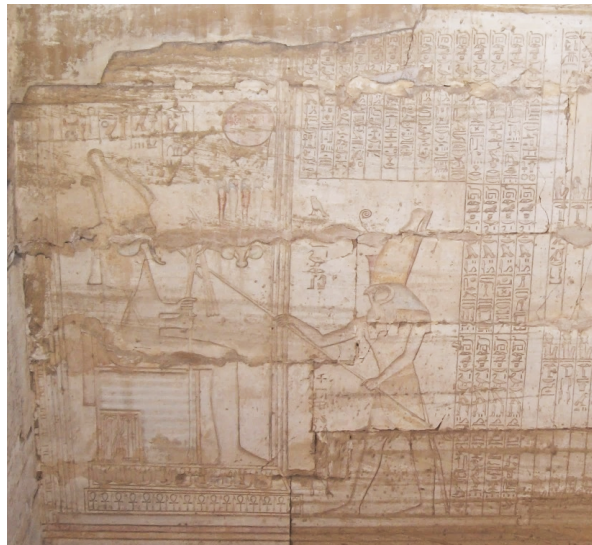


Fig. 9. Harendotes holding *ankh* and *was* to Osiris in the Osireion. Kyera Giannini (photographer), “Osireion at Abydos (V)”, Ancient World Image Bank (New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, 2009-).²²⁷

3.3.2. Main temple of Sety I at Abydos

Von Lieven also noted one damaged scene in one of the Osirian chapels (Room 11) of the main temple of Sety I at Abydos, wherein Horus seemingly extends a *was*-scepter towards a bier, apparently next to Isis [fig. 10].²²⁸

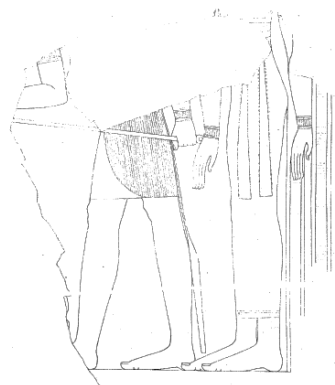


Fig. 10. Fragmentary scene of Horus extending *was*-scepter (from: A.M. Calverley, A.H. Gardiner, *Abydos III*, pl. 62c).

Even more interesting are two related blocks, found in the neighboring Room 12, and not discussed by Von Lieven [fig. 11].

²²⁷ <https://flic.kr/p/c4icwo> (accessed 2/3/2023); digitally straightened and cropped by the author. Used under terms of a Creative Commons Attribution license.

²²⁸ A.M. CALVERLEY, A.H. GARDINER, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, III: The Osiris Complex*, 1938, pl. 62c; noted by A. VON LIEVEN, op. cit., p. 182.

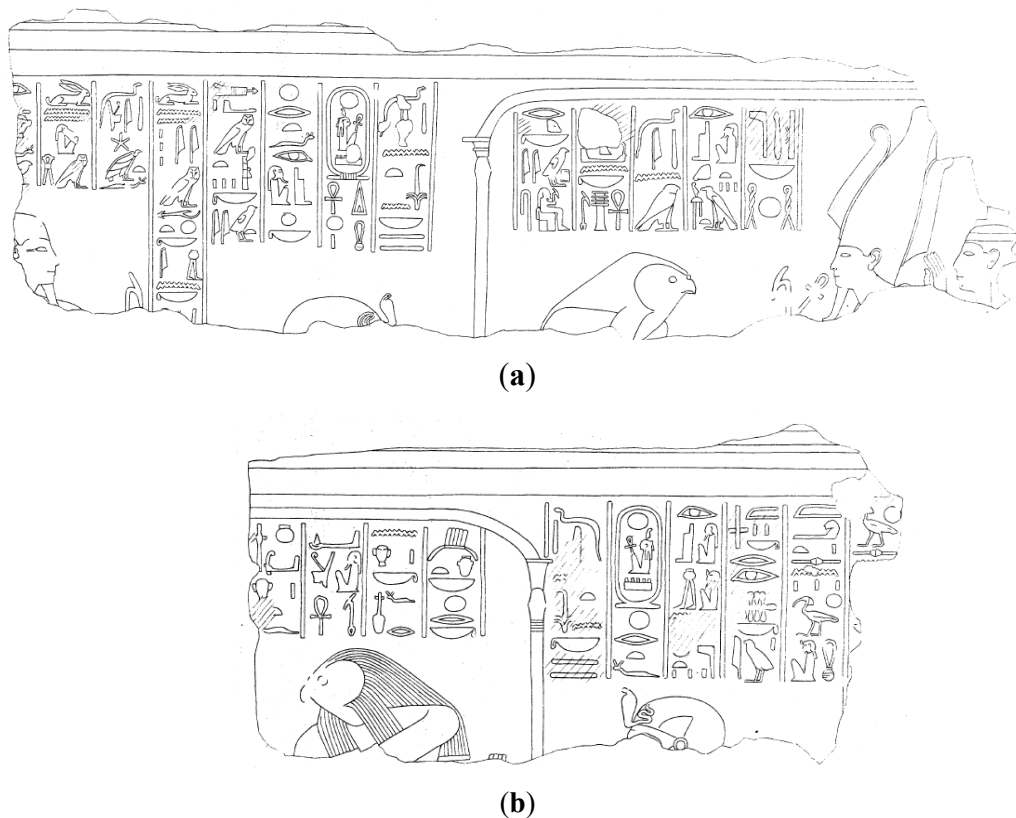


Fig. 11. fragmentary scenes from the temple of Sety I (from: A.M. Calverley, A.H. Gardiner, *Abydos* III, pl. 65a and b).

In the first block [fig. 11a], Horus stands within a small shrine, and somehow lifts an *ankh*-sign before an enthroned Osiris. Although damaged, his bent posture suggests he was also holding a *was*-scepter. In the text, he explains: “I [extend] for you *‘nh-dd-w3s*, towards this your august nose (*[3w]i n=k ‘nh-dd-w3s r fnd=k pwy šps*).” Sety I kneels behind him, telling Osiris: “I am one of this your crew, those who are in your following (*ink w‘ m iz.t=k twy, wnni.w m-ht=k*).” Duamutef is the first god behind him, just as in the “Awakening Osiris” scene.

In the second fragment [fig. 11b], Horus stands within a shrine and appears to be leaning over a bier of Osiris, while Sety I kneels behind him. Although this is not the same posture as the “Awakening Osiris” scene, Horus is labelled as “[Har]endotes,” and he tells his father: “I have given *ankh* and *was* to your beautiful face (*dī.n=i ‘nh w3s n hr=k nfr*),” perhaps referring to the ritual performed on the other fragment. Sety’s speech to Osiris is also quite relevant:

in=i n[=k] psd.t imy=k
r ir.(t) z3=k
iw=i m h3.t=sn

I have brought [you] the Ennead of yours,
 in order to carry out your protection:
 I am as their leader.

In the context of the “Awakening Osiris” tableau and the various mortuary liturgies, this text would refer to the divine entourage assembled within the embalming hall to protect the god.

3.3.3. *Inscription Dédicatoire*

As Anthony Spalinger has recognized, the major themes of Solar-Osirian theology predominate in the Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II for Sety I from Abydos, roughly contemporaneous to the first example of this scene in the Osireion.²²⁹ Although Spalinger did not directly compare the present scenes from the bipartite composition, they illustrate various passages from that text, most notably a dialogue between Horus-Ramesses and the newly awakened Osiris-Sety. In addition, the religious texts often returns to two major divine constellations:

1. Re, Atum, the throne of Atum, the solar barks, solar cycle, and other celestial beings;
2. Osiris, Harendotes, and the reward of a prosperous kingship

Even before Ramesses II speaks, his courtiers kiss the earth and address him as both Re and Atum, possible allusions to the “Transit of the Solar Barks”:²³⁰

<i>nb p.t</i>	O Lord of Heaven,
<i>R' 'nh n t3 mī qdꜣf</i>	Living Re of the entire world,
<i>nb 'h' rwd phry.t</i>	Lord of a lifetime, enduring of cycles,
<i>Ītm n hnmm.t</i>	Atum of the sunfolk.
(...)	(...)
<i>R' 'nh</i>	O Living Re ,
<i>Ītm hr mdw m r3ꜣf</i>	Atum speaking with his own mouth!

After detailing the various construction works and benefactions he ordered in Abydos, Ramesses eventually addresses his deceased father. Just as in the “Awakening Osiris” scene, he first must rouse the Osiris of Sety I, saying:²³¹

<i>nhz tw</i>	Awaken!
<i>hrꜣk r p.t</i>	(Turn) your face to heaven
<i>m33ꜣk R'</i>	so you might see Re!
<i>itꜣi (mry-n-Pth) </i>	O my father, (Merenptah) ,
<i>nty m ntr</i>	who is now a god,
<i>m.k wī hr s'nh rnꜣk</i>	behold, I am keeping your name alive,
<i>nd.nꜣi tw</i>	since I have protected (nd) you (cf. Harendotes).

This caption aptly describes the Awakening scene: not only is Ramesses II acting as protector/avenger, but if the recumbent Osiris-Sety lifts up his head from the bier, he would be able to see Re and the solar barks in the upper register of the bipartite tableau.

²²⁹ A. SPALINGER, *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos*, CHANE 33, 2009.

²³⁰ Cols. 40, 43: KRI II, 326, 11-12; 327, 2-3; A. SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

²³¹ Col. 80: KRI II, 332, 1-2; A. SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

Ramesses II proceeds to describe Sety I's afterlife to his father. Once again, there are multiple allusions to both Osiris and Harendotes in the underworld, as well as to Re, Atum and the latter's throne (cf. the *zm3(.t)*-throne linked to Atum in the night bark scene, *supra*, 1.1.1, text note b):²³²

<i>tw=k ḥtp.ti m dw3.t mi Wsir</i>	You <i>repose within the Duat like Osiris</i> ;
<i>iw=i ḥ i.kw m R' n rhy.t</i>	while I appear as <i>Re</i> for the commoners,
<i>iw=i ḥr ns.t wr.t nt Itm</i>	and I am upon the <i>great throne of Atum</i> ,
<i>mi ḥr z3 Is.t</i>	like <i>Horus</i> son of Isis,
<i>nd ḥr it=f</i>	<i>who protects his father.</i>

And later, further allusions to Re, Osiris, Atum, and the stars of the sky (cf. the gods surrounding the “Transit of the Solar Barks” scene):²³³

<i>m.k tw 'q.ti m ḥr.t</i>	Behold, you have entered heaven,
<i>šms=k R'</i>	so you might follow <i>Re</i> ,
<i>z3ḥ.ti m sb3.w ḥn' i'ḥ</i>	<i>mingling with the stars</i> and moon
<i>m p.t m t3</i>	<i>in the sky and in the earth.</i>

<i>tw=k ḥtp.ti m dw3.t</i>	You (also) repose within the Duat,
<i>mi imy.w=s</i>	like those within it,
<i>r-gs Wn-nfr nb d.t</i>	beside <i>Wennefer</i> , Lord of Eternity.

<i>'wy=k ḥr st3 Itm</i>	You arms are busy <i>towing (the bark of) Atum</i> ,
<i>m p.t m t3</i>	<i>in the sky and in the earth</i> ,
<i>mi ihm.w-wrd.w ihm.w-sk.w</i>	like <i>the indefatigable and imperishable stars</i> .
<i>iw=k m imy-ḥ3.t</i>	You are the captain
<i>n wi3 n ḥḥ.w</i>	of the Bark of Millions!

<i>wbn R' m ḥr.t</i>	When <i>Re</i> rises in heaven,
<i>ir.ty=ky ḥr nfr(w)=f</i>	his eyes see your perfection.

<i>'q Itm m t3</i>	When <i>Atum</i> enters the earth,
<i>wn.ti m šms.w=f</i>	you are in his following.
<i>'q.ti m 't imn.t</i>	When you enter the Hidden Chamber
<i>m-b3ḥ nb=s</i>	before its lord (<i>Osiris</i>),
<i>nm.t=k wsh.ti m-ḥnw dw3.t</i>	your steps are broad within the Duat.

After the very long speech by Ramesses, the awakened Osiris-Sety “speaks face-to-face, just like a father on earth would speak with his son”²³⁴ – echoing the passage in PT 670 where

²³² Col. 81: KRI II, 332, 3-4; A. SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

²³³ Cols. 93-95: KRI II, 333, 11-15; A. SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78.

²³⁴ Cols. 103-104: KRI II, 335, 14-15; A. SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

“Osiris speaks to his son” (Pyr. 1978b; see *supra*, 3.2). Sety is pleased with all of his works, and asks the same gods (Re, Atum, and Osiris) to grant Ramesses various rewards. Naturally, these boons include a long, prosperous reign, but Sety also mentions how each of the gods now view Ramesses II favorably:²³⁵

<i>R' imy w3z nb skt.t</i>	<i>Re within his bark, lord of the Day Bark,</i>
<i>ir.ty3f(y) hr m33 ir.t.n=k</i>	his eyes behold what you have done,
<i>m šs m3'</i>	truly excellently;
<i>d3y3f p.t m m3'.w</i>	as he traverses the sky with a good wind
<i>m hr.t-hrw</i>	every day,
<i>ršw.t '3.t m-h3f</i>	a great joy follows him
<i>n sh33f nfr(w)3f</i>	from recalling your perfection.
<i>r htp itm m t3 imnty</i>	Until <i>Atum sets within the Western land,</i>
<i>mrw.t=k m h.t3f</i>	love of you is in his body
<i>nw r3 nb</i>	every day.
<i>m.k 3 Wn-nfr m nb m3'-hrw</i>	Look, now, <i>Wennefer</i> is Lord of Justification,
<i>hr irr.t n3f hm=k</i>	because of what your Majesty did for him,
<i>n bw-m3'</i>	as an act of Maat.
<i>snhz.n sw Hr</i>	<i>Horus has awakened</i> him
<i>m sh3.t nfr(w)=k</i>	recalling your perfection.

Finally, the emphasis on the same divine constellations can be found in the captions to the accompanying scene. Osiris-Sety I mentions Re and Atum,²³⁶ then Osiris himself addresses Ramesses II, detailing the rewards for all his works in Abydos. Again these benefits allude to Re, Atum, the solar barks, and the throne of Atum:²³⁷

<i>ib=i htp.w hr ir.t.n=k n=i</i>	My heart is pleased with what you have done for me
(...)	(...)
<i>iswy n=k m 'h' n p.t</i>	the reward for you is the lifetime of the sky,
<i>nfrw=k m3' itn</i>	your perfection shall be like the sun disk.
<i>wnn=k wnn itm</i>	As long as you exist, so exists <i>Atum,</i>
<i>iw=k h'.ti hr ns.t3f</i>	and you appear upon <i>his throne.</i>
<i>m3' rwd R' hr d3i p.t</i>	As <i>Re</i> endures while <i>traversing the sky,</i>
<i>iw=k m nsw.t-bity</i>	you shall be King of Upper and Lower Egypt.




²³⁵ Cols. 110-113; KRI II, 335, 9-13; A. SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

²³⁶ KRI II, 324, 3-4.

²³⁷ KRI II, 323, 9-12.

Numerous texts describing Osiris and the solar cycle could be discussed in relation to the Awakening Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barks compositions. Relevant here is that Ramesses II embodies the role of Harendotes, awakens his father, and carries out a dialogue with him, in which Osiris-Sety promises him a long lifetime on earth. As discussed above, this is precisely the purpose of Osiris's speech in the enigmatic "Awakening Osiris" text. The dedicatory inscription from Abydos also demonstrates how the two scenes from the netherworld book are connected. By avenging Osiris and performing a proper burial, Ramesses II receives a blessing from his father, which gives him permission to board the solar barks with Re and Atum – of course with the assistance of Isis and Nephthys. I have focused so closely on this particular text because it comes from Abydos and relates to Sety I, and so it should be considered alongside the earliest Osireion examples of the dual Netherworld composition.

Conclusions

The revised translations proposed in this essay are based on a more complete and accurate edition of the enigmatic texts from the bipartite tableau. They rely on well-established sportive writings from standard, non-enigmatic texts (e.g.  = *in*,  = *im(y)*), general hieroglyphic principles of the New Kingdom (e.g.  as a thematically appropriate variant of the first-person singular suffix pronoun), and wherever possible parallel phraseology from texts outside of the corpus of Netherworld Books. Unlike in Roberson's "most concise treatise", the enigmatic inscriptions do not appear to describe the transmission of the solar disk between the deceased, Osiris, and the solar gods. Rather, they serve as conventional captions to the various divinities, explaining their actions in each scene.

In the "Transit of the Solar Barks" scene above, the king appears before Atum and Re-Harakhty in the two solar barks. Behind him in each scene are Isis (day bark) and Nephthys (night bark). Each goddess places their arms behind the king, express their maternal affiliation to him, and pledge eternal support.

Below in the "Awakening Osiris" tableau, Harendotes raises the *ankh*-sign and *was*-scepter to Osiris, symbolizing the many acts of filial piety he performed. Those events are not narrated here, but are more explicitly detailed in PT 670, various mortuary liturgies, and especially the related scene in the columned hall of the Osireion (BD 173 = *supra*, 3.3.1). As a reward, Osiris recognizes Harendotes as his eldest son and protector, and beseeches his entourage of divinities to grant him an eternal kingship. For his own part, he commends to Harendotes what appears to be "the kingship of Re." This new translation confirms that the lower scene relates to the theme of royal legitimacy, just like the related scene and texts from an Osirian chapel at Hibis temple.²³⁸

The brief overview of textual parallels shows that the core elements of the bipartite tableau (Horus extending the symbols to Osiris, the deceased gaining access to the two solar barks with Isis and Nephthys), co-existed in a coherent form already in PT 670. That particular text was especially popular, and found its way into multiple mortuary liturgies from the Old Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period. Although those texts include many other ritual acts and mythological details, the "Awakening Osiris" and "Transit of the Solar Barks" scenes

²³⁸ *Hibis III*, pl. 24; D. KLOTZ, *SAK* 43, 2013, pp. 202-207.

commemorate the most crucial events: the transfigurative encounter between Osiris and Harendotes, and the solar apotheosis with Re and Atum above. As such, the bipartite tableau serves as a “most concise” symbol of all rituals performed in honor of the deceased.

Plate 1



Bipartite Composition from the tomb of Ramesses VI (from: <https://flic.kr/p/2jC45VJ>).