



JOURNAL OF  
Near Eastern Studies

Continuing THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF  
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

HEBRAICA, Vols. I-XI, 1884-1895

FOUNDED BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND  
LITERATURES, Vols. XII-LVIII, 1895-1941

ROBERT D. BIGGS, *Editor*

L. PAULA WOODS, *Assistant Editor*

JULY 1982

Volume 41 Number 3

**COPYING BEYOND FAIR USE**

The code on the first page of an article in this journal indicates the copyright owner's consent that copies of the article may be made beyond those permitted by Sections 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law provided that copies are made only for personal or internal use, or for the personal or internal use of specific clients and provided that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc. Operations Center, P.O. Box 765, Schenectady, New York 12301. To request permission for other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale, kindly write to the publisher. If no code appears on the first page of an article, permission to reprint may be obtained only from the author.

**MANUSCRIPT ACCEPTANCE POLICY**

While it is our policy to require the assignment of copyright on most journal articles, we do not usually request assignment of copyright for other contributions. Although the copyright to such a contribution may remain with the author, it is understood that, in return for publication, the journal has the nonexclusive right to publish the contribution and the continuing right, without limit, to include the contribution as part of any reprinting of the issue and/or volume of the journal in which the contribution first appeared by any means and in any format, including computer assisted storage and readout, in which the issue and/or volume may be produced.

**EDITORIAL POLICY**

The editors are interested in articles pertaining to the history and literature of the ancient and premodern Near East. We consider sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be typed on separate sheets at the end of the article. If photographs are submitted with an article, they should be no larger than 5" x 7" and should be glossy prints.

Authors are responsible for securing permissions to utilize photographs or other copyrighted illustrations in their articles. All drawings and diagrams should also be no larger than 5" x 7". Authors should submit an original and a copy and retain a copy for security. In matters of capitalization, punctuation, abbreviations, and the like, the journal follows the guides in *A Manual of Style*, 12th ed., rev. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969).

*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (ISSN 0022-2968) is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October by the University of Chicago at The University of Chicago Press, 5801 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637. ¶ Subscription rates: individuals, U.S.A.: 1 year \$25.00, 2 years \$45.00. Institutions, U.S.A.: 1 year \$45.00, 2 years \$72.00. Student subscription rate: U.S.A.: 1 year \$20.00 (letter from professor must accompany subscription). Other countries add \$2.00 for each year's subscription to cover postage. Single copy rates: individuals \$6.25, institutions \$11.25. Back issues available from 1965 (vol. 24). Special issues: *Erich F. Schmidt Memorial Issue* (vol. 24, nos. 3-4) \$6.25; *XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (vol. 27, no. 3), \$6.25; *Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Keith C. Seele* (vol. 32, nos. 1-2) \$6.25; *The Chicago Colloquium on Aramaic Studies* (vol. 37, no. 2) \$6.25. Single issues and reprinted volumes, through 1964 (vols. 1-23) available from Walter J. Johnson, Inc., 355 Chestnut Street, Norwood, New Jersey 07648. Volumes available in microfilm from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106; in microfiche from J. S. Canner & Co., 49-65 Lansdowne Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02215 or Johnson Associates, P.O. Box 1017, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830. Orders for service of less than a full volume will be charged at the single-issue rate. Postage prepaid by the publishers on all cash orders. ¶ Subscriptions payable in advance. Please make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in United States currency or its equivalent by postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, 5801 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

Communications for the editors, manuscripts, and books for review should be addressed to the Editor of JOURNAL OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago, 1155 E. 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

The articles in this journal are indexed in the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index*.

Notice to subscribers: If you change your address, please notify us and your local postmaster immediately of both old and new addresses. Please allow four weeks for the change. (Postmaster: send address change to Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 5801 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637).

Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois, and at additional mailing point.

© 1982 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES

EDWARD F. WENTE. <i>Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?</i> . . . . .	161
CYNTHIA M. HARRISON. <i>Persian Names on Coins of Northern Anatolia</i> . .	181
HAYIM TAWIL. <i>The Historicity of 2 Kings 19:24 (= Isaiah 37:25): The Problem of Ye<sup>o</sup>re Māšôr</i> . . . . .	195
VEYSEL DONBAZ. <i>A Middle Babylonian Legal Document Raising Problems in Kassite Chronology</i> . . . . .	207
BRUCE WILLIAMS. <i>Notes on Prehistoric Cache Fields of Lower Egyptian Tradition at Sedment</i> . . . . .	213

BOOK REVIEWS

KWAME GYEKYE. <i>Arabic Logic: Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Commentary on Porphyry's Eisagoge</i> (L. V. Berman) . . . . .	223
MARTIN J. McDERMOTT. <i>The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022)</i> (Umar Abd-Allāh) . . . . .	225
HARRY AUSTRYN WOLFSON. <i>Repercussions of the Kalam in Jewish Philosophy</i> (Michael Schwarz) . . . . .	226
LARRY G. HERR. <i>The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals</i> (Jonas C. Greenfield) . . . . .	228
G. I. DAVIES. <i>The Way of the Wilderness: A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament</i> (Siegfried H. Horn) . . . . .	230
ROBERT HETZRON. <i>The Gunnān-Gurage Languages</i> (Gene B. Gragg) . . . . .	231
MICHEL MALAISE. <i>Les Scarabées de coeur dans l'Égypte ancienne</i> (Siegfried H. Horn) . . . . .	234
W. A. WARD. <i>Studies on Scarab Seals. Vol. 1. Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets</i> (Siegfried H. Horn) . . . . .	235
BAUDOIN VAN DE WALLE. <i>La Chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef</i> (William J. Murnane) . . . . .	236
GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN. <i>The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara, 1964-1973</i> (William J. Murnane) . . . . .	236

WOLFGANG DECKER. *Annotierte Bibliographie zum Sport im alten Ägypten*  
(William J. Murnane) ..... 237

HANS D. SCHNEIDER. *Shabti: An Introduction to the History of Ancient  
Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in  
the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (William J. Murnane) .. 237

*Books Received* ..... 239

OVER two decades ago in an article in this journal Walter Federn argued at length in support of his contention that certain spells of the Coffin Texts and of the Book of the Dead were not mere mortuary texts designed solely for the benefit of a deceased person.<sup>1</sup> It was his conviction that the transformation spells were also available to the living as identification spells, developing, in some cases, into initiation texts. It is rather surprising how rarely Federn's contribution has been commented upon by scholars of Egyptian religion, although somewhat similar views of Gertrud Thausing have elicited considerable opposition.<sup>2</sup> In particular, Siegfried Morenz took a firm stand against the existence of mystical initiation prior to the Hellenistic Period,<sup>3</sup> and Erik Hornung has reiterated his doubts about mysticism in pharaonic Egypt.<sup>4</sup> It might be argued, for example, that lacking the concept of an absolute transcendent god, the Egyptian did not attempt to enter a state where he would become one with all, for unity with all would be of the non-existential realm, whereas the existential state, to which the living person belonged and in which he aspired to remain after death, depended upon diversification through the creative process. The prevailing attitude regarding the absence of mysticism or mystical initiation in ancient Egypt is reflected in the lack of an appropriate entry on the subject in the recently published fascicle of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.<sup>5</sup>

Although Paul Barguet<sup>6</sup> refrained from interpreting the Book of the Dead as involving the initiation of living persons, his subsequent article, "Essai d'interprétation du Livre des Deux Chemins,"<sup>7</sup> draws attention to the remarkable similarity of the Book of Two Ways to the initiation of Lucius in *The Golden Ass of Apuleius*.<sup>8</sup> As we become aware that at least some of the vast amount of funerary literature was familiar

<sup>1</sup> W. Federn, "The 'Transformations' in the Coffin Texts: A New Approach," *JNES* 19 (1960): 241-57.

<sup>2</sup> G. Thausing, *Der Auferstehungsgedanke in ägyptischen religiösen Texten*, Sammlung orientalistischer Arbeiten 16 (Leipzig, 1943), pt. 1, esp. pp. 42-43 and Gertrud Thausing and Traudl Kersztkratschmann, *Das grosse ägyptische Totenbuch (Papyrus Reimisch)*, Schriften des österreichischen Kulturinstituts Kairo, Archäologisch-historische Abteilung, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1969), pp. 3-22, 66-70.

<sup>3</sup> S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 264-65; idem, "Ägyptischer Totenglaube" in *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Cologne and Vienna, 1975), pp. 200-2.

<sup>4</sup> E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), p. 177, and idem, "Lehren über das Jenseits?" in E. Hornung and O. Keel, eds., *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, no. 28 (Göttingen, 1979), p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> Band 4, Lieferung 2 (Weisbaden, 1980), although there is a short article "Mysterien" in this fascicle by John Gwynn Griffiths treating mainly the Osirian rites.

<sup>6</sup> P. Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens égyptiens* (Paris, 1967), pp. 23-25.

<sup>7</sup> Idem, *RdE* 21 (1969): 17.

<sup>8</sup> See also J. Bergman, "Zum Zwei-Wege-Motiv," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 41-42 (1976-77): 51-54. Unlike L. H. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), pp. 134-39, and J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, *ADAIK* 7 (1970): 57, n. 2, Barguet does not view the Book of Two Ways as purely mortuary, nor did Hermann Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," *ZÄS* 72 (1936): 33-34.

[*JNES* 41 no. 3 (1982)]

© 1982 by The University of Chicago.

All rights reserved.

0022-2968/82/4103-0005\$1.00.

to living Egyptians,<sup>9</sup> perhaps the almost apodictic stand against mystical identification and initiation in ancient Egypt deserves some questioning. In touching upon this problem, Morenz did indicate that it would be desirable to collect the so-called *Nachschriften* that appear in various genres of mortuary literature, in some cases indicating the use "on earth" of the texts they accompany.<sup>10</sup> This essay is a partial response to this desideratum.

From the Book of Amduat one learns that certain denizens of the netherworld were offered to upon earth, that is, by the living. At the conclusion of the introduction to the Second Hour it is stated:

*iw wdn.t(w) n.sn tp t3 m rrw.sn*  
*iw 3h n s tp t3 ts m3<sup>c</sup> hh n sp*

They (i.e., the netherworldly souls) are offered to upon earth in their names. It is useful for a man upon earth (i.e., a living person) —truly attested a million times.<sup>11</sup>

or at the end of the introduction to the Fifth Hour:

*iw wdn.t(w) n.sn tp t3*

They are offered to upon earth.<sup>12</sup>

paralleled by the abridged version:

*iw wdn.t(w) n nn n ntrw tp t3*

These gods are offered to upon earth.<sup>13</sup>

The grammatical construction here is the passive in .*tw* of habitative *iw sdm.f.*, indicating general present practice as commonly in the medical texts.<sup>14</sup> The Book of Amduat, however, provides no specific information regarding such offering procedures, perhaps because this composition is more concerned with instructions for the drawing

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, my article, "A Misplaced Letter to the Dead," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6-7 (1975-76): 595-600, with reference to chap. 1 of the Book of the Dead, considered by Federn, "The 'Transformations'," p. 255, to have originally been an initiation spell, as well as R. Grieshammer's review of Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* in *JAOS* 98 (1978): 502, and P. Derchain's review of D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten* in *CdE* 54 (1979): 77. M. Gilula, "Hirtengeschichte 17-22 = CT VII 36m-r," *GM* 29 (1978): 21, remarks regarding the Coffin Text spell he discusses, "This 'official' stamp of recognition as a popular and potent incantation has far reaching consequences, because we possess here for the first time a proof for the application of a spell in both this and the other world. It raises again the question whether the

funerary spells were meant solely for the after life, or whether they were, at least in part, put to use upon earth."

<sup>10</sup> Morenz, "Ägyptischer Totenglaube," pp. 200-1.

<sup>11</sup> Long Amduat, p. 24, line 9-p. 25, line 1; similarly Short Amduat, line 35. Citations from the Long Amduat are from Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 1 (Text), ÄgAbh 7 (1963), and those from the Short Amduat are from idem, *Das Amduat*, pt. 3, ÄgAbh 13 (1967).

<sup>12</sup> Long Amduat, p. 77, line 1.

<sup>13</sup> Short Amduat, line 112.

<sup>14</sup> See W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*, Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1962), pp. 166-67, cf. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 36 and 59, with n. 3.

of representations of what is in the netherworld and, in particular, with knowledge about specific beings in the beyond and their activities.<sup>15</sup>

In the First Hour of the Long Amduat it is stated:

*iw ir.tw nn mi ssm pn m imnt nt dw3t*  
*iw irr nw n ssmw mity ntr 3 ds.f*  
*iw 3h n.f ip t3*

This is drawn according to this design in the hidden place of the netherworld. The one who draws these representations is the likeness of the great god himself. It is useful for him upon earth.<sup>16</sup>

while in the Short Amduat the textual parallel emphasizes the knowledge of, rather than the execution of, the representations as being of benefit to an individual both in this life and the next:

*iw ir.tw nn mi ssm pn m imnt nt dw3t*  
*ir rh nw n ssmw mity ntr pn 3 ds.f*  
*iw 3h n.f ip t3 3s m3c*  
*iw 3h n.f m dw3t wrt*

This is drawn according to this design, in the hidden place of the netherworld. As for the one who knows these representations, (he is) the likeness of this great god himself. It is useful for him upon earth — truly attested. It is most useful for him in the netherworld.<sup>17</sup>

The grammatical analysis of the second sentence in the version from the Short Amduat is the *ir A B Ø* pattern, current in literary Late Egyptian<sup>18</sup> but also attested earlier in classical Middle Egyptian.<sup>19</sup> In the parallel clause from the Long Amduat one might either assume the omission of the *m* of predication, possibly due to assimilation of the final *m* of *ssm(w)* and the initial *m* of *mity*, or emend *iw* to *ir*,<sup>20</sup> and translate, "As for the one who draws these representations, (he is) the likeness of this great god himself." In view of the fact that the earlier hours of the Long Amduat contain more lacunae and occurrences of the expression *gm w3*, "found destroyed," than the later hours and the abridged version, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the papyrus original, rolled up so that the title and First Hour lay toward the exterior rather than in the core of the scroll, had been damaged and that at some point in time

<sup>15</sup> See S. Schott, "Die Schrift der verborgenen Kammer in Königsgräbern der 18. Dynastie," *NAWG* 1958, no. 4, pp. 362-66.

<sup>16</sup> Long Amduat, p. 22, lines 2-4, with n. h. cf. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 57, n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Short Amduat, lines 12-16.

<sup>18</sup> See S. I. Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, 1967), pp. 12-15.

<sup>19</sup> See G. Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste* (Geneva, 1976), p. 42, n. 8; Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 7, OIP 87 (Chicago,

1961), p. 340c (B1C, B1L, B2L), "As for the one who knows them, (it is) he who can find their way," and possibly pp. 400c-401a, "As for the (var. this) great striking power, (it is) what breaks the oars of the rebellious."

<sup>20</sup> See Westendorf, *Grammatik*, p. 33. Some emendation seems required on the basis of the remarks of M. Gilula, "Does God Exist?" in D. W. Young, ed., *Studies Presented to Hans Jacob Polotsky* (East Gloucester, 1981), pp. 390-400.

prior to the User version *iw* was wrongly restored in place of *ir*. In other Eighteenth Dynasty versions of the passage the defective portion was left unrestored.<sup>21</sup>

With respect to the textual gaps that exist in the first several hours of the Long Amduat, both Erik Hornung<sup>22</sup> and Hartwig Altenmüller<sup>23</sup> believe that most of the lacunae reflect an intentional drawing apart of the text rather than a mechanical copying of the texts, including lacunae from a damaged papyrus original as held by Paul Bucher<sup>24</sup> and Siegfried Schott.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately from Hornung's edition of the Book of Amduat it is really impossible to deduce the proper disposition of the columns of vertical inscriptions on the walls.

During a stay in Cairo in 1955 I had the opportunity to copy the texts of the Thutmose I version of Amduat, preserved on limestone blocks in the atrium of the Cairo Museum.<sup>26</sup> In this earliest extant version of the Long Amduat where there is sufficient material preserved, as in the vertical columns of the long text of the conclusion of the Second Hour and the beginning of the Third Hour, it is noticeable that the textual gaps are not scattered about the columns of inscription as in the Thutmose III and Amenhotep II versions.<sup>27</sup> On the contrary, the lacunae in Thutmose I's version lie only in the middle sections of the vertical columns. The alignment of the gaps in a row cutting through the centers of the vertical columns in this earliest copy of the Book of Amduat is most easily explicable through assuming that these lacunae reflect a mechanical copying of a text on a papyrus which, when rolled up, had suffered damage in mid-section where it had been either folded in half or tied with a string.<sup>28</sup>

In the Book of Amduat the relationship between the drawing of representations and knowledge thereof is evinced through a comparison of two versions of the concluding sentences in the horizontal text of the introduction of the Twelfth Hour. Whereas in the tomb of the vizier User the text runs:

*iw ir.t(w) nn mi ssm pn nty m sš hr i3btyw*  
*ʿi imnt m dw3t*  
*iw 3h n irr st tp i3 m pt m i3*

<sup>21</sup> See Schott, "Die Schrift," p. 362, n. a (bottom of page).

<sup>22</sup> Hornung, "Die Grabkammer des Vezirs User," *NAWG* 1961, no. 5, pp. 107-11.

<sup>23</sup> H. Altenmüller, "Zur Überlieferung des Amduat," *JEOL* 20 (1967-68): 37-42.

<sup>24</sup> P. Bucher, *Les Textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, MIFAO, vol. 60 (Cairo, 1932), p. vii.

<sup>25</sup> Schott, "Die Schrift," p. 333.

<sup>26</sup> Because of their relatively small size and number it is highly unlikely that these blocks ever formed the lining of the walls of the burial chamber of Tomb 38 of the Valley of the Kings, the tomb customarily thought to be Thutmose I's original burial place. My impression is that they were disposed in rectangular fashion closely about the king's sarcophagus or lined the walls of a small burial chamber located in the original version of Tomb 20 of the Valley of the Kings, which John Romer, "Tuthmosis I and the Bibân El-Molûk: Some Problems of Attribution," *JEA* 60 (1974): 119-33,

plausibly suggests was secondarily taken over and enlarged by Hatshepsut when she became king, cf. also idem, "Royal Tombs of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty," *MDIK* 32 (1976): 200, n. 43, regarding these blocks.

<sup>27</sup> See Bucher, *Textes des tombes*, pls. 3 (left) and 28 (upper right).

<sup>28</sup> The situation in the tomb of User appears to be similar to that in Thutmose I's to judge from the photograph of the conclusion of the Second Hour of the Long Amduat published in Robert Mond, "Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes during the Winter of 1903-1904," *ASAE* 6 (1905): pl. 3, the text being distributed over the same number of columns as in the Thutmose I version and with the lacunae also at the centers of the columns. Damage to mid-section is further reflected in the fragmentary depiction of the solar bark of the *middle* register of the Third Hour of Amduat in the tombs of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Amenhotep III, see Hornung, "Grabkammer des Vezirs User," p. 108.

This is drawn according to this design which is in outline upon the east of the hidden chamber in the netherworld. It is useful for the one who draws it—upon earth, in the sky, and in the earth.<sup>29</sup>

the remaining variants of the Long Amduat as well as the parallel in the Short Amduat supply *rh* in place of User's *irr*, yielding, "It is useful for the one who knows it—upon earth, in the sky, and in the earth."<sup>30</sup> Aside from drawing activities, the practice of magic by someone upon earth has immediate benefits:

*iw ir.t(w) nn n hk3w 3st hk3w smsw n hsf 'pp hr*  
*R<sup>c</sup> m imnt m imnt nt dw3t*  
*iw ir.t(w) tp t3 m mitt*  
*iw irr st m imy wi3 n R<sup>c</sup> m pt m t3*  
*'nd rh ssm pn iwty rh.f n hsf Nh3-hr*

These sorceries of Isis and the Eldest Sorcerer for repelling Apopis from Re in the West are performed in the hidden part of the netherworld. They are performed upon earth as well. The one who performs them is one who is in the bark of Re in the sky and in the earth. (It is only the select who can know this design without the knowledge of which the Fierce Faced One (i.e., Apopis) may not be repelled.<sup>31</sup>

Again in the slightly variant parallel to this passage in the Short Amduat, the benefits are for one who knows (*rh*) rather than carries out (*irr*) the magic:

*iw ir.tw nn n. hk3w 3st hk3w smsw irrw.sn*  
*m hsf 'pp hr R<sup>c</sup> m imnt*  
*iw ir.tw m imnt nt dw3t*  
*iw ir.tw tp t3 m mitt*  
*iw rh st m imy wi3 n R<sup>c</sup> m pt m t3*  
*in 'nd rh ssm pn iwty rh.f n hsf Nh3-hr*

<sup>29</sup> Long Amduat, p. 193, lines 6–7, with n. o.

<sup>30</sup> Short Amduat, line 286. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 57, n. 2, understands *ssmw* as "Ritualvorlage," which is executed on earth, in heaven, and in the underworld. However, the adverbial *tp t3 m pt m t3* is certainly to be connected to *iw 3h* rather than to the imperfective active participle *irr* (or *rh*). Assmann's view that the passage from the First Hour of Amduat, cited above on p. 163, ultimately relates to the king's role as ritualist seems quite forced. Certainly the expression is used for the actual drawing of pictures by others than the king, as, for example, "One shall recite this spell . . . after you have drawn this representation which is in outline upon clean ground," E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, text vol. (London, 1898), pp. 267–68, similarly the rubric of Spell 144 on p. 333, and Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)*, pt. 1, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica*, no. 2 (Basel and Geneva, 1975), p. 1: "It is after these representations have been drawn . . . that this book should be recited." The words, "This is drawn after this manner in paint on the north of the hidden chamber in the netherworld. It is useful

for the one for whom this is done in heaven and in the earth" (Short Amduat, lines 165–67), do not at all suggest that the king or his priestly deputy was involved with the execution of the designs.

<sup>31</sup> Long Amduat, p. 123, lines 2–5. Our interpretation of the last line differs from the renderings of Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 2, *ÄgAbh* 7 (1963): 131; H. te Velde, "The God Heka in Egyptian Theology," *JEOL* 21 (1969–70): 175; and Schott, "Die Schrift," p. 364. We have attempted to preserve a nuance of *'nd* that is consistent with other occurrences of this word in Long Amduat, p. 12, line 3, and Short Amduat, lines 292–93, cf. Schott, "Die Schrift," pp. 349–50. The construction of the final sentence is that of substantive + active participle, see Gustave Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, 2d ed. (Cairo, 1955), § 617 and Westendorf, *Grammatik*, § 297, 2b, and is paralleled in the Short Amduat, line 177, by *in* + substantive + active participle, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat*, pt. 3, p. 47, note to v. 177. It is to be noted that none of the versions of the passage in either Long or Short Amduat give *n hsf.f Nh3-hr*, but simply *n hsf Nh3-hr*, so that the verb-form must be parsed as the passive *sdm.f*.



These sorceries of Isis and the Eldest Sorcerer which they perform in repelling Apopis from Re in the West are performed: they are performed in the hidden part of the netherworld, and they are performed upon earth as well. The one who knows them is one who is in the bark of Re in the sky and in the earth. It is (only) the select who can know this design without the knowledge of which the Fierce Faced One may not be repelled.<sup>32</sup>

In the Book of Amduat considerable stress is laid upon knowledge of the netherworld beings and their activities:

*rh b3w imyw dw3t irw.sn n imyt wnw m rnw.sn 33w*

Knowing the *Ba*'s that are in the netherworld and their functions pertaining to what is in the hours in their secret names.<sup>33</sup>

and such knowledge is acquirable by a living person upon earth:

*rh b3w 33w  
ir rh rnw.sn (tp t3)  
iw.f r.f r bw hry Wsir im di.tw n.f mw r sht.f tw*

Knowing the mysterious *Ba*'s. As for the one who knows their names (upon earth), he approaches the place where Osiris is, and water is given to him at that field of his.<sup>34</sup>

Of especially common occurrence throughout both the Long and Short Amduat are sentences of the type *iw rh* + direct object + *m* of predication + substantive.<sup>35</sup>

*iw rh nn (n) s3mw 33 m 3h pr  
iw.f pr.f h3.f m dw3t iw.f mdw.f n n3hw  
3s m3 h3 n sp*

The one who knows these secret designs is an outfitted *Akh*. He goes out and comes in within the netherworld. He speaks to the living—truly attested a million times.<sup>36</sup>

In two cases the knowing is expressly stated to occur upon earth, that is, while the individual is still alive:

*iw rh st tp t3 m iwty swr Nh3-hr mw.f*

The one who knows it upon earth is one whose fluid the Fierce Faced One does not drink.<sup>37</sup>

*iw rh rnw.sn tp t3 rh nswt.sn m imnt m htp nst.f  
m dw3t h3 mm nbw hrwt m m3-hrw m d3d3t  
hrw hsb3 3w  
iw 3h n.f tp t3*

<sup>32</sup> Short Amduat, lines 170–79, cf. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 56, n. 4.

<sup>35</sup> See Schott, "Die Schrift," pp. 362–66.

<sup>36</sup> Short Amduat, lines 297–300.

<sup>33</sup> Long Amduat, p. 76, lines 6–7.

<sup>37</sup> Long Amduat, p. 125, line 6; Short Amduat, lines 186–87.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45, lines 4–5; Short Amduat, lines 54–55.

The one who knows their names upon earth and knows their seats in the West is one who occupies his seat in the netherworld and stands among the Possessors of Requirements as one justified in the tribunal on the day of judgment. It is useful for him upon earth.<sup>38</sup>

The final sentence of the last quotation is also found concluding the formula when the knowing is not specifically said to take place upon earth:

*iw rh mdw pn* (var. *nn n mdw ddw ntrw dw3tyw n ntr pn*  
*mdw ddw n.sn ntr pn*) *m r hr dw3tyw*  
*iw 3h n s* (var. *n.f*) *tp t3 3s m3c*

The one who knows this text (var. these words which the netherworld gods say to this god and which this god says to them) is one who approaches those of the netherworld. It is useful for a man (var. for him) upon earth—truly attested.<sup>39</sup>

It is clear that this formula, including those examples without reference to "upon earth,"<sup>40</sup> involves the substantive participle *rh* functioning as the subject of a sentence with adverbial predicate, expressing the identity of the knower with some being in the netherworld or as the performer of some activity in the beyond. As Schott<sup>41</sup> has indicated, such knowledge as is spoken of in the Book of Amduat was confined to a select few:

*iw ir.t(w) nn m imnt nt dw3t mi kd pn dsr imn*  
*n nd n rhyw st*

This is drawn in such a manner in the hidden part of the netherworld, being remote and hidden because of the selectivity of those who know it.<sup>42</sup>

Unlike the Book of Amduat, the Book of Gates rarely speaks of knowledge, and where it is mentioned it is associated not with the drawing of designs but with the making of offerings to beings in the netherworld:

*rhyw R tpyw t3 wnw wdn.sn n.f htpw.sn m st.sn*  
*3hw.sn r bw dsr n imnt*

As for those who know Re, beings upon earth who used to offer to him their offerings in their place(s), their *Akh's* are at the secluded place of the West.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Long Amduat, p. 154, lines 5-7; Short Amduat, lines 225-29.

<sup>39</sup> Long Amduat, p. 43, lines 7-8, with variant from Short Amduat, lines 38-40.

<sup>40</sup> Long Amduat, p. 26, lines 8-9; p. 31, line 1; p. 34, line 5; p. 47, lines 3-4 (= Short Amduat, lines 62-64); p. 50, line 10 (= Short Amduat, line 65); p. 54, line 4; p. 61, lines 1-3 (= Short Amduat, lines 67-71); p. 63, lines 1-2 (= Short Amduat, lines 79-82); p. 63, lines 7-8 (= Short Amduat, lines 83-85); p. 76, line 9-p. 77, line 1 (= Short Amduat, lines 107-10); p. 83, line 7; p. 99, lines 3-4 (= Short Amduat, lines 134-36); p. 118, line 10 (= Short

Amduat, line 169); p. 133, line 3 (= Short Amduat, line 190); p. 135, lines 6-7 (= Short Amduat, lines 207-10); p. 164, line 1; p. 168, lines 4-5 (= Short Amduat, lines 245-46); p. 180, line 4 (= Short Amduat, lines 264-65).

<sup>41</sup> Schott, "Die Schrift," pp. 347-50, 370.

<sup>42</sup> Long Amduat, p. 12, lines 2-3.

<sup>43</sup> Book of Gates 1, pp. 253-54. References to the Book of Gates are to the volume and page in C. Maystre and A. Piankoff, *Le Livre des Portes*, 3 vols., MIFAO, vols. 74-75, 90 (Cairo, 1939, 1944, 1946, 1961, 1962).

*iw rh hk3 hf3w pn m iwty 'r.f n sdt.f*  
*iw wdn n hryw hf3w pn m iwty b3.f m zi [sic]*

The one who knows how to exorcise this serpent is one who does not approach its fire. The one who offers to those who are upon this serpent is one who does not have a *Ba* (confined) in the earth.<sup>44</sup>

While the initial sentence in this last example can be easily translated after the manner of similar clauses discussed above from the Book of Amduat,<sup>45</sup> the second sentence has been rendered quite differently in the various translations:

Offerings are made to these gods who are upon this great serpent, as to him whose soul is not in the fire.<sup>46</sup>

Offerings are brought to them who are upon this serpent as to one whose soul is not dead (read: *iwty b3.f m; or iwty b3.f m sdt*, whose soul is not in the fire).<sup>47</sup>

Geopfert wird denen, die auf dieser Schlange sind, als einem, dessen *Ba* nicht im Feuer ist.<sup>48</sup>

Before discussing the grammar of this passage, I would first suggest that what is written as *m zi* at the end should be understood not as *m sdt*, but as *m t3* on the basis of the parallel from the sarcophagus of Seti I,<sup>49</sup> which reads *iwty b3.f m t3*, meaning, "who does not have a *Ba* (confined) in the earth," echoing the status of the *Ba* in the common expression, "*Ba* to the sky and corpse to the earth."

It appears that the translators of the second clause have paid little heed to the obvious *parallelismus membrorum* between the two clauses, and there are serious grammatical objections to taking *wdn* following *iw* as a present or future passive, for *iw* + passive *sdm.f* is the passive counterpart to active *iw sdm.n.f*.<sup>50</sup> To convey the notion of "offerings are made to" the construction used would have been *iw wdn.tw n* as in the following example from the Book of Gates:

*iw wdn.tw tp t3 n nswt N.*

King N. is offered to upon earth.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, in the passage under discussion both *rh* and *wdn* should be construed as imperfective active participles serving as substantive subjects of adverbial sentences introduced by *iw* and having a predicate comprising *m* of predication + substantive,

<sup>44</sup> Book of Gates II, p. 221.

<sup>45</sup> See esp. Long Amduat, p. 125, line 6, cited p. 166 above.

<sup>46</sup> Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. 1 (New York, 1954), p. 195.

<sup>47</sup> J. Zandee, "The Book of Gates" in *Studies in Honour of Professor Dr. C. J. Bleeker*, Liber Amicorum (Leiden, 1969), p. 312.

<sup>48</sup> Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* (Zurich and Munich, 1972), p. 272.

<sup>49</sup> Book of Gates II, p. 193.

<sup>50</sup> See H. J. Polotsky, "Les Transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique," *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (1976): 36, n. 60. Rarely the *iw* preceding a passive *sdm.f*-form has circumstantializing function, see Westendorf, *Grammatik*, § 261, and Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re*, p. 1, p. 1, where the *iw* + passive *sdm.f* functions as the emphasized adverbial adjunct following the nominal *sdm.f*-form, §dd.1 (w).

<sup>51</sup> Book of Gates II, p. 130, cf. also the examples from Amduat, cited p. 162 above.

similar to the examples from the Book of Amduat, where *rh* or, in one case, *irr* (cited above), are imperfective active participles.

Throughout the first nine hours<sup>52</sup> of the Book of Gates there is a recurring formula, *iw wdn n.sn tp t3*, which translators have quite consistently rendered by, "They are offered to upon earth." Some support for such a translation might seem to be forthcoming from the so-called Quererts (chap. 168 of the Book of the Dead), where a similar expression *iw wdn n.sn c tp t3* occurs.<sup>53</sup> While the editors of the documents of the Quererts translate the sentence by "A portion is granted to them upon earth,"<sup>54</sup> Gustave Lefebvre preferred a future tense, "Il leur sera donné en offrande un vase par. . ."<sup>55</sup> Both Paul Barguet<sup>56</sup> and Thomas George Allen,<sup>57</sup> however, have correctly used the present perfect tense as a translation of what is construed as *iw* + passive *sdm.f*. The meaning of the word *c*, written with either the arm-sign or the vase-sign, is probably "portion" rather than "vase," since the arm-sign is used in what is probably the oldest version of Quererts, a papyrus from the tomb of Amenhotep II.<sup>58</sup>

Actually there is some variation in the writing of this offering formula in Quererts. Those versions, such as BM I, which consistently write *iw wdn n.sn c tp t3 in Wsir* (N.), indicating the person performing the offering, should be properly translated as both Barguet and Allen have done in following the rules of classical Middle Egyptian for *iw* + passive *sdm.f*. On the other hand, versions M and BM II, which consistently write *iw wdn.tw n.sn c*, suggest that the formula is to be translated in the case of these two documents as a habitative present, "A portion is offered to them." A passive rendition of either *wdn* or *wdn.tw* is obviously required in all instances where agentival *in* follows.

The Osireion version, dating to the reign of Merenptah,<sup>59</sup> presents what appears to be a confusing picture. Here there are basically two types of situations in which the formula occurs: (1) where *tp t3* is immediately followed by *iw nswt N.* + an adverbial predicate, usually with *m* of predication, and (2) where *tp t3* is followed directly by an adverbial phrase, also usually comprising the *m* of predication. In the first category there is a definite lack of consistency in the writing of the formula as *iw wdn.tw n.sn c* or *iw wdn n.sn c*, there being eleven cases with *.tw* and ten without *.tw*.<sup>60</sup> However, when *tp t3*, as in the second category, is followed by an adverbial phrase or its equivalent, *wdn* predominates over *wdn.tw* eleven cases to four, with one instance of *wdnw*. In all examples of the second category from the Osireion version there is never an agentival *in* as in some of the other versions that are roughly contemporary or later. The earliest version on the papyrus from the tomb of Amenhotep II regularly lacks an agentival *in*, and the structure of the formula in this document resembles that of the second category from the Osireion.

<sup>52</sup> Using the numeration of the hours in Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, pp. 197-308.

<sup>53</sup> A. Piankoff and H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Wandering of the Soul* (Princeton, 1974), pt. 2, with pls. 10-42.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>55</sup> Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, pt. I (Cairo, 1924), p. 175.

<sup>56</sup> Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, pp. 242-46.

<sup>57</sup> T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going*

*Forth by Day*, SAOC, no. 37 (Chicago, 1974), pp. 163-68.

<sup>58</sup> Note that the vase-sign is also used as a writing of *c*, "portion," according to *Wb.* I, 158.

<sup>59</sup> M. A. Murray, *The Osireion at Abydos*, Egyptian Research Account, no. 9 (London, 1904), pls. 2-5.

<sup>60</sup> A division corresponding fairly well with what is found in *ibid.*, pls. 2-3 as against pls. 4-5.

The *iw nswt N.* + adverbial predicate in examples belonging to the first category from the Osireion clearly conveys the fact that the king, who is depicted as the donor of the offerings, is identified with the various attributes that follow the *m* of predication, as, for example, *iw nswt N. m nb 3wt m imnt kbhy m Sht-htpw*, "King N. is a possessor of offering gifts in the West and of refreshments in the Field of Offerings."<sup>61</sup> On the Eighteenth Dynasty statue of Minnakht in Cairo,<sup>62</sup> a similar identification of the deceased is expressed: "May you grant that the Osiris Minnakht, justified, follow in the evening bark every day. He is a possessor of offering gifts (*ntf nb 3wt*) in the West and of refreshments in the Field of Offerings."

As regards the earliest version of Quererts from the tomb of Amenhotep II and the second category of the formula in the Osireion, a stricter adherence to the rules of grammar is obtained by construing *wdn* as an imperfective active participle rather than as a passive *sdm.f*-form and translating, "The one who offers them a portion upon earth is a possessor of offering gifts in the West and of refreshments in the Field of Offerings," or, "The one who offers them a portion upon earth is among the followers of the great god," etc.

In the case of the similar formula in the Book of Gates the translators have correctly grasped the proper meaning in only one example:

*iw wdn n.sn tp t3*  
*n* (var. *nn*) *k.n.f m htmyt*

The one who offers to them upon earth cannot enter the place of annihilation.<sup>63</sup>

To have regarded *wdn* here as a passive *sdm.f* would obviously not have yielded proper sense, particularly since the suffix pronoun *f* in *n k.n.f* would have remained totally unaccounted for in the context of the passage. Although the negative aorist *n sdm.n.f* is not normally preceded by *iw*, this unusual construction is paralleled in the Quererts from the tomb of Amenhotep II:

*iw wdn n.sn c tp t3*  
*n h3.n.f r ktwyt.sn*

The one who offers them a portion upon earth cannot descend into their cauldrons.<sup>64</sup>

In the BM II version of this passage the grammar is more normal, the predicate being *m 3ty (=iwt)* *h3.n.f r ktwyt.sn*, "is one who cannot descend into their cauldrons."<sup>65</sup>

In the Book of Gates the initial words of the offering formula, *iw wdn n.sn tp t3*, "The one who offers to them upon earth," are continued as follows:

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

<sup>62</sup> L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, CGC (Berlin, 1925), pt. 2, p. 171.

<sup>63</sup> Book of Gates I, pp. 290-91, cf. translations by Piankoff, *Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 170; Zandee, "Book of Gates," p. 297; and Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 237.

<sup>64</sup> Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, *Wandering of the Soul*, pl. 13 (cavern 10, 2).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 42 (cavern 10, 1); on *iwt* + *sdm.n.f*-form, see Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 763; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 2, *Analecta Orientalia* 39 (1964), § 1066, and H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, MÄS 12 (1968), § 97.

<sup>66</sup> Book

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*,

formula.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, I

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, I

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, I

tiscombe Gu

of the Prepo:

Lefebvre. "C

Harris I," *Ra*

lines 207-08.

<sup>72</sup> Book of

t

a

b

ar

in

m

m i

m h

m 3i

m m

m gn

m hst

m c h c

m iry i

m s c h i

m dry i

m nb hi

m m 3 c ty

m it m s

*hnp n.sn kbhw m nb 3wt hr R<sup>c</sup>,*

and who pours libations for them is a possessor of offering gifts before Re.<sup>66</sup>

*hnp n.sn kbhw m m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw m imnt dsr rmn m st imnt,*

and who pours libations for them is one who is triumphant in the West and with upraised arm in the hidden place.<sup>67</sup>

*m sdm hrw R<sup>c</sup> m dw3t,* is one who hears Re's voice in the netherworld.<sup>68</sup>

*m htpyw mint.sn,* is among those who are satisfied with their daily fare.<sup>69</sup>

*m hny hr R<sup>c</sup> m imnt,* is one who makes acclaim before Re in the West.<sup>70</sup>

*m 3hwt tn [sic, probably for nt] Sht-33rw,* has holdings of the Field of Rushes.<sup>71</sup>

*m m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw hr.sn,* is one who is justified with them.<sup>72</sup>

*m gmh hqwt m dw3t,* is one who perceives light in the netherworld.<sup>73</sup>

*m hsf sbi hr R<sup>c</sup> m imnt,* is one who repels the rebel from Re in the West.<sup>74</sup>

*m h<sup>c</sup> hr im3w,* is one who halts under the *im3*-trees.<sup>75</sup>

*m iry k3b m m<sup>c</sup>nn,* is one who attends to a coil of Intertwined Rope.<sup>76</sup>

*m s<sup>c</sup>h htp hr mk3t.f,* is a mummy who rests upon his bier.<sup>77</sup>

*m dry m imnt,* is one who repels in the West.<sup>78</sup>

*m nb htp m imnt,* is a possessor of offerings in the West.<sup>79</sup>

*m m<sup>3c</sup>ty n 3.sn,* is a righteous one belonging to their lake.<sup>80</sup>

*m it m shwt dw3t,* has barley in the fields of the netherworld.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Book of Gates I, pp. 126–27.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 133–34.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 241, with omission of *tp i3* in the formula.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., I, p. 247.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., I, p. 258.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 266–67. On *m*, “has”, see Battiscombe Gunn, note to P. C. Smither, “A New Use of the Preposition *m*” in *JEA* 25 (1939):168–69, and Lefebvre, “Observations grammaticales sur Pap. Harris I.” *RdE* 8 (1951): 121–24, cf. Small Amduat, lines 207–08.

<sup>72</sup> Book of Gates I, pp. 286–87.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., II, p. 39.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 52–53, cf. Quererts formula for cavern 10, C in Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, *Wandering of the Soul*, p. 112.

<sup>75</sup> Book of Gates II, pp. 59–60, with omission of dative *n* before *.sn* and *tp i3* in the formula.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., II, p. 66.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 76–77.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., II, p. 85.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., II, p. 113.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., II, p. 117, with metathesis of *m* and *tp i3* in both versions.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., II, p. 126; cf. n. 71 above.

*m hryw ḥḥbw m šḥwt dwḥt*, is among those who carry sickles in the fields of the netherworld.<sup>82</sup>

*m šmsw nbw ḥrwt*, is in the following of the Possessors of Requirements.<sup>83</sup>

*m mḥḥ ḥḥwt m dwḥt*, is one who sees light in the netherworld.<sup>84</sup>

*m ts nwh m wḥ*, is one who ties the rope in the bark.<sup>85</sup>

*m ḥḥ wnw.f*, is an *Akh* of his hour.<sup>86</sup>

*m ḥḥ ikr šḥm šwt*, is an excellent *Akh*, who possesses a shade.<sup>87</sup>

*m wdꜣy m ḥḥḥt*, is one who judges in the tribunal.<sup>88</sup>

*m šḥm m ḥtpw.f tp tḥ m iwtj bḥ.f m tḥ*, is one who partakes of his offerings upon earth as one who does not have a *Ba* (confined) in the earth.<sup>89</sup>

*m ḥwy m ḥḥḥt*, is one who calls out in the tribunal.<sup>90</sup>

*m bḥy n iw pn nrsr*, is a soulful one of this Isle of Flame.<sup>91</sup>

Of the preceding series there is but one instance<sup>92</sup> where a *t* follows *wḥn*, but in view of the immediate parallel from the tomb of Ramesses VI, where the *t* is absent, one can hardly argue that *iw wḥn.t(w) n.sn tp tḥ*, "They are offered to upon earth," was ever understood as the interpretation of the offering formula in the Book of Gates.

There is a similar formula in the Book of Gates, which instead of using the immutable verb *wḥn* employs the verb *rdi*, "to give," in its geminated form *dd*. It is even more surprising to find *dd* also being consistently translated passively in the formula in which it occurs, namely *iw dd n.sn ḥwt*.<sup>93</sup> Morphologically this *dd* cannot be a passive *sdm.f*-form, and even if it were, the tense would have to be a present perfect. One might conjecture that under the influence of Late Egyptian orthography, *dd* was conceivably a writing of *di.tw*,<sup>94</sup> but in none of the numerous variants of the examples to be discussed is *di.tw* ever written in place of *dd*. Moreover, the Book of Gates is throughout quite devoid of Late Egyptian influences, orthographic or otherwise. To suppose that *dd* is for *dd.tw*, the passive of the nominal *sdm.f*-form,

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 129–30.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., II, p. 148.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., II, p. 150.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., II, p. 154; the second chick-sign in *nwh* results from confusion between two coil-signs, one of which should be the appropriate determinative of the word.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., II, p. 158.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., II, p. 164.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., II, p. 168.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 192–93.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., II, p. 201.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 208–9, with omission of dative *n* before *.sn* in the formula. On the word *bḥy*, see

Assmann, "Primat und Transzendenz" in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten, Band 9 (Wiesbaden, 1979), p. 35.

<sup>92</sup> Book of Gates II, p. 164.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 54–55. See translations by Piankoff, *Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 145; Zandee, "Book of Gates," p. 285; and Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*, p. 203.

<sup>94</sup> See P. J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974), § 18, and J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4 (Rome, 1975), pp. 243–44.

which is attested elsewhere in the Book of Gates in, for example, *dd.tw mtw m šnw.f*, "It is as his confinement that ropes are placed,"<sup>95</sup> does not jibe with the observation that nominal verbal forms are, with very rare exceptions, incompatible with a preceding *iw* in classical Middle Egyptian.<sup>96</sup>

Thus it appears simplest to regard *dd* in this formula as a normal writing of the imperfective active participle, present, for example, in the Book of Gates in *nif dd sb3w r dmiw.sn*, "It is he who puts the stars in their abodes."<sup>97</sup> The examples of the offering formula with *dd* are to be rendered as follows:

*iw dd n.sn 3wt m htp st m krrt.sn,*

The one who gives them offering gifts is one who occupies a place in their cavern.<sup>98</sup>

*iw dd n.sn htpw.sn m sdm hrw/mdw ntyw,*

The one who gives them their offerings is one who hears the voices/words of those who are.<sup>99</sup>

*iw dd n.sn 3wt.sn m sšp sšrw.sn m dw3t,*

The one who gives them their offering gifts is among those whose linen is light-colored in the netherworld.<sup>100</sup>

*iw dd n.sn m ḥnh m ḥnh.sn sty im,*

The one who gives to them is one who lives on that whereon they live ignited.<sup>101</sup>

*iw dd n.sn 3wt m nb m3 <wt> m š pn,*

The one who gives them offering gifts is the possessor of a 'stalk of grain' on this lake.<sup>102</sup>

*iw dd n.sn 3wt.sn m st3w ndrī b3w,*

The one who gives them their offering gifts is one who tows the "Seizer of *Ba's*."<sup>103</sup>

*iw dd n.sn 3wt.sn m nb q3t m.sn [sic] m dbn n š pn,*

<sup>95</sup> Book of Gates III, pp. 79–80.

<sup>96</sup> See Polotsky, "Egyptian Tenses," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Jerusalem, 1965), § 20, with n. 22 and Gilula, "Does God Exist?" p. 394.

<sup>97</sup> Book of Gates III, pp. 92–93.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 54–55.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 96.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 100–1.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 109, cf. p. 208.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 119; see *Wb.* II, 27, 14, on *m3wt* and the depiction in Book of Gates I, p. 111.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 179–80.



The one who gives them their offering gifts is the possessor of a 'quota of water' on the perimeter of this lake.<sup>104</sup>

*iw dd <n>.sn 3wt.sn m iry iswt m k3r.*

The one who gives them their offering gifts is the partaker of a meal in the shrine.<sup>105</sup>

That we are correct in treating the *wdn* and *dd* offering formulas in a similar manner might be indicated in the following example in which both verbs are employed:

*iw wdn n smyt n dd 3wt n imyw.s*  
*m w' m nn imyw.s*<sup>106</sup>

As the text now stands in all versions, the translation would seem to be, "The one who offers to the desert and to the one who gives offering gifts to those who are in it is one of these who are in it," but it seems to me that better sense is obtained if the *n* before *dd* is regarded as otiose, and the passage is translated, "The one who offers to the desert and who gives offering gifts to those who are in it is one of these who are in it."

To complete this collection of offering formulas in the Book of Gates there should be added two examples where *iw* has probably been erroneously omitted before *dd*:

*dd n.sn 3wt m igrt m imnt.*

The one who gives them offering gifts is in Igeret, in the West.<sup>107</sup>

*dd n.sn 3wt.sn m prr hnty 3hw.*

The one who gives them their offering gifts is one who goes forth at the head of the *Akh's*.<sup>108</sup>

Since in almost all occurrences of the offering formula with *wdn* in the Book of Gates and the Quererts the offerer is said to be *tp t3*, "upon earth," and not *m t3*, "in the earth (i.e., the underworld)," it appears that the Book of Gates and the Quererts, like the Book of Amduat, may have originally been composed for use in this world and were not designed solely for funerary use in tombs. In these offering texts the living officiant himself becomes a member of the various netherworldly groups to whom he offers. In a number of cases these groups are actually depicted in the accompanying scene.<sup>109</sup> Such a strange state of affairs in which an officiant is

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 187-88. The reading and interpretation of what follows *nb* is highly uncertain, see the variants referred to in Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon, *Wandering of the Soul*, p. 109 (D), in particular pl. 10 (5), and Murray, *Osireion*, pl. 5.

<sup>105</sup> Book of Gates I, pp. 210-11.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 14-15.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., I, p. 40.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., I, pp. 172-73.

<sup>109</sup> The clearest examples are Book of Gates I, p. 252, and II, pp. 61, 67, 114, 118, 127, 151, 159, 165, 202.

identified with a recipient has been discussed by Miss Thausing<sup>110</sup> and seems to be implied in certain liturgical situations involving the king.<sup>111</sup>

It might be argued that the substantive imperfective active participles *wdn* and *dd* in the offering formulas should be translated as past rather than present, but in view of the fact that in many cases a formula is immediately preceded by a series of emotive sentences like

3wt.sn m t, hnk.t.sn m dsrt, kbhw.sn m mw,

Their offering gifts should be bread. Their beer should be strong ale. Their refreshment should be water.<sup>112</sup>

renders a past rendition of the imperfective participle extremely improbable. Nor is it likely that the sentence of the offering formula, having the structure of *iw* + substantive + adverbial predicate (usually with the *m* of predication), is to be translated as a future,<sup>113</sup> especially since there are no variants with *r* of futurity in place of the *m* of predication. Thus what is involved in the offering formulas of the Book of Gates and the Quererts as well as the similarly structured "knowledge" formulas in the Book of Amduat are identifications of a living person with beings in various states and stages who dwell in the netherworld as witnesses to and participants in the sun god's voyage of renewal. It was not a matter of the officiant having to wait until his death to receive such benefits. The Book of Gates and the Book of Amduat were indeed works of "practical theology," to borrow de Velde's use of this expression.<sup>114</sup>

Like Siegfried Schott,<sup>115</sup> Erik Hornung<sup>116</sup> believes that the Book of Amduat was composed at the beginning of the New Kingdom for the use of the deceased king in the royal tomb. Such a position, however, does not adequately account for the presence of the *Nachschriften*, describing the value of the Amduat for those upon earth as well as in the netherworld, in the earliest exemplars of Amduat from the Valley of the Kings and the tomb of the vizier User. It seems much simpler, in my opinion, to assume that the Book of Amduat, as well as the Book of Gates,<sup>117</sup> were originally designed for use

<sup>110</sup> Thausing, "Jamblichus und das alte Ägypten," *Kairo* 4 (1962):100-2.

<sup>111</sup> See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik*, vol. 1, MÄS 19 (1969), pp. 148-49; idem, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 38; A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3d ser., *Chester Beatty Gift*, vol. 1 (London, 1935), p. 104; and H. W. Fairman, "The Kingship Rituals of Egypt" in S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 103-4.

<sup>112</sup> Book of Gates I, p. 246. On the emotive nature of the adverbial sentence without *iw* see Götula, "Does God Exist?," p. 393, with n. 19.

<sup>113</sup> On the function of *iw* in sentences, see Polotsky, "Transpositions," pp. 34-36. Adverbial sentences introduced by *iw* are not normally future.

<sup>114</sup> de Velde, "The God Heka," p. 176.

<sup>115</sup> "Die Schrift," pp. 332-33, 370.

<sup>116</sup> "Grabkammer des Vezirs User," pp. 104-6; idem, *Das Amduat*, pt. 1, p. xi, pt. 3, pp. 56-57;

idem, "Das Tal der Könige," *Bild der Wissenschaft* 5 (1968): 782-83; idem, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 19; idem, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)*, pt. 2, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica*, no. 3 (1976), p. 23, cf. Winfried Barta, "Zur Verteilung der 12 Nachtstunden des Amduat im Grabe Tuthmosis' III.," *JEGOL* 21 (1969-70): 164-65, for the opinion that Amduat was composed as a royal funerary text, perhaps even before the New Kingdom.

<sup>117</sup> Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 21, assigns the composition of the Book of Gates to possibly as early as late in the reign of Amenhotep III or the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV partly on the basis of the cosmopolitanism he sees in the depiction of the four races of mankind in the Fifth Hour. It should be noted, however, that the term *rmj* is used here in its older restrictive meaning to designate Egyptians only and not in the broader sense of mankind in general. Such use of the term would, in my opinion, favor a pre-New Kingdom date for the original composition.

108  
of  
"in  
rts,  
orld  
the  
s to  
the  
it is  
  
ates 1,  
1, 159,

compositions as complementing each other in providing different means, or possibly "two ways," for entering the netherworld and participating in the processes of death and renewal. The two need not be mutually exclusive. The ultimate end would be to become "the likeness of the great god himself."<sup>134</sup>

It is well known that the Egyptian notion of cyclic time permitted the bringing of the past into the present now, as with the concept of creation. I would suggest that within the same framework it would also have been possible for the religious Egyptian to bring the future into this present, so that the realities of death and movement into the netherworld with attendant rebirth could have been genuinely experienced in this life now without reference to the limitations imposed by the barriers of human time. The basically present (certainly not clearly past or future) tense employed in the identification clauses in the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates would seem to support this possibility, as Federn earlier suggested in discussing the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead.<sup>135</sup> Assmann has noted that prior to the Amarna period the relationship between god and time was of an "intransitive" nature with god having little to do with the progress of human time.<sup>136</sup> Since both Amduat and the Book of Gates were composed before the Amarna period, they might well have provided the proper setting for an experience that was totally present now. It is through this cyclic concept of time that in the Second Hour of the Book of Gates the aged creator god Atum, leaning on a staff,<sup>137</sup> can say to the enemies of Re, usually the younger form of the sun god, "As my father Re is triumphant against you, so I am triumphant against you. I am the son who has proceeded from his father, and I am the father who has proceeded from his son."<sup>138</sup> One is reminded of the treatment of time in John Donne's poem "Upon the Annuntiation and Passion," written for one of the rare occasions when the Feast of the Annuntiation and Passion Sunday fell on the same day in the Church Year in 1608:

All this, and all betweene, this day hath showne,  
Th'Abridgement of Christs story, which makes one  
(As in plaine Maps, the furthest West is East)  
Of the "Angels Ave," and *Consummatum est*.

.....  
This Church, by letting these daies joyne, hath shown  
Death and conception in mankinde is one;  
Or'twas in him the same humility,  
That he would be a man, and leave to be:  
Or as creation he hath made, as God,

<sup>134</sup> Short Amduat, line 14.

<sup>135</sup> "The 'Transformations,'" pp. 248-55, esp. pp. 249-50.

<sup>136</sup> Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten*, AHAW 1975, 1. Abh. (Heidelberg, 1975), pp. 50-53.

<sup>137</sup> Book of Gates I, p. 56, cf. K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 2, HÄB 8 (1979), p. 220.

<sup>138</sup> Book of Gates II, pp. 59-60. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, p. 506, n. 14, points out that in this formulation of the unity of the father

and son, Atum assumes the role of Osiris's son Horus. The normal equation would be that of Atum with Osiris, see Myśliwiec, "Beziehungen zwischen Atum und Osiris nach dem Mittleren Reich," *MDIK* 35 (1979): 195-213, but there is also a unity between Osiris and his son Horus, see Thausing, "Die Auferstehung im Sohne," *WZKM* 46 (1939): 170-88, and Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei* (Uppsala, 1970), pp. 74-75, and p. 94, n. 3, for the bearing of this relationship upon Lucius's initiation, cf. Junge, "Isis und die ägyptischen Mysterien," pp. 99-103.

With the last judgement, but one period,  
 His imitating Spouse would joyne in one  
 Manhoods extremes: He shall come, he is gone.<sup>139</sup>

It would seem that both the Egyptian concept of non-linear cyclic divine time without a sharp temporal distinction between life and death and the very nature of Egyptian religion, polytheistic yet possessing pantheistic, or rather panontistic, features, did provide a suitable framework for a process of identification during the passage of the night hours that culminated in the living person's becoming the likeness of the sun god.<sup>140</sup> To be among those who witness the sun god's nightly voyage and participate in his transformation from death to life in the netherworld was a means for attaining total identification in a religion which in its own kind of logic allowed for the mutual existence of the many and the one. Such a conclusion follows from a proper understanding of the *Nachschriften* of the Book of Amduat as well as the offering formulas in the Book of Gates that we have reinterpreted according to the rules of Egyptian grammar. I would hesitate to describe such activities, either in pharaonic Egypt or at the Isis temple in Kenchreai as cultic *Schauspiel*, for this is perhaps impugning the religious sensitivity and sincerity of those involved.

<sup>139</sup> C. M. Coffin, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne* (New York, 1952), pp. 236-37. One might also refer to the words of the German mystic Meister Eckhart, "To talk about the world as being made by God tomorrow, yesterday, would be talking nonsense. God makes the world and all things in the present now," (F. Pfeiffer, *Meister Eckhart*, trans. C. de B. Evans [New York, 1924], p. 209), and "God the Father and the Son have nothing to do with time" (R. B. Blakney, *Meister Eckhart: A Modern Translation* [New York, 1941], p. 292).

<sup>140</sup> See the valuable remarks by J. Bergman, "Mystische Anklänge in den altägyptischen Vorstellung von Gott und Welt" in S. S. Hartman and C.-M. Edsman, eds., *Mysticism: Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Mysticism Held at Åbo on the 7th-9th September, 1968*, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis, no. 5 (Stockholm, 1970), pp. 47-76, esp. p. 51, "Man könnte ja umgekehrt die Behauptung wagen, dass eine pantheistisch gefärbte Auffassung der Umwelt fast immer die Grundlage der mystischen Betrachtungs- und Erlebensweise bildet."

upon earth as well as in the other world and were only secondarily adapted as specifically royal funerary literature, retaining the *Nachschriften* and offering formulas in their converted status. Thus these two major compositions in their literary tradition parallel the appearance of non-royal spells of the Book of the Dead and the Book of the Heavenly Cow in the kings' tombs rather than the fate of royal Pyramid Texts.<sup>118</sup>

While I would agree with other scholars who have suggested that the Book of Amduat was of Middle Kingdom or even First Intermediate Period date and was not necessarily royal in origin,<sup>119</sup> Jan Assmann has taken the position that both the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates were originally liturgical cosmographies of the royal solar cult, composed during the Middle Kingdom for sole use by the living king or his priestly deputies.<sup>120</sup> Aside from my comments in n. 30 above regarding Assmann's view, I would stress that throughout the *Nachschriften* and offering formulas in these two compositions the individual who acquires knowledge or performs offerings remains anonymous, and there is not the slightest indication, as, for example, in documents of the daily liturgy, that we are dealing with deputization of the king's cultic role.<sup>121</sup> Whereas in temple scenes of the daily liturgy the pharaoh is without question the sole officiant before the gods, in the royal tombs he only in a limited way intrudes into the scenes and texts of the Book of Amduat or the Book of Gates. In fact, the vizier User makes a bolder appearance in his copy of Amduat than do the kings in the versions from the royal tombs.<sup>122</sup> So far as I can determine, Thutmose I is neither named nor depicted in his, the earliest, version of Amduat, now in the Cairo Museum.

In the Book of Amduat it is conveyed that the number of those privy to its contents was restricted,<sup>123</sup> and in the Book of Gates it is indicated that plural individuals made offerings to the gods of the underworld. This very notion of plurality, even if restricted in number, is quite different from the theory of the king as the sole liturgist and the deputization of his priestly function. It is difficult to believe that in Amduat the king is deputizing rare knowledge about the netherworld to a select few. When it is said of User's nephew, that "There is nothing that the god has shut away from him. There is nothing of which he is ignorant in the sky, in the earth, or in any hidden place of the netherworld,"<sup>124</sup> it is by no means clear that his familiarity with the underworld was a result of the extension of royal knowledge about such matters and not simply because he had been privy to such a work as the Book of Amduat, which had been inscribed in his uncle's burial chamber. The anonymity of the individual that prevails in the *Nachschriften* of Amduat and in the offering formulas of the Book of Gates seems more akin to what one finds in the second half of the Book of the Heavenly Cow<sup>125</sup> or

<sup>118</sup> Not every spell in the Pyramid Texts is of royal origin, as, for example, the second half of Spell 467 and Spell 486.

<sup>119</sup> See Grapow, "Studien zu den thebanischen Königsgräbern," pp. 32-39, and Altenmüller, "Zur Überlieferung des Amduat," pp. 27-28, 40-42; idem, "Toten-literatur" in B. Spuler, ed., *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I. Abteilung, I. Band: *Ägyptologie*, 2. Abschnitt: *Literatur* (Leiden and Cologne, 1970), p. 72.

<sup>120</sup> Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, p. 57, nn. 2-3.

<sup>121</sup> See A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin jour-*

*nulier en Egypte* (Paris, 1902), p. 42, where the officiant says, "I am the priest; it is the king who has sent me to see the god."

<sup>122</sup> See Hornung, "Grabkammer des Vezirs User," pp. 105-7.

<sup>123</sup> See Long Amduat, p. 12, line 3, p. 123, line 5; Short Amduat, line 293.

<sup>124</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1071, 8-9.

<sup>125</sup> See C. Maystre, "Le Livre de la Vache du Ciel dans les tombeaux de la Vallée des Rois," *BIFAO* 40 (1941): 98 ("a man"), 103 ("a man") and Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-ankh-amon*, MIFAO, vol. 72 (Cairo, 1951-52), pl. 1 ("any excellent scribe").

in certain spells of the Book of the Dead, such as Chapter 148 in the papyrus of Yuya, where the secrecy of the contents should not allow them to be bruited about and only the anonymous person, the lector priest, and a bosom friend are privy to the mysteries in a tent studded with stars.<sup>126</sup> Such limited access to the contents of the Book of the Dead had nothing to do with knowledge held exclusively by the king or those acting in his stead.

According to *The Golden Ass of Apuleius*, the initiation of Lucius into the mysteries of Isis at Kenchreai involved a sort of free-will death, a dying of the old life, and a rebirth culminating in his emergence in the likeness of the sun god. In the adytum of the temple Lucius made a transit through the netherworld, through all the elements, encountering the gods of the underworld and those of the world above and worshipping them. While the analogy drawn by Bargaet between this experience of initiation and the Book of Two Ways is intriguing,<sup>127</sup> the content and function of the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates also invites comparison with Lucius's passage through the underworld.<sup>128</sup> Both of these compositions survived into a much later period than the Book of Two Ways, known to us solely from coffins of the Twelfth Dynasty from Bersheh.

Friedrich Junge<sup>129</sup> has considerably advanced our understanding of the Egyptian background of Lucius's initiation. However, regarding the issue of man's becoming god and his participation in the god's death and renewal, Junge is still strongly influenced by Morenz, for whom even the distance between the dead and the god of the dead remained in principle unbridged.<sup>130</sup> For Junge, therefore, the central event of the initiation at Kenchreai was part of a cultic drama that mirrored an event in the world of the gods. Whereas in pharaonic Egypt the paradigm of the death and rebirth of the god promised something *only* to dead Egyptians, now at Kenchreai also the living, by borrowing from the funerary realm of the ancient Egyptians, could participate in this drama of ritual nature. However, in view of our conclusions regarding the use of the Book of Amduat and the Book of Gates by the living, Junge's explanation of the initiation as *Schauspiel* might be questioned.

Whereas the Book of Amduat, being primarily concerned with gnosis, stresses the names of individual beings in the beyond, the Book of Gates, being more related to praxis through the offering formulas in the first nine hours of the night, emphasizes various groups of non-individualized denizens of the underworld among whom the offering person was to be included by virtue of his ritual sacrifice.<sup>131</sup> Some of these beings are clearly forms assumed only by a person through death, such as the *Akh's* and mummies,<sup>132</sup> suggesting an association with the process of dying that Lucius underwent.<sup>133</sup> By virtue of the contrast between the knowledge-oriented Book of Amduat and the ritual-oriented Book of Gates one might view these two great

<sup>126</sup> See E. Naville, *The Funeral Papyrus of Iouiya* (London, 1908), pl. 11 (chap. 148).

<sup>127</sup> Bargaet, "Deux Chemins," p. 17.

<sup>128</sup> See Bergman, "Zum Zwei-Wege-Motiv," pp. 53-54.

<sup>129</sup> "Isis und die ägyptischen Mysterien," in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 93-115.

<sup>130</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 104-8.

<sup>131</sup> See Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>132</sup> Book of Gates II, pp. 77 and 164. Note that there is no indication in the accompanying depictions of the *Akh's* and mummies that they are those of deceased kings.

<sup>133</sup> See Junge, "Isis und die ägyptischen Mysterien," p. 108, on Lucius's free-will death.