

An early hymn to Osiris as nocturnal manifestation of Rē^ḥ. Text translation and commentary by J. van Dijk (PLATES 66-7)

The hymn to Osiris on the south wall of the exit passage of the Statue Room is far from complete. Four fragments have been discovered: a large block with eight columns of text which give the beginning of the hymn, another with two columns which form the end, and two small pieces of uncertain location. On top of the two main fragments there must have been another row of blocks, since the first words of each of the ten surviving columns are missing. The bottom part of the accompanying scene showing Horemheb adoring Osiris is still *in situ* on the wall, and this enables us to position the two large blocks with reasonable certainty.

Measurements of the width of the wall and of

the columns reveal that originally there were 27 columns of text. From this it appears that about one-third of the hymn has been preserved (FIG. 16, below). The end of the text (ll. 26–7) is inscribed on the inner thickness of the south door jamb at the entrance of the passage, presumably through lack of space on the main reveal. The opposite north wall has been left entirely undecorated and uninscribed, and the

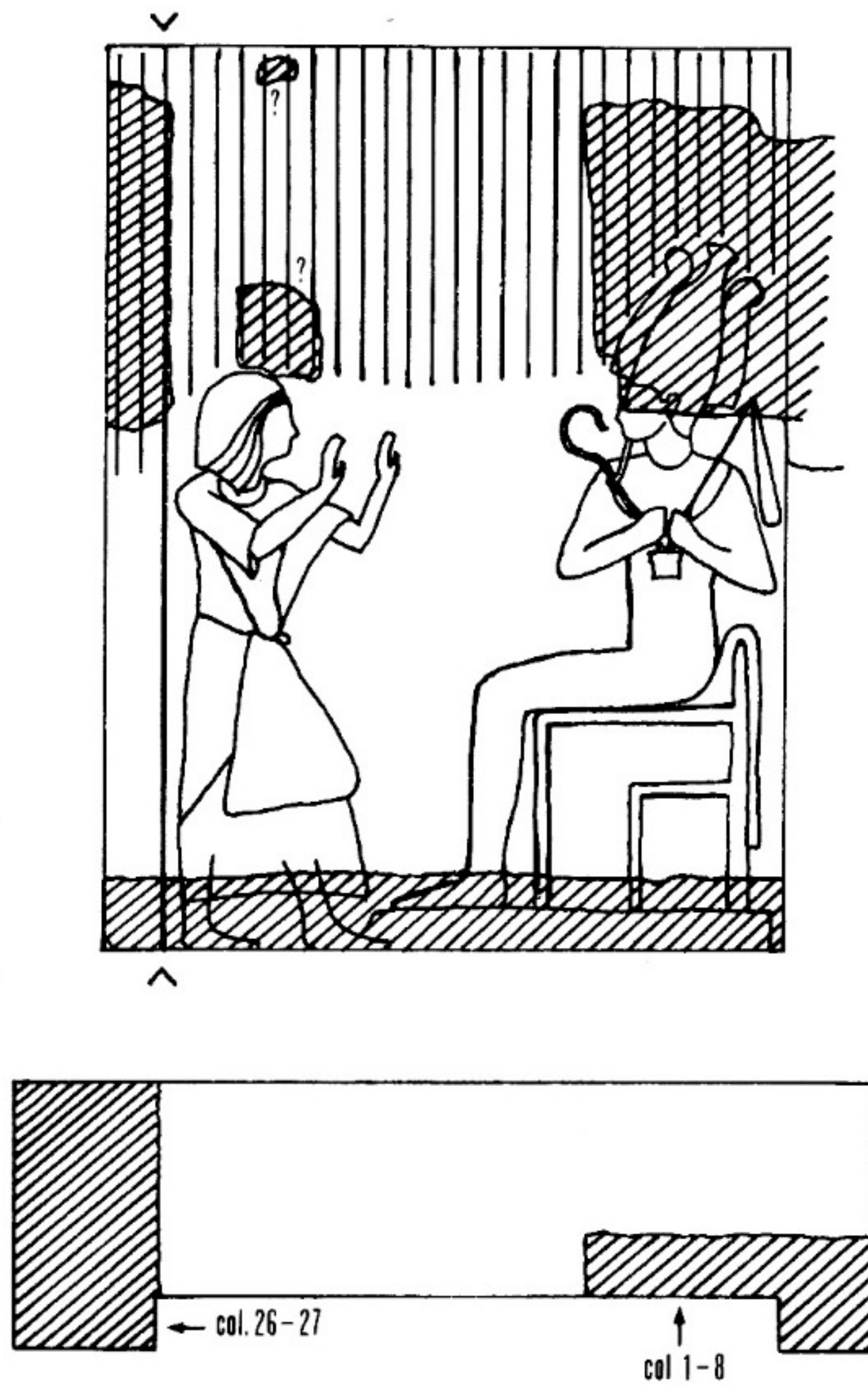


FIG. 16. Reconstruction of scene [64].

reason why the south wall and not the north was chosen for the hymn may have been that Osiris is visible during the night as the constellation Orion in the southern sky (ll. 7–8). Moreover, the text states that Osiris is seated upon his throne in Naref (l. 6), and according to a New Kingdom gloss on BD 17 this locality was considered as the ‘southern gate’ of the

necropolis of Memphis. Thus, HoremḤeb, and anyone who chanced to recite the hymn, was facing Osiris himself, just as HoremḤeb faces the god in the relief on the wall.

No parallel text of the hymn seems to be known, but certain passages are quoted in a pair of introductory hymns to Rē^c and Osiris in the Book of the Dead of Ani (pBM 10470, sheets 1–2), which probably dates from the early Nineteenth Dynasty. These quotations are sufficient to show that the lack of a parallel text is only due to the limitations of our sources: future excavations, notably in the necropolis of Saqqâra, could well reveal more copies of this interesting text.

HoremḤeb’s hymn differs widely from all other hymns to Osiris known from the period before the Nineteenth Dynasty in that it describes Osiris as the nocturnal manifestation of Rē^c, and gives a cosmic interpretation of the myth of Osiris. The theme itself is not new: it is already present in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead,¹ and it occurs also in an early Eighteenth Dynasty magical text.² In a fully developed form it becomes one of the central themes of the so-called ‘Unterweltbücher’ inscribed on the walls of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.³ Every evening Rē^c dies and enters the Netherworld in the western horizon, where he ‘embraces’ the body of Osiris resting there. Thus Osiris becomes Rē^c, and illumines the darkness of the Duat as nocturnal sun god. In the morning, however, Rē^c arises from the arms of Osiris and is reborn as Rē^c-Horus-of-the-Horizon.

That this myth does not appear in hymnical literature until the second half of the New Kingdom⁴ can be explained as a reaction against the monotheism of Akhenaten.⁵ This ruler had replaced the plurality of the gods of

¹ Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden, 1963), 78–80.

² van Dijk, *JÉOL* 26 (1979–80), 10–25.

³ Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 85–7.

⁴ Another early example is a hymn from Theban tomb 255 (Roy), which dates from the reign of HoremḤeb: see Baud and Drioton, *Le Tombeau de Roÿ* (Cairo, 1928), 18–20, 41–4, with fig. 13; cf. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich

and Munich, 1975), no. 53. The development of this type of hymn is foreshadowed in a line from the great hymn to Osiris, Louvre c286, where Osiris is called *bꜣ Rꜥ ḏt.f ḏs.f*, ‘Ba of Rē^c, his very body’ (l. 2).

⁵ See for the following remarks Assmann’s admirable introduction to his *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, especially pp. 64–77.

the traditional religion by the sole god Aten, who was in the first place a god of light, upon whose life-giving power everyone and everything upon earth depended. Darkness and night were interpreted only in a negative way: during the night the Aten is absent and the whole world falls back into a state of non-existence. In Amarna religion there was no place for Osiris, who therefore shared the fate of Amūn and the other traditional gods. However, this being so, Akhenaten was unable to deal with one of the most essential aspects of Egyptian religion, viz. death and life after death. In the period after the Amarna interlude the traditional religion was re-interpreted in reaction to Akhenaten's doctrines. The problem of unity and plurality was solved by the concept of a universal god from whom all other gods emanate, and who manifests himself in his creation, which includes the present world and the hereafter. The cult of Osiris became much more important than before the Amarna Period, and in the tombs of private persons Osiris and Rē^c have a role of equal weight.¹

This state of affairs is reflected in the present hymn. Not only is Osiris viewed as the manifestation of the sun god whose creation does not end in the western horizon, but the myth of the unification of the two gods also greatly enhances the importance of Osiris, both for the dead and for the living. Osiris needs Rē^c in order to be able to be resurrected from the dead, while Rē^c needs Osiris, who enables him to arise again in the morning. Thus all living beings upon earth depend on the collaboration of Rē^c and Osiris, and this is why Osiris is frequently called 'ruler of the living' in Rameside hymns. This means that it is the destiny of every human being to go to Osiris when his time comes,² and that life upon earth is impossible without Osiris. The hymn in the tomb of Horemheb shows that this reaction to Amarna is not just a phenomenon of Rameside times, but originated immediately after the death of Akhenaten and the return to traditional

ways. As such, it is an important document for the history of Egyptian religion in the post-Amarna Period.

The Hymn to Osiris (Translation)

The much-damaged columns of inscription may be translated as follows:

[Hail to you, Osiris, lord of eter]nity, great mighty one,^a foremost of the West, perfect king of everlastingness, great of terror in the Ha(2)[u-nebut^b...who removes] evil, Tatenen,^c founder of the Shores, august Djed,^d who rules over eternity, (3) [...Ma]nu,^e fully equipped with body and atef-crown,^f ram-headed one,^g surrounded with uraei,^h (4) [...hea]ven <his> deedsⁱ as foremost of the West, who took possession of the Two Lands when he was still in the womb of Nut,^j who became ruler of (5) [the plains of the Silent Land, golden] of body, lapis lazuli-like of head,^k turquoise being upon his arms,^l pillar of Heh,^m wide of breast,ⁿ (6) [kindly of countenance,^o who is in the Sacred Lan]d,^p heir of Geb, gracious upon his throne^q in the seclusion^r of Naref,^s lord of a fair remembrance of him (7) [in the palace,^t great of appearances in (?)] the Chapel of the Phoenix,^u Ba of eternity, Akh of everlastingness,^v who administers justice in the Netherworld,^w beautiful Orion who crosses heaven,^x (8) [...] the West,^y who is carried in pregnancy to the womb [of Nut] by day^z and born in profound darkness^{aa} by night [...]

...(A1)...the district of] Peker when one is ushered in to him [on the day of] being called^{bb} [...]

...(A2)...] the Evil One, I will slay the Ass,^{cc} I will chase (B2) his gang(?)^{dd} [...]

...(A3)...] Horus has driven away^{ee} his enemies, the crew of the Thinite nome [...]

...(A4)...] the Evil One, a flint knife being in my fist. He who is upon [his] side(?)^{ff} [...]

(26)...the re]bel.^{gg} I am skilled <in> my task of cutting up his body^{hh} in front of this august god. His carved flesh is loaded upon his slaughtering-place,ⁱⁱ Sakhmet [...](27)...] opened up is the way which is in his heart.^{jj} Wepset^{kk} has seized him, Horus is upon his throne, full of joy, and Isis is content^{ll}....

¹ Assmann, op. cit., 75.

² Ibid.

The Hymn to Osiris (Commentary)

(a) *shm wr*: *shm*, usually translated as 'power', denotes a divine quality. To translate *shm wr* as 'Great Power' would suggest the existence of a concept of 'impersonal supernatural power' in Egyptian religion. There is, however, no evidence that the Egyptians ever viewed *shm* as an impersonal power, independent from a god or his symbols.¹

(b) *h[*w-nbwt*]*: no doubt originally the lagoons along the Phoenician coast, but Helck² rightly stresses the mythical aspect of this term. See for the relation of the *Hau-nebut* with the myth of Osiris, Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis* (Brussels, 1971), 162–5.

(c) *T(t)nn*: till now the earliest example of the identification of Osiris and Tatenen was the stela of Wepwautmosi in E. Berlin (Inv. 7316), from the Memphite necropolis and roughly contemporary with the tomb of Horemheb.³ The determinative after the god's name has exactly the same 'new' shape there as in our text, cf. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1980), 44–6. See further van Dijk, *OMRO* 66 (1986), 7–20.

(d) *dd špsy*: this Memphite deity is mentioned as early as the Fifth Dynasty in connection with Ptah and Sokar, but it is only from the second half of the New Kingdom onwards that a close relationship with Osiris can be demonstrated:⁴ see Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), 154–66, and Altenmüller, in *LdÄ* i, cols. 1101–2. See van Dijk, op. cit.

(e) [*m*]*nw*: the 'western' mountain, the place where the sun sets on earth, but also the place of sunrise in the Netherworld, where it is

known as the 'eastern' mountain, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin, 1969), 39.

(f) Or, 'united (already) in the womb with the *atef*-crown'. For this suggestion see Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle* (Leiden, 1966), 14–15; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 307, with n. 29. But in that case the word order is rather unusual in that one would expect **twt m tftw m ht* (*mwt.f*), though the reversed order may have been chosen deliberately to place emphasis upon the primæval, pre-natal kingship of Osiris. Translated in that manner the verse would more or less duplicate *ttt tswy m ht Nwt* of l. 4 of the inscription.

(g) *šfyty tp*: 'ram-like of head', cf. *Wb.* iv, 456, 5ff., and 459, 14. Osiris is ram-headed as the nightly incarnation of the sun god, see Horning, op. cit., 85–6; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 78–81; Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd edn. (Berlin and New York, 1952), 870; Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, ii (Cairo, 1968), 373–4. In hymns to Osiris the *atef*-crown and *šfyt*, 'majesty', are often mentioned in connection with Herakleopolis, cult place of the ram-headed god Harsaphes.⁵

(h) *phr m dsrwt*: like the sun god entering the realm of the dead⁶ Osiris is protected against the powers of chaos by his uraei which surround him, see for example, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, iii:9 (Oxford, 1980), 288, 15–16: *phr sw ch m' Itm m hrt*, 'the protective snake surrounds him like Atum in heaven'.⁷ In our text the rare designation *dsrwt*⁸ is used, probably because these snakes keep the god in protective seclusion (for *dsrw* see note 1 below)

¹ Cf. the cautious discussion of *shm* by Horning, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 52–3, who quotes van der Leeuw's statement that *shm* personifies an 'impersonal power'. For elaborate criticism of the dynamistic theories put forward by van der Leeuw see van Baaren, 'De ethnologische basis van de fenomenologie van G. van der Leeuw', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 11 (1956–7), 321–54, and id., *Menschen wie wir. Religion und Kult der schriftlosen Völker* (Gütersloh, 1964), chapter 5.

² Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis* (Darmstadt, 1979), 34–5.

³ PM iii², pt. 2, 734. See also Grapow, *Sprachliche und*

schriftliche Formung ägyptischer Texte (Glückstadt, 1936), pl. 9.

⁴ In hymnical literature it rarely occurs as a name of Osiris: see for example O. Cairo 25212 (Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900), 33); stela Theban tomb 41, of Amenemōpet (Myśliwiec, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), pl. 34, l. 5); Gauthier, *BIFAO* 6 (1908), pl. 6.

⁵ Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1956), 320.

⁶ See for example Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, iv (London, [1901]), pl. 115: 'You occupy your field in Manu, your uraei being around you.'

⁷ Cf. Zandee, op. cit., 55.

⁸ Cf. *Wb.* v, 617, 4–5.

like the *mḥnt*-snake:¹ *ḥ.k dsrw m mḥnt*, 'you enter the seclusion formed by the *mḥnt*-snake', Hornung (ed.), *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, i (Geneva, 1979), 149.

(i) *irywt*: perfective passive participle of *iri*. The writing with initial *i* is probably influenced by words like *irw*, 'shape', *irrt*, 'milk', etc. (hardly the prothetic *i* of both Old and Late Egyptian). At the beginning restore perhaps [*sk*] (or a similar verb) *imyw p*]t *irywt*, etc. 'those who are in heaven praise <his> deeds...'.
(j) *itl trwy m ht Nwt*: see note (f) above, and Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 303, with n. 10. From here until the beginning of l. 6 a parallel text is afforded by the Book of the Dead of Ani, sheet 2, ll. 8–10.

(k) [*dcm*] *h'w*, *hsbd tp*: cf. *Wb.* v, 539, 5–6, and iii, 334, 18. Both *hsbd* and *mfkt* (see below) are often associated with the rising sun god, see in general Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1948), 21. The same applies to *dcm*, 'white gold', which, like *nbw* 'gold', is a material capable of creation and resurrection, see Daumas, 'La valeur de l'or dans la pensée égyptienne'. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 149 (1956), 1–17. The very first words the sun god said when he began to speak were: 'My skin is of white gold'.² As nocturnal sun god Osiris is called *b' nh n dcm*, 'living *ba* of white gold'.³

(l) *mfky hr-tp wy.fy*: *mfkt*, 'turquoise', is frequently connected with the rising sun god in the east, cf. Hornung (ed.), *Das Amduat*, ii

(Wiesbaden, 1963), 187, and Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 127. The sun disk itself is often described and depicted as green (*mfkt*), see discussion of Brunner-Traut, 'Die grüne Sonne', in *Festschrift für Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), 54–9. After *Rē'* and Osiris have become one god in the Duat *Rē'* 'arises from the arms of his father Osiris'.⁴ In the morning 'his father Osiris lifts him up' to the sky.⁵ In the Book of the Dead of Ani these verses are found in a pair of hymns to *Rē'* and Osiris, accompanied by the vignette usually illustrating Chapter 15.⁶ In this vignette Osiris is depicted as a *djed*-pillar flanked by Isis and Nephthys. On top of the *djed* is an *ankh*-sign with arms, which raise the sun disk aloft to the sky.⁷ Thus our text undoubtedly refers to the sun god arising upon the arms of Osiris. Note also the curious metathesis in the writing of *mfky*, which is also found in the Book of the Dead of Ani.

(m) *iwn n Hh*: the *iwn*-pillar is connected with the moon as the nocturnal manifestation of *Rē'*. As such both *Rē'* and Osiris, as well as other gods, are often called *iwn*, 'pillar', or *iwny*, 'he of the pillar', 'pillar god'.⁸ A hymn to *Rē'* from the Twenty-first Dynasty calls him 'sun by day, pillar by night'.⁹ Isis and Nephthys address Osiris as follows: 'O Pillar god, you rise for us in the sky daily... Thoth is your protection, he raises your *ba* in the *mndt*-barque in this your name of Moon'.¹⁰ At Edfu Horus is called: the 'Exalting pillar'¹¹ who illumines the darkness... Horus of the Two Eyes (i.e. the sun and moon), accurate of eternal cycle when the

¹ Cf. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, iv (Cairo, 1929), 218; Chassinat and Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara*, vii (Cairo, 1972), 179, etc. (*phr m mḥnt*).

² Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, i:3 (Oxford, 1973), 68, 2–3 = Schott, *Kanais* (Göttingen, 1961), 150.

³ *Djed*-pillar of Ptahmose, Leiden AP 51d: see Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*, iv (The Hague, 1911), pl. 28, 4d3.

⁴ pChester Beatty IX, rt. 6, 1.

⁵ Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), 20, 43, with n. 4.

⁶ See for example Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne* (Berlin, 1928), figs. on pp. 271–2.

⁷ Occasionally the arms are connected directly with the *djed*, e.g. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1908–9, 1909–10. The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo, 1912), pl. 73, 1; Schäfer,

ZÄS 71 (1935), 26, fig. 10 (Theban tomb 178, Neferronpet); Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, i (Warminster, 1976), pl. 48, 2; Saqqâra stela Cairo JdE 18922 (unpublished).

⁸ *Wb.* i, 53, 19–20.

⁹ pLouvre 3292, Nagel, *BIFAO* 29 (1929), 89.

¹⁰ pBerlin 3008, 4, 1–3, Faulkner, 'The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys', in *Mélanges Maspero*, i (Cairo, 1934), 339. For the transposition of *mndt* and *mskt* see Sethe, op. cit., 278, with n. 5. Perhaps the origin of the exchange of the two boats is the same as with *m'nw* and *b'hw*, cf. note (e) above: the night-barque of *Rē'* is the day-barque of Osiris. See also Müller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg* (Leipzig, 1913), 89[139] on the moon in the *mndt*-barque.

¹¹ *iwn-h'c*, *Wb.* i, 53, 17: 'Name des Mondes'.

(Two) Bulls meet'.¹ In Dendera Osiris is addressed in words reminiscent of our text: 'Exalting pillar, who rules heaven, kindly of countenance, long of beard, golden (of body), lapis-lazuli-like of head'.² The relation of *lwn*-pillar and moon is sometimes interpreted as originating from phallic symbolism,³ but the association of both moon and *lwn*-pillar with bulls⁴ is hardly sufficient to prove this, and the fertility connotations of the *lwn*-pillar may well be derived from its association with the moon. The primary meaning of *lwn*-pillar is '(architectural) support'.⁵ As early as the Pyramid Texts it is found as the support of heaven,⁶ and it is therefore no surprise to find it as an epithet of Shu in his role of supporter of heaven, for example in the Magical Papyrus Harris: 'You (Shu) are provided with the light of the *Wedjat*-eye as Pillar'.⁷ In Esna he is called 'Shu... who lifted up Nut, placing himself under her as Great Pillar',⁸ and 'Pillar who proceeds, carrying the sky above the earth every day, creator god who lifts up heaven in his form of Heh'.⁹ Shu, by separating heaven and earth, not only creates the air but also the light which is already present when the sun god himself is not yet visible above the horizon. He 'announces Rē' or 'prepares the way for Rē'.¹⁰ Similarly, the moon god is a pillar god, supporting the night sky and replacing the light of the sun, thus preventing the return of primæval chaos at nightfall. It is significant in this connection that

Osiris bears the epithet *wp pt r t*, 'who separates heaven and earth', on an Eighteenth Dynasty stela from Saqqâra,¹¹ an epithet which is applied to Atum, the setting sun entering the Netherworld, in the tomb of Horemheb.¹² This interpretation of *lwn* explains why Heh, the god who supports heaven, is explicitly mentioned in our text.¹³ See van Dijk, *OMRO* 66 (1986), 7-20, for further implications.

(n) *wsh šnbt*: in the depths of the Duat Rē revivifies Osiris by shining on his breast (*šnbt*), see O. Cairo 25214 and 25209 (Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900), 29-30; Schott, *Zum Weltbild der Jenseitsführer des Neuen Reiches* (Göttingen, 1965), 196-7; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 286-7. Osiris is therefore called 'wide of breast', and he is endowed with the potential of life which only needs to be reactivated through unification with Rē. The *wsh*-collar on the breast of mummies and coffins, often composed, for example, of drop-shaped beads representing the rays of the sun, and sometimes decorated with hawks' heads, may be a symbolic expression of this idea. It is interesting to note that in one of the Late Period manuscripts of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 158, the 'Spell for the *wsh*-collar of gold', the deceased says: 'My father is a Pillar god, my mother is a Pillar goddess'.¹⁴ Cf. also below, p. 67.

(o) [*nfr hr*]: 'beautiful of face', denoting the favourable aspect of a god, cf. Germond, 'A propos de l'expression *hr nfr* "beau visage"'.¹⁵

¹ Rochemonteix and Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, i (Cairo, 1892-7), 39. See for the Meeting of the Two Bulls, *Urk.* viii, 74[89b], translated by Derchain, 'Mythes et dieux lunaires en Égypte', in *La Lune, mythes et rites* (Paris, 1962), 43.

² Chassinat and Daumas, *Le Temple de Dendara*, vi (Cairo, 1965), 172, 49-50.

³ Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 564 (Nr. 103, 4); Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 169.

⁴ Frankfort, op. cit., 381 n. 27; Zivie, 'Les rites de l'érection de l'obélisque et du pilier Ioun', in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, i (Cairo, 1979), 488 n. 1; cf. Martin, 'Iun-Pfeiler', in *LdÄ* iii, col. 214, who calls the association of *lwn*-pillar and bull 'secondary'.

⁵ Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens* (Hildesheim, 1977), 17, and id., *LdÄ* iii, 213.

⁶ Pyr. 1143b.

⁷ pHarris, 1, 11 (*m lwn*), 'as Pillar', not 'in Heliopolis', Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen, 1927), 18.

⁸ See Kees, *Ägypten* (Tübingen, 1928), 20 = Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch. Zweite erweiterte Auflage, 10; also

Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna* ii (Cairo, 1963), no. 17, 51.



⁹ Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna*, iii (Cairo, 1968), no. 367, 17-18; id., *Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna* (Cairo, 1962), 176.

¹⁰ *CT* i, 320-1d to 322-3a; ii, 37g. See also de Buck, *Plaats en betekenis van Sjoë in de Egyptische theologie* (Amsterdam, 1947), 247-8.

¹¹ Stela Leiden v 12, Boeser, op. cit., vi (The Hague, 1913), pl. 4, 13.

¹² [11, 36, 123].

¹³ Roeder, who translated this passage (from the Book of the Dead of Ani) quite differently, nevertheless hinted at the right meaning by translating *lwn n hh* by 'ein Pfeiler wie ein Himmelsträger' (*Urkunden zur Religion des Alten Ägypten* (Jena, 1923), 27). As a name of Osiris, *lwn hh* seems also to occur in *Urk.* vi, 79, 10 (reading doubtful).

¹⁴ pRyerson, col. 154, 28-9, Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum* (Chicago, 1960), pl. 49. The writings  and  respectively do not justify the translation 'Heliopolitan' (Allen, op. cit., 282).

BSEG 4 (1980), 39–43, and for divine epithets composed with *hr*, ‘face’, see in general the important remarks of Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 132. It is only rarely used for Osiris. In the Coffin Texts it is only found in connection with Osiris in a spell written on funerary masks (Spell 531), where it is applied to the mask given by Rē to Osiris ‘in order to stop the injury by Seth against him’. The eyes of this mask are the Day- and Night-barques. This spell probably refers to the revivification of Osiris by Rē.

(p) Above the bubalis-sign of *iw^w*, ‘heir’, there are clear traces of *mn*, the last sign of *Tj-dsr*.

(q) *cn hr nst.f*: as an alternative one could translate this as ‘gracious of face (*cn hr*), whose throne is in...’, but cf. the Belegstellen to *Wb.* i, 190, 2.

(r) *dsrw*: ‘die Reinheit des ausgesonderten, gegen jedes Zudringen abgeschirmten, den Göttern zur Wohnung bereiteten Ortes’, Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 141 n. 1.

(s) *Nr^f*: the necropolis of Herakleopolis, see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, ii (London, 1947), 114*. According to a New Kingdom gloss to Book of the Dead 17, Naref was the ‘southern gate’ of Rostau.¹ In Herakleopolis and Naref the ram-headed Harsaphes was worshipped in close connection with Osiris and with Rē.² In these places ‘Osiris has appeared as Rē’ (BD 175, Kees, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 73). As a form of Osiris Harsaphes is called ‘Pillar of the Stars’ in an Eighteenth Dynasty hymn.³

(t) *nb sh^w.f nfr [m ch]*: cf. the Middle Kingdom Hymn to Osiris (Louvre C30 and var.): *nb sh^w nfr m ch*.⁴ By *ch* is meant the palace of Horus, successor of Osiris, as king upon earth, as is made clear in Coffin Text Spell 313, which

deals with the demise of Osiris and the accession of his son Horus.⁵ In this text Thoth says to Osiris: *iw sh^w.k nfr m ch*, ‘a fair remembrance of you is in the palace’ (CT iv, 88q.), and *iw rdl.n.i sh^w.k nfr m ch*, ‘I have set a fair remembrance of you in the palace’ (op. cit., 90q.). Being remembered means being assured of a funerary cult, and a ‘fair remembrance’ is therefore frequently prayed for in offering formulae from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.⁶

(u) *hwt-bnw*: the sanctuary of Rē in Heliopolis, also called *hwt-bnbn*, ‘chapel of the *benben*-stone’, cf. Pyr. 1652: ‘O Atum-Khepri... you have arisen as the *benben*-stone in the chapel of the Phoenix in Heliopolis’. The *bnw*-bird is a symbol of the solar god of Heliopolis, but is already identified with Osiris in CT iv, 198/99a–c, see further Kees, *Götterglaube*, 266. The sanctuary of Heliopolis is the tomb of the sun god in which he rests as Osiris, and from which he rises as Rē, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 311 n. 47, with reference to the sixth hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung (ed.), *Das Buch von den Pforten*, i, 224–34). A Twenty-second Dynasty hymn to Osiris as nocturnal sun god addresses him as follows: ‘Hail to you, lord of Abydos, divine falcon, many-coloured of plumage, pillar god, lord of the Chapel of the Phoenix’.⁷ Another hymn to Osiris from the Twenty-first Dynasty calls him ‘lord of the Throne in the First Chapel of the *Benben*’.⁸

(v) *bⁱ nh^h*, *sh dt*: the two complementary aspects of eternity, *nh^h*, ‘cyclic eternity’, and *dt*, ‘linear eternity’,⁹ both have their own group of associations in the theological speculations of the ancient Egyptians. Thus *nh^h* is connected with day, sun, Rē, and *ba*-soul, *dt* with night, moon, Osiris, and *hwt*-body.¹⁰ According to Gertie Englund the *sh* represents the ‘power of

¹ *Urk.* v, 26, 10–11 = Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch* (Berlin, 1886), 17, 24.

² Kees, *Götterglaube*, 316–22.

³ CCG 563, Kees, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 67–8. Cf. Pyr. 280a.

⁴ Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1929), 29–30.

⁵ Faulkner, ‘Coffin Texts Spell 313’, *JEA* 58 (1972), 91–4.

⁶ See Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen*

Opferformel (Glückstadt, 1968), Index, s.v. ‘*sh^w*’.

⁷ Published in Montet, *La Nécropole royale de Tanis*, ii (Paris, 1951), pl. 41.

⁸ pBM 10599, 8, Caminos, ‘A Prayer to Osiris’, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 20–4.

⁹ Latest discussion in Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1975), 41–8.

¹⁰ Assmann, op. cit., 44 nn. 155–6.

autogeneration', the 'permanent, stable, element of life'.¹ The relation between *bꜣ* and *ꜣh* is explained by her as follows: '*ꜣh* est un état d'être qui peut être virtuel ou manifeste et le *ꜣh* manifesté se présenterait comme *bꜣ*, forme perceptible, susceptible d'agir et de se mouvoir'.² Osiris is the body permanently resting in the Duat, apparently dead, but endowed with the potential of life (*ꜣh dt*). When *Rē* and Osiris unite, Osiris is resurrected as *Rē*, his visible manifestation, returning eternally (*bꜣ nhꜣ*).

(w) *wdꜣ-mdwt hrt-ntr*: this is often said of the sun god entering the Duat, see Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 82-4, 144-6. By speaking words of justice *Rē*/Osiris establishes order, a precondition of life, in the chaos prevalent in the Netherworld.

(x) *sꜣh nfr dꜣ hrt*: during the night Orion, the most brilliant constellation in the southern sky, is visible proof of the rejuvenated Osiris. Orion is already identified with Osiris in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts.³ In Late Period funerary texts in particular Osiris is often called 'Orion in the womb of Nut'.⁴ Texts on Memphite *djed*-pillars call him 'Osiris-Onnophris, great god in heaven, divine falcon, ruler of everlastingness, beautiful Orion in the southern sky',⁵ or they address Osiris in this manner: 'Hail to you in your image of heaven, in your great manifestation of Phoenix, you approach as Orion (*[sꜣh].k m sꜣh*), while [your followers] are sailing as stars in the southern sky. Your sister Isis is as Sothis beside you as [your] protection [in] the Bark of Flesh, and your son Horus is the helmsman. The Sea of Knives has

abundance of offerings'.⁶ Just like the moon, Orion as the bringer of light in the darkness supports heaven: 'He (Osiris) shines in heaven as Orion, his followers are the unwearying stars. When he supports the sky they rejoice. He who is carrying her Lord is among them jubilating(?)'.⁷

(y) *imntt*: could be the end of a phrase such as *dꜣ tp.f* (or *hr.f*) *m imntt*, 'who shows himself in the West', cf. pCarlsberg I, col. 5, 12-20.

(z) *wrš bkꜣw...sdr msꜣw*: this portion reverses a theme frequent in sun hymns and related texts: *wrš msꜣw...sdr iwr in mwt.f*, 'who is born by day...and carried in pregnancy by his mother during the night'.⁸ The meanings given by *Wb.* i, 481 for *bkꜣ* are, 'be pregnant', 'become pregnant', and in Late Period texts, 'make pregnant'. Here the subject of *bkꜣ* is the child, not the mother, and it may therefore mean 'be conceived', or 'be carried in the womb' here. The latter meaning is also attested for *iwr*, 'be pregnant', 'conceive', refer Schott, *RdE* 17 (1965), 85 n. 1, followed by Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 175(5). Cf. the sun hymn from the tomb of Kheruef: *sdr kꜣw m hrt-hrw ḥd-tꜣ rn[p.f]*, 'who is carried in the womb during the night, day after day, being rejuvenated at daybreak'.⁹ For the birth of Orion see *CT* iii, 263a-e: 'I am Orion who approaches (*sꜣh*) his Two Lands, sailing ahead of the stars of heaven in the womb of my mother Nut. She has conceived (*iwr*) me at her will, and will give birth to me at her desire'.

(aa) [*w*]šꜣw: 'profound darkness', i.e. the darkness of the Duat. The term refers to the period around midnight,¹⁰ but may also be used as a

¹ Englund, *Akh, une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Uppsala, 1978), 211.

² Englund, op. cit., 123.

³ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 556-7; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 180-2; Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, 31-2.

⁴ de Meulenaere, *CdE* 48 (1973), 50 n.(k); also Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, i (Brussels, 1970), 31, 36-7.

⁵ *Djed*-pillar of Ptahmose, Leiden AP 51c; Boeser, op. cit., iv, pl. 28, 4c3; also on 4d3: *sꜣh špsy m pt rsyt*.

⁶ *Djed*-pillar of Iurokhy, Cairo JdE 65061; Gauthier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 81-4; also Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, iii:6

(Oxford, 1980), 191, 16-192, 2.

⁷ Raven, 'Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues'. *OMRO* 59-60 (1978-9), 279-80. For the difficult end of the text, op. cit., 277: perhaps *hry-nb.s*, 'he who is carrying her lord' signifies Osiris lifting up *Rē*, 'her lord' meaning *Rē* as lord of heaven.

⁸ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 113, 118-20.

⁹ Chicago University Oriental Institute, Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef* (Chicago, 1980), pl. 7, col. 12, cf. p. 30.

¹⁰ 'The hours five to eight inclusive', according to Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, i (Providence and London, 1960), 64.

synonym of *d3t*.¹ The latter may also be the meaning here, since it is the *birth* of Orion which is situated *m wšw* in our text, unless *wšw* is a more general term for 'night' here.

(bb) Read as [...w-] *ph(r)*, *st3.[t]w n.f [hrw]* *n[š...]*. Probably this line forms part of the introduction to Horemheb's presentation of himself before Osiris upon his arrival in the realm of the dead (note the use of the first person singular in the following lines). Cf. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 76.

(cc) *hwi.š 3(t)*: see Book of the Dead of Ani, Sheet 1, l. 14, where this phrase occurs in the Introductory Hymn of Rē. The ass is a symbol of chaos and evil, connected both with Seth as the enemy of Osiris and with Apophis as the enemy of Rē, threatening the sun boat, cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 171–2, and the scenes in the Memphite tomb of Horem. Probably not much weight should be attached to the feminine ending of *3t* here (Ani writes *3w*), though Pyr. 523 speaks of beating a she-ass.

(dd) \equiv : in the translation I have connected this sign with Fragment B, reading *phr[.š] m-s3 sm3[yt.f]*, 'I chase his gang', cf. *Wb.* i, 546, 17. If this hypothesis is correct Fragment B belongs to the upper end of the wall.³

(ee) The verb at the beginning is *nš*, 'drive away', *Wb.* ii, 201, 4ff.

(ff) The group which looks like $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ is perhaps to be read as $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, *nty hr gs[f]*, the $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ being a distorted form of $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$. 'He who is upon [his] side' is a reference to Osiris.

(gg) The damaged word at the beginning reads $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ *sbi*, 'rebel'. The determinative O (N33 in Gardiner's Sign-list) is also found after *hftyw*, 'enemies', in Fragment A, l. 3.

(hh) $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$: an early example of this writing of

šs3, 'be skilled'. Normally the construction of *šs3 m k3t*, *Wb.* iv, 543, 12. The next group, badly damaged, is *rhs*, 'slaughter'. The same arrangement of the signs (with *s* placed before *h*) is found on a relief from the tomb of Horem, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, i:7–8 (1975), 309, 16.

(ii) *hbt*: 'place of execution', 'slaughtering-place', see Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825* (Brussels, 1965), 157–8, 162, and id., *RdE* 16 (1964), 19–23, for a representation of the ass-headed Seth imprisoned in the *hbt* of Sakhmet. It is often located in the East, where the defeat of the enemies of Rē and Osiris enables Rē to arise anew in the horizon, just as it enables Horus to ascend the throne of Osiris.

(jj) *wn w3t imyt h3ty.f: wn w3t* 'open up the way', i.e. make it accessible, is recorded in *Wb.* i, 312, 2. I have not encountered the expression with *h3ty*⁴ in any other source. For the sense of the passage one may compare it with an extract in the Book of the Dead, Chapter 9, where the deceased says: 'O Ram, great of majesty..., I have come to see my father Osiris. Hacked out (*šp*, var. *hsk*) is the heart of Seth who harmed my father Osiris, opened up for me are all the ways in heaven and upon earth (*wn n.š w3t nbt imyt pt imyt t3*),⁵ for I am the beloved son of his father Osiris'. Cutting out the heart of Seth means preparing the way for the resurrection of Osiris as Horus.

(kk) *Wpst*: 'She who burns', one of the many names of the fire-spitting uraeus.⁶

(ll) The hymn ends with the proclamation of the triumph of Horus, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 241–2.

¹ Hornung, 'Lexikalische Studien'. *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 108–9; id., *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, ii (Basel and Geneva, 1976), 147 n. 517.

² PM iii², pt. 2, 665; cf. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, i:7–8 (1975), 316b, c.

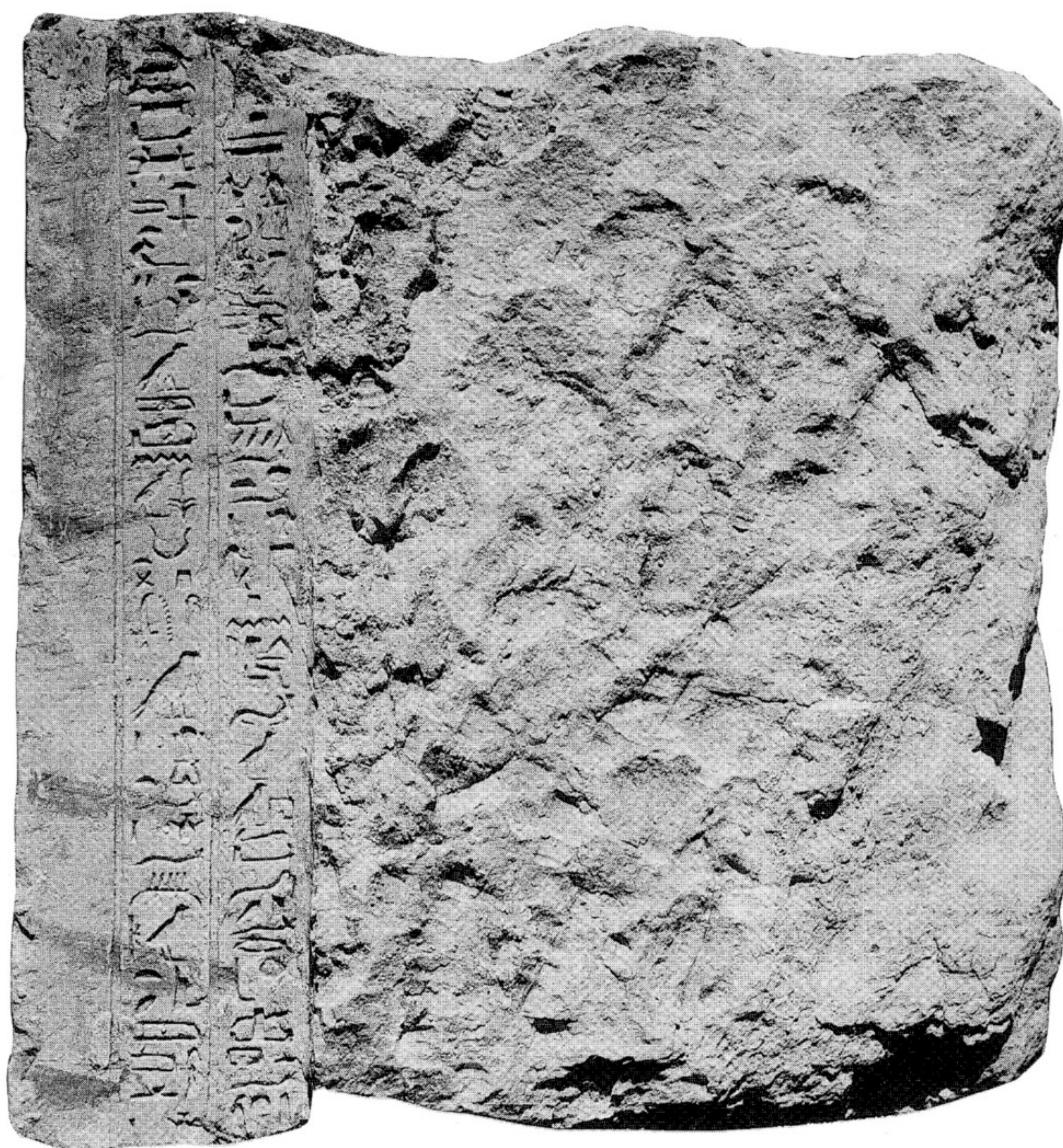
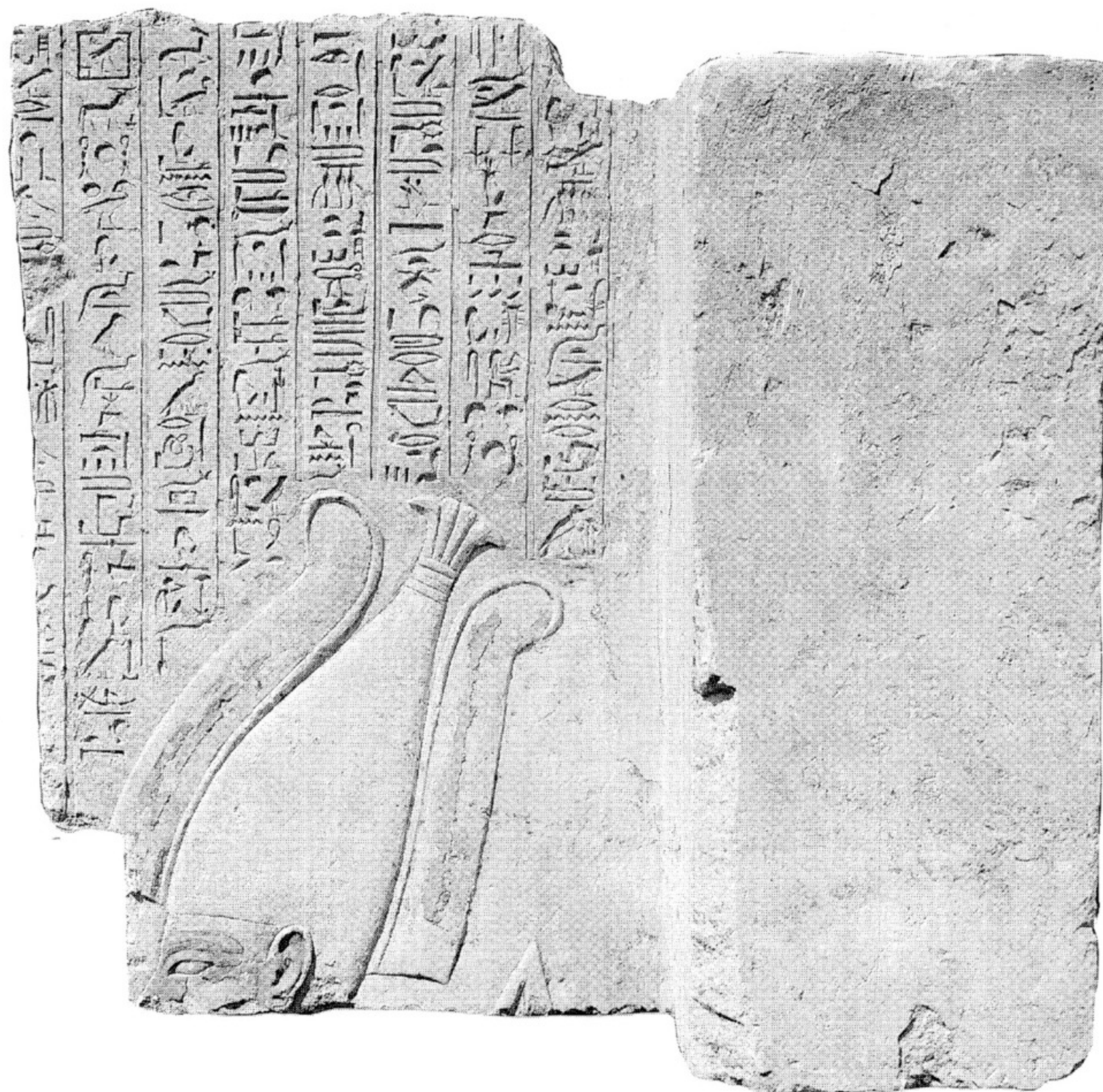
³ The rest of Fragment B is too much damaged to yield any sense. In the first line *spr*, 'arrive', would suit the context of the

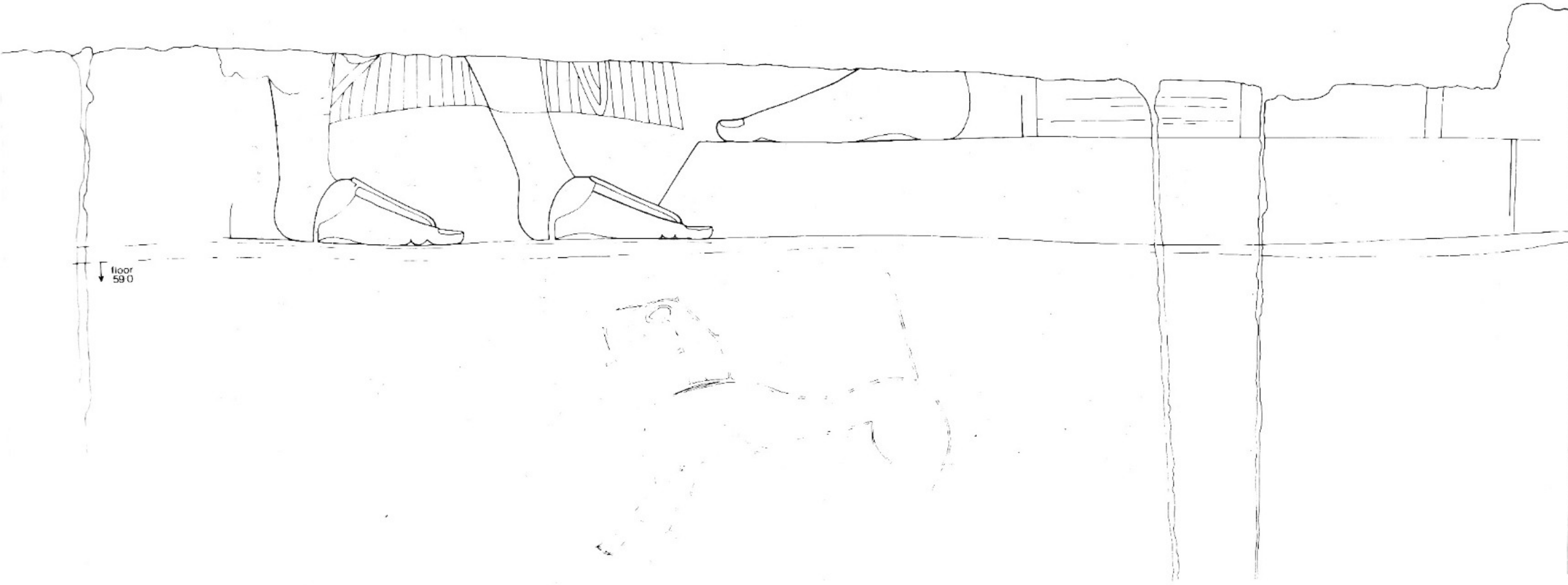
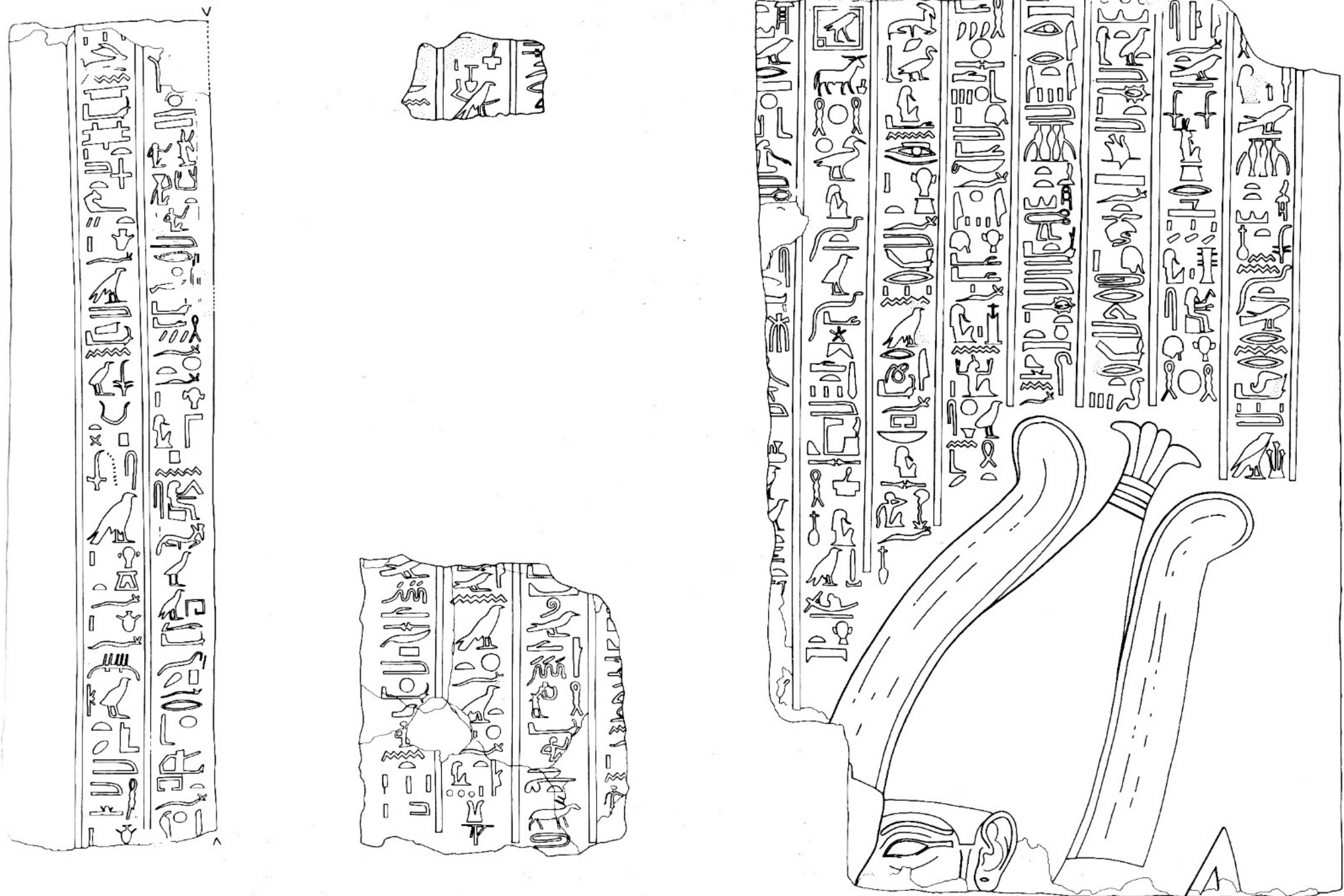
first line of Fragment A.

⁴ *h3ty*, not *ib*, is the usual term for 'heart' in Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom butchery scenes and related texts, cf. Piankoff, *Le "cœur" dans les textes égyptiens* (Paris, 1930), 8–10.

⁵ Cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 206–7.

⁶ On the goddess Wepset see van Dijk, in *LdÄ* vi, cols. 1218–20.





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