

HIS GOOD NAME

Essays on Identity and Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt in Honor of Ronald J. Leprohon

Eds. Christina Geisen, Jean Li, Steven Shubert, and Kei Yamamoto

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MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT

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Ronald J. Leprohon with his son Thomas in 2016. Photo courtesy of Barbara Ibronyi.

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Ronald Jacques Leprohon: An Appreciation for His Contributions to Egyptology

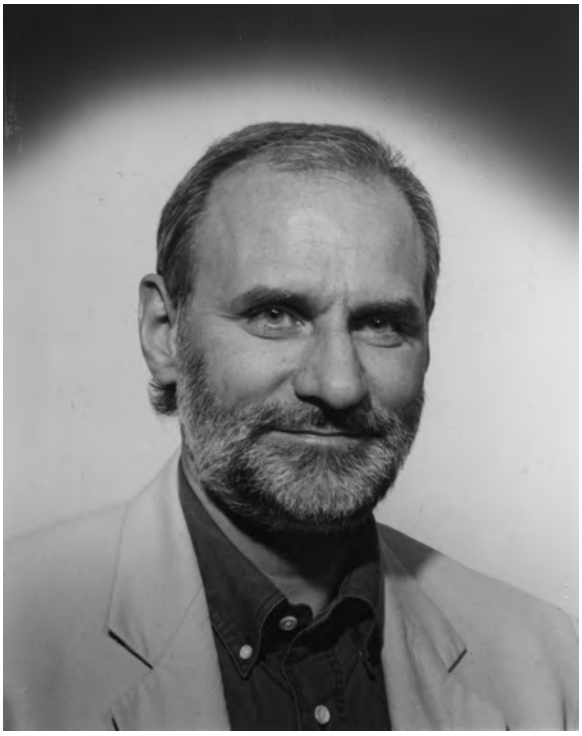

Figure 1. As the Chair of the Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto, 1989. Photo courtesy of Barbara Ibronyi.

Ron has spent most of his career with the University of Toronto and has been an indispensable part of Toronto's Egyptological community for almost fifty years. His thirty-five years of official service as an employee of the University were celebrated in September 2018. His legacy is to have touched the lives of countless members of the Egyptological community in a positive manner with respect and kindness. This volume is presented as a tribute and celebration of Ron's time and commitment over many years, contributing his counsel, his wisdom, his Egyptological knowledge and understanding to a myriad of individuals in the University and in the wider community. We have all benefited from having known and worked with Ron and want to express our appreciation for a long and fruitful contribution to our community with these essays.

Within Egyptology Ron is known as an expert on the Middle Kingdom and for his interest in Egyptian names, both royal and private, and the epithets attached to them. He published *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary* in 2013 in the Writings from the Ancient World series produced by the Society of Biblical Literature. It is touchingly dedicated to his father Bernard D. Leprohon and sister Diane O. Leprohon, who passed away within a month of each other in 2012. Ron's roots are in Montreal, where he was born on 15 June 1950. He grew up with a large extend-

ed family in Quebec, speaking both his father's native French and mother's native English. He remembers his father taking him to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and being fascinated by the Greek vases there. He got his first taste of teaching in Grade 4, when his overwhelmed public school teacher had him teach the English lessons. Shortly thereafter he transferred to Collège Mont-St-Louis, where he completed the *cours classique* in 1967, with an emphasis on French, Latin, and History.



Figure 2. Unpacking the objects for the exhibition, *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, in Toronto, 1979. Photo courtesy of Barbara Ibronyi.

Ron switched instructional language when he enrolled in Loyola College in Montreal for his bachelor's degree. His focus there was history and his interests eventually led him to the ancient world. While in high school he taught himself to play guitar by watching musicians, and he played in a rock and roll group and a band at his church. Upon graduation, Ron had the difficult choice of deciding to continue with his music by going out on the road in a folk duo, or attending the University of Chicago to study Egyptology. Needless to say, Egyptology won. His course in life was set, though his love of music and playing the guitar has continued throughout Ron's life.

After a year in Chicago, Ron returned to Canada to continue his graduate studies at the University of Toronto, receiving his MA degree in 1973. While a graduate student, he worked as a research assistant at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), and for the Akhenaten Temple Project, including fieldwork in Egypt in 1976. After the season he traveled to Kenya and Sudan and had the dubious honor of being one of the last tourists to Eritrea before the border was closed. After hearing Don Redford decry the lack of historical sources from the reign of Amenemhet III of the Twelfth Dynasty, Ron took up the challenge and received his PhD in 1980 for a thesis on the reign of this king. While finishing up his thesis in 1978–1979, Ron worked as the Education Officer for the traveling exhibition *Treasures of Tutankhamun* at the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO). His guides to the exhibit were published by the AGO in both English and French (*The World of Tutankhamun* and *Toutankhamon et l'Egypte*, 1979). Ron's many public lectures and media experiences for the exhibition honed his eventual teaching style.

Upon graduation, Ron became a postdoctoral fellow at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where he worked on the collection of ancient Egyptian stelae there. This work was published in two fascicles of the MFA Boston *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* (CAA) in 1985 and 1991. In the middle of his fellowship, Ron accepted a position as the director of the newly established Canadian Institute of Egypt (CIE) in Cairo and spent two years (1981–1983) in Egypt. In 1982 he served as epigrapher with the Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP) and continued his research on ancient Egyptian stelae, publishing his results in the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (*JSSEA*) in 1983 and 1986. In 1982 Joseph P. Clarke (Jo O'Cleirigh) was painting an egg tempera mural at the Canadian Institute in Maadi reproducing scenes from the Temple of Osiris Heqa-Djet in Karnak. Ron felt he was taking the project entirely too seriously, and suggested that he include some humor in it. Hence the emblems of Cornwall (the chough bird and black and white flag of St. Piran) were added to an Egyptian nome standard held by Ma Pud (a fantasy character from Jo's plasticine village), who raised one hand with the peace sign.

After two years in Egypt, Ron accepted a position of Assistant Professor in the Department of Near Eastern Studies (NES) at the University of Toronto in 1983 and his teaching career began in earnest. Already as a graduate student



Figure 3. Receiving the Faculty of Arts & Science Outstanding Teaching Award, 2004. Photo courtesy of Barbara Ibronyi.

from 1976–1980 Ron had gained experience teaching Egyptology in Toronto. Ron taught at all university levels, from first year university to PhD student. For a number of years, he instructed NMC 101 ("Land of the Pharaohs"), which is the basic introductory course on Egyptology that also emphasized the skills of critical analysis and writing. Another popular course of Ron's was NMC 382Y ("Ancient Egyptian Religion"), which at some point gained the prefix "Mummies, Myth and Magic." For this course Ron assembled a reader of ancient Egyptian texts so that students dealt directly with primary sources to form their own opinions rather than relying on the secondary literature. As well, Ron has regularly taught NML 340Y ("Intermediate Egyptian"), in which students who have learned the basics of ancient Egyptian grammar polish their skills on real Egyptian texts.

Ron is noted for the lively manner of his teaching and lecturing. Some have described his image-heavy lectures as "stop motion animation." Ron himself often said the inspirations for his presentation style were the comedian Lenny Bruce and his work with TVOntario during the Tutankhamun exhibition. Ron not only worked hard on the material he presented, but practiced his delivery just as any performer would. Many students benefited not only from Ron's in-class presentations, but his counseling outside of class as well. For example, those struggling with research and writing would be told something to the effect: "Collect all the data in front of you, grab a cup of coffee, and keep staring at it. If there is a pattern to be found, sooner or later you will find it. If you have stared for a while and still don't find a pattern, well, there probably isn't any! Time to change your topic." In 2004 Ron received the Outstanding Teaching Award, from the University of Toronto's Faculty of Arts and Science.

Ron also contributed his formidable administrative skills to the University and the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA). He was made associate professor in 1988 and full professor in 1994. He was very much involved with the creation of the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations (NMC) in 1996, merging the previously separate departments of Near Eastern Studies (NES) and Middle East and Islamic Studies (MEI). Ron was graduate coordinator and Department Chair of NES before the amalgamations and served two years as associate chair of the new NMC Department. For ten years (1983–1992) Ron served as a trustee of the SSEA. After 1993 he has been an indispensable help and support of the Toronto Chapter of the Society, including acting as master-of-ceremonies at a number of the annual symposia.



Figure 4. On a train on the way to Beeton with Barbara and Thomas, 2001. Photo courtesy of Barbara Ibronyi.

Many in Toronto will remember with fondness Ron's lectures for the SSEA; one particular favorite was published as "'Love Your Wife with All Your Heart'" (Ptahhotep 21): The Concept of Family in Ancient Egyptian Literature," *KMT* 10.2 (1999), 51–55. Finally mention

should be made of Ron's immediate family. He married Carol Elizabeth Greenwood in 1974; they divorced amicably in 1984. He married Barbara Elizabeth Ibronyi in 1986. Their son Thomas is a dancer with the National Ballet of Canada.

Ronald J. Leprohon's most notable contributions to the field of Egyptology have been in: (1) his research on the Middle Kingdom, including Egypt's relations with Nubia, on Egyptian stelae, and in the development of the Egyptian royal titulary; (2) his administrative and service work at the University of Toronto and with the SSEA; and (3) his teaching and mentoring of students at the University of Toronto. Students were frequently infected by Ron's love of learning. Any student fortunate enough to have Ron read an essay would receive a manuscript annotated with detailed suggestions and corrections. One of Ron's most memorable phrases is "belt and suspenders," which refers to the typically Egyptian approach to multiple concepts that may seem redundant or even contradictory to the modern thinking. It was affectionately noted that Ron wore both belt and suspenders at the wedding of two of his former students. As Ron himself has noted, it is his students that he considers his greatest legacy.

Publication List of Ronald J. Leprohon

1975
"The Wages of the Eloquent Peasant." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12: 97–98.

1976
"East Karnak 1976: A Report." *Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 6.4: 5–6.

1978
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1979
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1980
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1985
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2019

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"Historical Texts." In *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptology*, ed. Ian Shaw and Elizabeth Bloxam. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"Of Cubits and Clauses: Some Remarks on the Stela of Tjetji (British Museum EA 614)." *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 20 (= *Middle Kingdom Egypt: New Discoveries*).

Foreword: Patterns of Identity and Self-Presentation

The wish to affiliate with a specific cultural, social, or ethnical group is as important today as it was in past societies, such as that of the ancient Egyptians. The same significance applies to the self-presentation of an individual within such a group. Although it is inevitable that we perceive other cultures through the lens of our own time, place, and value systems, we can certainly try to look beyond these limitations. The question of how the ancient Egyptians saw themselves and how individuals tried to establish and thus present themselves in this society are central pieces of the puzzle of how we interpret this ancient culture. In this regard, the work of Ronald J. Leprohon has made significant contributions to our understanding of the ancient Egyptians, their sense of identity, and their moral values. Leprohon has always emphasized a close look at the sources and has paid particular attention to how the ancient Egyptians presented themselves in terms of their names and their epithets and titles. Likewise, Leprohon has focused on how Egyptians used rhetoric, visual, and material culture as means to express their identities in a complex culture governed by explicit protocols of expression and implicit rules of behavior.

The contributions by Leprohon's friends, colleagues, and students reflect the trajectory of his scholarship and his impact as teacher and mentor. The following contributions tackle the ambiguous yet fascinating subject of identity from many different angles: the ways in which social and personal identities are constructed and maintained; and the manipulations of culture by individuals to reflect real or aspirational identities and the methods modern scholars employ in their attempt to say something about ancient persons.

Identity and personhood are complex ideas that may have been quite different in the ancient past. Often, our contemporary inclination is to think of ourselves as individuals who operate with agency and intent, yet our actions, and consequently our various identities and personhood, are formed and directed as much by consciously and unconsciously inculcated social rules and norms as by freewill. Identity and personhood are relationally constructed, socially constrained,[1] and for Egyptologists not easily accessed through the rather abundant, yet piecemeal evidence we have at our disposal. Egyptologists can name people, create genealogies, and describe the activities and responsibilities of individuals, but also can delineate the distinctive ancient Egyptian worldview and its relationship to other contemporaneous cultures. For example, the most important figure in Egyptian society was that of the king, whose main duty was to uphold *maʿat*, the ancient Egyptian world order and social values, and to expel chaos, the destructive force that stood in opposition to the ancient Egyptian belief system and to the society that maintained it. Likewise, every ancient Egyptian had to lead a life according to *maʿat* in order to be able to reach the never-ending afterlife. And it is especially, but not exclusively, through texts and iconography on monuments and funerary goods that the ancient Egyptians expressed their success in upholding *maʿat*. This evidence gives scholars insight into the self-presentation of individuals on the one hand, but also into the identity of the ancient Egyptian society in general.

The studies in this volume comprise a host of evidence, methodologies, and approaches to understanding identity. They generally fall into two major categories: studies that offer insight into an ancient Egyptian individual, refining our picture of a past that is too often populated by anonymity, and highlighting personal agency of actors, and studies that contribute to the trajectory of cultural development in Egypt among different social groups.

1. Oliver J. T. Harris and Craig Cipolla, *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium* (London: Routledge, 2017), 53.

Within these two major subtopics of identity and self-presentation, the studies in this volume fall into a number of approaches and themes: The Afterlife, Gender, Literature and Text, Material Culture, The Natural World, and The Royal Name. While we have attempted to group the contributions into relatively simple categories, it is important to emphasize that the multifocal nature of all the studies in this volume reflects the complexities and intersectionality of patterns of identity and self-presentation in ancient Egyptian society.

Building on Leprohon's work, the following collection of essays presents an overview of the current state of our understanding on patterns of identity and self-presentation in ancient Egypt. The contributions in this volume reflect the wide-ranging approaches and methodologies used to explore the issues of identity and self-representation, subjects/themes that often appear in Leprohon's scholarship. The contributors range from his colleagues to most recent protégés, and are representative of his impact and influence on the field of Egyptology.

Christina Geisen
Jean Li
Steven B. Shubert
Kei Yamamoto

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Special thanks are due to Barbara Ibronyi for sharing Ronald J. Leprohon's early life stories and family photographs.

While producing this book, the four coeditors faced various personal challenges, ranging from changing jobs and moving to new cities to dealing with serious health issues and coping with loss in family. We sincerely thank our families and friends, without whose love and support we could not have completed the project.

Abbreviations

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AAWL	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse
AAWWien	*Anzeiger der Oesterreichischen Akademie de Wissenshaften, Wien*
ACES	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
Antiquity	*Antiquity. A Quartery Review of World Archaeology*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARA	*Annual Review of Anthropology*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*
ASAESup	Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte Supplements
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen/ Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
BACE	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BARCE	*Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt*
BD	Book of the Dead
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*
BiAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BiEg	Bibliothèque égyptologique
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*
BMA	*Brooklyn Museum Annual*
BMH	*Bulletin du musée hongrois des beaux-arts*
BMMA	*Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BollSer	Bollingen Series
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahKarn	*Cahiers de Karnak*
CCE	*Cahiers de la Céramique Egyptienne*
CdE	*Chronique d'Égypte*. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. Brussels, 1925–.
CHANE	Culture & History of the Ancient Near East
CNIP	The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Publications
CRIPEL	*Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille*

CT	Coffin Texts
DemStud	Demotische Studien
EA	*Egyptian Archaeology*
EES OP	Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publication
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen. Reihe 4, Ägypten
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
HdO	Handbook der Orientalistik
HES	Harvard Egyptological Studies
HSCL	Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature
IBAES	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JAEI	*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
JAMA	*Journal of American Medical Association*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JCoptS	*Journal of Coptic Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH	*Journal of Egyptian History*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch*. Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JLA	*Journal of Late Antiquity*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAI	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
KÄT	Kleine ägyptische Texte.
KRI	Kitchen, Kenneth A., *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical VI*. Monumenta Hannah Sheen dedicata 3. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
KV	Valley of the Kings
LÄ	Helck, Wolfgang, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.
LAAA	*(Liverpool) Annals of Archaeology and Anthrolopogy*
LES	Late Egyptian Stories
LGG	Leitz, Christian et al., eds., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. 8 volumes. OLA 110–16 and 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
LingAeg	*Lingua Aegyptia*
LingAegSM	Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MEES	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire

MKS	Middle Kingdom Studies
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MonAeg	Monumenta Ægyptiaca
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NINO	Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
NSSEA	*Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OEAE	*Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. Vol. 3. Edited by Donald B. Redford. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OM	Orientalia Monspeliensia
Or	*Orientalia*
PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
PM I[1]	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, vol. I: *The Theban Necropolis. Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. Oxford : Griffith Institute/Ashmolean Museum Oxford, 1960.
PM III[2] fasc. 2	Porter, Bertha and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. III. Memphis. Part 2. Saqqara to Dahshur. Fascicle 2 (III[2]. 575–776)*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1979.
PMMA	Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition
PT	Pyramid Texts
RdE	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RITA	Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations VI. Ramesses IV to XI, and Contemporaries*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
RitesEg	Rites égyptiens
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	*Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
SAK Beihefte	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SAWH	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SCR	Studies in Comparative Religion
SEANE	Studies in Egyptology and the Ancient Near East
ShS	Shipwrecked Sailor
SiE	Studies in Egyptology
StudAeg	Studia Aegyptiaca
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
TT	Theban Tomb
TTS	Theban Tombs Series
UEE	Wendrich, Willeke, ed. *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Online: http://www.uee.ucla.edu.
Urk	Sethe, Kurt, and Hans Wolfgang Helck, eds. *Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums*. 8 vols. Leipzig and Berlin, 1903–1961.
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology

VA	*Varia Aegyptiaca*
WAW	SBL Writings from the Ancient World
Wb	Erman, A., and H. Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. plus 5 vols. Berlin: Belegstellen, 1926–1963.
WSC	Wisconsin Studies in Classics
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*

AFTERLIFE

Panehsy's Afterlife and the Underworld of TT16

Suzanne Onstine

Ron Leprohon was my professor and I hope now I can call him a friend and colleague. His encouragement meant the world to me as a young Egyptologist and he is probably the best hugger in Egyptology. It is with pleasure I offer this work on BD spell 146 and the gate guardians, a subject we discussed many times when I was a student, and which ultimately inspired me to publish my first article on the Book of Caverns a generation ago.[1]

Theban tomb 16 in the necropolis of New Kingdom officials was originally built for a couple, Panehsy and Tarenu, who lived during the reign of Ramesses II (ca. 1250 BCE).[2] Panehsy was a priest of Amenhotep I of the forecourt, as well as the overseer of chanters of the offering table of Amun. Tarenu was a chantress of Amun. The tomb is small, but beautifully painted. It consists of a decorated T-shaped offering chapel from which a long corridor leads to the shallow, unfinished burial shaft.

The broad and long halls are decorated with various motifs typical of the Ramesside period, including scenes of daily life and humor, the funeral and funerary motifs, offerings, as well as two unique scenes that contain two different temples. The tomb was also used for secondary burials between the Third Intermediate period and the Greco-Roman period. We estimate that some 100 to 150 secondary burials originally lay here, but were completely looted and in a very bad state when the University of Memphis began formal documentation work in 2008. The human remains and their analysis have been the subject of previously published studies and will not be dealt with here.[3] Instead, I will focus on the funerary texts and their accompanying imagery that appear on walls designated 1 and 2 of the Porter & Moss plan and in figure 1.[4]

The Ramesside tomb served many functions, including providing a place for dead bodies, displaying the names of the dead for community remembrance, providing a location for specific religious rituals, and also serving as a place of interface with the spiritual realm.[5] The last two functions are most relevant to this discussion of the funerary texts and related images, as the texts discussed here were part of a larger performance of rituals happening in the real world for Panehsy in addition to the inscribed spells of his tomb intended for magical use in the spirit world.

1. "The Relationship between Re and Osiris in the Book of Caverns," *JSSEA* 25 (1995): 66–77.

2. PM I[1], 28–29; *KRI* III, 396–399; Marcelle Baud and Etienne Drioton, "Le Tombeau de Panehsy," in *Tombes Thébaines: Nécropole de Dira' Abu'n-Naga*, ed. George Foucart, MIFAO 57.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1932). The University of Memphis has published several studies on the tomb: Suzanne Onstine et al., "Prosthesis for the Afterlife: Mummified Individuals Found in the Ramesside Tomb of Panehsy, TT 16, Luxor Egypt," *JARCE* 50 (2014): 127–46; Suzanne Onstine, "A Preliminary Report on the Clearance of Theban Tomb 16 in Dra abu el Naga at Thebes," in *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes*, ed. Pearce Paul Creasman, Wilkinson Egyptology Series 1 (Tucson: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, 2013), 227–40; Suzanne Onstine, "A Brief Report on the University of Memphis Mission to Theban Tomb 16 in Dra abu el-Naga," *NSSEA* (2012); Suzanne Onstine "University of Memphis Mission to Theban Tomb 16: The Life of Panehsy, Chanter and Priest," *JARCE* 47 (2011): 231–36.

3. See n. 1 for specific articles published by the University of Memphis mission.

4. PM I[1], 20.

5. Jan Assmann, "The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space," in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick (London: British Museum Press, 2003), 46–52.

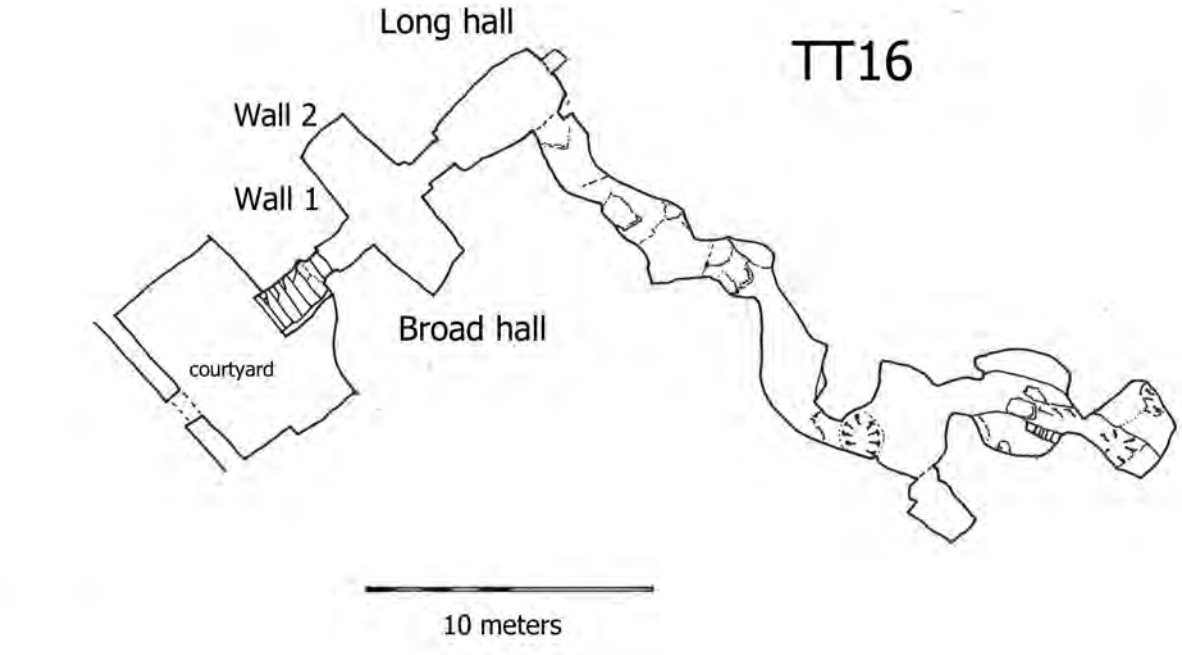

Figure 1. Plan of TT16. Drawing prepared by Peter Robinson.

The most obvious and probably important funerary text in the tomb consists of parts of BD spell 146 generally entitled "beginning of the secret portals of the house of Osiris in the Field of Rushes."[6] While this rubric is not present in the tomb, there is enough information from the extant scenes to determine that spell 146 was intended with these three vignettes of gates with guardians.[7] The three gates are then followed by two scenes of Ennead gods in shrines approached by the deceased couple who make offerings. Underneath these scenes is a register portraying the funeral procession and rites at the tomb. Together these two walls are focused on purely funerary images and texts. The rest of the tomb contains a mixture of daily life scenes and the worship of various gods, including Amenhotep I, with whom Panehsy was associated as a priest, and Ahmose-Nefertari.

Book of the Dead spells are more commonly known from papyri, but they are also occasionally used in private tomb decoration in the New Kingdom.[8] Their inclusion in tomb decoration heightens our awareness of the importance of access to the ancient Egyptians.[9] This theme is one that appears with regularity in the New Kingdom and is made very clear through the visual and textual metaphors of guardians and gates, both of which have secret names that must be known by the deceased to continue on the journey to the Fields of Iaru, or the completion of the afterlife

6. PM I[1], 28 incorrectly identifies the motifs as belonging to the Book of Gates. See, e.g., Thomas George Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms*, SAOC 37 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1974), 133–37 for a commonly used translation of the complete version of BD, including the rubrics.

7. Foucart, Baud, and Drioton, "Tombeau de Panehsy," 14, made comparisons of the extant texts with similar vignettes and identified them as coming from BD 146.

8. A discussion of the phenomenon can be found in several places including Rita Lucarelli, "The Guardian-Demons of the Book of the Dead," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15 (2010): 85–102; Petra Barthelmess, *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit*, SAGA 2 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1992), 175–81; Mohamed Salah, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches: Texte und Vignetten*, AV 46 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1984).

9. Ronald J. Leprohon, "Gatekeepers of This and the Other World," *JSSEA* 24 (1994): 77–91.

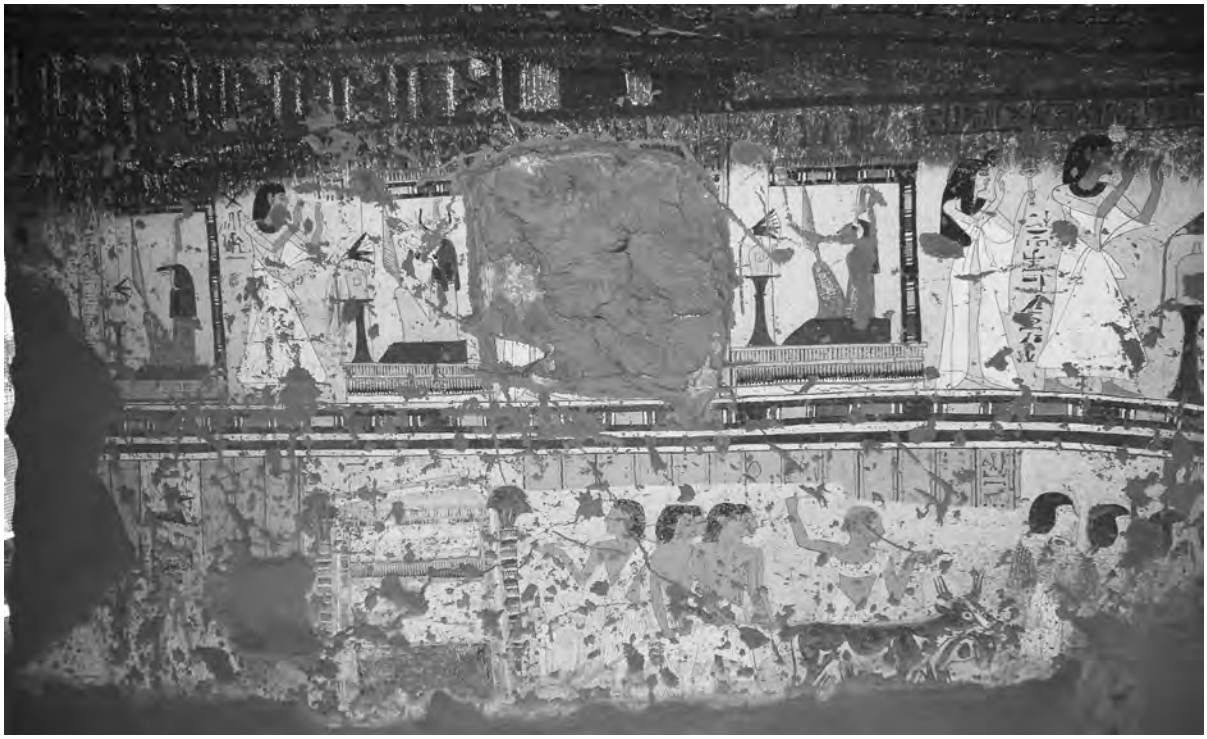

Figure 2. Wall 1 depicting BD 146, portals 5, 6, and 7 with the funeral procession below. Photograph by Suzanne Onstine.

transformation. The inclusion of parts of spell 146 in the decorative programs of Theban private tombs points to its importance in funerary ideology.[10]

The BD scenes are on the upper register of the wall just inside the door to the left of the entrance and the scenes with the Ennead wrap around to the adjacent wall.[11] They contain three episodes from this spell; the adoration of gates five, six, and seven. Although we refer to these as portals or gates, the representation is actually of a decorated shrine, or naos, in which the guardian sits. The golden shrine frame is delineated with greenish bands and decorated with alternating blocks of black, red, white, and gold color. At the base it is decorated with a frieze resembling a leaf or petal garland. The divine space within is indicated by a golden background, setting it apart from the grayish neutral background around it. In fact, the same golden color is used for the text bands as well as the other shrines with deities in them throughout the tomb, visually highlighting the special status of the beings and words within.[12] The pose of the guardians is that of seated humans (similar to Gardiner's A40 with undifferentiated legs). They wield feather-shaped knives, placed at the bended knee, and they each wear a *maat* feather on their heads. Each guardian

10. Foy Scalf, *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 39 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017), 307. Some fifty-nine tombs include spell 146: see Jessica Johnson, "Intertwined Demons: The Relationship between Gate Guardians and the Demon Ammit in Nineteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead as Expressed through Synechdoche" (MA thesis, University of Memphis, 2016), 25.

11. PM I^{1}, 28 (I).

12. Gold/yellow is a special color associated with solar qualities, but also the flesh of the gods. Color symbolism and its use here as a way to set apart things related to the divine world is something I will explore in more detail in the tomb's final publication, currently in preparation. See Richard Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994), 104–25 for a brief overview of color symbolism.

is fronted by an offering table upon which is an offering of a golden libation vessel topped with a water lily stem.[13] Panehsy stands before each gate, hands raised in an attitude of praise, hopefully producing the right knowledge that will let him pass through the gate and ultimately meet Osiris. In one case his wife Tarenu accompanies him before the guardian. The final tableau wrapping around to the adjacent wall depicts Tarenu and Panehsy before some members of the Ennead, implying a successful result to their trials. The gods are separated into two groups and are seated in round topped shrines (similar to Gardiner's O20); Rehorakhty, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Osiris, Nut, and Geb are the gods depicted.

The text of spell 146 is abbreviated above and around the scenes, keeping the focus on the visual elements of the placation of the guardians through offerings. This abbreviated form is common and what George Allen refers to as "inclusion by reference."[14] The spell must have been recognizable enough that the form of the guardians and the briefest of rubric could stand for the entirety of the spell. The vignettes are presented here in the order they appear in the tomb starting at the entrance and moving to the southwest on the wall toward the Ennead scene on the perpendicular wall. Smoke damage, plaster loss, and intentional damage done by looters (see below) sometimes obscure the details.

Portal 6: The scene consists of three elements; the shrine, the texts, and the figure of Panehsy. The shrine is topped with two *wadjet* eyes flanking three *nefer* signs. Within it sits a vulture-headed guardian with a red body. A band of text stands vertically between the shrine and Panhesy that reads:

sbḥ rf[15]*r sbḫt* (O16/O17) 6-*nw nbt* [*ks*] *ꜥ3t*[16] *hmhmywt nn rḫ* [...][17]
"Invocation of the 6th gate, mistress of [bowing], great of roaring [////] [by] ..."

Above Panehsy's head are three bands of text giving his titles and name: *Wsr ḥry šmꜥ wḏḥw n Ỉmn Pȝnḥsy*, "the Osiris, overseer of Chanters of the Offering Table of Amun, Panehsy." Panehsy stands with his arms raised in an attitude of praise. Only his upper body, head, and arms are preserved, although one matching fragment of plaster with his foot was found in the fill of the burial corridor. Hopefully this will be replaced during conservation efforts. The wig and style of clothing visible matches that of the other representations of him throughout the tomb (see the description for Portal 5 below).

Portal 5: The scene consists of Panehsy with upraised arms before a shrine with a gate guardian. Panehsy wears a typical Ramesside long, white, multilayered costume with a see-through upper portion and a three-rowed collar necklace. His wig is shoulder length and at the edges around the face are attempts to depict curly hair. He wears no other adornment or shoes but in all the scenes his fingernails are delineated in white. The shrine is adorned with a uraeus frieze on top and within is a cow-headed, yellow-bodied guardian. Only one section of text was intended for this vignette. Above Panehsy's head the inscription bears a brief invocation and his name and title: *sbḥ r.f sbḫt 5-nw Wsr ḥm nṯr n* (*Ỉmnḥtp*)| *n pȝ wbȝ Pȝnḥsy mȝꜥ-ḫrw*.[18]

Translation: "Invocation of the 5th gate [by] the Osiris, priest of Amenhotep of the temenos, Panehsy, justified."

13. This arrangement implies that the liquid within, probably wine, is flavored with the plant. The petals have a slightly bluish tinge, which corresponds well to the known practice of using the so-called blue lotus to flavor wine, contributing a narcotic effect to the drink. See also Ben Harer, "Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus," *JARCE* 22 (1985): 49–54.

14. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 3.

15. For the particle "(*i*)*rf*" in these invocations see Ariel Shisha-Halevy, "(*i*)*rf* in the Coffin Texts: A Functional Tableau," *JAOS* 106 (1986): 641–58. Thanks to Joshua Roberson for clarifying this point and suggesting the reference.

16. After *ꜥ3t* there are two additional arm signs (D36) that are likely just scribal errors.

17. Foucart, Baud, and Drioton ("Tombeau de Panehsy," 15) restore this section as: *sbḥ rf r sbḫt 6-nw nbt* [*ks*] *ꜥ3t hmhmt nn rḫ*[*.tw imȝḫw sw sḫg in*] *Wsr ḥry šmꜥ wḏḥw n Ỉmn Pȝnḥsy* [*mȝꜥ ḫrw m ḥtp*].

18. There is no room for additional texts, and it appears none was planned.

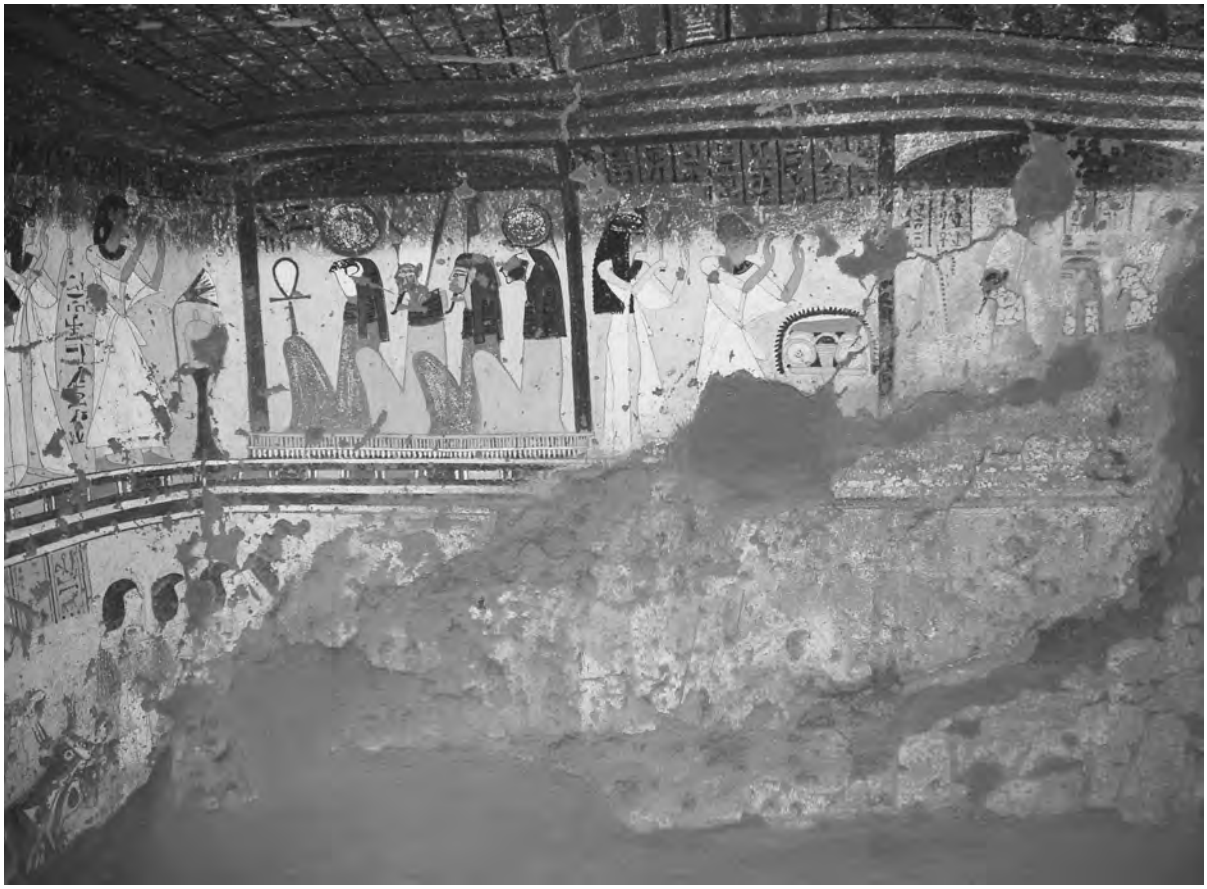

Figure 3. Wall 2 depicting members of the Ennead above, and mourning women before the opening of the mouth rites below. Photograph by Suzanne Onstine.

Portal 7: This scene is badly damaged by looting. Unfortunately, the section of wall depicting Panehsy and Tarenu in front of portal seven has been stolen—literally cut out of the wall by thieves in modern times.[19] Only the couple's feet remain at the bottom of the register. Enough remains to reconstruct the scene's basic elements and older published and unpublished material recorded this section of the wall.[20] Here, Paneshy and his wife, Tarenu, stand before the lion-headed, red-bodied guardian in its shrine. The guardian wears a *maat* feather and a knife, similar to the other two previously described. The shrine is topped by a frieze of *maat* feathers but is otherwise similarly decorated with multicolor bands along the frame. The text band between the gate and the now-missing couple is badly damaged and only the beginning is now preserved: *sbḥ r:f sbḫt* [*7*]*-nw*. Due to the epigraphic record made by George Foucart, Marcelle Baud, and Etienne Drioton, the rest of the inscription can be read as the epithets of the guardian for gate

19. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago photos 10296–10305 taken in 1956/1957 show the tomb and this section of wall intact. Further, SCA restoration was done at some point after the OI photos but before the looting happened. Since doors were put on the tombs in the mid-1980s our best guess is that the theft occurred in the twenty-year period of the mid-1960s to mid-1980s. See also Onstine, "Life of Panehsy," 232–33, nn. 9–12 for further discussion of the dating of the looting.

20. See the previous note as well as Foucart, Baud, Drioton, "Tombeau de Panehsy," 16–17.

seven and the names and titles of the couple over their heads: *Ỉggy ḥbs bȝgy wr iȝk(b)w in Wsr šmˁ wḏḥw n Ỉmn Pȝnḥsy* [*…šmˁyt n*] *Ỉmn tȝrnw mȝˁ ḫrw.*

Translation: Invocation of the [7th] gate, Igegy, veiler (protector) of the weary (Osiris), great of mourning, by the Osiris, chanter of the offering table of Amun, Paneshy and the chantress of Amun, Tarenu, justified.

The placement of the Book of the Dead scenes is in a register above the funeral scene, linking the ritual of the funeral with the trials of the underworld, and both events are happening under the protection of the Ennead gods. If we return to the idea of the tomb serving four primary functions, we can see clearly depicted on these two tomb walls the third function of providing a sacred space for ritual (the tomb as the terminus of the funeral) as well as the BD texts providing a spiritual interface between the real world and the afterlife, fulfilling the fourth function.

The location of this part of the decorative program is also suggestive of the idea that the guardians are not just generally protective, but they are specifically protecting an area of liminal space where this world and the afterlife collide; the entrance to the tomb is the beginning of that transitional place of transformation. These thresholds seem to hold the possibility of danger for the ancient Egyptians—the idea that something unwelcome could slip through to the realm of the blessed dead caused anxiety.[21]

The funeral scene (fig. 2, lower register) depicts an actual funeral procession and the rites associated with the funeral, which eventually conclude at the tomb with the opening of the mouth ceremony, depicted at the end of the funeral scenes (fig. 3, lower register). Near the entrance to the tomb, under Gate 6, there is a chest topped with Anubis, perhaps containing canopic vessels, carried by a group of men, clean-shaven and attired like priests. Next is a catafalque that bears the mummy on a bed that is towed by cattle and a group of men holding ropes. In front of all this is a group of mourning women, and the procession ends at the scene depicting the opening of the mouth ceremony. Unfortunately, the lower section of the wall with the final scenes of mourning women and the opening of the mouth is badly damaged and the paint is only faintly preserved, but the basic details can still be observed of a coffin standing upright with a kneeling mourner in front of it and a group of three or more men pouring libations and gesturing toward the coffin. The word *wpt* is also visible above the men in front of the coffin.

We should not think of these tableaux as separate events, just as we should not think of the different functions of the tomb as discreet goals the tomb builders hoped to achieve. The real-world activities and the spirit-world activities work together to achieve the end result, fulfilling all the functions of the tomb. During the preparations of the body and then the funeral rites happening in our world, the soul is going through its own trials in the underworld, being challenged for ritual knowledge that is hopefully being passed on to the deceased during the mummification and funeral rites and through the tomb decoration and provisioning of the tomb with ritual objects. Once the funeral rites are complete, having provided the soul with the necessary blessings and information for getting past the guardians of gates, the tomb decoration and objects magically continue the protection and regenerative force necessary for the soul to live on in the transformed blessed state. The final scene of the funeral, the opening of the mouth, is the completion of all that is done for the body in the real world. The scene above, of Panehsy and Tarenu offering before the Ennead, can be read similarly as a depiction of the final stage of the trials in which the deceased are successful and allowed into the divine realm instead of being consigned to darkness.

The purpose of including spell 146 generally is to provide the deceased with information necessary in the afterlife. It serves the purpose of facilitating communication between the underworld guardians and the newly arrived souls seeking their way to the Fields of Iaru by providing information across the liminal space of the tomb. In this world an invocation spell like 146 could have been read out by the lector priest during the actual funeral creating that ritual link between the deceased's body and his traveling soul on trial. The good outcome is ensured by the depiction of the Ennead whose presence gives legitimacy to the proceedings: Panehsy and Tarenu have been granted access to the divine presence.

21. Lucarelli, "Guardian-Demons," 86.

Once Again on Shetayt: A Reappraisal of the "Mysterious One" in the New Kingdom Netherworld Books

Silvia Zago

It is a pleasure for me to be able to contribute to this volume honoring Ronald J. Leprohon, whose numerous and wide-ranging contributions to the field of Egyptology, along with his teaching, mentoring, and advising, go well beyond what just a few words can describe. It is with gratitude, therefore, that I offer this paper on an intriguing aspect of the conceptualization of the netherworld in the New Kingdom.

The Egyptians speculated about immortality and the afterlife since the dawn of civilization, resulting in a wide array of texts, iconographical representations, and items of material culture that centered on funerary beliefs.[1] A major theme in the speculations about what was beyond human life on earth was the association of the destiny of the deceased with the eternal, cyclical course of the sun. Upon death, the deceased would enter a separate (meta)physical dimension, where it was hoped that they would be able to enjoy a new form of existence, being regenerated and reborn over and over again in eternity. The nocturnal realm in which the sun's—and the deceased's—journey was thought to take place was called Duat, a term generally translated as "netherworld." A multivalent and multifaceted domain and an arena for solar regeneration, the Duat was mostly characterized as a celestial and/or chthonic realm, and it has been variously compared to a space and time of solar-Osirian gestation through the night.[2]

The models for the renewed form of existence of the deceased were on the one hand Osiris, chthonic god of a (mainly) netherworldly hereafter, and on the other Re, symbol of a celestial destiny. The combination of these two traditions gave origin to one of the most oft-cited principles of Egyptian religion, the so-called solar-Osirian unity.[3]

1. I retain here the designation "funerary" to refer to any texts and materials pertaining to the domain of death and the associated afterlife beliefs in ancient Egypt, including those regarding the funeral and its rituals, the deceased's passage into the next world and their journey through it, and their provisioning and related cultic practices. For the dichotomy between "mortuary" and "funerary," see originally Jan Assmann, "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies," in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1990), 1:1–3 with n. 2. See the discussion and further references to the scholarly debate on this issue in Foy Scalf, review of Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, *JNES* 70 (2011): 124–26. For a mitigated view of the Egyptians' "quest for immortality" and their funerary religion, see Rune Nyord, "'Taking Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Religion Seriously': Why Would We, and How Could We?" *JAEI* 17 (2018): 73–87.

2. I have explored the issue of the characterization of the Duat in the Old and Middle Kingdoms elsewhere: Silvia Zago, "Classifying the Duat: Tracing the Conceptualization of the Afterlife between Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts," *ZÄS* 145 (2018): 205–18; "Imagining the Beyond: The Conceptualization of Duat between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms," *JARCE* 54 (2018): 203–17. On the concept of the sun's nocturnal "gestation," see in particular Nathalie Beaux, "La *douat* dans les Textes des Pyramides: espace et temps de gestation," *BIFAO* 94 (1994): 1–6. It would be impossible to list here all the various contributions on the characterization of the Duat in ancient Egyptian texts and representations. A good starting point is Erik Hornung, "Dat," *LÄ* 1:994–95. Generic treatments of the subject are found more recently in, e.g., Erik Hornung, *Die Nachtfahrt der Sonne: Eine altägyptische Beschreibung des Jenseits* (Zurich: Artemis & Winkler, 1991), 207–21; John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). For concise surveys of the various interpretations of the Egyptian afterlife/Duat, see, e.g., Rolf Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, ÄA 59 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 1–11; Katja Goebs, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature: Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2008), 9–10.

3. This designation first appeared in Andrzej Niwiński, "The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the "State of Amun" in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty," *JEOL* 30 (1987–1988): 89–106. See also John C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, OBO 198 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004).

This was one of the motifs of the funerary texts possibly from the time of the Pyramid Texts, the earliest-surviving corpus of funerary literature from ancient Egypt, which sketches a primarily celestial-cosmic afterlife for the king.[4] The slightly later Coffin Texts ushered in the first illustrations accompanying funerary texts, focusing especially on the topographical aspect of the paths of the beyond, as for instance in the so-called Book of the Two Ways (CT 1029–1185).[5] While the Coffin Texts are generally regarded as precursors of the major themes of the New Kingdom Netherworld Books,[6] it is the latter group of texts that best develops the principle of solar-Osirian unity and the (chiefly) chthonic aspect of the next world.[7] In these compositions, the full potential of visual imagery is explored, with illustrations and vignettes very closely intertwined with captions and annotations, at times even to the point that the figurative element overshadows the texts. The beyond is now more than ever encoded in images that articulate its essence in symbolic terms, thus serving as illustrated summaries of the main themes of the compositions. This paper will examine the identity and role(s) of Shetayt, a mysterious divine feminine figure occurring in the New Kingdom compositions, and will discuss the regenerative potential that she embodied within the netherworld, as well as her connection with the realms of magic and ritual.[8]

It is a well-accepted theory that the geographical aspect of the nocturnal, mysterious journey of the solar god could assume the form of specific deities in funerary compositions as early as the Pyramid Texts. The spatial properties of this corpus are borne out by the relationship between the texts and the pyramids' architecture.[9] Thus, by means of symbolic associations, the burial space could be identified not only with the Duat and the Akhet,[10] but also

4. The most recent comprehensive study of the Pyramid Texts is Harold M. Hays, *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts: Typology and Disposition*, 2 vols., PÄ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2012). On the possible presence of the motif of the nocturnal temporary union of Re and Osiris in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, see Winfried Barta, "Zum Wesen des Gottes Osiris nach Zeugnissen der älteren Totenliteratur," *ZÄS* 117 (1990): 89–93. Regarding cosmology notions in the Pyramid Texts, see, e.g., James P. Allen, "The Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts," in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, ed. William K. Simpson, YES 3 (New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1989), 1–28; Zago, "Imagining the Beyond," 203–8.

5. See Wael Sherbiny, *Through Hermopolitan Lenses: Studies on the So-Called Book of the Two Ways in Ancient Egypt*, PÄ 33 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), to which I refer for further bibliography. Sherbiny challenges and refutes the generally accepted view that the Book of the Two Ways may be the first composition belonging to the genre of the so-called Guides to the Hereafter, namely, cosmographic treatises mapping the paths of the beyond and describing in third person the events involving the sun god and the inhabitants of the other world. Following these criteria, the first proper netherworld guide would have to be the Amduat, the earliest attestation of which is on some decorated limestone blocks found in the tombs of Thutmosis I (KV 38) and Hatshepsut (KV 20). See Florence Mauric-Barbério, "Le premier exemplaire du *Livre de l'Amdouat*," *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 315–50; Khaled Abdel Ghany, "Amduat-Exemplare von Thutmosis I.: Weitere Fundstücke im Grab KV 38," *ZÄS* 146 (2019): 1–17.

6. Susanne Bickel, "Die Jenseitsfahrt des Re nach Zeugen der Sargtexte," in *Ein ägyptisches Glasperlenspiel: ägyptologische Beiträge für Erik Hornung aus seinem Schülerkreis*, ed. Andreas Brodbeck (Berlin: Mann, 1998), 41–56.

7. A comprehensive overview of the various collections of ancient Egyptian funerary texts can be found in Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, trans. by David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). More specifically on the Netherworld Books, see, e.g., John C. Darnell and Colleen Manassa Darnell, *The Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books*, WAW 39 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 1–57, 61–74, 127–37, 249–57, 337–45, 457–65, 523–36.

8. The question of what "magic" is and how (if at all) it is distinguishable from the categories of religion and ritual in ancient cultures, in our case Egypt, is far too complex to be considered here. For a detailed discussion of the academic debate on magic, see, e.g., Bernd-Christian Otto, *Magie: Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 57 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011). A concise survey of the main problems associated with the concept of magic applied to the Egyptian evidence and additional bibliography can be found in Rune Nyord, "Introduction: Egyptian and Egyptological Concepts," in *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture: Proceedings of the Lady Wallis Budge Anniversary Symposium Held at Christ's College, Cambridge, 22 January 2016*, ed. Rune Nyord, CHANE 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 1–23, esp. 7–14. The reader should bear in mind that, whenever the terms "magic" and "magical" are used in this paper, they are not to be understood in the negative sense that the history of Western, Judeo-Christian philosophy attributed to them, but just as a means to designate a category of ritual practices and materials that may otherwise lie undetected or be grouped under the much broader umbrella of religious phenomena.

9. James P. Allen, "Reading a Pyramid," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol 1: *Études Pharaoniques*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, BdE 106.1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1994), 5–28; Harold M. Hays, "Unreading the Pyramids," *BIFAO* 109 (2009): 195–220; Bernard Mathieu, "Re-reading the Pyramids: Repères pour une Lecture Spatialisée des Textes des Pyramides," in *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, ed. Susanne Bickel and Lucia Díaz-Iglesias, OLA 257 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 375–462.

10. See Allen, "Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts," 25–26; Hays, "Unreading the Pyramids," 195–98, with additional references.

with both Osiris[11] and his mother, the celestial goddess Nut, the latter being most commonly imagined as either the coffin/sarcophagus or the whole sarcophagus chamber, a protective and regenerative space.[12] The pyramid complex altogether, identified with Osiris, could therefore enclose his own mother (Nut), conceptualized as the sarcophagus, which, in turn, contained the deceased's corpse, the greatest mystery (*sšt3*) of all.[13] Accordingly, the physical aspect of the sun's nocturnal journey could be imagined to coincide, on the one hand, with the chthonic body of Osiris,[14] and with a feminine entity, generally identified as Nut, on the other. This goddess, personification of the celestial vault since the earliest funerary texts, was believed to conceive the sun at night (sunset) and to give birth to him each morning at dawn, at least according to one Pyramid Texts spell.[15] By virtue of the fact that the divine entities within which the sun developed were perceived as *ḫ3t* corpses,[16] thus as feminine, they were endowed with regenerating powers and could therefore be associated with the process of gestation, which otherwise is obviously an exclusively feminine prerogative. By this mechanism, the capability of bearing new life was transferred onto the "owner" of the corpse, regardless of its gender.[17]

The "spatialization" of deities, however, finds better delineation and depiction in the New Kingdom compositions. For instance, an icon of the personified netherworld space is found in the concluding scene of the Book of Gates, where Osiris is represented curled back around himself; his feet touch the back of his head while he floats in the primeval ocean, thus embodying the nocturnal, circular course of the sun through the Duat.[18] Similarly, the equation "Osirian body = Duat" is confirmed by the first scene of the upper register of the fourth division in the Book of Caverns, where Isis and Nephthys are depicted lifting up the curved body of the god, symbolizing his potential for resurrection and recreation. The accompanying caption informs us that Osiris encircles the Duat with his arms.[19]

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11. E.g., PT 600 §1657a–b equates Osiris with the pyramid: *h3 Ḥrw Wsir pw Nfr-k3-Rᶜ pn Wsir pw mr pn n Nfr-k3-Rᶜ k3t.f tn*, "O Horus, this King Neferirkare is Osiris, this pyramid of Neferkare and this construction/complex of his are Osiris;" Hays, "Unreading the Pyramids," 198.

12. See the discussion in Nils Billing, *Nut: The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography*, USE 5 (Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2002), 163–84, with references to Pyramid Texts spells. Nut could sometimes be identified with all parts of the tomb at once (Hays, "Unreading the Pyramids," 197).

13. On the notion of the mystery represented by the solar corpse (Osiris) awaiting vivification every night, see the discussion and references in Darnell and Manassa Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 6–7 with n. 9.

14. On the basis of the maternal role that Osiris could assume at times in both Pyramid and Coffin Texts, Barta ("Zum Wesen des Gottes Osiris") concluded that it is possible that this god was considered the (metaphorical) mother of the sun already in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

15. *ʒpr ḥt.t Nwt ḥr mtwt nṯr im(y)t.t NN pw mtwt nṯr im(y)t.t Nwt i.ᶜm n.t NN mr ᶜm.t z3 nṯr*, "Your womb swells, Nut, with the god's seed that is in you. The god's seed that is in you is King NN, Nut. Receive King NN as you would receive the son of a god" (PT 563 §1416c–1417b); translation in James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 2nd ed., WAW 38 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 178. See also Billing, *Nut*, 18–21; Zago, "Classifying the Duat," 215 with n. 45.

16. The entities that the sun encounters in the beyond are naturally perceived as *ḫ3wt* "corpses," since they inhabit the netherworld. According to the Egyptian religious beliefs, the *ba* and the *ḫ3t*-corpse were separated upon death. Starting with the Coffin Texts, funerary texts assigned the former component to the sky and the latter to the earth or netherworld; Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, Band 2: *Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches*, Supplemente SAWH 17 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2005), 138–42.

17. See Winfried Barta, "Osiris als Mutterleib des unterweltlichen Sonnengottes in den Jenseitsbüchern des Neuen Reiches," *JEOL* 29 (1985–1986): 98–105. See also Darnell and Manassa Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 41–42, 342. Osiris was not the only masculine deity who could be imagined to be metaphorically pregnant with the sun god, as this characteristic was also applied, e.g., to Tatenen, who could be considered a personification of the netherworld space. See, e.g., Hermann A. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen: nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 29 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 1980), 84–85.

18. A caption occurring in the versions of the sarcophagus of Seti I, in the Osireion, and in the tomb of Ramses VI specifies: *Wsir pw šn(i).f dw3t*, "It is Osiris, he encircles the Duat"; Erik Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits: nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, 2 vols., AH 7–8 (Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1979–1980), 1:410; 2:143–52.

19. While passing through this cavern of the netherworld, Re addresses Osiris saying *iw.k šn(i).k dw3t m ᶜ(wy).k*, "You encircle the Duat with your arms"; see Alexandre Piankoff, "Le Livre des Quererts, seconde division, troisième division, quatrième division, cinquième division," *BIFAO* 42 (1944), pl. XLV, l. 8; Alexandre Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramses VI*, 2 vols., BollSer 40.1 (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1954), 1:79, fig. 13; Daniel A. Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch: Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik*, 2 vols., GOF IV, Ägypten 48 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 1:pl. 10; 2:184–85 (scene 41). A very similar scene occurs also in the Book of the Earth; see Friedrich Abitz, *Pharao als Gott in den Un-*

Furthermore, in the second half of the upper register of the fifth division in the same composition, pieces of flesh of Osiris' corpse appear behind a large-scale nude and ithyphallic figure;[20] they are located within an oval—his own *ḏbꜣt šṯꜣ<t>*, "mysterious sarcophagus"—that is referred to as his own body as personification of the netherworld space.[21]

The nocturnal stretch of the solar god may also be configured so as to coincide with a few giant divine figures appearing in these texts, which are generally believed to personify the netherworldly space and its connection with solar rebirth. Thus, the first side of the second shrine of Tutankhamun bears the enigmatic representation of a giant, mummiform, bearded Osirian figure, who seems to be "pregnant" with a ram-headed *ba* bird within a solar disk. This image has been interpreted as depicting the Osirian corpse at the cusps of the eastern horizon, within which solar regeneration takes place.[22] Similarly, a large mummiform god is depicted with a solar disc within the upper part of his body in a scene from the Book of the Earth located on the rear wall of the sarcophagus chamber of Ramses VI; there, the crocodile Penwenti stands on his tail behind the solar corpse, protecting it.[23] More relevant to the topic of the present paper is, however, a giant feminine figure, which is flanked by erect snakes and other motifs and is identified in the annotations as the goddess Shetayt (*šṯꜣyt*), the "Mysterious One." This divine entity occurs both in the Book of Caverns[24] and in the Book of the Earth.[25] In the former composition, she appears in the fifth division opposite the giant Osirian ithyphallic figure mentioned above (fig. 1).

Her figure is accompanied by cryptographic annotations underscoring the mysterious nature of the scene and its importance. The annotation behind Shetayt describes her as follows:[26]

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terweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches, OBO 146 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 1995), 160 (under "Szenen der Regeneration," comparing scenes BvE D6 and HB IV, I, 1).

20. Piankoff, *Ramses VI*, 2: pl. 26; Werning, *Höhlenbuch*, 1: pl. XI; 2: 266–67 (scene 59). This giant divine figure has variously been interpreted as Geb, Sefeg, or Osiris, although the latter is the most accepted alternative (e.g., Piankoff, *Ramses VI*, 1:87; Abitz, *Pharao als Gott*, 161). See Nils Billing, "The Secret One: An Analysis of a Core Motif in the Books of the Netherworld," *SAK* 34 (2006): 70–71, with additional references; Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, 2 vols., ÄAT 72 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 1:409–10; Darnell and Manassa Darnell, *Netherworld Books*, 342. The uncertainty surrounding this god's identity is due to the fact that the cryptographic annotations never clarify who the divine figure is (Werning, *Höhlenbuch*, 2:264–65).

21. The reading of the label over the oval is problematic, since the annotation is cryptographic; Werning, *Höhlenbuch*, 2: 266–67 with n. a (scene 60). For the representation of the whole fifth division, see Werning, *Höhlenbuch*, 1: pl. 11.

22. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, 78–80, 375–76, 381–85 with pl. 2, 6A, compares the giant solar-Osirian image to the goddess Shetayt in the Book of the Caverns and in the Book of the Earth, on which see the discussion below.

23. Piankoff, *Ramses VI*, 1: fig. 108; 2: pl. 119–20. The Penwenti crocodile could also serve as vehicle of solar incubation, as, e.g., in another scene from the Book of the Earth, where the ram-headed solar disk is pictured emerging from his body; Joshua A. Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth*, Wilbour Studies 1 (Atlanta: Lockwood, 2012), 209–12 with fig. 5.29 and pl. 11 (vignette 29).

24. The image of Shetayt from the Book of Caverns is found on the following supports: the Osireion of Abydos (Henri Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, 2 vols., MEES 39, [London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933], 2: pl. 37); KV 9, the tomb of Ramses VI (Piankoff, *Ramses VI*, 1:32; 2: pl. 25, 27); KV 6, the tomb of Ramses IX (Félix Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX*, MIFAO 5 [Cairo: IFAO, 1907]: pl. 89); the Third Intermediate period papyrus amulet of Butehamon (Sara Demichelis, "Le phylactère du scribe Boutehamon. P. Turin Cat. 1558," *BIFAO* 100 [2000]: 267–73); TT 33, the Saite tomb of Padiemenope (see references in Werning, *Höhlenbuch*, 1:42–45 with n. 91); on the top of the lid of the Thirtieth Dynasty sarcophagus of Padi-Isis (Berlin 29; Henri Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens: dessinés sur lieux et publiés sous les auspices de Son Altesse le Vice-roi d'Égypte Mohammed-Saïd-Pacha*, 2 vols. [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1862], 47 and pl. 33; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 2: pl. 287) and on the floor of the Thirtieth Dynasty sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata (CGC 29306; Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 2: pl. 286).

25. The version of Shetayt from the Book of the Earth occurs in the tombs of Ramses III (KV 11, now lost) and Ramses VI (KV 9); Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 253–56 with fig. 5.56a and pl. 5a (scene 56). Another, as yet unpublished occurrence of the motif of Shetayt possibly from the Book of the Earth appears on an ostracon kept at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 37.1160, cited in Manassa, *Late Egyptian Underworld*, 1:404 with n. 550). Here, the goddess is represented wearing a headdress of sorts (possibly topped by a solar disk) and standing in a shrine while she holds the sun-disk in one hand and a falcon in the other. On either side of her, two serpents are pictured with their arms raised in a gesture of praise; no further motifs appear around the body of the goddess. Further study of this piece is needed in order to ascertain which of the known textual and iconographic parallels just outlined it may be connected to.

26. This passage is incomplete in the Osireion (the beginning and the middle sections are lost), while the sarcophagus of Padi-Isis includes