

THE JUDGMENT HALL OF OSIRIS IN THE BOOK OF GATES

[Planches XV-XVIII]

BY

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Although the image of the deceased before the scales in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead is the most commonly represented judgment scene in Egyptian funerary texts, it is not the only depiction of this event². Among the corpus of texts known as the Underworld Books, certain scenes, although part of larger unified compositions, were treated as particularly important by the ancient Egyptians³, and chief among them is the Thirty-Third Scene from the Book of Gates, commonly known as the Judgment Hall of Osiris. The text accompanying this scene is entirely cryptographic, without *Normalschrift* translations, a rare occurrence in the corpus of Underworld Books outside of the purely cryptographic compositions⁴.

This enigmatic tableau of Scene 33 is the focus of the first attested example of the Book of Gates, which appears in the tomb of Horemhab (KV 57)⁵. The unique character of the

¹ I would like to thank Profs. John Coleman Darnell and Matthieu Heerma van Voss for reading drafts of this article and offering a number of helpful comments. The cryptographic readings proposed here would not have been possible without J.C. Darnell's work on the Cryptographic Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity nor Erik Hornung's masterful editions of the Underworld Books. The text plates accompanying this article are scans of E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, vol. 1, supplemented with typeset copies of the texts on the Late Period sarcophagi; the sarcophagi texts in Cairo and London are based on collations of the original. For assistance at the Cairo Museum, I would like to thank Dr Waafa el-Sadek, Director General of the Cairo Museum and Dr Mamdouh El-Damaty, former Director, and May Trad and, at the British Museum, Drs Vivian Davies, Jeffrey Spencer, and John Taylor. I also benefited from conversations with Dr Isabelle Régen (IFAO) about the Late Period sarcophagi.

² Chr. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35), 1976.

³ Such scenes can appear removed from their parent compositions, or possess features differentiating them from the surrounding hours, such as the use of cryptographic annotations. Examples include the Osiris scene from the lower register of the Fourth Hour of the Book of Gates (Fr. Abitz, *Die Götterszenen in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern von Thutmosis IV. bis Ramses III.* [ÄA 40], 1984, p. 163-5 and 206) and the solar bark atop Aker from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber*, [Theben 11], 1990, p. 87; *Id.*, MDAIK 37 [1981], p. 225-6).

⁴ J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, Cryptographic Compositions from the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses IX* (OBO 198), 2004, p. 29-33.

⁵ E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches*, 1980, vol. 2, p. 143; T.M. Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatankhamanou*, 2001, pls. 53-55. See also Fr. Abitz, *König und Gott*, p. 14-17 for the placement of the Book of Gates in New Kingdom tombs prior to Ramesses III.

Judgment Hall is also suggested by its conspicuous omission from the decoration of the walls of the tomb of Seti I, Merneptah, and Seti II, where Scene 33 is replaced by a scene of the king before an enthroned Osiris⁶. Ramesses III grants the scene a distinguished position at the end of his tomb⁷, while Ramesses VI places it in normal position within the Book of Gates⁸, as it also appears in the tomb of Ramesses II, the Osireion, and the sarcophagus of Seti I (Plate XV)⁹. The Judgment Hall also enjoyed a special status during the Late Period, when Scene 33 appears on a number of sarcophagi (Plates XVI-XVII), many of them awaiting complete publication¹⁰; the annotations to Scene 33 on the Late Period sarcophagi preserve a distinct textual tradition. The present investigation reexamines the text and iconography of the Judgment Scene in the Book of Gates, provides a revised translation of the New Kingdom text, and considers the context of the scene on the Late Period sarcophagi. The correspondences between the Judgment Hall and other Underworld Book scenes on the Late Period sarcophagi in turn open new vistas for the meaning of the cryptographic text within the Judgment Hall.

Previous Scholarship

Champollion was the first scholar to study the Book of Gates, and early translators deemed the Judgment Hall of Osiris particularly interesting¹¹. E. Hornung's edition, which includes text copies, translation, and commentary on the New Kingdom sources¹², replaced several earlier studies. J. Zeidler offered a text critical approach to the New Kingdom copies of the Book of Gates and grammatical analysis¹³, and S. Wiebach-Koepke presented a translation of the Judgment Hall texts in her study of the Books of

⁶ Fr. Abitz, *op. cit.*, p. 17-21.

⁷ E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 143-44.

⁸ A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, 1954, pl. 48.

⁹ After S. Sharpe and J. Bonomi, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimenephtah I*, 1864.

¹⁰ The Judgment Hall appears on six sarcophagi, which date to the Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period: British Museum EA 1504 (Gemhap), Berlin 49 (Tjaihepimu), Cairo CG 29305 (Djedher), Cairo JE 48446 (Shebmin), Cairo JE 48447 (Ankhhor), Louvre D9 (Djedher). Of these, only BM 1504, CG 29305 and Louvre D9 contain preserved annotations. A single template forms the basis for the decoration of all of these sarcophagi, which is treated for the first time in C. Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, Yale University, PhD Thesis, 2005 (publication in *Ägypten und Altes Testament* forthcoming). The six sarcophagi that contain the Judgment Hall of Osiris all belong to the "Type II" Late Period sarcophagi.

¹¹ See E. Hornung, *Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 1999, p. 56-57 for the history of research on the Book of Gates.

¹² E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 192-200, vol. 2, p. 143-152; *Id.*, *Die Unterweltbücher der Ägypter*, 2002, p. 237-240; A. Piankoff, *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 157-165.

¹³ *Pfortenbuchstudien* (GOF IV/36), 1999, vol. 2, p. 142-155. J. Zeidler's linguistic focus also limits the amount of commentary on the religious significance and overall meaning of the Book of Gates. As E. Hornung has noted, one of the weakest points of J. Zeidler's work is his treatment of the cryptographic annotations in the Scene 33 (*OLZ* 96:2 [2002], p. 194-95).

Amduat, Gates, and the Litany of Re¹⁴. M. Heerma van Voss¹⁵ dedicated two articles to the Judgment Hall, and provided the only translation of the Late Period versions as such. P. Barguet¹⁶ related the Book of Gates to royal ritual, and Chr. Seeber has compared the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates with the judgment of the dead in Book of the Dead Chapter 125¹⁷.

Cryptography and the Judgment Hall of Osiris

The following translation of the cryptographic text of the Judgment Hall of Osiris employs the principles of sign-value derivation at work in the entirely cryptographic books of the Solar-Osirian Unity and in the cryptographic portions of the other Underworld Books. Nearly all previous translations of Scene 33 of the Book of Gates have been hampered by the acceptance of acrophony, as advanced by É. Drioton, as the primary method for the derivation of cryptographic sign values. H.W. Fairman already demonstrated the problems of acrophony for the Greco-Roman Period, and J.C. Darnell has shown its absence in earlier pharaonic cryptography, particularly in the netherworldly compositions of the New Kingdom¹⁸. Although some of É. Drioton's readings of enigmatic signs are correct, since they can also be derived through other, accurate cryptographic principles, many of his interpretations, as well as those of other scholars, must be reexamined, since they rest on acrophony alone. The following translation uses only enigmatic sign values resulting from principles that are well attested in cryptographic texts in Underworld Books with "translations" in normal hieroglyphs. The following list provides a representative selection of the cryptographic values of signs within the Judgment Hall and the process by which those values are derived¹⁹.

¹⁴ *Phänomenologie der Bewegungsabläufe im Jenseitskonzept der Unterweltbücher Amduat und Pfortenbuch und der liturgischen „Sonnenlitanei“* (ÄAT 55), 2003, p. 268-271; she is the only scholar to take into account the cryptographic derivations of signs in the Enigmatic Netherworld Books as set forth by J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*.















































¹⁵ M. Heerma van Voss, in M. Heerma van Voss, *et al.* (eds.), *Travels in the World of the Old Testament*, 1974, p. 80-89; M. Heerma van Voss, in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* (OLA 85), 1998, vol. 2, p. 1001-1010.

¹⁶ P. Barguet, *RdE* 27 (1975), p. 30-36.

¹⁷ *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35), 1976, p. 187-192. She notes that the major difference between the weighing of the heart in the Book of the Dead and the judgment scene from Gates is that the former deals with the fate of a single individual, while the latter expresses the functioning of Maat as a whole and the judgment of mankind as a collective.

¹⁸ For an overview of the debate and overwhelming arguments against acrophony, see J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2.

¹⁹ For an exposition of demonstrable principles for the derivation of enigmatic sign values in the Underworld Books, see J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 27-34; for these same principles at work in Ptolemaic texts, see H.W. Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), p. 51-138.

Principle	Text: Sign ²⁰	Value
Direct representation ²¹	A: 	<i>ḥbs</i> “to clothe,”
	A: 	<i>nḏ</i> “to grind”
	J, L, P: 	<i>iʒḥ</i> > <i>ʒḥ</i> “to be luminous”
	M: 	<i>dšr.t</i> “red”
	L: 	<i>mw.t</i> > <i>m</i> “deceased” ²²
	L: 	<i>imn</i> “to hide”
Substitution of kind	B, <i>passim</i> : 	<i>s</i> (from )
	B:  ,  ,  , 	<i>m</i> (from ) ²³
	C: 	<i>wḏ</i> (from )
	D: 	<i>i</i> (from )
	D: 	<i>t</i> (from )
	F: 	<i>ḏ</i> (from  , dental shift <i>d</i> > <i>ḏ</i>) ²⁴
	G:  ,  ,  , 	<i>tīw</i> (from )
	H: 	<i>ḥ</i> (from )
	N: 	<i>r</i> (from  <i>ir</i> > <i>r</i>)
	P: 	<i>f</i> (from )
Substitution of shape	A: 	<i>m</i> (from ) ²⁵
	C: 	<i>p</i> (from ) ²⁶
	J: 	<i>wdn</i> (from )
	J: 	<i>i</i> (from )
	J: 	<i>m</i> (from )
<i>Pars pro toto</i>	G: 	<i>ir.t</i> “eye”
	P: 	<i>ir</i> (from )
	N: 	<i>k</i> (from <i>kʒ</i> “bull”, <i>kʒ</i> > <i>k</i>)

²⁰ The letter corresponds to the text section of the Judgment Hall of Osiris as set forth in the present article.

²¹ J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 133 n. 428 and p. 612 for the substantial number of attestations in the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

²² J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 25-26.

²³ The substitution of one bird sign for another bird sign is one of the most common principles of sign derivation within the Judgment Hall; for the plethora of possible sign values for bird-signs in cryptographic texts, compare J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, Appendix of Cryptographic Values.

²⁴ Possibly influenced by the hieratic confusion between the arm holding the triangular loaf and the *ḏw*-mountain, with the consonantal principle *ḏw* > *ḏ* (J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 260). Compare also the variation between ayin and *d* in the spelling of some words (H. Satzinger, *LingAeg* 6 [1999], p. 141-151).

²⁵ É. Drioton, *ASAE* 1 (1933), p. 38.

²⁶ Cf. J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 21 n. 31.

In the New Kingdom, a label appears above the Judgment Hall of Osiris, which E. Hornung suggests may be a separate title; based on É. Drioton's earlier translation, he reads the title as follows³⁴: *md3.t n.t nd wsjr m d3tjw* "Book of protecting Osiris among the Underworldly beings". This translation reads the signs in an almost random fashion. Although cryptographic texts can exploit perturbation of signs, such adjustments of sign-order typically add meaning to the text³⁵; no such reason exists here. If one instead reads the signs in order, one must first determine whether they are to be read in a normal or retrograde fashion. Based on the arrangement of the texts into columns, and without the presence of corruption within the text, one must assume the signs are to be read in a normal fashion³⁶. Furthermore, in the Underworld Books, the *md3.t*-title only occurs at the beginning of the works³⁷. A *md3.t* label would be unexpected over this scene, while a description of the gods who appear within the scene would be more fitting.

J. Zeidler suggests that the label to the Judgment Hall is the title to the entire Book of Gates, arguing that in an original papyrus version of Gates, Scene 33 occurred underneath the First Hour, so that the title was directly below the introduction of the text³⁸. While clever, this idea has little to recommend it, since the cryptographic writing of the "title" connects it directly with Scene 33 and not the rest of the Book of Gates³⁹. J. Zeidler, followed by S. Wiebach-Koepke⁴⁰, reads the signs as: *md3.t n.t (i)m.i(w) dw3.t nd.iw (W)s(i)r* "The book of the Underworldly gods, who protect Osiris", which again requires that signs

³² The designation given to each text is similar to the Roman numerals used by M. Heerma van Voss, in *World of the Old Testament*, p. 80-89, but differs in the number of sections of the text.

³³ The hieroglyphic text of the New Kingdom versions are all from Hornung's edition, albeit organized in a different fashion.

³⁴ E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 146.

³⁵ For example, the writing *sn m-h3=f* in a circular fashion on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 45-49, also discussing cryptography through "perturbation"). See also the reading of the signs in Text H below.

³⁶ A retrograde reading would place several of the signs in different positions within separate versions; for example, the goose would be after the *nd*-group in the Horemhab and Ramesses VI versions, but after the *dw3.t*-group in Seti I sarcophagus and Osireion. Additionally, the other texts to the Judgment Hall are non-retrograde, the text to the enemies beneath the throne of Osiris being the only exception.

³⁷ One exception being the label next to the giant figure of Shetayt in the Fifth Division of Caverns (A. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944], pl. 60), which reads *md3.t šb3y.t hprw tpy šip 3* "The Book of the Mysterious One, first manifestation of the great edition." (E. Hornung, *Die Unterweltbücher der Ägypter*, p. 374). A new Late Period version of this book, but lacking its title, is preserved as a continuous text on the sarcophagus of Tjaihorpata, dated to the reign of Nectanebo II (CG 29306, G. Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, 1914, vol. 1, p. 313; commentary to this section of the Fifth Division of Caverns appears in C. Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, p. 601-607).

³⁸ *Loc.cit.*, vol. 2, p. 10-13.

³⁹ However, one piece of evidence in support of J. Zeidler's argument and not mentioned by him is the occurrence of a cryptographic text in the First Hour of Gates on the sarcophagus of Merneptah (E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 6).

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 268-69.

in most words be read in a random order⁴¹ and assumes that the text as a whole be read in a retrograde fashion, which is *a priori* problematic, as noted above.

A third option is proposed here, namely reading the title as an annotation to Scene 33. The values assigned to the cryptographic signs are supported by parallels in other Underworld Books, and the following translation links the short text specifically to elements within the Judgment Hall of Osiris:

ḥbs.w^a imy^b dw3.t r ndt t(3)wr^c

Those who clothe the one who is in the Duat
in order to protect He-of-the-Dais.

^a The sign S28 can be read *ḥbs* on the basis of direct representation (see chart above). Deities who “clothe” are present in the Book of Amduat, the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, the Book of Caverns, and Creation of the Solar Disk⁴². As in the enigmatic texts on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun, “clothing” in the Underworld and in other religious texts often indicates *illumination* — the light of the sun can “clothe,” and thus hide deities in the Netherworld⁴³. The verb *ḥbs* in relation to Osiris is parallel to the name of the gateway *ḥbs bg3* “who clothes the weary one,” attested in a multitude of sources as early as the Middle Kingdom⁴⁴.

^b The grasshopper’s usual cryptographic value is *r*, and the insect can also acquire other enigmatic values of the *r*-mouth for which it substitutes⁴⁵. Since the *r*-mouth commonly possesses the enigmatic value *i*, the grasshopper by extension can also have this value⁴⁶.

^c The final word of the label is here read as a variant spelling of the word *tnt3.t* (*Wb.* V 384.14-385.9), which is attested in a number of odd orthographies⁴⁷. Besides shifts in the position of the aleph, the *n* can be dropped⁴⁸ or moved to final position⁴⁹. In even more

⁴¹ As indicated by the text notes, J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 10.

⁴² J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 103 n. 309, 131-32. Also relevant to the Judgment Hall are two deities from the Book of Caverns: in the upper register of the Fifth Division a being is named *iry ḥbs Wsir*, using the sign S28 for *ḥbs* in the cryptographic writing of the name (A. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 [1944], p. 55); in the second register of the same division a hieraccephalic mummy is called *Hr ḥbs R* “Horus who clothes Re” (*ibid.*, p. 55).

⁴³ J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 133-137; D. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram* (*YES* 6), 2006, p. 178-180.

⁴⁴ *Wb.* III 65.12-14; J. Assmann in W.K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, 1989, p. 147-149.

⁴⁵ J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 108-10, 604.

⁴⁶ J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 109 n. 342, citing a text in the Sixth Division of Caverns where the grasshopper has the value *y*.

⁴⁷ For an overview of orthographies, some of which are cited below, see K.P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten* (*ADAIK* 10), 1977, p. 76 n. 4; J.C. Darnell, *Enchoria* 24 (1997-1998), p. 158-162.

⁴⁸ J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 158-59 n. 8 and 160 n. 18. Compare the shield of Tutankhamun (no. 1070 = *Urk.* IV 2059.14 [slightly miscopied]): “His Majesty appear in Thebes upon the stepped throne (=𓏏𓏏𓏏) in order to foretell marvels.”

⁴⁹ For example, the spelling in the crossword hymn in the tomb of Nebwenenef (TT 157): 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 (J. Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle*, 1996, p. 3, l. 7 [= *Belegstellen*, vol. 5, p. 73]); J. Zandee (p. 41), commenting on the passage in the crossword hymn, already notes the connection between the Judgment Scene of the Book of Gates and the Seventh Address in the Litany of Re. However, this combined evidence has never been applied to reading the cryptographic text in Scene 33 of the Book of Gates.

radical spellings, the final dental is omitted⁵⁰, but this may be the result of textual corruption. A spelling maintaining the *n*, but lacking the final dental is not otherwise attested, so a reading *tny* for *tnṯ.t* in the label here would be at odds with known orthographies. However, the *n*-water possesses several cryptographic values, including *t*, from a substitution of shape with the *tḳ*-land sign⁵¹. The *ḳ* is easily left unwritten in cryptography and with the use of plural strokes for the weak ending *y*⁵², the signs form a reasonable cryptographic orthography for *tnṯ.ty* “He of the throne dais.” Such a reading fits perfectly with the depiction in the Judgment Hall in the Book of Gates — Osiris enthroned atop a staired platform⁵³. In similar depictions from Third Intermediate Period papyri, Osiris also appears atop a throne base, labeled *tnṯ.t*⁵⁴. A passage from the Seventh Litany of the Litany of Re provides a close parallel to the annotation to the Judgment Hall of Osiris⁵⁵:

hn.wy hr=k imy-dwḳ.t

tḳt.ty (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) *hry hqḳ.t=f*

nswt dwḳ.t hqḳ iḡr.t

ʿḳ wr̄r.t nṯr ʿḳ imn s.t=f

nb wd̄ʿ.w hr(y) dḳdḳ.t=f

How pleased are you, one within the Underworld,
He-of-the-dais, chief of what he rules/his *hqḳ.t*-scepter,
king of the Underworld, ruler of Igeret,
great of white crown, great god, whose place is hidden,
lord of judgment, chief of his council.

Every element in this excerpt from the Seventh Litany appears within the Judgment Hall in the Book of Gates: Osiris, who is atop his *tnṯ.t*, wears the white crown, judges the deceased, and presides over his Ennead.

⁵⁰ On shield no. 1066 from the Tomb of Tutankhamun, the word is spelled *tw* = 𓂏𓂏 (=Urk. IV 2059.12).

⁵¹ J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 54 n. 90.

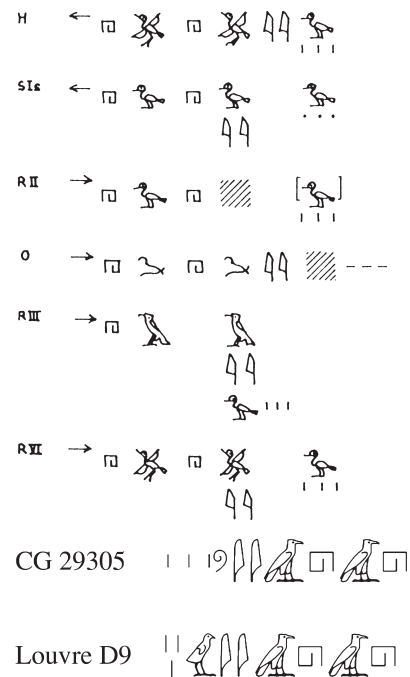
⁵² The interchange of *-y* and *-w* endings is well attested and exploited in other cryptographic texts (J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 119, n. 380 and 304 n. 135, citing G. Fecht, *Wortakezent und Silbenstruktur* (ÄF 21), 1960, p. 94, §172).

⁵³ The *tnṯ.t* is also associated with Maat, further contributing to its applicability in the Judgment Hall (W. Westendorf, ZÄS 97 [1971], p.143-46, particularly p. 143).

⁵⁴ A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (OBO 81), 1989, p. 40; A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, 1957, p. 58-61. For parallels, see J. Lull, *JEA* 87 (2001), p. 180-186. The image has its origins in the Twentieth Dynasty – B. Ockinga, in K. Zibelius-Chen and H.-W. Fischer-Elfert (eds.), *Von reichlich ägyptischem Verstande* (Fs Guglielmi), 2006, p. 91-102. The double staircase also occurs in the papyrus of Nesitanebataheru and the tomb of Osorkon II – for a discussion of the scene in this tomb, see G. Roulin in Ph. Brissaud and C. Zivie-Coche (eds.), *Tanis: travaux récents sur le tell Sân el Hagar*, 1998, p. 218-221. Compare also the Wadjet-serpent upon a staircase, called the place of judgment, in the Book of the Fayum (H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, [Äg. Ab. 51], 1991, vol. 1, p. 116. The double staircase also occurs in the papyrus of Nesitanebataheru and the tomb of Osorkon II – for a discussion of the scene in this tomb, see G. Roulin in Ph. Brissaud and C. Zivie-Coche (eds.), *Tanis: travaux récents sur le tell Sân el Hagar*, 1998, p. 218-221. Compare also the Wadjet-serpent upon a staircase, called the place of judgment, in the Book of the Fayum (H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, [Äg. Ab. 51], 1991, vol. 1, p. 116).

⁵⁵ E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* (AH 2), 1975, vol. 1, p. 224-25. Nearly the same epithets occur in Book of the Dead Chapter 168 (G. Burkard, *Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien* [ÄAT 31], 1995, p. 23 and nn. 4-5).

Text B: Label to the Hartebeest Heads



The hartebeest heads (a.k.a. bubal/bubalis)⁵⁶ are labeled *hmhm.yw* “roaring ones,” and their position recalls the antelopes with burning wicks between their horns in the introductory scene of the Litany of Re⁵⁷. The fiery aspects of the hartebeest heads enable them to replace uraei-friezes above divine shrines⁵⁸, a function which the *hmhm.yw* serve here in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. For the Late Period versions, M. Heerma van Voss proposed an alternate reading, *h3h3.ti* “the mourning ones,” suggesting that the heads are of sacrificial antelopes that are capable of dispelling evil⁵⁹. While the well-known rite of sacrificing

⁵⁶ For the identification of this species (*Alcelaphus buselaphus*) and images, see P.F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, 1996, p. 57-58; D.J. Osborn, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt*, 1998, p. 171-73.

⁵⁷ E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 29 and 55.

⁵⁸ The scenes of the king and Osiris that replace Scene 33 of the Book of Gates in certain New Kingdom tombs depict Osiris within a shrine with a plethora of uraei atop the cavetto cornice (Fr. Abitz, *König und Gott*, p. 18-19). In the small Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medina, the Judgment Hall of Osiris from Book of the Dead Chapter 125 is similarly crowned with a frieze of uraei alternating with flame-signs and Maat-feathers (P. du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médina* (MIFAO 121), 2002, p. 57; in texts, doors are also said to be decorated with uraei—compare CT IV 327t, 328b-c and J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279* (BdE 42), 1966, p. 4 and n. 1). For antelopes in similar positions, compare J.-L. de Cenival, *Livre pour sortir le jour*, 1992, p. 78, P. Louvre N 3070 where an antelope head stands about the door of the shrine of the forty-two judges in the Book of the Dead (cited by M. Heerma van Voss in *Egyptian Religion*, p. 1006 n. 17).



⁵⁹ M. Heerma van Voss, *op. cit.*, p. 1006-7; he interprets the *aleph*-birds on Louvre D9 and CG 29305 as non-cryptographic writings, since other texts to the scene are not written in cryptography. However, as the stairway text demonstrates, Louvre D9 does not actually transcribe all the text into *Normalschrift*, and the same is true with the label to the antelope heads. He also cites the mutilated calf in Book of the Dead Chapter 1, but the calf represents Horus, and if one accepts the “mourning” aspect of the antelopes as inimical animals, it is doubtful that the lamenting for the injured son of Osiris can be compared to a Sethian animal.

the oryx⁶⁰ proves that antelope species can be among the enemies of the sun god and slaughtered for their evil deeds⁶¹, the antelope heads in the introductory scene of the Litany of Re are actually protectors of the sun god. As the text accompanying the introductory tableau of the Litany of Re on the Late Period sarcophagus of Tadipakem (CG 29316) reveals⁶², the snake and the crocodile in the Litany of Re are emissaries sent out by Re, and the flaming antelope heads guard the corners of the universe for the sun god⁶³. This new understanding of the protective aspects of the antelope heads and their alliance with Osiris and Re concurs with their description of the hartebeest heads in the enigmatic annotation of the New Kingdom versions of the scene⁶⁴:

Text C: Annotation beneath the Hartebeest Heads

h̄tm ^a=*sn mwt.w*
wḏ^ε *nty.w s̄ip.w* ^b
ntsn p(w) t̄n̄i ^c *sn*
in imy.w-t̄3 swḏ ^d *sn n h̄tmy.t*
nty tp.w=sn pr.(w) m št̄3 ^e
h̄^ε=*sn m s̄šm* ^f=<*s*>*n*
 [...] *rdi n 3h̄.w* [...]

They destroy the dead,
 namely those who judge those who are damned.
 It is they who distinguish themselves.
 It is those within the earth who assign them to the place of annihilation,
 whose heads come forth from the mystery.
 They appearing from their visible forms.
 [...] which are given to the effective spirits [...].

^a E. Hornung⁶⁵ interprets the beginning of the annotation as *s̄3(w)t.sn* “Was sie hüten...” This interpretation is possible for the version in the tomb of Horemheb , but is less likely for all other versions of this text, which begin, with variations in the bird sign, as . Both the arm with loaf and *ḏw*-mountain may possess the enigmatic values *t*, *t̄*, *d*, or *d̄*, based on the exploitation of the collapse of dental sounds in Egyptian. Of these options, *t* fits best

⁶⁰ Ph. Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx*, 1962; one might also compare the metamorphosis of the Seth head on a *h̄q3* scepter from the lower register of the Tenth Hour of Amduat into an antelope head (A. Niwiński, *op. cit.*, p. 177).

⁶¹ A negative quality of the hartebeest might be behind the obscure epithet of Khnum known from Eighteenth Dynasty temples in Nubia, *h̄wi šs̄3.w* (*Wb.* III 46.11). Translated as “who strikes the bubals” by R.A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumna I The Temple of Semna*, 1998, vol. 1, p. 35.

⁶² G. Maspero and H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, 1939, p. 109. J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁶³ Compare the four bulls' heads on the Corridor G ceiling in the Tomb of Ramesses VI associated with the fiery punishments in the four corners of the world (J. C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 164-65)

⁶⁴ E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 193-94; J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 142-45.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 147.



with the context: the bird stands for *htm*, while the arm/mountain is the phonetic complement *t*, and the *t*-hobble has the value *m* through substitution of shape⁶⁶. J. Zeidler's reading⁶⁷ of *sh̄t*, reading the *dw* mountain as *h* from acrophony with *h̄s̄t* is untenable.

^b E. Hornung⁶⁸ interprets *s̄ip.w* as “damned,” a common use of the word in the Underworld Books. As such, it is parallel to the word *mwt.w* in the first phrase, another term describing

⁶⁶ All readings can be found in the Appendix of Cryptographic Values in J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 142.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 147.

the damned who have died the “second death.” The verb *sîp* can also have a more neutral, technical sense in the weighing of the heart⁶⁹.

^c The verb *tnî* may allude to the position of the hartebeest heads atop the ceiling (*Wb.* V 374.3) — they have lifted themselves up above the Judgment Hall. Additionally, *tnî* may indicate the difference between the hartebeest heads and the remainder of the deities in the Judgment Hall⁷⁰.

^d J. Zeidler⁷¹ also reads *swḏ sn n ḥtm.t*, correctly noting the substitution of kind of the reed leaf for the *wḏ*-plant, but in the writing of the three geese for *ḥtm* the final goose does not substitute for the “bad bird,” but the second bird is *t* (< *tyw*) and the final bird *m*⁷².

^e A passage from the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk supports the reading offered here⁷³:

dî=sn tp=sn m ḥnty štḏ.t=sn
They stick their heads out from within their mystery⁷⁴.

^f This interpretation finds parallels throughout the Underworld Books, where groups of deities and objects are not stationary, but come to life when the sun god reaches their region of the Underworld⁷⁵. The hartebeest heads come forth from their “images” just like the human heads from the *sšm*-signs in the middle register of the Eighth Hour of *Amduat*⁷⁶:

ḏwî nṯr pn ʿḏ r=sn
ʿnh îml.t=sn
pr tp.w m sšm.w=sn
It is when this great god calls to them,
that what is within them lives,
and the heads emerge from their images.

⁶⁹ Chr. Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 78.

⁷⁰ Compare the gods *Sṯn-tp*, *Sṯn-ḥr*, *Sṯn-irw*, etc. on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun (J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 139-141).

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 144.

⁷² J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 599-600.

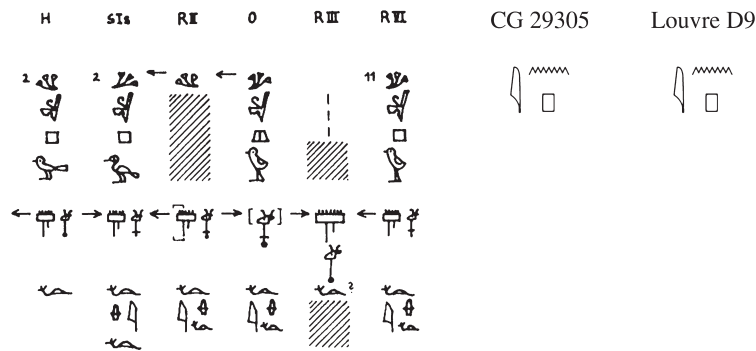
⁷³ A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire* (*BdE* 19), 1953, pl. 11, ll. 8-9. Another, less likely possibility (E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 147; J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 144) is to read *p.t*, referring to the top of the chamber. However, one would really expect a reference to the *nn.t* Undersky.

⁷⁴ Translation of J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 291, see p. 290-91 for a discussion of the context of this passage.

⁷⁵ This topic is extensively treated in S. Wiebach-Koepke, *op. cit.*, vol. 1.

⁷⁶ E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat* (*AH* 14), 1992, vol. 2, p. 616. An alternate reading is also possible: “they appear as their visible forms” — compare the Litany of Re (E. Hornung, *Anbetung*, vol. 1, p. 149-150): *ḥʿ bḏ Rʿ m ḥprw.w=f* “The *ba* of Re appears in his manifestations.”

Text D: Anubis



Inpw s'm=f it=f

Anubis, as he swallows his father.

The presence of Anubis in the Judgment Hall relates to Anubis' role as judge in the after-life⁷⁷, in particular his epithet *ip ib.w* "assessor of hearts"⁷⁸. The odd expression "as he swallows his father" deserves further examination. The father of Anubis is Osiris⁷⁹, an extension of the identification of Horus and Anubis in particular contexts⁸⁰. That Anubis' action for Osiris is a positive one cannot be doubted—on a pillar in the tomb of Ramesses VI⁸¹, Anubis is labeled *Inpw hnty imnt.t ntr '3 s'm it=f Wsir* "Anubis foremost of the west, great god who swallows his father Osiris"⁸². The act of swallowing is synonymous with hiding the corpse of Osiris, a task for which Anubis was responsible⁸³. Swallowing is a nefarious action when performed by a pig (see below), but a beneficial action when executed by Anubis and

⁷⁷ H. Willems in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years* (OLA 84), 1998, vol. 1, p. 719-743.

⁷⁸ For the relation between this epithet and the weighing of the heart, see *ibid.*, p. 728-743. The meaning of this expression in the Pyramid Texts is discussed by G. Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten* (OBO 189), 2002, p. 160-167.

⁷⁹ H. Willems, *Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418)* (OLA 70), 1996, p. 89-92; G. Vittmann, ZÄS 117 (1990), p. 80 n. 9; U. Köhler, *Das Imiut. Untersuchungen zur Darstellung und Bedeutung eines mit Anubis verbundenen religiösen Symbols* (GOF IV/4), 1975, vol. 1, p. 384-85.

⁸⁰ J. Quaegebeur, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 3 (1977), p. 119-130.

⁸¹ A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *Tomb of Rameses VI*, pl. 139.

⁸² Passage noted by U. Köhler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 388-89 (see p. 390-95 for Anubis as "swallower") and cited by E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 148.

⁸³ For a collection of textual references, especially the Twelfth Address to the Litany of Re and Fourth and Fifth Hours of Amduat, see J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 73-74. The role of Anubis as embalmer suggests an alternate reading of *s'm* as "to inlay," as the term is read by M. Heerma van Voss (in *World of the Old Testament*, p. 83): "he inlays (the shroud of) his father." Prof. M. Heerma van Voss kindly provided the following references in support of the reading "to inlay:" CT VI 221p; J.G. Griffiths, *JEA* 74 (1988), 278-279; and R. van der Molen, *Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts* (PdÄ 15), 2000, 455.


other divinities⁸⁴. The Egyptians seem to have intentionally chosen an otherwise negative action to counteract that very event. Since Osiris and his means of rejuvenation, the eye of Horus, are in danger of being swallowed by the Typhonian pig, Anubis swallows Osiris in order to protect him. A nearly exact sequence of events occurs in the Seventh Hour of the Book of Amduat, where Re swallows his own eye until he passes over Apep⁸⁵.

The Bark with Baboons and Pig

The upper right corner of the Judgment Hall contains a small bark in which two monkeys brandish sticks, one in the act of striking a large pig (Plate XV). These monkeys are hypostases of the god Thoth, who attacks the swine of Seth⁸⁶. The Late Period versions differ from the earlier versions by placing both monkeys within the bark, rather than having one hovering outside of it (Plates XVI-XVII)⁸⁷.

Text E: Label to Pig



In the New Kingdom versions of the Judgment Hall, the pig is accompanied by a small label, which can also be read as the last word of Text H (see below), as the object of the verb *nh*. The Late Period sarcophagi reproduce the signs  at the same scale as the pig itself; the omission of Text H on the sarcophagi suggests that 'm is indeed the label to the pig. M. Heerma van Voss⁸⁸ reads the Late Period label as 'm di "der die Portion verschluckt,"

⁸⁴ Cf. Nut who swallows her "piglets" in order to give birth to them in the morning (N. Billing, *Nut. The Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography*, 2002, p. 18-20), and Neith (Esna no. 60) who shelters the eye of Re by swallowing it (*ibid.*, p. 20 n. 29).

⁸⁵ E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 552: 'm.hr iwf ir.t/itn=f m t3 r 'p=f hr=f "Then 'Flesh' swallows his eye/disk in the earth so that he might pass by him (Apep)."

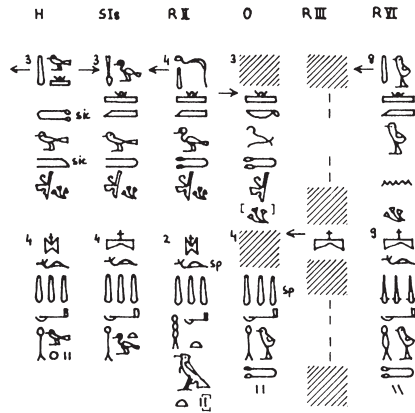
⁸⁶ Chr. Leitz, *Das Buch h3t nhh ph.wy dt und verwandte Texte* (ÄA 55), 1994, p. 269-71 interprets this scene in light of CT Spell 157-158 (II 326-62), but he incorrectly associates the black pig of Seth with Anubis. Unfortunately, the obscurity of the spells does not shed much light on the Judgment Hall scene. For other mythological allusions relating to the monkey striking the pig in the bark, compare the myth involving Thoth and a pig (who swallows the star of the night) in P. Brooklyn 47.218.84 (unpublished)—for a brief description of this episode, see D. Meeks in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985* (BSAK 3), 1989, vol. 3, p. 300; Thoth also attacks a pig in P. Bibliothèque Nationale 177 (as described in W.R. Dawson, *Aegyptus* 8 [1927], p. 104), accompanied by seven udjat-eyes, seven falcons, seven cats and seven ibises. For Thoth's role in judgment scenes, see Chr. Seeber, *op. cit.*, p. 147-154.

⁸⁷ For another parallel to this scene, see E. Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königsgräber. Ramses IV. und Ramses VII. (Theben 11)*, 1990, pl. 128 and p 76; unfortunately, the scene is damaged and none of the accompanying text survives. Underneath this scene are two *dd*-pillars with elaborate "solarized" Osirian crown, providing a parallel to the Re-Osiris imagery in the Judgment Hall of the Book of Gates.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 1007.

but a reading of simply *ʿm* “swallower”⁸⁹ enables a greater number of mythical references. The pig of Seth can swallow the eye of Horus⁹⁰, like the evil *rrk* serpent⁹¹ or Seth in the form of an oryx⁹². The action of Seth against Horus is analogous to the swallowing of the solar eye by Apep⁹³.

Text F: Label to Boat with Apes



The following translation follows that proposed by E. Hornung⁹⁴, itself nearly reproduced by J. Zeidler⁹⁵ and S. Wiebach-Koepke⁹⁶.

mdw mʿ.tyw tni.(w)^a

wdʿ=f mdw Dḥwty

The words of the justified are distinguished,
as he renders judgment, namely Thoth.

^a The use of the verb *tni* most often appears with the term *mʿ.t* in the expression “truth cannot be distinguished from falsehood” (*Wb.* V 375.24-25). Here, the verb *tni* refers to the judgment of the deceased, because the blessed dead (*mʿ.tyw*)⁹⁷ will be separated from the damned.

⁸⁹ The plain arm substitutes for the strong arm as a determinative of the word *ʿm*; this reading is supported by the the version in the tomb of Ramesses VI which writes the strong arm following *ʿm*.

⁹⁰ H. te Velde in U. Luft (ed.), *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, 1992, p. 572-4. For a malevolent pig who “swallows,” also compare a demon who appears several times in the Magical Papyrus of Brooklyn: *šȝy.t ʿm.t n.t imnt.t* (S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré*, 1970, p. 7-8). Sauneron also connects the “swallowing” pig form of the demon with the pig in the Judgment Scene of the Book of Gates. The malevolence of the pig in these magical texts is further expressed by the demonic *ḥdr.t*, probably an Egyptian transcription of the Semitic word for pig (*ibid.*, p. 9). Even when not specifically in pig-form, Seth can swallow (*ʿm*) the eye of Horus (G. Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten*, 2002, p. 198-199).

⁹¹ J.F. Borghouts in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, vol. 2: *Religion*, 1984, p. 703-16.

⁹² Ph. Derchain, *op. cit.*, p. 26-27 and text 15 (p. 54).

⁹³ J.F. Borghouts, *JEA* 59 (1973), p. 114-121.

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 149.

⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 148-149; he reads *mʿ.tyw* “Rechtschaffenen,” rather than *mʿ.t*. Both are possibilities, since the bird following the *mʿ*-sociole could be read as *tyw* (substitution) or *t* (substitution followed by consonantal principle *tyw > t*).

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 269.

⁹⁷ Compare the deities called *mʿ.ty.w* in Scene 43 of the Book of Gates, who hold aloft a *mʿ.t* feather (E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 254-57).

Text G: Label to Upper Ape/Address to both apes



ntr h'=f ir.t hry tp(?)^a=f
dw3.tyw n s33w=f
tnn tn dw3.tyw m sšm=tn^b

The god appears in glory, the eye atop(?) his head.

The Underworldly gods pertain to his guardianship.

Distinguish yourself, Underworldly gods, by means of your visible forms.

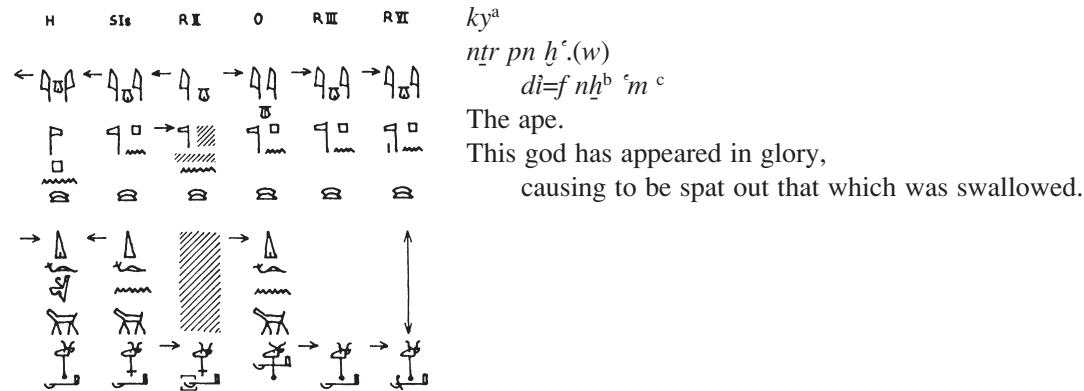
^a In the tombs of Horemheb and Ramesses VI, hieroglyphs that normally write the phrase *gm-wš* follow the sun-disk sign, here read as *ir.t*. The other versions either omit these signs or leave a blank space. As in the numerous examples of *gm-wš* in the Book of Amduat⁹⁸, the papyrus original to the Judgment Hall may have been damaged by the time it was used as a template for the decoration of the tomb of Horemheb. Another possibility is proposed here — the hair sign, read as a sportive writing *hry tp* “that which is upon the head,”⁹⁹ may have called to mind the common expression *gm wš*. The presence of the sun disk/eye atop the head of the ape recalls an event in the story “The Contendings of Horus and Seth” (see below).

^b In the version from the tomb of Horemheb, this statement appears at the beginning to the labels of the apes, which fits an address to both monkeys, before describing each individually.

⁹⁸ W. Barta, *JEOL* 20 (1968), p. 27-42.

⁹⁹ É. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933), p. 38.

Text H: Label to Lower Ape



^a This word consists of a g-pot and two reed-leaves in various arrangements. In each version, this word appears immediately adjacent to the ape hovering outside the boat. The terms *kiw/kiki/ky* (Wb. V 110.4, 116.12) for “ape” suggest a value of *k* for the pot-stand, a reasonable phonetic interchange between *g* and *k*¹⁰⁰.

^b The reading *h* for *hn* (F26) is not based on acrophony from *hn*¹⁰¹, but a substitution of kind with the animal belly (F32).

^c In most of the New Kingdom versions, the description of the ape is separated into three elements: *ntr pn h^c* near the prow of the boat, *di=f nh^b* near the stern, and *'m* above the pig. The second element is missing in the tomb of Ramesses VI, where the text is arranged in a more ordered fashion. The circular motion required to read the signs enhances the cyclical nature of the text, an excellent example of cryptography by perturbation. The pig might even serve as another over-sized hieroglyph – “causing to be spat out, what the *pig* swallowed.”

Read together as annotations to the apes, new meanings of the cryptographic annotation appear. The second person plural pronoun is used to address both apes, while each is described as “this god.” Both appear in glory, but the top ape possibly has a sun disk atop his head (according to the text), while the second causes the pig to “spit out that which was swallowed.” The actions involved as well as the characters — the pig (Seth) and the ape

¹⁰⁰ Fr. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 2001, p. 36 (discussing the develarization of *q* and interchange with *g* and *k*); K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Verbum*, 1899, vol. 1, pp. 168-171. For a similar interchange between *g* and *k*, compare hieroglyphic *giff/gwf* written as *kff/kwf* in Demotic (W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 1954, p. 562) and Ⲅⲁⲡⲓ in Coptic (W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 1976, p. 462). For the interchange of *g* and *k* in demotic, see Fr. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique I, Introduction, orthographe, phonétique*, 1949, pp. 94-99.

¹⁰¹ Questionably suggested by J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 148.

(Thoth) – suggest a connection with a central event in the Late Egyptian story “The Contendings of Horus and Seth.” After Isis smears Horus’ semen on lettuce in Seth’s garden, Seth consumes the tainted lettuce. During the subsequent court proceedings, Seth claims to have violated Horus, but Horus convinces the tribunal to seek out the semen to prove that the opposite is the case. When Thoth calls forth the semen from Seth, it refuses to emerge from his ear, but takes the form of a “disk of gold” atop his head. Before Seth can destroy the disk in his rage, it is appropriated by Thoth¹⁰². The scene and annotations in the Judgment Hall mimic the events in the story – the lower monkey strikes Seth, causing the divine material to be expectorated, while the upper monkey adorns himself with the sun disk.

The ape of Thoth causes the pig to spit out that which he has swallowed. An annotation to the crocodile Wenty in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk describes a similar action and provides a previously unrecognized parallel to the cryptographic text in the Judgment Hall:

Wnty bš=f ʿ3=f ir.t Rʿ imy h.t=f
km.t=s ʿq=s m hʿ.w=s

Wenty vomits and ejaculates the eye of Re which is in his belly,
its pupil entering in its glorious apparitions¹⁰³.

Even the swallowing of Re by Wenty, an at best ambivalent creature, has a renewing and positive effect. A similar process of “swallowing” appears in several scenes from the Book of Gates, where time is swallowed by various beings (e.g. the Herert snake and Aqen), only to be regurgitated¹⁰⁴. The potentially destructive act of swallowing is a prerequisite to the recreation of time. While the “swallowing” performed by the pig is clearly an evil action (hence the punishment by the apes), when Anubis “swallows his father,” he is acting as a beneficial member of the Judgment Hall of Osiris. However, both actions ultimately support the maintenance of the cosmos, because what the Seth-pig swallows reappears as a manifestation of the solar god, just like Wenty vomiting and ejaculating the eye of Re, which he had consumed. Although the translation above differs greatly from E. Hornung’s translation, the final statement — “the Underworldly gods pertain to his guardianship” — agrees with his interpretation of the overall meaning of the text — the apotropaic function of the divine eye¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰² This latter episode is translated by M. Broze, *Mythe et roman en Égypte ancienne: Les Aventures d’Horus et Seth dans le Papyrus Chester Beatty I*, 1996, p. 95-97. An excellent examination of this episode, with parallels from the Pyramid Texts, appears in H. Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion (PdÄ 6)*, 1967, p. 43-46. J.G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources*, 1960, p. 45-46 also notes two texts from Edfu where Seth swallows lettuce, becomes pregnant, and “gives birth” to a sun disk atop his head. See also the examination of Fr. Servajean, *RdE* 55 (2004), p. 125ff.

¹⁰³ A. Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire (BdE 19)*, 1953, p. 68; Translation of J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 185, see also p. 320-21 for further commentary to the passage.

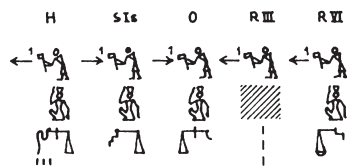
¹⁰⁴ E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, p. 113-14 and the references cited by J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 99 n. 1. See also the use of “swallowing” as a punishment of enemies throughout the Underworld Books — E. Hornung in T. Schabert and E. Hornung (eds.), *Strukturen des Chaos*, 1994, p. 227-262).

¹⁰⁵ E. Hornung, *OLZ* 96:2 (2002), p. 195 rightly takes issue with J. Zeidler’s criticism of his reading, citing J.C. Darnell, *SAK* 24 (1997), p. 35-48 for this important quality of the udjat-eye.

Text I: The God of the Scale

Label (in all New Kingdom versions):

This label appears in a column in front of the “solar text” above the gods on the stairs and is followed by a label describing the gods on the steps (Text L).



nṯr fḥi mh3.t

God who carries the scale.

Louvre D9



Louvre D9/CG 29305:

iry mh3.t

He belonging to the scale.

CG 29305



Additional text in Horemhab and Ramesses II:

th 'b mh3.t^a

The plummet which unites the scale.

^a The cryptographic values of the signs are easily explained. The word *th* is spelled with an elaborate *t*-loaf in its mould (X2) followed by a sun-disk substituting for the *h*-sign. The *wp*-horns possess the value of the single horn — 'b'. The standing deity, who is in the position of the plummet, “unites” the scale, since he is simultaneously the center balance for the two scale-pans.

The scale is a hypostasis of Thoth¹⁰⁶, and he is particularly identified with the indicator of balance, the plummet (*th*)¹⁰⁷. Similarly, the god in the Judgment Hall carries the scales, but his body is in the position of the support and plummet. The plummet shows the difference between the two objects being weighed, and in descriptions of the weighing of the heart, the *th* should be at *s.t=f* “its (proper) place.” A similar idea is expressed in an epithet of Thoth: *th 'q3 hry-ib mh3.t* “the precise plummet in the midst of the scale”¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ Chr. Seeber, *op. cit.*, p. 68. However, J. Zeidler’s reading (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 152) of the cryptography as *Dḥwty nb mh3.t* is flawed with the exception of the last word. For a collection of passages dealing with the imagery of the scale, see H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen*, 1924, p. 168-170.

¹⁰⁷ P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon (OLA 78)*, 1997, p. 1149. Note the interesting discussion of *th* in M. Stracmans, *La nouvelle Cléo* 6 (1954), p. 378-385.

¹⁰⁸ *Urk.* IV 2093.7.

Text J: Annotation to the God of the Scale



ntr rdī wd^c šb.w š^c.w^a m 3h.w
f3i wdn.w^b m mh3.t
isf.tyw mwt.w tm(w) hpr
wd^c mdw hwi ir.t

God who causes the apportioning of offerings and portions among the blessed spirits.

Who carries the weights on the scale,

with the result that the evil doers and damned have ceased to exist.

The one who judges, who protects the eye.

^a The *š^c.t* offerings relate the judgment scene to the offering of the eye of Horus (for more on the udjat-eye, see “A Lunar Interpretation,” *infra*); in the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, the offering of two *š^c.t* loaves by the lector priest to the king is interpreted as Thoth offering the eye of Horus¹⁰⁹: [*hpr n di hry*]-*hb š^c.ty nswt ... Dḥwty Hr dd mdw Hr mn n=k ir.t=k nī š^c=s ir=k Dḥwty [r]dīt š^c.t snw* “[Then the lector] priest [gives] two loaves to the king... Thoth says to Horus: ‘Horus, take your eye! It shall never be separated from you!’ Thoth gives two loaves.” The requirements of the udjat-eye which are weighed in

¹⁰⁹ K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysteryspielen* (UGAÄ 10), 1928, pl. 2, ll. 18-19 and p. 121; as K. Sethe notes, this statement borrows from Pyramid Text Utterance 142 (§87): “O Osiris the King, take the Eye of Horus, for it will not be sundered from you—2 *š^c.t*-cakes” (translation R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 1969, p. 28).

this scale also measure out the provisions for the blessed dead, because the provisions themselves are metaphorically the udjat-eye.

^b *Wdn*-weights (*Wb*. I 390.17) can refer specifically to the weight at the end of a scale's plumb line, which is typically shown being adjusted by Anubis in depictions of the weighing of the heart. A passage in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant suggests that the *mdw*-sticks in the Judgment Hall are actually to be read as *wdn.w*¹¹⁰; in one of the peasant's rhetorical speeches, he addresses the official as *h3y f3i wdn.w* "O plummet line which carries the weights"¹¹¹. The three *mdw*-sticks which write *wdn.w* are also used to write *mdw* at the end of Text J, echoing another pun in the Eloquent Peasant where aspects of speech and judgment are metaphors for the parts of a scale: "Your tongue is the plummet; your heart is the weight; your lips are its arms"¹¹².

For further commentary on the scales, particularly the object being weighed in the empty scale-pans, see "A Lunar Interpretation," *infra*.

Gods on the Steps

Three short labels and one longer annotation associate themselves with the gods on the steps, who possess a dual solar-Osirian nature. The first label to the gods on the steps occurs as signs interspersed among the deities in the tomb of Horemheb, the sarcophagus of Seti I, and the Osireion. This label also appears on the sarcophagus of Djedher (Louvre D9).

Text K: First Label to the gods on the steps

H		Louvre D9	
SI4			
R II			
O			
R III			
R VI			

psd.t imy.w Wsir
Ennead among whom is Osiris.

Louvre D9
psd.t imy.w ht Wsir
Ennead who are in the following of Osiris.

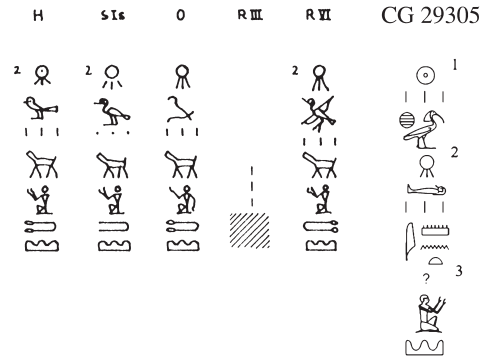
¹¹⁰ Cf. J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 153: "der die Worte mit der Waage wiegt," following E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 150. M. Heerma van Voss (in *World of the Old Testament*, p. 84) also reads *mdw.w*, suggesting that the "words" in question are those recited during the "Negative Confession," which adds a further level of meaning to the passage in the Judgment Hall of Osiris.

¹¹¹ B1 122; R. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, 1991, p. 22.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The second label to the gods on the steps appears in the first column of the “solar text” quoted below. The description of the gods as *akhu*-spirits relates them to Re, since the first sentence of the solar text describes the sun god as *ꜥḥ* when he rests in the western horizon, the location of the blessed spirits.

Text L: Second Label to the gods on the steps

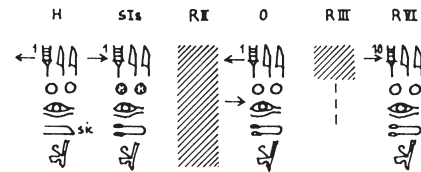


ꜥḥ.w imy.w^a imn.t

Blessed spirits who are in the West.

^a The New Kingdom versions use the *hn*-skin sign, while CG 29305 writes the preposition with the prostrate mummy¹¹³ and plural strokes.

Text M: Solar label



The single vertical line, which is normally interpreted as part of the label of Anubis¹¹⁴, is here linked with the annotation of the gods on the stairs, which is predominately solar in nature. Both texts share cosmographic allusions and the use of the painted eye, albeit with different cryptographic values.

‘ḥ’y R’

‘n.(w) m dšr.t

The standing place of Re,

having become beautiful in redness.

¹¹³ A well-attested cryptographic writing for *m* (J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 25-26).

¹¹⁴ None of the translations of this text as a label to Anubis are persuasive.

A close parallel to this short description appears in texts F and G from the Book of Nut¹¹⁵:

Book of Nut, Text F:

w'b=f m-hnw 'it=f Wsir

sw 'nh it=f

3h=f 'n=f hr=f

He shall become pure in the hand of his father Osiris.

Then his father comes to live,

becoming effective and beautiful before him.

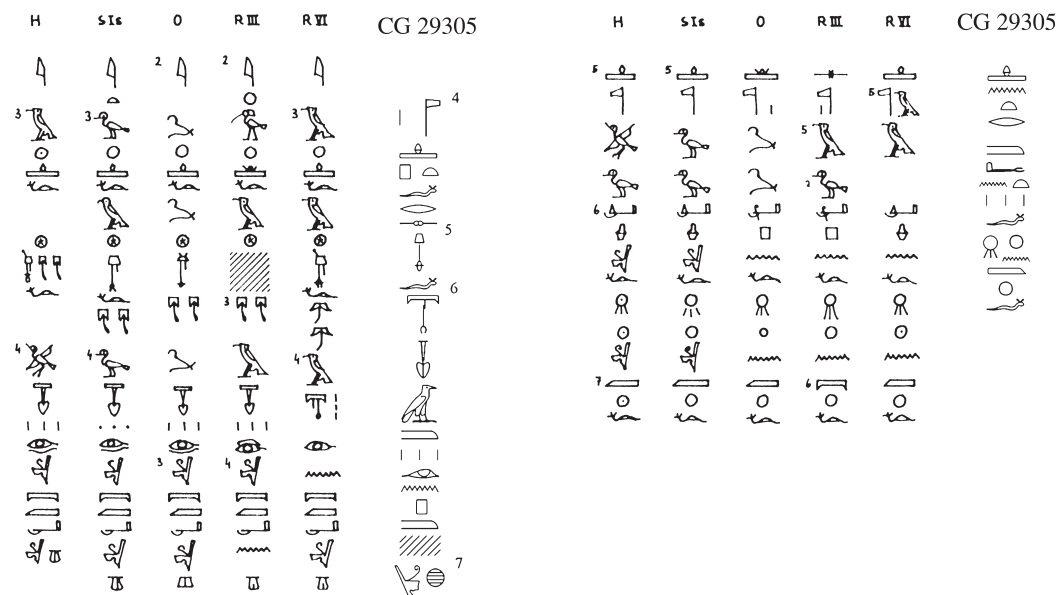
Book of Nut, Text G:

dšr.t (𐀓) m-ht ms=f

The redness after his birth¹¹⁶.

The appearance of cryptographic orthographies that can all be read as astronomical terms — *'h'*, *'n*, and *dšr* — should not be coincidental. The short vertical annotation commonly read as a label to Anubis may now be reinterpreted in light of the parallels in the Book of Nut. Re halts within the Judgment Hall of Osiris for the momentous event of the weighing of the udjat-eye (see below), but the label indicates the assured outcome — Re will once again shine brightly in the redness of dawn.

Text N: The Solar Text



¹¹⁵ O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 1960, vol. 1.

¹¹⁶ The P. Carlsberg I version of Text G spells out *dšr.t*, and explains that the red-crown in the hieroglyphic writing is to be read *dšr.t*, which in turn supports the reading of the red-crown in the cryptographic text in Scene 33 of the Book of Gates.

This annotation appears in five New Kingdom versions and one Late Period variant, the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305). As in the annotation within the staircase (Text P, below), the Late Period version differs in several respects from the earlier recension. The short columns of text appear over the gods on the steps, but describe the actions of Re within the Judgment Hall.

i(w) 3h R^a
h_{tp}=f m dw3.t^b
wb3=f kkw-sm3w
rnpi m 'nh^c
h_{tp} ntr m wdt.n=f^d
wbn m itm=f

Re becomes luminous,
 when he rests in the Underworld,
 when he opens the uniform darkness,
 with the result that he rejuvenates in life.
 The god is content with what he has commanded,
 and shines from his disk.

^a Several variants exist among the different New Kingdom versions; while three texts write reed-leaf plus bird sign, the sarcophagus of Seti I and the tomb of Ramesses III write a *t*-loaf or round sign respectively. The reading *i(w) 3h* could fit all writings if one assumes that the *t*-loaf and round sign substitute for *h* as the phonetic complement of *3h*. A likely alternate reading is *i.3h*, an emphatic *i.sdm=f* form¹¹⁷ — “It is when Re become luminous, that he rests.”¹¹⁸. On the sarcophagus CG 29305, this initial sentence is replaced by a single word: *ntr*.

^b The sarcophagus CG 29305 replaces the phrase *m dw3.t* with *r=s*.

^c This reading follows previous translators¹¹⁹ and is particularly supported by the version on CG 29305, which replaces the *p.t* sign with a *p*-stool. Although the “uniform darkness” can describe the limitless expanse beyond the ordered cosmos¹²⁰ and is often a term for Underworldly regions, the phrase “rejuvenates in life” suggests a more specific location — the Egg of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of Amduat, which exists in the *kkw-sm3w*¹²¹. The

¹¹⁷ On this form, see P. Cassonnet, *Études de néo-égyptien. Les Temps Seconds i.sdm.f et i-ir.f sdm, entre syntaxe et sémantique*, 2000.

¹¹⁸ Another reading *iw R'* ... was proposed by previous translators (E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 149; J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 150-51; S. Wiebach-Koepke, *op. cit.*, p. 270-71).

¹¹⁹ E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 149; J. Zeidler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 150-51. The spellings in CG 29305 may also support this reading (M. Heerma van Voss, in *Egyptian Religion*, vol. 2, p. 1005 and 1008-1009).

¹²⁰ O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *op. cit.*, pl. 44.




¹²¹ E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 443.

Egg of Sokar is the place of the solar rebirth within the Underworld, immediately preceding the reanimation of the corpse in the Sixth Hour of the Books of Amduat and Gates and battle with Apep in the Seventh Hour of Amduat. The “roar of heaven when it storms” that is heard within the Egg of Sokar is the sound of creation itself¹²², and like the Solar Text in the Judgment Hall links the uniform darkness with rejuvenation.

^d The reading *wḏt.n=f* was proposed by J. Zeidler. Although he does not note the derivations, each sign can be explained through non-acrophonic principles¹²³.

Although the translation of this passage closely follows that proposed by other scholars, an entirely new interpretation of the text arises from a closer look at the lexicography. This cryptographic text associates two momentous events during the fifth hour of the nightly solar journey — the cosmic judgment in Scene 33 of the Book of Gates and the recreation that occurs in the Egg of Sokar. These two scenes exemplify essential events for solar rejuvenation — a successful verdict for Re against his enemies and contact with the chaotic forces of the uncreated world.

Text O: Label to the Bound Enemies

H	→	○	○	⊖	⊖	⊖	BM 1504	
st	←	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	CG 29305	
o	→	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	Louvre D9	

The four bound male figures beneath the throne platform are appropriately labeled *hfty.w Wsir* “enemies of Osiris,” in varying degrees of enigmatic script. The Late Period sarcophagi also depict the four enemies within the *tntḥ.t*, but the phrase *hfty.w Wsir* is incorporated into the annotation, Text P.

¹²² J.C. Darnell, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 443 n. 84.

¹²³ Bird: *w* as a substitution of kind; *dl*-arm/strong arm: *ḏ* from hieratic confusion with *ḏw*-mountain, or collapse of the dentals and consonantal principle *dl* > *d* > *ḏ*; the *p*-mat does not often have the value *t*, but could be derived from a confusion of shape between the elaborate bread loaf (X2) and the small rectangular mat.

The *tn̄t̄3.t*-platform atop which Osiris sits enthroned also contains several columns of enigmatic text. Two distinct versions of the text appear on extant monuments — a New Kingdom recension and a Late Period recension. The import of the text is the same, but each version utilizes different expressions (*hr rd.wy=fy* vs. *hr=f*) and orthographies, with the Late Period recension employing a number of non-cryptographic writings. The text on the sarcophagi is not a Late Period “translation” of the cryptography as much as a reinterpretation of the original cryptographic text. The text on CG 29305 also contains some perturbation of the signs.

New Kingdom Royal Sources:

The following translation adheres closely to Hornung’s understanding of the text¹²⁴, which formed the basis of the translations of J. Zeidler¹²⁵ and S. Wiebach-Koepke¹²⁶.

hft.yw=f hr rd.wy=fy
ntr.w 3h.w m-b3h=f
ir=f tn̄w.t m dw3.tyw
wḏ=f hft.yw r htmy.t
b3.w=sn ir=f š̄.t=sn

His enemies are beneath his two soles,
 while the gods and the blessed spirits are before him.
 He makes a reckoning among the Underworldly gods.
 He assigns the enemies to the place of annihilation.
 As for their bas, he makes their slaughter.

Louvre D9, BM 1504, and CG 29305:

hft.yw=f hr=f
ntr.w 3h.w m-b3h=f
hft nm.t m hfty.w mwt.w dw3.t^a
wḏ Wsir hft.yw n htmy.t
b3.w=sn^b ir=f š̄.t=sn

His enemies are beneath him,
 while the gods and blessed spirits are before him,
 opposite the slaughtering blocks containing the enemies
 and the damned of the Underworld..
 Osiris commends his enemies to the place of annihilation,
 as for their bas, he makes their slaughter.

¹²⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 150-51.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 155.

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 271.

^a E. Hornung¹²⁷ transliterates this section of the Louvre sarcophagus as: *hft n mwt n d3tjw*, noting that this does not produce a readable statement. The reading *nm.wt* “slaughtering blocks” is similar to M. Heerma van Voss’ translation “the executioners,” citing *Wb.* II 264.10¹²⁸.

^b Following the *tm*-sled, Louvre D9 writes a small bird and two *z*-bolts. The New Kingdom versions lack a determinative, so the various bird signs on the sarcophagi might be a transformation of the bird-sign which writes *b3* in most of the earlier texts (Horemheb uses a *b3*-ram). The two *z*-bolts probably derive from the suffix pronoun *=sn* in the earlier texts, as the other late copies indicate.

Context of the Judgment Hall on Late Period Sarcophagi

The Late Period sarcophagi on which the Judgment Hall appears all reproduce the same decorative scheme, which consists of excerpts from the Books of Amduat, Gates, the Book of the Night, and the Litany of Re. A complete description of the layout of these texts on the sarcophagi is beyond the scope of this paper¹²⁹, but Plate XVIII shows the immediate environs of the scene and its complement on the opposite side of the sarcophagus, both of which are relevant for the present discussion. Furthermore, several elements of this type of sarcophagus decoration suggest that Late Period theologians fully understood the Underworld Books; one of the clearest pieces of evidence is the distribution of the hours of Amduat — the organization of the first eleven hours precisely follows the directions within the New Kingdom versions of the text, even though these directions do not appear on Late Period sarcophagi of this type. The sarcophagi with the Judgment Hall are the only extant source, with the exception of the sarcophagus chambers of Thutmose III and Padiamenemope (TT 33)¹³⁰, to place the hours of Amduat according to their intended layout and conclusively demonstrate the knowledge of the Late Period scholars who conceived the sarcophagus template.

The Judgment Hall of Osiris occurs near the head end of the left long wall of the sarcophagus¹³¹. Beneath the judgment scene on the sarcophagi is a *sbh.t*-portal whose proportions have been altered to fit into the remaining half-register; the juxtaposition of the Judgment Hall and the portal suggest that the two occupy the same space—the Judgment Hall is within the portal¹³². This excerpt from the Book of Gates is preceded by Addresses 48, 50, 53, and 54 from the Great Litany of Re and followed by the Fifth Hour of Amduat (see

¹²⁷ *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 150.

¹²⁸ In *Egyptian Religion*, p. 1009.

¹²⁹ A complete description and publication of some of the previously unpublished sarcophagi appears in C. Manassa, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3.

¹³⁰ W. Barta, *JEOL* 21 (1969-70), p. 164-168; A. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), p. 87.

¹³¹ The term “left” describes the side to the left on an overhead view of the sarcophagus.

¹³² The *hkr*-frieze atop the portals is also mimicked by the *hkr*-frieze that appears along the upper edge of the *cuv*e of the Late Period sarcophagi. This feature is paralleled in coffins of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, which have Chapter 125 of

Plate XVII). At the foot end of the right wall of the sarcophagi (see Plate XVIII b), a similar enthroned Osiris from the lower register of the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night appears, thus framing the Fifth through Eighth Hours of Amduat with images of the triumphant Osiris presiding over the realm of the dead¹³³. Although the connection between these scenes has been previously noted¹³⁴, their joint occurrence on the Late Period sarcophagi has never been recognized. The similarities in the values of the cryptographic annotations in Scene 33 of the Book of Gates and the enthroned Osiris in the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night further connect the two scenes, and their juxtaposition on the Late Period sarcophagi demonstrates beyond doubt that the ancient Egyptians related them¹³⁵; this further speaks against holding too stringently to the modern designations of the Underworld Books, since the Books of Amduat, Gates, and Night all appear on the sarcophagi as if they were parts of the same composition.

A Lunar Interpretation: The Udjat-Eye in the Judgment Hall

The key to understanding the significance of the Judgment Hall of Osiris is the recognition of the object being weighed in the scales, the focal point of the tableau. Several different pieces of evidence suggest the udjat-eye is that key — the purpose of the scales is to measure the requirements of the eye of Horus, so that it might then be refilled. The restoration of the udjat-eye represents the template for the justification of Re in the Underworld.

The first hint of the lunar significance of the tableau is the juxtaposition of monkeys and a large swine in the upper right corner of the scene, which is an allusion to the birth of the eye of Horus and its protection by Thoth¹³⁶. The measuring of the udjat-eye and its endangerment by the black pig of Seth are closely linked in the Coffin Texts — Spell 155 describes the former (see below), while the latter is the theme of Spells 157-158. In the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Gates, a monkey atop a standard appears immediately next to an udjat-eye (called the *ntr.t*) atop another standard¹³⁷, further reinforcing the proposed money-eye constellation in the Judgment Hall.

the Book of the Dead, leading J. Taylor, in N. Strudwick and J.H. Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis, Past, Present and Future*, 2003, p. 110-11 and n. 155, to suggest that “this element, which occurs only rarely on other coffins, may have emphasized the identification of the coffin with the hall where the judgment took place.”

¹³³ The layout of the hours of Amduat on the sarcophagi with the Judgment Hall (the Type II Late Period sarcophagi) suggest a division of the Book of Amduat not only along the four walls of the “hidden chamber” but also in thirds: the first-fourth hours, fifth-eighth, and ninth-twelfth. The fifth through eighth hour block as the *wšw* the “middle of the night” is also found in the Osireion star clock, where the division of the hours is 1-3-4-3-1 (O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 35).

¹³⁴ G. Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, vol. 1, p. 259-61.

¹³⁵ For a translation of the cryptographic text in the Eighth Hour of the Book of the Night and further comparisons of that scene with the Judgment Hall of Osiris, see C. Manassa, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-259.

¹³⁶ H. Te Velde, *Seth: God of Confusion*, p. 44-45.

¹³⁷ E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 1, p. 372, vol. 2, p. 263-265.

A number of texts links divine judgment with the lunar cycle. Already in the Coffin Texts, the judgment which takes place in Heliopolis is related to the cycles of the moon¹³⁸, a theme made explicit in the hymn to the crescent moon¹³⁹: *Dḥwty wr pr m m3'-hrw i3b.(t) šsp.(w) wnm.(t) i'h iy.w r ss=f* “Thoth the great has come forth in justification, the left eye having united to the right, and the moon having arrived at the proper time.” Furthermore, the dual lunar and solar natures of the udjat-eye fit perfectly with the union of Re and Osiris¹⁴⁰, which is an important aspect of judgment in Egyptian religion¹⁴¹.

The mummiform god who forms the “stand” for the scale-pans is unique to the Judgment Hall of Osiris, with the exception of a Twenty-second Dynasty mummy cartonnage¹⁴². In contrast to Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, the scale-pans in the Book of Gates remain empty, leading Seeber to suggest that the former judgment takes places on an individual scale, while the latter represents a cosmic manifestation of the event¹⁴³. The proximity of the Judgment Hall of Osiris to the solar corpse in the Sixth Hour of the Book of Gates provides further evidence for the transcendent nature of the events rendered in Scene 33¹⁴⁴. If the Judgment Hall of Osiris represents the ultimate triumph of Re over his enemies, which is the pattern for the moral weighing of the heart, one must determine the purpose to which the scales are put in the Book of Gates, a previously unexamined topic. While the scales might weigh the heart of Re, there is no evidence to suggest such a corporeal interpretation. For the solar god, it is not his heart that must be measured, but rather the ultimate expression of his well-being and victory—the *wḏ3.t*-eye.

The *wḏ3.t*-eye is a paradigm of measurability¹⁴⁵, and its lunar identity makes the *wḏ3.t*-eye ideal for a Netherworldly metaphor¹⁴⁶. Book of the Dead Chapter 71 provides an

¹³⁸ P. Wallin, *Celestial Cycles*, 2002, p. 78-79.

¹³⁹ Fr.-R. Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), p. 251.

¹⁴⁰ Ph. Derchain, *RdE* 15 (1963), p. 11-25. Furthermore, in the introductory text to the filling of the udjat-eye in the Ptolemaic temple “stairway” scenes described above, the eye is called “the eye of Osiris,” “the eye of Horus,” and epithets related to the eye of Re (S. Aufrère, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 214-215 n. c).

¹⁴¹ Chr. Seeber, *op. cit.*, p. 120-23; the themes of judgment and the *b3-dmd* “united ba” are directly related to one another at the Porte d’Évergète, where the two bas are Khonsu and Thoth, but the archetype is clearly the union of Re and Osiris (on the passages in question, see Fr. Labrique, in D. Budde, S. Sandri, and U. Verhoeven [eds.], *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, 2003, p. 209-215).

¹⁴² J. Capart, *CdE* 14 (1939), p. 232-36.

¹⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 187-192.

¹⁴⁴ E. Hornung, *Pforten*, vol. 2, p. 150-51.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. the use of the parts of the udjat eye for grain measurements, G. Möller, *ZÄS* 48, 1910, p. 99-101; S. Vleeming, *LÄ* II, cls. 1201-02; see also H. Te Velde, *op. cit.*, p. 48-49. See also the brief note on the missing 1/64 by A. Belluccio, *DE* 32 (1995), p. 7-8. At the temple of Kom Ombo a list of fractions and toponyms describing water offerings relates the eye of Horus (which can also write *b3q.t*) to Egypt, and thus the parts of Egypt to the fractional components of the udjat, discussed both by Ph. Derchain, *RdE* 46 (1995), p. 89-92, and D. Kurth (in M. Schade-Busch, ed., *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach*, 1996, p. 149-164).

¹⁴⁶ The moon, as the Netherworldly sun, may be described as an *itn* and like the diurnae disk be identified with the *b3*-spirit (P. Lausanne, No 3391, M. Valloggia, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, 1979, p. 1*, line 3): *r sh3 'b3=f nt3 p.t*

unambiguous connection between the udjat-eye and the scale, as does a priestly declaration from Edfu Temple¹⁴⁷:

i ts.w 7 d3is.w pwy rmn mh3.t
grh pwy n ip wd3.t

O these seven Utterances, who carry the scale,
 during this night of reckoning the udjat-eye.

ni hbi=i m r3.w n.w ir.t
ni [d3=i] m iwsu
ni nkn=i dbhw nw ntr.t

I have not diminished the parts of the Hours-eye.
 I have not [been false] with the scales.
 I have not damaged the requirements of the divine eye.

Numerous texts speak of the “lack” in the udjat-eye that must be “filled”¹⁴⁸—weighing the eye to determine the exact lack is not only a logical extension of these passages, but an activity specifically suggested by the exact measurements given for the missing portions¹⁴⁹. The most explicit depictions of refilling the udjat-eye appear in the temples of Edfu¹⁵⁰,

m itn n i'h “so that his ba might appear in heaven like the disk of the moon”. Compare also the straightforward statement in the Great Amun Hymn at Hibis Temple (N. Davies, *Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, 1953, pl. 33, l. 17): *i3b(t)=k m idn m grh* “your left eye is the replacement (for the sun) in the night” (probably a pun on *idn* “replacement” and *itn* “sun disk,” for which see D. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram, Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*, 2006, p. 165-67). For other text passages and discussions of the moon as the replacement for the solar disk during the night, see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott, Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I (MÄS 19)*, 1969, p. 309 and Fr.-R. Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), p. 261-62 (Osiris as moon); H. Ernst, *SAK* 28 (2000), p. 58-59. The speeches by the thirty gods who represent the lunar months on the Propylon of the Temple of Khonsu offer numerous expressions of the moon as solar replacement in the Netherworld (*Urk.* VIII, nos. 53-54). For an extensive treatment of the connection between Osiris, the udjat-eye, and the moon, see P. Koemoth, *CdE* 71 (1996), p. 203-220; M. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, 2002, p. 120-125.

¹⁴⁷ Book of the Dead, Chapter 71: É. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, 1886, vol. 2, p. 153, Aa. In the Late Period versions of Chapter 71, the *ts.w* are replaced by the *d3isw* — R. El Sayed, *MDAIK* 36 (1980), p. 387-90. Edfu: É. Chassinat, *Temple d'Edfou*, 1928, vol. III, p. 79, ll. 1-2 (cited by J. Assmann, in J. Osing and E.K. Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, 1992, p. 18-19).

¹⁴⁸ S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, 1991, vol. 1, p. 199-202.

¹⁴⁹ In Coffin Texts Spell 155 (CT II 297c-298a), an address to the *b3.w psdntyw* “the bas of the new moon”, the deceased claims knowledge of the precise number of *r3*-parts that differentiate the filled eye from the damaged eye (P. Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, 1986, p. 572). At the conclusion of the spell (R. El Sayed, *op. cit.*, p. 387-90), the deities involved are listed as Osiris, Anubis, and Isdes (= Thoth), who all appear in the Judgment Hall of Osiris. Related Book of the Dead Chapters 114 and 116 which involve knowing the “souls of Heliopolis” also gives prominence to knowledge of the requirements of the udjat-eye. For an early treatment of both texts together, see K. Sethe, *ZÄS* 57 (1920), p. 1-50. For the “filling” of the udjat-eye, see also *Wb.* II 392, 2 and *Belegstellen*, vol. 2, p. 580; note especially the Twentieth Dynasty example from TT65: *mh wd3 htp.t(i) m r3.w=s* “Pacified with its constituent elements, the udjat-eye is filled.” For *r3.w* “parts” at Edfu, see P. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, p. 574, citing *Edfou*, vol. 1, p. 389, l. 4. Note also the use of fractions in the description of the weighing of the heart in P. Northumberland III, H.-W. Fischer Elfert, in *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück*, 2003, p. 112-115.

¹⁵⁰ The stairs are part of the astronomical scenes on the north wall of the pronaos (*Description* I, pl. 58; reproduced in Fr. Labrique, *RdE* 49 [1998], pl. XV).

Dendera¹⁵¹, and Philae where a series of gods (fourteen or fifteen in number) ascend a “lunar stairway” in order to merge with, and thus replenish, the udjat-eye¹⁵². Thus, the staircase on which Osiris sits in the Judgment Hall may also be an allusion to the lunar cycle. As in Scene 33 from the Book of Gates, the gods ascending the staircase in the Ptolemaic scenes are referred to as a *psd.t*¹⁵³. A hymn accompanying the lunar crescent also known primarily from Ptolemaic and Roman sources, gives an active role to Re-Osiris who fills the missing parts of the udjat-eye¹⁵⁴:

hnty-mk=s hnm.n=f i3b.t
Wsir wbn(w) m ntr im=s
hpr̄r šps hr mḥ hb=s
 Khentymekes has joined to the left eye (moon),
 Osiris has shined as a god by means of it,
 the noble scarab fills its lack.

This same text describes the actions of Thoth thus¹⁵⁵:

Dḥwty pr.(w) m m3'-hrw sip.n=f wd3.t n nb=s
wts.n=f sw dbḥ=s
 Thoth has come forth justified after reckoning the udjat-eye for its lord,
 after supplying it with its requirements.

After filling the missing portions of the udjat-eye with “its requirements,” the hymn states that both Re and Osiris are *m3'-hrw* against their enemies. Victory and justification flow directly from the reconstitution of the eye¹⁵⁶. A measurement of the eye’s lacking elements is thus a necessary prerequisite to the filling of the eye and triumph over *isf.t*.

¹⁵¹ The stair scene occurs in a large lunar tableau on the ceiling of the pronaos (*Description IV*, pl. 18 [reproduced in Fr. Labrique, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI; H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 35 [sketch in Fr.-R. Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), p. 242]), on the south exterior wall of the pronaos (R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. IV, pl. 56, a; reproduced in Fr.-R. Herbin, *op. cit.*, p. 240), and on the ceiling of the third west Osiris chapel on the roof (S. Cauville, *Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes*, *Dendara X/2*, 1997, pl. 260; *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 204-205).

¹⁵² All the scenes are described, translated, and discussed at length by S. Aufrère, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 205sq. Another possible textual reference to the lunar staircase occurs in the “Hymn to the Twelve Names of Re-Horakhty,” attested in several versions: *i R' hry 'h' w=f 'h' hr hnd=f nw bi3* “O Re, master of his lifetimes, who stands upon his throne of iron.” (A. Gasse, *BIFAO* 84 [1984], p. 204; the transliteration here is based on the Portal of Euergetes and the more accurate copy in P. Clère, *La porte d'Évergète*, 1961, pl. 72). The filling of the eye atop the staircase is also discussed by A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* (*BdE* 47), 1973, p. 389-390.

¹⁵³ A detailed examination of the groups of gods associated with these scenes appears in Fr. Labrique, in R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz (eds.), *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Feste im Tempel*, 1998, p. 91-121; *idem*, *RdE* 49 (1998), p. 107-149.

¹⁵⁴ Fr.-R. Herbin, *op. cit.*, p. 237-282; the accompanying lunar hymn also occurs in a 22nd Dynasty papyrus and has its origins in the New Kingdom (*ibid.*, p. 280); quoted passage appears in *ibid.*, p. 249.

¹⁵⁵ H. Roeder, *Mit dem auge sehen*, 1996, p. 307-315, *passim*.

¹⁵⁶ Parallel texts from several sources in *ibid.*, p. 253-4

Once filled, the eye will balance with Maat, providing a template for the weighing of the heart in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. In depictions of the weighing of the heart, the udjat-eye can play a central role; the *wḏḏ.t*-eye appears both above the judgment scene itself¹⁵⁷, near the depiction of the scale, and in the hand of Thoth¹⁵⁸. In one exceptional case, the *wḏḏ.t* eye replaces the *mḏ.t* feather in the pan opposite the heart¹⁵⁹. These tantalizing clues suggest the invisible matter weighed upon the scale in the Judgment Hall of Osiris is none other than the eye of Horus. The ancient authors may have refrained from depicting the udjat-eye, since the scales already allude to its missing portions, and it was deemed undesirable to depict the lack of the eye. If the eye is one of the central themes of the scene, its invisibility could be part of the enigmatic nature of the tableau.

The enigmatic annotations to Scene 33 in the Book of Gates combine with the accompanying images to grant an even deeper meaning to the pivotal event of judgment. The title of the scene alludes to the “clothing” of the god who sits in judgment, protecting him from all outside influences. The verb *ḥbs* was probably also chosen to allude to the cryptographic text which annotates the scene. As J.C. Darnell has explained, cryptography is used in Scene 33 of the Book of Gates because it is “where the momentous decisions concerning the fates of souls are made”¹⁶⁰. The proper judgment at this point in the nightly journey is particularly crucial to the fate of the cosmos, because the weighing of the heart can be equated with the solar standstill, *ḥ*, when Apep has the potential to permanently stop the bark of Re — “In connection with the scales on which the heart is being weighed, there may be a pun on *ḥ*, ‘state of equilibrium (of scale),’ and the bark as *ḥ* ‘standing,’ even ‘balanced,’ teetering in the sky at a moment of peril”¹⁶¹. The new reading of the “Solar Label” (Text M) as well as the other annotations in Scene 33 suggests that the Judgment Hall is indeed a moment when the solar god is poised at the edge of a tremendous chasm, which can only be bridged by the refilling of the udjat-eye, whose requirements are weighed in the empty scale pans. The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates represents the ultimate *dies irae*, for the vindication of Re against his enemies, and thus the entire fate of the cosmos, is literally hanging in the balance.

¹⁵⁷ Chr. Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, p. 65-66, 70-1.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 147 n. 672.

¹⁵⁹ TT 356: Chr. Seeber, *op. cit.*, p. 75, citing Ph. Derchain, *ZÄS* 83 (1958), p. 75-6.

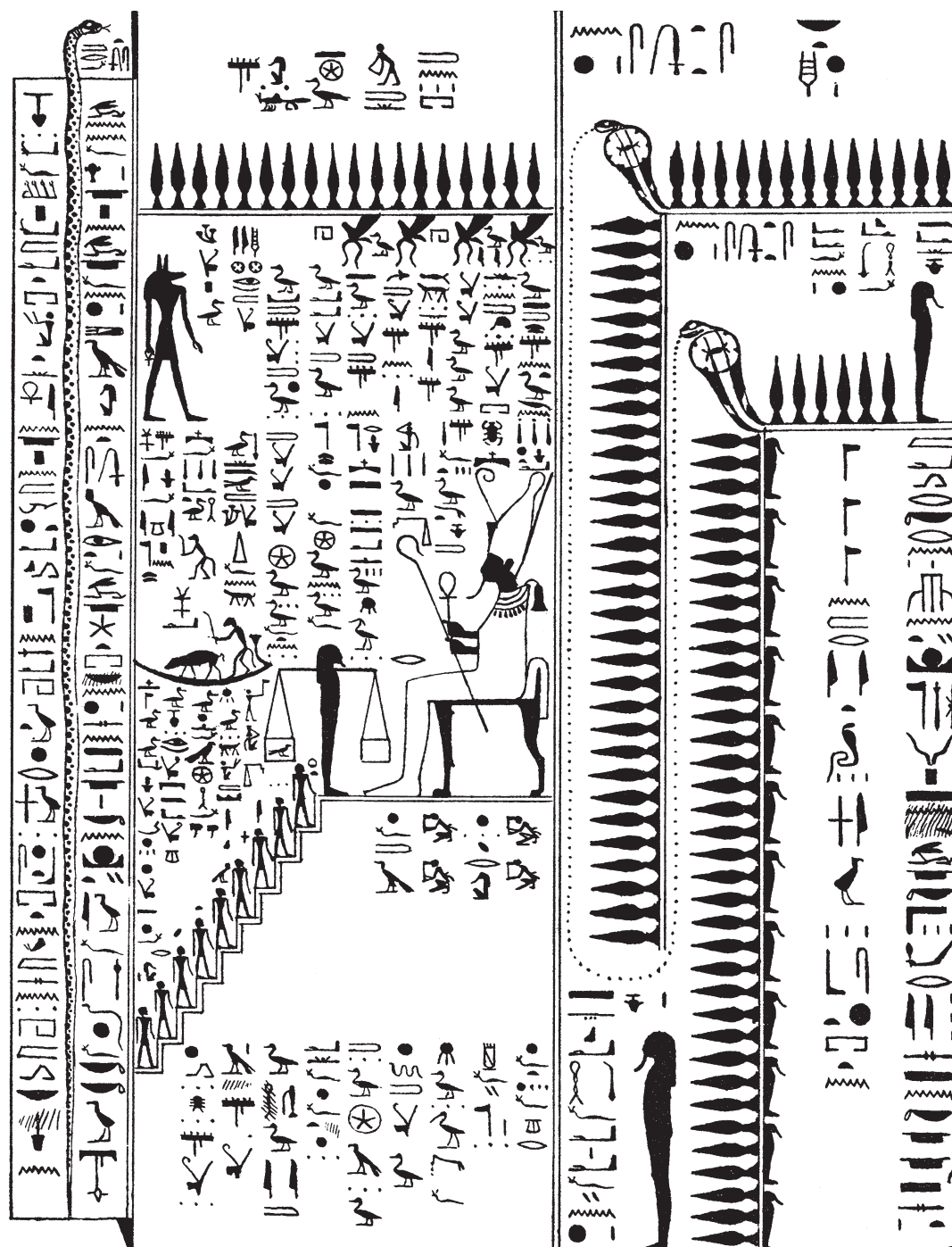
¹⁶⁰ *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 710.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 287-288 n. 59.

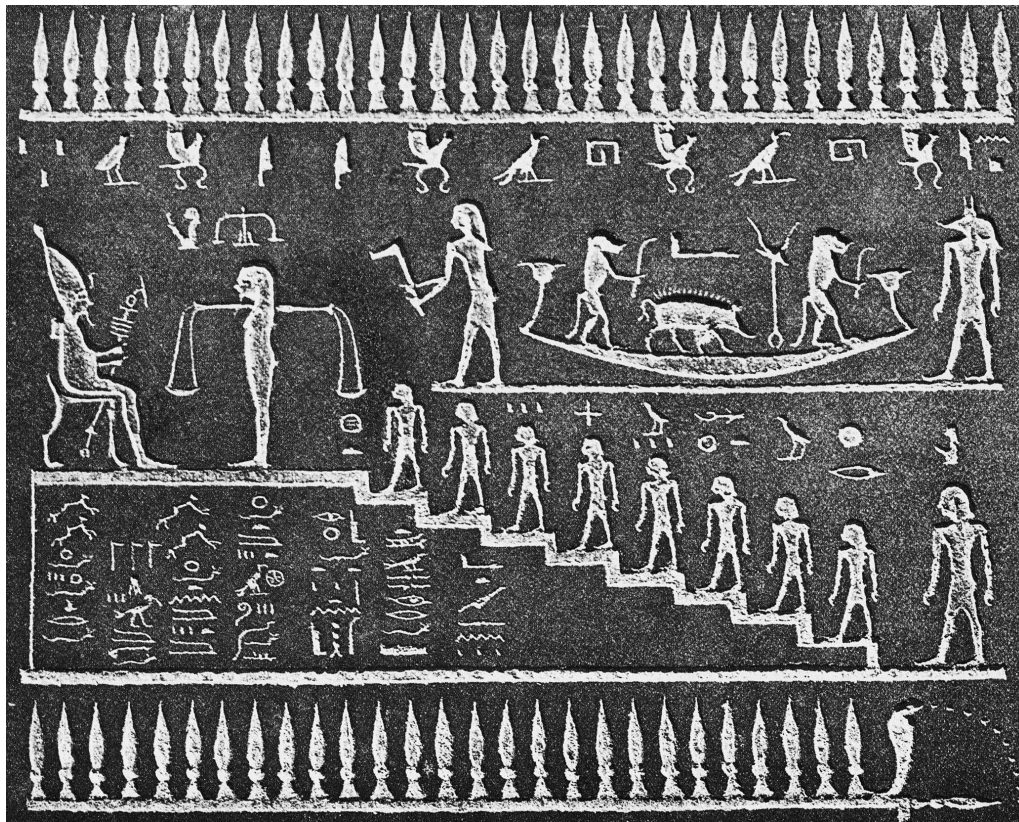
Résumé / Abstract

Traduction et commentaire des annotations cryptographiques de la scène 33 du Livre des Portes, connue comme le Tribunal d'Osiris. De nouvelles lectures du titre et plusieurs passages dans les sources royales du Nouvel Empire révèlent le sens lunaire de l'iconographie du Tribunal, et la balance anthropoïde vide peut symboliser la pesée de l'œil-oudjat. Un corpus des sarcophages de Basse Époque dont le programme iconographique comporte le Tribunal, fournit de nouvelles connections avec le Livre des Portes, le Livre de l'Amdouat, et le Livre de la Nuit.

Translation and commentary of the cryptographic annotations within Scene 33 of the Book of Gates, known as the Judgment Hall of Osiris. New readings of the title and various passages within the New Kingdom royal sources reveal the lunar significance of the iconography within the Judgment Hall, and the empty anthropoid scale may symbolize the weighing of the udjat-eye. A corpus of Late Period sarcophagi, whose decoration template includes the Judgment Hall, provide further connections among the Book of Gates, the Book of Amduat, and the Book of the Night.

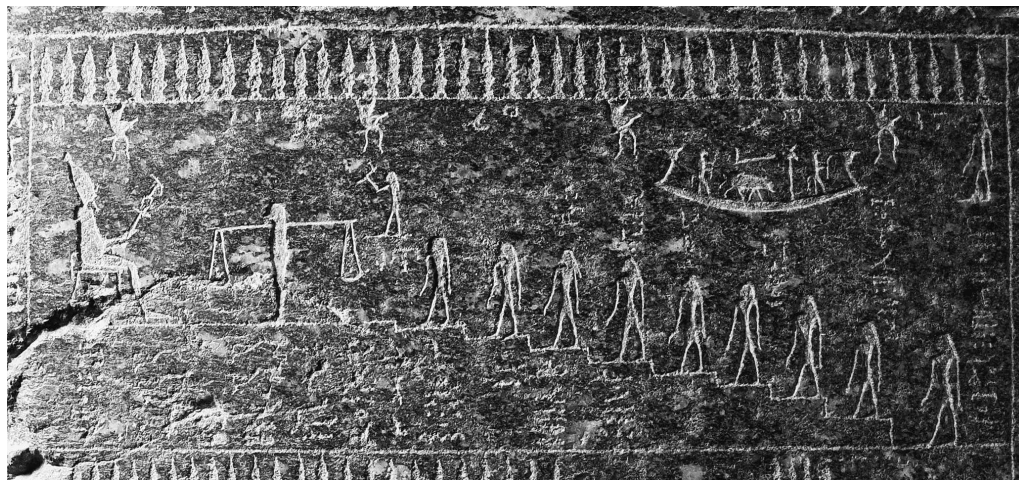


Scene 33 of the Book of Gates, the Judgment Hall of Osiris, on the sarcophagus of Seti I
(after S. Sharpe and J. Bonomi, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I*).



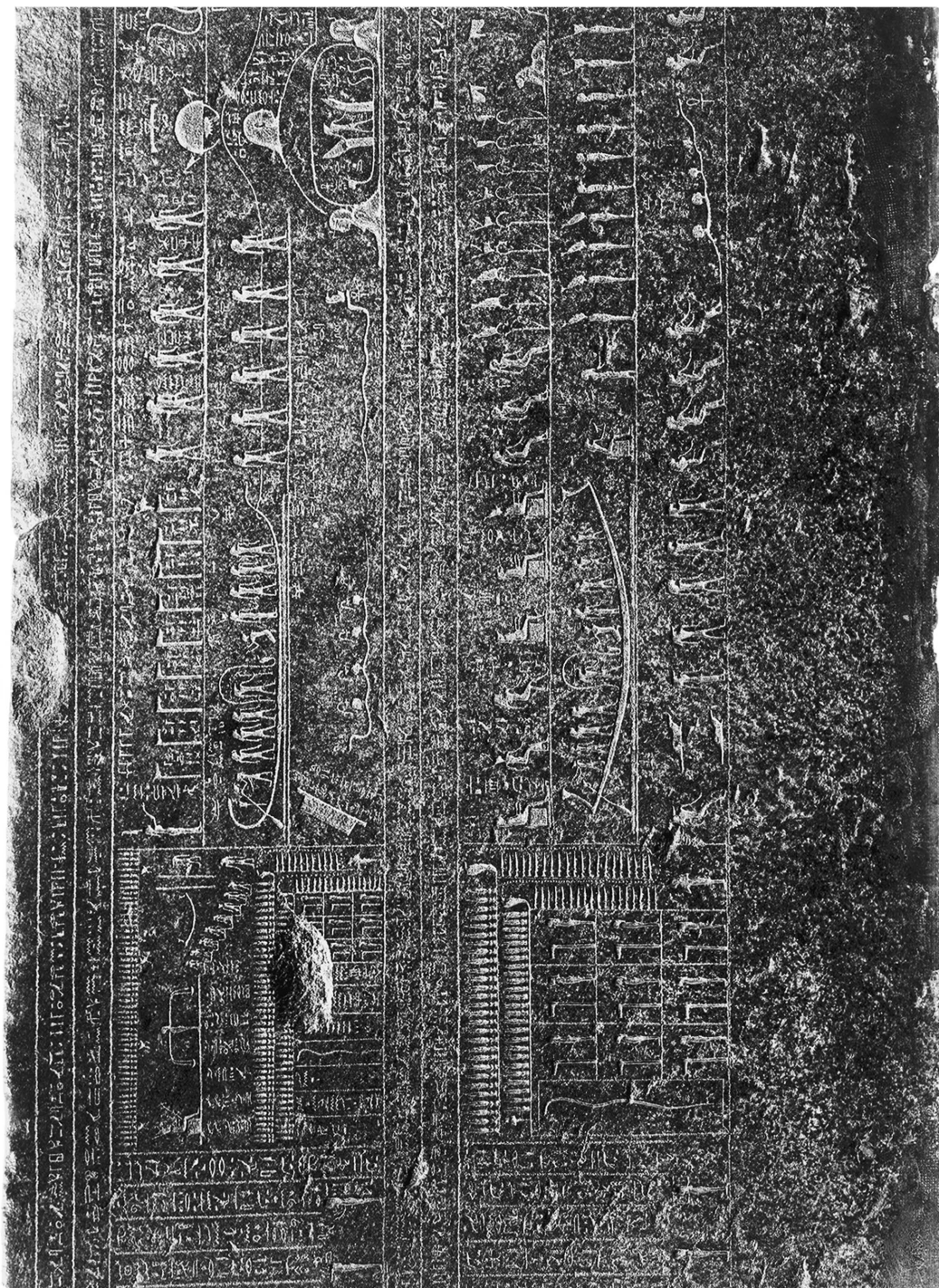
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The Judgment Hall of Osiris on the sarcophagus of Djedher, Louvre D9
(after *L'Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Musée du Louvre I*).

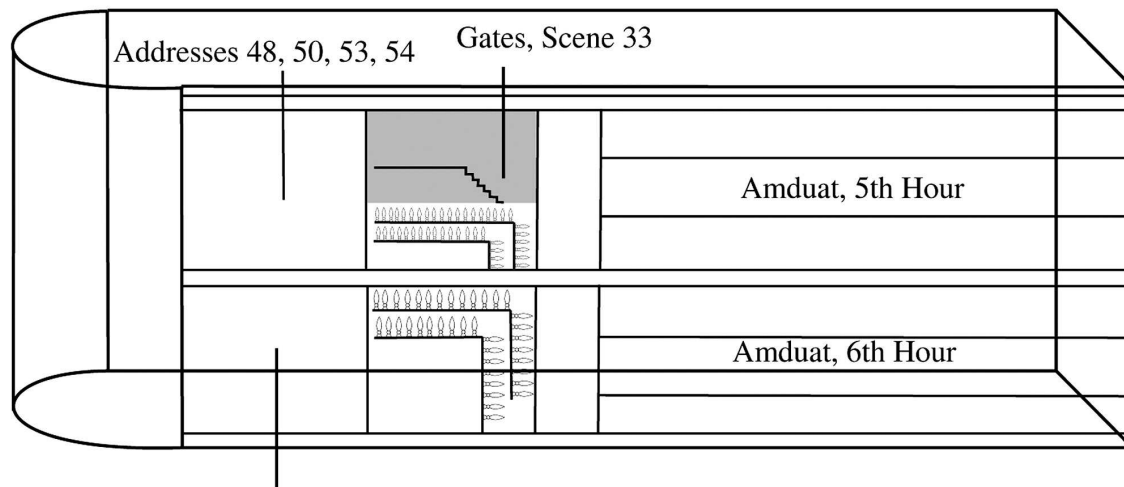


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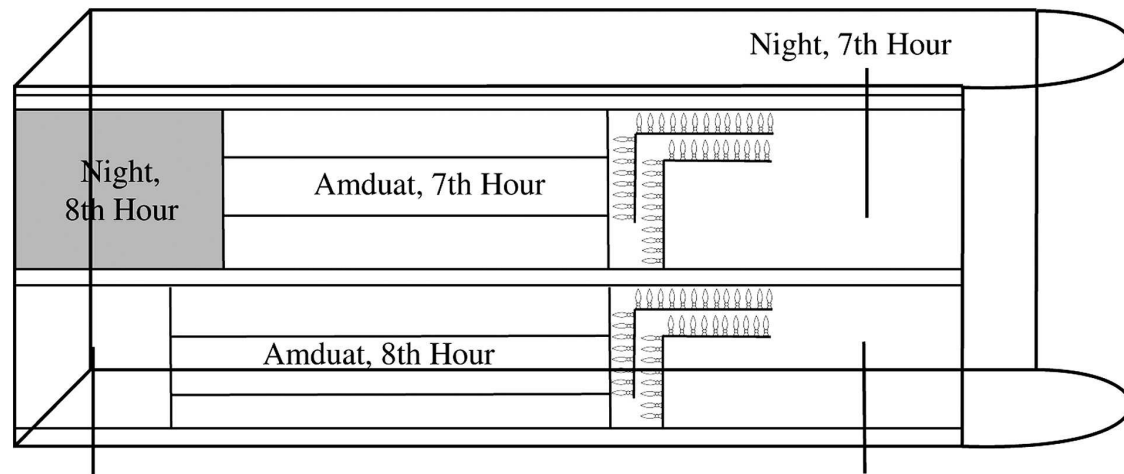
The Judgment Hall of Osiris on the sarcophagus of Djedher, CG 29305 (photograph by the author).



The Judgment Hall of Osiris and its associated scenes on the sarcophagus of Gemhap, BM 1504
(reproduced with permission of the British Museum).



a



b

Schematic representation of the decoration of the two long walls of the
Late Period sarcophagi containing the Judgment Hall of Osiris.

C. Manassa, *The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates*.