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The ‘Jackal Hymn of the West’ in the Book of the Night

Part 1 Overview of the text and previous scholarship

The text that I designate as the “Jackal Hymn of the West” (hereafter “Jackal Hymn”), appears in the twelfth hour of the Book of the Night, as a partially cryptographic annotation to a file of jackals, identified as “(jackal-headed) *bas*” and “Westerners,” who tow the solar barque toward the eastern horizon and sunrise. Its content overlaps to a limited extent with annotations to the *bas* of the east, south, and north, found in the Book of the Day.¹ The Jackal Hymn itself is attested only in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV9).² Fortunately, however, it appears there in two versions, permitting comparison of divergent orthographies, which shed light on several otherwise obscure passages. I follow Gilles Roulin in his designation of these two versions as “RV1a,” from the sarcophagus Hall, and “RV1b,” from Hall E.³

1 Drioton 1942, 84–89; Roulin 1996, 333, n. 1729; Betrò 1998, 517, stressing the presumable original unity of the Day and Night texts; Müller-Roth 2008, 126–139 (east), and 174–176 (south), and 281–292 (north), with additional discussion of the “mythic geography,” directionality, and regional as well as local associations of the Books of Day and Night in *ibid.*, 491–498; and Betrò 2016.

2 For the original inscriptions, see photographs in Piankoff 1954, pls. 150 and 196. Note that, while the painted Hieroglyphs in the former image are quite clear, many signs from the latter are hardly visible; in such cases, the present study follows the collation of Roulin 1996, vol. 2, 152–155, for which see discussion below. Regarding an original date of composition, note that the Jackal Hymn is surely Ramesside in its origins, insofar as the text includes the Late(r) Egyptian 3cp suffix =w (see § 5, D, § 7, C, § 9, B) alongside the earlier suffix =sn (§ 1, J, § 2, A, § 3, B, § 4, A, § 6, C–D) (for constructions and their distributions over time, see Winand 1995, 193–195; more generally, see also Černý and Groll 1993, 30); the present text might, in fact, represent a later addition to the Book of the Night itself, which composition occurred – without the Jackal Hymn – already in the Nineteenth Dynasty cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos and the tomb of Merneptah (KV8), as well as the Twentieth Dynasty tomb of Ramesses IV (KV2).

3 Roulin 1996, vol. 1, 7–9. Note that Roulin’s designation reverses that of Piankoff 1945 and Drioton 1945, who placed their “Text A” in Hall E and “Text B” in sarcophagus Hall I.

Note: I offer my most sincere thanks to David Klotz and Andréas Stauder for their kind invitation to participate in the conference on Cryptography in the New Kingdom and for the inclusion of the present study in the resulting volume of proceedings. In addition, I am extremely grateful to Marilina Betrò, Peter Brand, Philippe Collombert, John Darnell, Andréas Stauder, and David Klotz, each of whom have contributed valuable insights to the present study in its various incarnations, offering alternate readings, additional textual and mythological parallels, and bibliographic references, which have greatly facilitated and improved my understanding of the material under consideration.

The problematic nature of the Jackal Hymn has been evident since its first modern publication, Alexandre Piankoff's 1942 edition of *Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit*. In that volume, Piankoff – a prolific and intuitive translator of Egyptian – deferred treatment of the difficult cryptographic texts to Étienne Drioton, whose discussion appeared in a separate chapter. Unfortunately, serious deficiencies in that study came to light only three years later, when Fairman noted the occurrence, without specific enumeration, of more than forty errors in Drioton's transcription of the various cryptographic texts, in addition to numerous methodological flaws.⁴ After this, the Jackal Hymn sat more or less unnoticed until an English translation appeared in Piankoff's 1954 monograph, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*. In that later version, Piankoff prefaced the text with a terse caveat that its translation was by Dr. Drioton.⁵ Given the grave doubts that Fairman had raised already, one wonders if this note represented mere professional courtesy or if Piankoff sought to offer a polite caveat against a translation that he felt to be suspect? In either case, when Gilles Roulin eventually re-published the Book of the Night in two volumes, he chose to include only a synoptic hand copy of the cryptic Jackal Hymn, correcting most of the errors in Drioton's original transcription, but with no attempt at translation.⁶ Instead, Roulin deferred treatment of the difficult passage to John Darnell, whose dissertation on cryptography was then forthcoming. However, as Darnell noted later, his originally planned "study of all Egyptian cryptography from before the Late Period," soon narrowed to focus primarily on the three Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity.⁷ Thus, apart from brief notes on a few individual signs,⁸ Drioton's treatment of the Jackal Hymn from the Book of the Night has remained the (deeply flawed) standard for more than seventy years.

Fortunately, we are now in a position to re-evaluate this short, but important, text. As of 2013, all of the major New Kingdom cosmographic books have been published in modern editions with critical apparatus,⁹ greatly facilitating the search for

⁴ Fairman 1945, 89–90, n. 3, noting that "most of the errors are merely small details in the forms of signs that do not materially affect the reading, [although] others are of real importance and significance, including as they do entirely wrong signs, omissions of signs, addition of signs that do not occur in the original and inversion of the exact order of the signs." Alongside that already damning critique, Fairman notes also the suspicious fact that multifarious errors appearing in Drioton's copy are absent "from Piankoff's correct copy" in the same volume (*ibid.*). For additional comments on the disingenuous nature of some of Drioton's "solutions," see below, Part 2, §5, E; and similarly, Roberson 2013, 69–70*h* and n. 334; for the general unreliability of Drioton's methodology, see from the present volume, Roberson, "A Brief Excursus on the Mechanisms of Cryptographic Sign Substitution," nn. 20–22.

⁵ Piankoff 1954, 426, n. 40.

⁶ Roulin 1996, vol. 1, 333–334; vol. 2, 152–155; for additional discussion, see the review article of Betrò 1998, 516–517.

⁷ Darnell 2004, 5.

⁸ E.g., Darnell 2004, 9, n. 39, 30, 68, and 295; Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 119, n. 266.

⁹ See summary, with references, in Roberson 2016.

textual, orthographic, and iconographic parallels. In addition, cryptography itself has been the subject of numerous, specialized studies, which have greatly refined our ability to analyze and translate texts with non-standard orthographies.¹⁰ As result of these developments, the Jackal Hymn in the Book of the Night can now be explained more accurately and with greater fidelity to the intent of its ancient Egyptian authors. Nevertheless, I do not claim the final word on the text or suggest that my analysis is perfect.¹¹ Rather, my intent is merely to advance our understanding of its content – significantly, I hope – beyond the point at which Drioton left it, nearly three-quarters of a century ago.

The two versions of the Jackal Hymn were written only partially in cryptography, with much of the text in conventional Hieroglyphs. This latter point is highly significant, insofar as many of the signs and words that Drioton attempted to interpret cryptographically, often through the lens of acrophony, are in fact perfectly standard orthographies.¹² In both versions of the text, a majority of the inscription appears in vertical columns, with a single long row above and second long row below, reproduced in transcription at Plate 1, below. The long rows in both versions span the entire columnar width of the text, bracketing the inscription. In addition, the rows were written in retrograde, such that the hieroglyphs appear to process in single file toward the thighs of the sky goddess, which is to say, the eastern horizon and the transition from night to day.¹³ Numerous instances of metathesis, clustered primarily in the long rows, suggest that the ancient copyist(s) faced some difficulty in transcribing an originally pro-grade text into retrograde.¹⁴ In some cases, these perturbations appear deliberate.¹⁵ However, the majority of metathesized signs serve no obvious graphic, grammatical, or thematic purpose. Furthermore, in nearly

10 See “General Bibliography” from the present volume and its companion, *A Lexicon of Ancient Egyptian Cryptography of the New Kingdom* (cited hereafter as *Crypt. Lexicon*).

11 Cf. Betrò 1998, 517, speaking with regard to the present text, who notes the dangers inherent in such an analysis as potentially “random and ephemeral.”

12 Thus, Part 2, §1, E, L, §3, C, and §5, E.

13 The text itself alludes to this transition (§10). Note that the combination of retrograde + pro-grade + retrograde orientations necessitates reading the text in quasi-boustrophedon fashion: first advancing toward the thighs of Nut, then retreating in the vertical columns, before advancing again in the final row. Given the explicit solar/rebirth content of the Jackal Hymn and its vignette, it seems likely that the orientation of the text might also have been intended to evoke or reinforce this solar cycle, for which compare discussion in Munro 1989, with regard to boustrophedon orientation and text placement in the Old Kingdom tomb of Idu.

14 It might also be significant that a majority of the fully cryptographic text also appears in the long rows, where metathesis is most prevalent. This fact might suggest that the copyist, in addition to struggling with long transcriptions into retrograde, also did not understand the cryptic elements as well as their non-cryptic counterparts. This possibility is intriguing insofar as it raises the logical, albeit speculative, possibility that cryptography was not equally intelligible to all Egyptian scribes.

15 Thus, e.g., graphic transpositions of smaller signs with larger, bird figures, as well as perturbation for thematic or mythological effect (e.g., the creation of miniature cosmographs), and the arrangement of signs into tableau-like arrangements, evident primarily in the first row (§1).

every case, signs that have been metathesized in RV Ia, evidently in error, appear in their expected and correct positions in RV Ib.¹⁶ In addition, it appears significant that the former text omits approximately fifteen columns, which have been preserved partially in the latter.¹⁷ These observations suggest that RV Ib represents the more reliable and complete copy, while RV Ia appears, to a certain extent, corrupt.

The following transliteration and translation of the Jackal Hymn indicates cryptic words in **bold**. Indentations in the transliteration and translation follow clause divisions within the ancient text. Section numbers (§) correspond to discussion of grammatical and orthographic issues in the commentary (Part 2). Ruled lines reflect the five major, thematic divisions within the hymn, punctuated to a certain extent by the use of *A pw* (B) nominal sentences, functioning as glosses¹⁸ or commentaries on the preceding text and underlined in the transliteration and translation. These thematic divisions may be described as follows: §§ 1–2 (*A + A pw + participial statement + A pw B*), identification of the Jackal-headed *bas* as “westerners”, who tow the solar boat through the western horizon and the Netherworldly counterpart to Heliopolis; §§ 3–4 (*AB + A pw + A pw*), identification of the land and people of “Niu/Rebu” (Netherworldly Libya), as the sun god’s final destination in the Underworld; §§ 5–6 (Subject-Stativ + Adverbial sentence + *A pw*), magical assertion of knowledge of the two kites that accompany the sun god’s boat and rest with him at the end of the nocturnal journey; §§ 7–8 (Negative Subjunctive protasis + apodosis + damaged section), a magical injunction against possible failure of the sun and his companions to ascend into the visible sky, followed evidently by a description of the sun’s actions during his period of rest; and §§ 9–10 (*A pw + participial statement*), the concluding section, identifying the protectors and conveyors of the sun god, who facilitate his re-birth during the divine birth of the *Duatian*.

§ 1 *b3.w[†] jmn.tjw*
sbj.w pw t3.w h3s.wt 3h.t jmnt.t Jwnw
ntsn st3 wj3 n R^c r p.t
swr.n=sn s3b.w m J(w)nw 3h.t jmnt.t

§ 2 *hprw=sn pw s3b jmnt.tj*

§ 3 *Rbw rn=f*
t3=sn pw
ntr c3 jmn.tj hr jb w3d-wr jmn.tj
hntj rhy.t Rbw r drw.w n.w t3

§ 4 *rn.w=sn njw.t=sn pw*

¹⁶ Thus, Part 2, § 1, D, H; § 6, B; § 9, D–E; and § 10, A, C–D.

¹⁷ Part 2, §§ 7, A–9, D.

¹⁸ See generally Osing 1977; Gardiner 1994, § 189; Malaise and Winand 1999, § 468; with additional discussion and references below, § 6, D, nn. 152–153.

- § 5 *jw=j rh.kw sn dr.ty wj3 ntr m qd pn*
ntj m sš
jw=w m b3.w cnh.w
wp.w kkw-sm3w r Rc
 § 6 *3h.t jmnt.t hnc Rc rc-nb*
ntr htp.w r jwt=sn htp=sn (j)m
wmn sn.ty pw

- § 7 *nn spr Rc m t(3) 3.t*
cp=w m 3h.t
nn c[p]=w n t(3) [p].t
 § 8 *jr nw jrr.w jn Rc n [...] rf sjp.w [...]*

- § 9 *hntj.w pw njw.t=w*
nb hw.t c3.t dsr(.w) m Jwnw
 § 10 *ntsn d3 Rc rc nb hft msw.t-ntr dw3.tj*
n wnt ptr n t3

- § 1 The [jackal-headed] Western *bas*:
They are the ones who travel flatlands and hill-countries, the horizon of **the West** and **Heliopolis**.
 It is they **who haul the barque of Re** toward the sky,
after having glorified the Jackal-folk in Heliopolis and the Horizon of the West.

- § 2 Their manifestation is (the image of) a western jackal.

- § 3 Rebu (Libya) is its name:
 It is their **land**,
 the Great God, **the Westerner**, being in the midst of the western sea,
 which is before the people of **Rebu**, at **the ends** of the Earth.

- § 4 These are their names of their locality.

- § 5 I know them, (namely) **the two kites of the god's barque**, in this form,
 which is in writing:
They are living *bas*,
who separate the primordial darkness from Re,
 § 6 the western horizon being with Re every day,
after the god has rested, in order that they (too) **might come** and rest there.
 That is how the **two sisters** exist perpetually.

- § 7 But if Re should fail to arrive **in this moment**,
after they pass through the horizon,
 then **they** will not c[ross] into the sky.
 § 8 **Now, as for these things that are done by Re** for [...] those who control [...]
 § 9 **They are the ones foremost of their locality**,
 the **lord of the great mansion being cloistered** in Heliopolis.
 § 10 It is they who ferry **Re**, every day, **during** the divine birth of the *Duatian*,
 without **being observed** on earth.

Part 2 Commentary on the Hieroglyphic Text

§ 1. Row 1 + cols. 2–3

RVia, row 1 (retrograde, →):



RVIb, row 1 (retrograde, ←):



row 1

b3.w ^[A] *jmn.tjw* ^[B]

sbj.w ^[C] *pw* ^[D] *t3.w* *h3s.wt* ^[E] *3h.t jmnt.t* ^[F] *Jwnw* ^[G]

ntsn stj ^[H] *wj3 n R^c* ^[I] *r p.t*

cols. 2–3

swr.n=sn ^[J] *s3b.w* ^[K] *m J(w)nw* ^[L] *3h.t jmnt.t*

The [jackal-headed] **Western bas**:

They are the ones who travel flatlands and hill-countries, the horizon of the **West** and **Heliopolis**.

It is they **who haul the barque of Re** toward the sky, **after having glorified the Jackal-folk** in Heliopolis and the Horizon of the West.

RVia	RVIb

- A. The determinative in RVia depicts a seated, jackal-headed figure, alluding to the jackal-aspect of “the ones who haul” the solar barque, depicted both in the vignette and in the elaborate, thematic cryptogram at the end of the row.¹⁹

¹⁹ Allusions to the jackals towing the solar barque occur, e.g., in the third hour of the Amduat, which mentions *nfr.t mnj.t s3b.w*, “the tow-rope, which the jackals moor” (Hornung 1987–1994, 316–317; DuQuesne 1996, 37, § 56). Already in the Pyramid Texts, the individual deceased could be described as possessing a jackal’s countenance (see refs. in *Belegstellen*, III, 420.9), for which cf. the collective designation *s3b.w*, “jackal-folk,” mentioned below (K↓). For the notion of jackal-headed *bas*, cf. also DuQuesne 1996, 59, § 107, n. 578, who notes the occurrence of jackal-headed *ba*-birds

Note: Note that the right-left retrograde rows of RVIb have been transcribed left-right (§§ 1, 9–10), in order to facilitate comparison with the left-right retrograde rows of RVia; column transcriptions retain their original orientations. For the original orientation and layout of the texts, see Plate 1, below.

The presence of “jackals” (*z/s3b.w*) constitutes an ongoing cryptographic trope throughout the first third of the text, which employs various orthographies wherein the consonants *s(3)b* occur either as a primary value or a plausible, alternate reading (see C, H, K↓ and § 2, A).²⁰

- B. The *aleph*-vulture in both versions substitutes for the *tjw*-buzzard.²¹ The *h3s.t*-sign functions here as a determinative. In RV1a, the determinative has been placed beneath the following *p.t*-sign as an instance of cryptic perturbation to create a concise, hieroglyphic representation of the Egyptian cosmos, showing the vault of the sky above the hills and valleys of the earth (also see C↓). In RV1b, the determinative has migrated above the *aleph*-vulture, as an instance of graphic transposition,²² or else as a corruption of sign order due to scribal error.²³ The group *b3.w jmn.tjw*, “western *bas*,”²⁴ was recognized already by Drioton who, however, interpreted the noun phrase as a topicalized subject to the following A *pw* sentence.²⁵ The present study interprets the “western *bas*” as a nominal heading for the sentences that follow.²⁶ The beings described here are equivalent surely to the *b3.w jmnt.t*, “*bas* of the West,” described and depicted as towing the solar barque in numerous tomb paintings and papyri from the Nineteenth Dynasty through the Twenty-First, as well as later.²⁷
- C. In RV1b, the placement of the stars above the *p.t* hieroglyph (D↓), creates a miniature cosmograph,²⁸ in allusion to the framing vignette of the Book of the Night itself, in which stars pass along the body of the (anthropomorphized) sky goddess. Drioton interpreted the stars as *ntr.w*, “gods,” by metonymy, as an emblem or symbol of divinity, written three times as an archaic indication of

at the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, and *ibid.*, 38, § 57, n. 339, noting a “close but complex relationship” between the “*bas* of the West” (*b3.w jmnt.t*), the “*bas* of Hierakonpolis” (*b3.w Nhn*), and the “Jackals of Hierakonpolis” (*s3b.w Nhn*); for examples illustrating this equation, see also Van Voss 1955. For the function of the towing jackals as psychopomps, see DuQuesne 1990, 4–5; and *idem* 1996, 37, § 55.

²⁰ see DuQuesne 1996, § 12, n. 56, and § 45, who discusses a possible punning relationship between *z3b*, “jackal,” and *s3b*, “dappled.”

²¹ Compare the parallel text from the Book of the Day, which includes two instances with the *aleph*-vulture and two with the conventional *tjw*-buzzard (Müller-Roth 2008, 126); this substitution finds countless parallels in non-cryptic sources, where the buzzard is “often indistinguishable” from the vulture (Gardiner 1994, 467, G4).

²² For which, see Gardiner 1994, § 56.

²³ Numerous errors of metathesis occur in RV1a (D↓ and §§ 9–10); however, the generally reliable orthography of RV1b, which includes only one certain error of metathesis (§ 6, A), argues in favor of deliberate graphic transposition, rather than scribal error, in this case.

²⁴ The phrase is well attested; see Leitz 2002–2003, vol. 2, 715–716.

²⁵ Drioton 1942, 89: “Les Esprits occidentaux, ce sont des dieux.”

²⁶ With thanks to Andréas Stauder, for productive discussion of this passage.

²⁷ DuQuesne 1990, 3, n. 1. However, against the translation offered in *ibid.*, 9, note that the present text, as written, does not permit a reading of *b3.w jmnt.t*, “*bas* of the West,” as such.

²⁸ compare the cryptic spelling of Ptah, noted in Darnell 2004, 14, n. 4.

the plural.²⁹ More recently, Müller-Roth has followed Drioton's interpretation of the stars, with regard to the parallel text from the Book of the Day.³⁰ The reading is unlikely. On the one hand, the star as a writing of *ntr* does not otherwise occur prior to the Ptolemaic period.³¹ On the other hand – and far more damning – is the fact that, if we accept Drioton's reading of *ntr.w* in conjunction with Müller-Roth's otherwise plausible interpretation of the following signs (D↓), then the copula *pw* would break up a direct genitive (**ntr.w pw t3.w*, "These are the gods of the flat-lands," etc.), in violation of one of the cardinal rules of Egyptian syntax (cf. § 4, A, and § 9, A).³² Thus, I interpret the three stars in this instance as a plural perfective participle *sbj.w*, "those who travel"³³ by cryptic rebus and consonantal principle from *sb3.w*, "stars,"³⁴ with the following signs (*t3.w*, etc.) as the separable, direct object.³⁵ This reading calls to mind, via con-

²⁹ Drioton 1942, 103.

³⁰ Müller-Roth 2008, 457.

³¹ For the Ptolemaic orthography, see *Wb* IV, 83; Wilson 1997, 557; Cauville 1997, 290.



³² Gardiner 1994, § 129 and n. 11; Malaise and Winand 1999, § 464; Allen 2010, § 7.9. From the present text, cf. also § 2 (A *pw* B), § 3, B–D (A *pw* + unmarked adverb clause), § 4, A (A *pw* with inseparable, direct genitive), and § 9, A (A *pw*, in which the A member is a separable construction, *nisbe* + noun).

³³ The verb is attested with some frequency in other cosmographic compositions, with nineteen occurrences recorded in Barta 1990, 125 (*zbj*, "gehen," in the Books of Earth, Caverns, Gates, and *Amduat*); note that the intransitive idiom meaning "to die," said of *b3*-souls (*Wb* III, 430.14; *Belegstellen* III, 88, citing *Amduat*, hour 7 (=AMD, 560) was certainly not intended here.

³⁴ *Wb* IV, 82–83 (with thanks to David Klotz, who suggested the value *sbj.w*, with a different analysis of the parent construction, not followed here).

³⁵ The verb appears to be used transitively, with a following direct object but the usual sense of such a construction, i.e. "lead, conduct," does not suit the present context (see *Wb* III, 431.5–28; and compare, for example Hornung 1979–1980, vol. 1, 231–232: *ntsn sbj.w snw.w*, "It is they who conduct the messengers"). However, for transitive use of *z/sbj* with the sense of "moving (through)" a locality in the afterlife, cf. the divine epithet *sbb d.t*, "he who wanders eternity," from the Berlin Hymn to Ptah, discussed in Hornung 1963, vol. 2, 21–22, who notes the nominal use of *d.t* in that context as a synonym for the world of the dead; many similar constructions, employing both the geminated and un-geminated stems may be cited, for which see Leitz 2002–2003, vol. 6, 234–235, e.g., *sbb-nhh*, "He who travels through eternity" (NK–GR), *sb mnp.wt=f*, "He who travels through (i.e. lives through) his years" (NK), *sb-mnpw.t*, "He who travels through (i.e. lives through) years" (3IP–GR); *ibid.*, 236, *sb hh m h'c.w*, "He who travels through millions of lifetimes" (3IP), and similarly *sb s.t n.t Wsjr*, "He who reaches the place of Osiris" (NK). If the verb were used intransitively, we would otherwise expect the preposition *m* to introduce the indirect object of *sbj* (*Wb* III, 430.7: "in ein Land gehen"). In such a case, its omission here might be attributable to diachronic tendencies in the language, which suppresses *m*, et al., with increasing frequency from the New Kingdom and later in certain environments (Černý and Groll 1993, § 7.2–3, esp. § 7.2.3, regarding Late Egyptian and the omission of *m* "when denoting 'from' (a place)"). Also cf. the omission of prepositions from compounds, e.g., *ht(w)* for (*m*)-*ht*, prevalent especially in (Neo-)Middle Egyptian religious texts from the Valley of the Kings (*Wb* III, 344.1–8; with additional discussion in Roberson 2012, 115–117; for this phenomenon in Late Egyptian generally, also see Černý and Groll 1993, § 7.3.3, 69, § 7.3.10, 83, § 7.3.13, 92, § 7.3.25, and § 7.3.27, 111); the omission of *m* and *hr* from "First Present" sentence patterns


sonantal principle, the *s3b.w*, “jackals,” who are the central theme of the hymn and its vignette.³⁶

- D. The *p.t*-sign writes *p(w)* by reduction of the final-weak gender marker (cf. Coptic ΠΕ).³⁷ In RVIa, the sky sign has been placed above the determinative of the preceding word, *jmn.tjw*, as a probable error of metathesis.³⁸ The use of an A *pw* nominal sentence, followed by a *ntsn*-fronted participial statement (H↓), parallels the constructions from the concluding rows (§§ 9–10).
- E. Drioton read  as *nd.w*, “those who protect,” through an improbable derivation by acrophony,³⁹ as Müller-Roth recognized.⁴⁰ The present reading, as *t3.w ḥ3s.wt*, follows Müller-Roth’s analysis of the parallel texts from the Book of the Day, interpreting the land and hill-country hieroglyphs with their conventional values.⁴¹ However, we note also that Drioton’s interpretation as *nd.w*, which makes perfect sense in the context of the passage, might be explained without recourse to acrophony. Although otherwise unattested, the three land signs might substitute for N35 () through the general interchange of land and water hieroglyphs, as well as similarity of shape. Diego Espinel has proposed to read the latter sign with the value *n* in the cryptographic hymns from the tomb of Djehuty, although that solution is not without difficulties.⁴² The following

in Late Egyptian (Groll 1982); and the omission of various preposition, including *m*, in Neo-Middle Egyptian texts from the Third Intermediate Period and later (Jansen-Winkel 1996, 29; with additional examples in Manuelian 1994, 73).

36 Note that this consonance does not extend to the parallel texts from the Book of the Day, which describe ape-, ram-, and ibis-headed *bas* (cf. Müller-Roth 2008, 126, 174, 281). Nevertheless, the grammatical difficulties raised here demand that the star hieroglyphs from the Book of the Day be re-analyzed likewise as participles with following direct or indirect objects, rather than nouns in a direct genitive.


37 Cryptic value attested also in the Amduat and Book of the Day (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. N1, *p(w)*).

38 Thus, RVIIb, as well as all parallels from the Book of the Day, write , or similar (compare Müller-Roth 2008, 126, 281). If not for the fact that RVIa frequently exhibits errors of metathesis, which are not present in the more reliable RVIIb version, we might suggest that this apparent error was actually an instance of cryptic perturbation, placing the sky vault above the terrestrial hills as a miniature cosmograph.








39 Drioton 1942, 89, cryptogram nr. 72, 108: reading the three land signs as *n*, by acrophony from *ndb.wt*, “foundation” (*Wb* II, 396).

40 Müller-Roth 2008, 127, 2a.

41 Müller-Roth 2008, 127, 2c, citing already *Wb* III, 234.16, for the flatland vs. hill-country dichotomy; for caveats regarding Müller-Roth’s grammatical analysis of the parent construction, see discussion at nn. 30–32, above.

42 Diego Espinel 2010, 308d.1 and 310p, noting already the (more plausible) reading as *mw* in Sethe 1908, 7*, nos. 108–88. In the Underworld books, the value *n* might be assigned to the single land sign (Darnell 2004, 203, 28, n. 162, and 261, n. 404, citing already Hornung 1963, vol. 1, 77, 6); thus, also in non-cryptic contexts, where the interchange is surely to be regarded as an error from the Hieratic (e.g.,  *dj< n(=j) n>=k*, in Nelson 1981, pl. 139, 4, and pl. 153, 8, with thanks to Peter Brand; see Möller 1965, 29, nrs. 817 and 818, and 30, nrs. 331 and 333).

h3s.t-sign might then write *dw*, through the attested interchange of those two land signs (see F↓), as Drioton suggests.⁴³ Given these facts, both *nd.w* and *t3.w h3s.wt* may be regarded as possible readings. However, Müller-Roth's solution benefits from the elegance of simplicity and has been followed here.

- F. The *dsr*-arm serves as the cryptic determinative for *jmnt.t*, substituting for the *dw*-mountain () , by similarity of shape, which in turn replaces the *h3s.t*-hieroglyph () , as the normal determinative for *jmnt.t*.⁴⁴ Similar substitutions, involving the *nht*-arm and *dj*-arm in place of the *dw*-mountain occur in a variety of cosmological contexts, as phonograms.⁴⁵ In addition, the mountain hieroglyphs might also interchange their phonographic values.⁴⁶ In the present case, the somewhat complex substitution processes that yield the determinative  might have been conditioned by thematic principles, alluding to *dsr.t* and *jmnt.t* as synonyms for the necropolis.⁴⁷
- G. The reading of  and  as *Jwnw* is confirmed by the parallel text from the Book of the Day, which writes *3h.t j3bt.t Jwnw*, “eastern horizon and Heliopolis,” in conventional hieroglyphs, in all versions.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Drioton's assignation of the value *j* to the horizon-hieroglyph, by acrophony and phonetic change from *3h.t*, must be discarded.⁴⁹ Fortunately, the value of the sign may be explained easily enough as the substitution of  for , one land sign for another, writing *jw* > *j*, via consonantal principle. The following *n*-hieroglyph retains its conventional value, while the duck (RV1a) and vulture (RV1b) each write the final *w*, through the widely attested interchange of bird signs.⁵⁰ The “Heliopolis” named here (thus, also L↓ and §9, E) surely represents *Jwnw n dw3.t*, “Heliopolis-of-the-Underworld,” the chthonic counterpart to the (terrestrial) solar city and burial site of the sun god, attested since the Coffin Texts.⁵¹

⁴³ Drioton 1942, 101.

⁴⁴ The parallel text from the Book of the Day, which describes the “horizon of the east,” includes the conventional *h3s.t*-hieroglyph as a determinative of *j3bt.t*, “east,” in version W₁ (see Müller-Roth 2008, 126). The spelling of *Jmnt.t* with doubled *t* (*Wb* I, 87.1–13), is attested since the Old Kingdom but is particularly characteristic of Ramesside-era cosmological texts. However, the same spelling in the present context might also represent the feminine *nisbe jmnt.tt*, “western” (*Wb* I, 86.15–19), yielding “western horizon.” Either analysis is orthographically and semantically plausible, with little to recommend one over the other.

⁴⁵ *Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. D37, *dw* (Gates, Earth, Nut) and D40, *dw* (Amduat, Earth, Solar-Osirian Unity).

⁴⁶ *Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. N25, *dw* (Caverns, Solar-Osirian Unity), N26, *h3s.t* (Theban tomb of Djehuty).

⁴⁷ See *Wb* I, 87.7, 10; *Wb* V, 616.1–4.

⁴⁸ Müller-Roth 2008, 126.

⁴⁹ Drioton 1942, 90 and 105, reading *J(w)nw*.

⁵⁰ *Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. G1, *w*, and G39, *w*.

⁵¹ E.g., CT I, 185a–b, wherein the flesh and corpse of Re are said to lie in Heliopolis (thus, also Osiris; compare CT V, 284b), in contrast to the sky where the sun god's soul travels. For a thorough discussion of this locality, see Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 424–427; with additional comments in Darnell 2004, 419–421.

H. In RVla, the independent pronoun *ntsn* has been written *sntn*, as an obvious error of metathesis, corrected in RVlb.⁵² A similar *ntsn*-fronted participial statement occurs at this point in the parallel text from the Book of the Day.⁵³ The three, lashed jackals write *st̥3*, “those who haul/tow.”⁵⁴ The jackals, together with the solar barque to which they are lashed also serve as a direct representation of the towing of the sun god through the night time sky toward the eastern horizon, as depicted in the accompanying vignette.⁵⁵ The use of three jackal figures serves as archaic indication of the plural, alluding to the iconographic plurality of towing figures in the vignette, as opposed to the grammatically singular participle itself.⁵⁶ Of course, the towing figures also evoke the ongoing cryptographic theme of *s3b.w*, “jackals,” through direct representation. This identification prompted Drioton to read the lashed jackal figures as *sbj.w*, “those who conduct.”⁵⁷ Such a rebus value, derived plausibly via consonantal principle, would parallel the reading of the triple stars as *sbj.w*, “those who travel,” proposed above (C↑). However, while *sbj*, with the sense of “conduct,” and *st̥3*, “tow,” would appear nearly synonymous in this context, the jackal hieroglyph is associated almost exclusively with the latter value,⁵⁸ particularly in conjunction with the solar barque.⁵⁹ Thus, we may regard *st̥3* as the primary value, while *sbj* represents a plausible alternative or parallel reading.

52 Probably not an instance of cryptic perturbation, which is employed usually to add an additional level of meaning to the text (Manassa 2006, 114).

53 Müller-Roth 2008, 128–129, 3: *ntsn sḥꜥ (.w) Rꜥ*, “It is they who cause Re to appear,” etc.

54 Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 119, n. 266; the lashed jackals constitute a direct representation of the *s3b.w st̥3.w Rꜥ*, “jackals who *st̥3*-haul Re,” for which, see Leitz 2003–2003, vol. 6, 145. The rebus value *st̥3* derives from the jackal’s use as determinative and logogram with that value, attested since at least the Nineteenth Dynasty, from the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, e.g., *KRI* I, 130, 5; 171, 14–16; 188, 12; 191, 7; 195, 1; *KRI* V, 303, 5; Calverley 1958, pl. 7 (lower right); and Malek 1981, 163, fig. 3. For a unique example featuring three, lashed jackal heads, compare also *KRI* II, 898, 9; and Pasquali 2011, 59 (with thanks to Philippe Collombert and John Darnell); compare also a Twenty-First Dynasty Hieratic orthography, featuring a single lashed head in Möller 1965, 46, nr. 519; with additional references in DuQuesne 1990, 10, n. 31. For transitive use of the verb, see *Wb* III, 431.



55 See Piankoff 1954, pls. 150–52, 196. For the jackals as “haulers/towers” of the sun barque, see DuQuesne 1990, 6–8 and *passim*.

56 Thus, the Middle Egyptian participial statement always employs the singular participle, regardless of the number of its antecedent (Allen 2000, § 23.13; Baumann 1998, 28, n. 51); compare the explicitly singular participle following *ntsn* in § 10, A↓. Regarding the iconography of the vignette, note also that the expanded towing crew includes four jackals, four human figures, and one crocodile headed deity (see Piankoff 1954, pls. 150, 196).

57 Drioton 1942, 103, 75 (consonantal reduction from *s3b*, “jackal”). Cf. the reading as *st̥3y.w* offered later in *ibid.*, 103, 77, which the present study interprets logographically, as *s3b.w*, “Jackal-folk” (K↓).

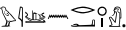
58 See references at n. 54, above; also see Barta 1990, 126, who records 112 instances of *st̥3*, “tow,” in the Books of the Earth, Caverns, Gates, and Amduat, versus nineteen instances of *sbj* (*zbj*), “go,” for which see n. 33, above.

59 Compare Leitz 2002–2003, vol. 6, 703–704: *st̥3.w wj3*, “those who tow the barque” (3IP–GR), *st̥3.w wj3 n* [?], “those who tow the barque of [?] (NK), *st̥3.w wj3 ꜥ3 m p.t*, “those who tow the great

- I. The boat with its falcon-headed passenger serves as a direct representation of $wj3\ n\ R^c$, the “barque of Re.” Lacking phonetic complements, one might of course substitute any appropriate synonym for “barque” or “boat,” e.g., *dp.t*.⁶⁰ However, other instances of this phrase from the Book of the Day, spelled out fully, suggest the value of $wj3$, employed here.⁶¹
- J. Drioton renders this group and the following as $sm(3).n=sn$, “after having united with” those who tow ($K\downarrow$) inside the western horizon ($L\downarrow$).⁶² His solution is unworkable. On the one hand, the preceding row has already established the identity of the jackal-headed *bas* as gods of the “western horizon” and as “haulers” ($st3.w$) or “conductors” ($sbj.w$) of the solar barque ($H\uparrow$). Consequently, Drioton’s solution would appear to describe those beings as uniting with themselves. Furthermore, while Drioton’s reading of the *sw*-plant for *s* is a reasonable derivation by consonantal principle, his interpretation of the standing male figure as *m*, by acrophony from *mnw*, “statue,” must be discarded. Aside from the problematic nature of acrophony itself, Drioton’s transcription of the standing figure as a statue atop a pedestal () is incorrect: Piankoff’s photograph of the text shows a line extending from the bottom of the rear leg up to the figure’s staff.⁶³ If this line represented a pedestal, as Drioton wished, then the figure was drawn without feet. Furthermore, a comparison with other human male hieroglyphs from the same inscription confirms that the draftsman did occasionally depict human feet as a single, long line.⁶⁴ Thus, we may state with confidence that the Hieroglyph in question depicts only a standing male holding a staff, as Roulin transcribes correctly.⁶⁵ The present reading of  as *swr*, “make great, praise, glorify,”⁶⁶ preserves Drioton’s grammatical interpretation

barque through the sky” (3IP), $st3.w\ wj3\ n\ p.t$ “those who tow the barque of the sky” (GR), $st3.w\ R^c$, “those who tow Re” (3IP–GR), $st3.w\ wj3\ R^c\ r^c\ jmnt.t\ n.t\ p.t$, “those who tow Re to the western region of the sky” (Saite), and $st3.w\ ntr^c\ 3\ r\ 3h.t\ jmnt.t$, “those who tow the great god to the western horizon of the sky” (3IP–GR).

⁶⁰ Diego Espinel 2014, 334 (P30).


⁶¹ Thus, e.g., Müller-Roth 2008, 128–129, 132 (14); Drioton 1942, 86: .

⁶² Drioton 1942, 90.

⁶³ Piankoff 1954, pl. 150, register below the middle band of stars, first ruled column. Note that the uraeus and most of the head of the (evidently royal) figure in RVib, now destroyed, were recorded already by Champollion (Roulin 1996, vol. 2, 153, n. a).

⁶⁴ Thus, e.g., Piankoff 1954, pl. 152, register below the middle band of stars, col. 8 (striking male); pl. 187, uppermost row, between the standing figures on the left (praising male). Thus, also from the Books of the Day and Night in the sarcophagus hall, for which compare *ibid.*, pl. 190, first row beneath the band of water, cols. 8, 13, 22 (male with arms upraised).

⁶⁵ Roulin 1996, vol. 2, 153, 2.

⁶⁶ See *Wb* IV, 70.17–23: , said of people, gods, the king, etc. This attested substitution of the upright man with staff (A21) for the “more senile,” bent figure (A20) exploits the two signs’ similarity of form (thus, with regard to the Hieroglyphic forms, Gardiner 1994, 444; for contemporary Hieratic, in which the figures are generally distinct, cf. Möller 1965, 2, nrs. 11–14; for the regular value of the bent figure as *wr*, see Fischer 1976, 87–88, versus the upright, *sr*-figure, in *ibid.*, 90,

as the *sḏm.n=f* in a clause of circumstance, while discarding his reading of the verbal root itself, as well as the direct object (K↓).

Alternately, the *sw*-plant might also substitute for M24 (𓂏), writing *rsj*, “southern,”⁶⁷ with the standing figure supplying a feminine ending *t*, by consonantal principle from *jty*, “sovereign.”⁶⁸ The resulting adjective *rsj.t*, modifying *p.t*, would indicate that the western *bas* conduct the barque of Re toward the “southern sky.” Such a solution makes excellent sense within the Egyptians’ cosmological framework, through their association of the western horizon with the southern sky: Egyptian representations of the four quarters of the cosmos frequently pair West and South in opposition to East and North.⁶⁹ Following this alternate reading, we might then understand *n(j) sn s3b.w* as an adjectival sentence of possession, “they belong to the jackals,” in a clause of circumstance: “It is they who haul the barque of Re to the southern sky, because they belong to the Jackal-folk in Heliopolis and the Horizon of the West.” Given that both the primary and alternate readings are orthographically plausible and contextually sound, it is conceivable that the text might have been encoded deliberately with double meaning.⁷⁰

- K. Drioton reads the jackal here as *st3y.w*, “haulers,” by metonymy, i.e. as a representation of the jackal-aspect of the beings who haul the solar barque. However, as mentioned above (J↑), his reading would appear to describe the “haulers/conductors” as “uniting” with themselves. Thus, I interpret the jackal in this instance at face value, as a logogram, reading *s3b.w*, “jackal-folk.”⁷¹ The design-

n. 52). The *sw*-sedge writes *s* by consonantal principle, as Drioton (1942, 90, 99, N^o 76) surmised correctly.

⁶⁷ This value, in the phrase *p.t rsj.t*, occurs twice in the Awakening of Osiris (Roberson 2013, 79, 6; 82, 4).


⁶⁸ Similar figures, with and without uraei or additional objects in the left hand, are well-attested as determinatives for *jty* (see *Wb* I, 143.3–20).

⁶⁹ Baines 1985, 256; Roberson 2013, 13, n. 54, 128–31.













⁷⁰ As a third alternative, David Klotz (personal communication) has suggested that 𓂏 might also be read *sw ḥ^c n=sn s3b.w*, “and the Jackal-folk stand for them” in Heliopolis, etc. For the standing figure as a writing of *ḥ^c*, see *idem* 2012, 140–141g; for the concept of deities manifesting their power in an animal form, described as *ḥ^c n*, “standing for” god so-and-so, see Von Lieven 2004 and Fischer-Elfert 2008, 124; for the narrative particle *sw*, “and so, then,” see *Wb* IV, 59.14; and Gardiner 1994, § 240; for examples from a variety of New Kingdom cosmological texts, et al., see Roberson 2010, 189, nn. 52–63, with additional references. However, against this orthographically plausible suggestion, I note that, as a narrative particle, *sw* marks its clause as the next event in a sequence. Thus if we understand the particle here, then the jackals would first haul the barque to the sky and then (*sw*) stand in the Horizon of the West and Heliopolis, thereby reversing the logical sequence of events; because the sun god only rises into the sky after the chthonic episodes in the West, a *sḏm.n=f* in a clause of prior circumstance, as suggested above, fits better with the temporal sense of the passage.

⁷¹ A similar translation, without discussion of orthography, appears in Betrò (forthcoming), who renders the group literally, as “sciacalli” (i.e., jackals). For the anthropomorphic determinative, compare CT VI, 272b: *s3b 𓂏=f pw wn n=j w3.t*, “O Jackal-man of his, open a path for me [i.e. the deceased].”

nation appears to refer collectively to the deceased dwelling in the previously named localities of Heliopolis and the Western Horizon,⁷² as opposed to the similarly jackal-like haulers, who traverse those regions with the solar barque. Both the “(jackal) haulers” and the “jackal-folk” belong to the general semantic class of “[jackal-headed] *bas*” mentioned in the beginning of rows 1/1.⁷³

- L. Drioton rendered  as *m-hnw*, assigning the value *h* to the reed leaf by class substitution with the *h*3-plant and phonetic interchange of *h* and *h*.⁷⁴ That derivation is not overly problematic⁷⁵ and the prepositional phrase makes reasonable sense in the context of the passage. However, the present reading, as *m J(w)nw*, “from Heliopolis,” provides a much simpler solution, with a conventional orthography attested in non-cryptic sources since the Middle Kingdom,⁷⁶ and which also parallels the description of the *bas* as “ones who travelled ... the horizon of the West and Heliopolis” (G↑ and n. 52).

§ 2. Cols. 3–5 / 3–4

RV1a	RV1b
	
	
	
	
	
	

hprw=sn pw s3b ^[A] *jmnt.tj* ^[B]

Their manifestation is (the image of) a western jackal.

- A. Drioton interprets the jackal atop a standard as š(3), “country,” by acrophony from š3s, “travel,” which he identifies as an attribute of Ophois (i.e. Wepwa-

⁷² For the deceased as a *s3b*-jackal generally, see Leitz 2002–2003, vol. 6, 142–143, B; for the plural, see *ibid.*, 144, C; also cf. CT VI, 299*n*–*p*, in which the deceased is described as *s3b km*, a “black jackal,” who opens the Horizon of the West, discussed below (§ 5, C, n. 118). Compare also the jackal-headed, human-armed birds, which greet the solar boat, again towed by a team of jackals, as depicted in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu (DuQuesne 1990, 3, n. 5, and fig. 2).



⁷³ See DuQuesne 1990, 6–9, for various classes of inter-related beings with the aspect of a jackal, including the *bas* of the west, the *bas* of Rosetjau (the “gate of *sṯ3*-dragging”), and the *bas* of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis).

⁷⁴ Drioton 1942, 90, 105.

⁷⁵ Thus, Darnell 2004, 68c and n. 145. However, note that, although *h* and *h* do interchange in cryptic texts, only the former value is attested for the reed leaf in other compositions (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. M17, *h*).

⁷⁶ *Wb* I, 54; the present spelling is particularly well attested in the Coffin Texts, for which see Van der Molen 2000, 24–25.


wet), “le Rôdeur.”⁷⁷ It is difficult to fathom why such a tortuous solution is preferable to reading the jackal-and-standard as Wepwawet himself,⁷⁸ which divine name we might read literally here, as a cryptic rebus: *wp(.w) w3.wt*, “which open the paths,” modifying *hprw=sn* in an A *pw* nominal construction, “These are their transformations, which open the paths of the Westerner” (B↓). However, perhaps the most straightforward solution is to read the jackal-standard as yet another iteration of *s3b*, “jackal,” yielding an A *pw* B nominal sentence,⁷⁹ in reference either to an actual cult image or to the vignette itself as the physical, i.e. written (thus, § 5), expression of the [jackal-headed] *bas* / “westerners,” described previously (§ 1).⁸⁰

- B. If we read the preceding sign as *wp(.w) w3.wt*, “which open the paths,” then the group  could represent *jmnt.t*, the “West,” calling to mind the “paths of the West” attested, with variations, in other Underworld compositions.⁸¹ However, other examples of *jmnt.t* from the present text do not write the ending  and include a “hill-country” determinative, or its cryptic equivalent (§ 1, F and L, end of column). It is possible that a feminine *nisbe* adjective was intended, i.e. *w3.wt, jmn.tt*, “western paths,” but the dual strokes in such a case would still have to be regarded as otiose, influenced perhaps by the masculine *nisbe* form. Thus, the most likely reading in this case appears to be *jmnt.tj*, translating either as the paths of the “Westerner” or as a “western” jackal, depending on the interpretation of the preceding sign (A↑). The former epithet occurs in reference to Osiris in the Book of the Earth⁸² and as one of the many *hprw*-transfor-

⁷⁷ Drioton 1942, 107.

⁷⁸ The name is attested with the jackal-and-standard as a determinative since the First Dynasty, with ideographic spellings attested already from the First Intermediate Period (DuQuesne 2005, 81, § 89); the reading here would have been reinforced by the association of Wepwawet with the towing of the solar barque, attested from the Pyramid Texts through the Greco-Roman era (see *idem* 1990, 3, n. 5, and 9–10). Also cf. Betrò forthcoming, n. 12, who reads this sign as *wp-w3.wt*, but assigns to it the improbable value *w*, “district,” by acrophony.

⁷⁹ With thanks to David Klotz.











⁸⁰ For *hprw* as the “(physical) manifestation,” of a god, compare a cryptic gloss from the Book of the Day, discussed in Darnell 2004, 178–179: *h3.wt=sn pw hr hpr.w(=w)*, “It means: Their bodies bear (their) manifestations”; and see Von Lieven 2004, 160–162, for discussion of the canids Anubis and Wepwawet as (*pw*) manifestations (*hprw*) standing for (*h*) the jackals of the solar barque. Note that the plural strokes in the present case must be regarded as an indication of the collective, i.e. grammatically singular, in agreement with *s3b jmnt.tj*, for which compare, e.g.,  *hprw=f tpj*, “his first manifestation” (*Wb* III, 266.6).

⁸¹ In the *Amduat*, the usual formulation is *w3.t št3.t n.t jmnt.t*, “secret way of the West” (Hornung 1987–1994, 53, 65–66, 460, 527); likewise, the Book of the Earth of Ramesses IX mentions *w3.wt št3y(t) jmj.w(t) jmnt.t*, “secret path(s), which are in the West” (Roberson 2012, 396–397). Perhaps the best parallel is to be found on the late sarcophagus of Tjahorpta (CG 29306), which mentions the *w3.wt jmnt.t*, “paths of the West / western paths,” along which the personified hours of the night lead the sun god (*ibid.*, 442–443; Manassa 2007, 399 and pl. 285).

⁸² Roberson 2012, 170 (scene 13, 1), n. 286; *ibid.*, 191–192 (scene 21, 1); *ibid.*, 357–359 (text 45, 1 ff.); *ibid.*, 400–403 (text 12, 1).

mations of the sun god, identified with the justified deceased, in the Litany of Re.⁸³ The concept of “opening paths” on behalf of the Westerner occurs already in the Pyramid Texts.⁸⁴ The interpretation followed above resumes and concludes the description of the [jackal-headed] *bas* from row 1 as “westerners,” etc.

§ 3. Cols. 5–9/4–8

RVIa	RVIb
	
	
	
	
	

Rbw m=f ^[A]

t3=sn ^[B] *pw*

ntr ^{c3} ^[C] *jmn.tj* ^[D] *hr jb w3d-wr jmn.tj*

hntj rhy.t ^[E] *Rbw* ^[F] *r drw.w n.w* ^[G] *t3*

Rebu (Libya) is its name:

It is their **land**,

the Great God, **the Westerner**, being in the midst of
the western sea,⁸⁵

which is before the people **Rebu**, at the **ends** of the
Earth.


- A. Drioton interpreted this group as an AB nominal sentence functioning as an unmarked relative clause.⁸⁶ However, given the problems with his analysis of preceding groups (§ 2), this otherwise plausible solution appears less likely.


⁸³ Hornung 1975–1976, vol. 2, 77, n. 291; Leitz 2002–2003, 359 (including similar spellings of the *nisbe* with doubled *t*, NK–GR).

⁸⁴ PT 304, §§ 468–471, which describe a path opened on behalf of the deceased, who is identified subsequently as *jmn.tj w^cb*, a “pure westerner.”

⁸⁵ For the use of clauses of circumstance after nominal predicates, including A *pw*, in the Underworld Books, see Baumann 1995, 109–111, with additional references.

⁸⁶ Drioton 1942, 90.

Rather, I believe that *Njw m=f* anticipates the following A *pw* nominal sentence, in parallel to the construction employed in the first row (§1) and possibly also the final row (§§9–10), where the construction immediately preceding the A *pw* sentence has been lost. A similar grammatical sequence occurs also in the Book of the Day.⁸⁷ The group  has been interpreted in various ways.⁸⁸ However, the probable occurrence of a cryptic parallel, previously unrecognized (F↓), argues in favor of either a conventional reading as *Njw* (thus, Drioton) or a cryptic value as *Rbw*, “Libya” (thus, Darnell). The over-arching “western” theme of the Jackal Hymn reinforces the latter value, followed here.

- B. RVIa substitutes the *p.t*-hieroglyph for the similarly shaped (low/flat) sign that writes *t3*.⁸⁹ Note that the cryptic hieroglyph in this case has also acquired the three sand grains employed in the conventional orthography of *t3*,⁹⁰ as found in the parallel text.
- C. Drioton reads  as *jn(r).ty ʿ3.ty*, “the two great stones,” as a supposed reference to Gebelein.⁹¹ He assigns the value *jn(r).ty* to the *ntr*-fetish, by a remarkably convoluted process of phonetic change and arbitrary re-ordering of consonants: *ntr* > *ntj*, with final *r* weakening to *j*, the former consonant being re-inserted into the middle of the word and the latter being transposed to the front (or supplied as weak). It is true that the reduced spelling *ntj*, “god,” is attested and *r* and *j* are known to interchange in cryptic as well as non-cryptic contexts.

⁸⁷ Müller-Roth 2008, 155–156: *bntj.w m.w=sn njw.t=sn pw Pwn.t*, “Baboons are their names. Their locality is Punt,” etc.

⁸⁸ Drioton 1942, 90, translated the group, without comment, as “Niou.” A name *Njw* is attested since the Pyramid Texts, as a variant of *Nw*, the personified primordial waters (Leitz 2002–2003, vol. 3, 519–20). Of course, the hill-country determinative in the present instance argues against that association here. Darnell 2004, 9, n. 39, suggested a cryptic interpretation, as *Rbw*, “Libya” (*n* > *r* by hieratic similarity; *j* > *b* by class interchange with the herb-hieroglyph, M2), which Müller-Roth 2008, 491–492, accepted later on the strength of its association with the west. More recently, Betrò, forthcoming, n. 13, has acknowledged the geographical rationale for reading “Libya” but has also questioned Darnell’s derivation of the values, prompting her to read the same group at face value, as *n jw*, “of the island” (*ibid.*). Unfortunately, that interpretation rests upon Betrò’s reading of the preceding jackal standard (see above, §2, A, n. 78) as *w*, “territory,” by acrophony, as well as the unexpected use of the hill-country sign as a determinative for “island.” Finally, David Klotz (personal communication) has suggested that the entire group might constitute a unity, i.e. *Njw-m=f*, “Its-name-is-Niu,” citing the toponym *Njw.t-m=f*, discussed in *ibid.* 2010, 140, b, and n. 82.

⁸⁹ Probably conceived also as a class substitution of sky/earth/water signs; compare use of the *p.t*-hieroglyph for *n*, as a class substitution for the low/flat water sign in the Awakening of Osiris (Roberson 2013, 68–69f); compare also the strip of land employed as a writing of *p.t*, from that same composition (*ibid.*, 101–02d).

⁹⁰ Also compare the use of single space-filler dots, wavy lines, etc., in Hieratic versions of the *p.t*-sign (Möller 1927, vol. 2, 27, nr. 800).

⁹¹ Drioton 1942, 90, cryptogram N° 81, and n. 2.

However, the fact that a consonant such as *r* might become weak and therefore omissible at the end of a word does not imply that it can be added arbitrarily to the middle. Drioton's *ad hoc* proposal appears even more perplexing when we consider the ubiquity of the noun phrase *ntṛ* ʿ3, written in conventional fashion, as it is here.

- D. Drioton reads the two *ḥ3s.t*-mountains as the feminine dual ending (following ʿ3), substituting for the *ḏw*-mountains, which reduce to *ḏ* by consonantal principle and become *t* through the interchange of dentals.⁹² However, given the problems inherent in his reading of the preceding group (C↑), this otherwise plausible suggestion may be discarded. I instead read the two hill-county signs as *jmn.tj*, a logographic spelling employing the usual determinative for *jmn(t).t*, “west,”⁹³ written twice as a false dual, for the nisbe. This reading is reinforced by the overall “western” theme of the present text, for which see §§ 1, 2, and 6. A conventional spelling of the same word occurs in the column immediately following (thus, also § 2, B), as a “crib” aiding decipherment.

Alternately, we might also interpret the signs at face value, reading *ḥ3s.tj*, “he of the desert; desert-dweller,” comparable to *ḥ3s.wt*, from row 1 (§ 1, E). Although such a reading might appear unusual as a description of the sun god in the western sea (E↓), it does evoke aptly the liminal, desert locality of Rebu/Libya.

- E. Drioton reads the crocodile as *š(3)* by acrophony from a Greco-Roman epithet *šntj*, the “quarrelling (crocodile).”⁹⁴ Darnell debunked this explanation and supplied a more plausible derivation for *š* by consonantal principle.⁹⁵ However, any reading as *š* only makes sense in the context of the passage as Drioton originally understood it. The most obvious objection is that Drioton translates *š(3)* as “le pays,” when it means primarily “marshland” or “grassland,”⁹⁶ rather than “land,” more generally. The present region has already been described unambiguously as *t3=sn*, “their land” (B↑) and subsequent constructions name it also as a *njw.t*, “city; locality” (§ 4, A; § 9, B), which term occurs elsewhere in opposition to *š(3)*, “grasslands.”⁹⁷ Thus, I understand the crocodile as a prepositional nisbe *ḥntj*, by rebus, from a Middle Kingdom word for “crocodile.”⁹⁸ Many similar spellings of this nisbe occur in the Amduat.⁹⁹ In

⁹² Both the class substitution and phonetic change occur with the mountain signs, albeit not otherwise in conjunction (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. N25, *ḏw* (Caverns, Solar-Osirian Unity), and N26, *d/t* (Caverns, Gates)).

⁹³ *Wb* I, 86–87; from the present text, see § 1, B, L (end), and § 6, A.

⁹⁴ Drioton 1942, 91, 108, no. 82; for the term in question, see *Wb* IV, 520.6, and Wilson 1997, 1024.

⁹⁵ Darnell 2004, 30, n. 77.




⁹⁶ *Wb* IV, 399.7–11.

⁹⁷ *Wb* IV, 400.2

⁹⁸ *Wb* III, 308.4.

⁹⁹ *Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. I3, *ḥntj*.

the present context, *hntj rhy.t* describes the location of the “western sea,”¹⁰⁰ relative to the “people of Rebu” (F↓).¹⁰¹

- F. Interpreted at face value, the group  appears to read *jw.jw*, resembling a *nisbe* construction, to be read perhaps as “islanders.” However, context does not recommend this interpretation. Drioton read the group as *nty.w*, which he interpreted as a plural relative adjective modifying *rhy.t*.¹⁰² However, the expected form of the relative adjective following a feminine collective would be *nt.t*.¹⁰³ I believe that the most contextually plausible solution is to read  as a cryptic variant of , *Rbw* (see A↑), in which the first *jw*-island substitutes for the *r*-mouth, by similarity of shape and phonetic change, while the second substitutes for *b*, as attested also in the Book of Caverns,¹⁰⁴ with the tongue of land and stroke replacing the plaintext hill-country determinative. It is interesting to note that the same group might also suggest the cryptic value *Njw*, in which the first island replaces the *n*-water hieroglyph,¹⁰⁵ while the second island, plus determinatives, retains its conventional value, employed as rebus.¹⁰⁶ Whichever interpretation of the toponym is followed, the previously unrecognized parallel-

100 Lit., the “Great Green,” either as a general term for “sea” or associated specifically with the terrestrial Mediterranean and Red Sea (*Wb* I, 269.12–17); also cf. Vandersleyen 1999, 84–85 and *passim*, for an alternative interpretation of *w3d-wr* as the fertile floodplain formed where the Nile meets the land; for the location of *w3d-wr*, see *ibid.*, 75 (omitting the present example; thus, also at *ibid.*, 368–369), noting that the terrestrial locality was said to lie between the Fayyum on the west and Heliopolis on the east, while its mythical counterpart was said to begin at Kheraha, between Heliopolis and the Nile. As a point at the limits of the cosmos, *w3d-wr* was associated most often with cardinal north (*ibid.*, 66–72, 75; compare thus, the domain of Horus from Hibis temple, in Klotz 2014, 206); the reference here to a “western” *w3d-wr* (echoing the association of Heliopolis with the western horizon, §1, F–G, L) contrasts explicitly with the “northern” *w3d-wr* (*w3d-wr mh.tj*) mentioned in the parallel text from the Book of the Day (Drioton 1942, 97; Müller-Roth 2008, 293–294).

101 Compare the epithet *hntj-rhy.t*, “Foremost of People,” which occurs in a New Kingdom stela of Ramesses II from Heliopolis, qualifying Horus (Leitz 2002–2003, vol. 5, 826; Kitchen 1979, 360, 13). In that text, Re-Horakhty praises the living king as “a king who seizes the Two Lands like Horus, Foremost of People.”



102 Drioton 1942, 91.

103 One might still derive the value *nt.t* from the signs as written, understanding the first island as *nt* (thus, Drioton 1942, 104) and the second group as a class substitution for *t3 > t*, via consonantal principle.

104 For the phonetic and graphic interchange *jw ~ r*, see Junge 2001, 38, §2; for the island as a writing of *b* (ideogram and consonantal reduction from *bj3*, *Wb* I, 439.6–8), see Darnell 2004, 256–257.

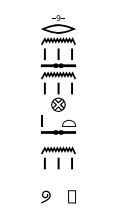

105 I.e., through interchange with the similarly shaped *š*-pool, with its attested cryptic value *n* (see *Crypt. Lexicon*, s.v. N37, *j*, *jw*, *n*). In point of fact, both versions of the sign in question might actually be the *š*-pool; the painted hieroglyphs show only a solid-colored, low, horizontal sign, which might represent either a rectangle or a rectangular oval (see Piankoff 1954, pl. 150).

106 *Wb* I, 47.6–11; cf. also §5, A, where the same group occurs as a cryptic rebus for the particle *jw*.

ism between  and  underscores the implausibility of Drioton's assignment of the value *nty.w* to the former group.

- G. The value *drw*, “limit, end,” derives by rebus from a logographic spelling of *dr.t*, “falcon,” in which the feminine ending *t* has weakened to *w*.¹⁰⁷

§ 4. Cols. 9–11/7–9

RV Ia	RV Ib
	

rn.w=sn njw.t=sn pw ^[A]

These are their names of their locality.

- A. The “locality”¹⁰⁸ of the aforementioned “people of Rebu at the Ends of the Earth” (§ 3, F–G) would appear to represent the final place of habitation encountered during the sun god’s nocturnal journey, prior to his emergence into the day-time sky, as described in the concluding rows (§§ 9–10).¹⁰⁹ Within the context of the *Duat*, and from the perspective of the area’s inhabitants, this would correspond to a location at the limit of their western horizon (§ 1, § 6),¹¹⁰ as indicated also by its spatial proximity to the “western sea” (§ 3). However, from the perspective of the living, this location, within the twelfth hour of the Book of the Night, would lie just inside/behind our eastern horizon, where the diur-

107 Drioton 1942, 103, N° 84; also see *Wb* V, 596.2–8, noting the Coptic realizations $\text{TP}\epsilon$ and $\text{OP}\epsilon$. The island sign at the beginning of RV Ib, col. 7, either supplies a *-w* phonetic complement to *drw.w*, by consonantal principle from *jw* (Darnell 2004, 54), or else, more likely, supplies an initial *n*-phonetic complement for *n.w*, by similarity of shape and class with N35, as in F↑.

108 Literally, “city.” For the more general sense of “locality,” see *Wb* II, 211.15–17; and Hornung 1963, vol. 2, 18, 3, who notes that *njw.t* in the *Amduat* refers to areas or localities within a particular hour of the night, equated sometimes with *sh.t*, “field” and *qrr.t*, “cavern,” while in the Book of the Dead the same term might refer to localities within the Underworld, as well as to the Underworld itself; see thus Müller-Roth 2008, 157, 2, with regard to the Book of the Day.

109 Betrò forthcoming, has proposed recently that the “ends of the earth” might represent a cosmological analog to the terrestrial Straits of Gibraltar, the so-called “Pillars of Hercules,” at the limit of created world, delimited by the *bas* of the cardinal directions.

110 I.e., the *sh.t dw3.t*, “horizon of the *Duat*,” named as such in the twelfth hour of the *Amduat*, variant text from the Persian-era sarcophagus of Tjahorpta (Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 368), and depicted as a great semi-circular barrier separating the chthonic realm from the visible sky (for iconography and function of this liminal region, see Hornung 1981).

nal solar journey begins. This apparent reversal of directionality is but one aspect of the reversals that occur during the sun's transit across the liminal boundaries of Underworld. In the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, this process is described as a physical inversion upon entry into the *Duat*.¹¹¹ In the *Amduat*, the sun's egress into the day-time sky is made possible by a reversal of time itself.¹¹² These descriptions convey the fundamental relativity of time and space in Egyptian cosmology: East is east because the sun goes forth from there, while west is west because that is where the god enters into.

§ 5. Cols. 11–14 / 9–12

RV Ia	RV Ib

jw=j ^[A] *rh.kw sn* ^[B] *dr.ty wj3 ntr* ^[C] *m qd pn*
ntj m sš

jw=w ^[D] *m b3.w nḥ.w*
wp.w kkw-sm3w r R ^[E]

I know them, (namely) the **two kites of the god's**
barque, in this form,
which is in writing:
They are the living *bas*,
who separate the primordial darkness from Re,

¹¹¹ Darnell 2004, 426–448.

¹¹² See Hornung 1963, 188, 1–8.

- A. The strip of land, plus determinatives, writes the particle *jw* by rebus from *jw*, “island.”¹¹³ The use of the cryptic particle + non-cryptic suffix =*j* may be contrasted with D↓, where the particle is written conventionally, while the following suffix (=w) employs a cryptic orthography.
- B. In RVIb, the spelling of the third person, plural object pronoun betrays the influence of contemporary Late Egyptian, substituting *st* for *sn* (cf. D↓). The assertion of knowledge, utilizing the first person, subject-stative construction as a sort of cosmological passport, can be traced back to the Coffin Texts.¹¹⁴
- C. Direct representation of two kites,¹¹⁵ followed by the *ntr*-fetish inside a *wj3*-barque. The description of these figures as depicted “in writing” refers explicitly to the accompanying vignette,¹¹⁶ in which the day- and night-barques rest, prow-to-prow, with two kites perched atop papyrus stalks in the center of each craft.¹¹⁷ It is also possible that the kites mentioned here might relate more obliquely to the jackal-theme of the text, insofar as those two animals could be equated, as identities of the deceased, already in the Coffin Texts: “This *N*. is a black jackal, he being a kite of the jackal-post ... he will open you (sic), O western horizon.”¹¹⁸ In the present context, by contrast, the kites are said to open/separate the primordial darkness (E↓) and to rest in the western horizon (§ 6).
- D. The third person plural suffix pronoun appears as Late Egyptian =w,¹¹⁹ in place of Middle Egyptian =*sn* (see also § 7, C, and § 9, B). The vulture supplies the former value, substituting for the quail chick, through the widely attested interchange of bird signs.¹²⁰ The avian aspect of “the *bas* of the Living,” equated

¹¹³ Drioton 1942, 103, § 6.

¹¹⁴ Thus, e.g., CT V, 223d/i: *jw=j rḥ=kw tn ... jw=j rḥ=kw rn.w=sn*, “I know you ... I know your names.” For textual and iconographic expressions of knowledge in the Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, et al., see generally Robinson 2003; and Quirke 2003; for the New Kingdom Underworld Book corpus, see Barta 1990, 90–91; and Manassa 2013, 53–55. Also compare the phrase *rḥ-ḥ.t*, “knower of things,” as a technical term the literate priests of the House of Life (Ritner 2008, 229–232).

¹¹⁵ I.e., Isis and Nephthys (thus, e.g., CT I, 74e–f B6C: *jw ḥ3 n=k ḏr.ty 3s.t pw ḥn^c Nb.t-ḥw.t*, “The two kites, namely Isis and Nephthys, mourn for you”; for discussion of the passage, which is expressed quite differently in other versions, see Stauder 2014, 199–202; for additional occurrences of the two kites in the CT, see Van Der Molen 2000, 845–846; for the two kites as companions of the nocturnal sun god, see also Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 386.

¹¹⁶ Compare a speech of the deceased from the Book of the Day, in which the deceased claims to “know them (i.e. the figures depicted in the vignette) as *mdw.w-ntr*,” i.e. as hieroglyphs (Müller-Roth 2008, 128–129, 14; and Drioton 1942, 86 and n. 3, with the intriguing suggestion that the “hieroglyphs” in this case refer to knowledge of the cryptographic and normal scripts employed therein).

¹¹⁷ In Hall E, the kites, etc., appear above the cryptic text (Piankoff 1954, pl. 150); in the sarcophagus hall, the relevant image appears directly in front of the cryptic annotation and towing jackals (Piankoff 1954, pl. 196), for which see additional discussion below, at § 10, D, at nn. 211–214.

¹¹⁸ CT VI, 299n, p: *N pn s3b km m ḏr wsr.t ... wb3=f tn* (sic) *3ḥ.t jmnt.t*.

¹¹⁹ For the distribution of the younger suffix =w, which occurs with increasing frequency over the course of the Ramesside period, see Winand 1995, 193–195 (also see comments at n. 2, above).

¹²⁰ *Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. G1, w.

here with the two kites,¹²¹ stands in obvious contrast to the “[jackal-headed] *bas*” mentioned in the opening lines of the text (§1). The introduction of these new players coincides with a grammatical shift from nominal sentences (§§1–4) to stative, adverbial, and verbal constructions (§§5–7) and a narrative shift, as the sun god and his entourage rest before departing the western land of Rebu, in anticipation of his re-emergence from the eastern horizon.

- E. Drioton supplies two divergent and highly improbable interpretations for the parallel texts, reading $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$ as *p(w) kkw m hnw*, “who enter the darkness inside,” the western horizon, as opposed to $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$, which he reads as *p=sn m ry.t n*, “they enter into the gate of,” the western horizon. According to Drioton’s interpretation, the *aleph*-vulture represents *ayin* / *ʿ*, by acrophony from *ʿhm*.¹²² In support of this reading, he cites a cryptic group $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$, from the tomb of Ramesses VI, which he interprets as $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$ followed by the gloss $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$, without additional comment.¹²³ However, those groups, which appear in the sixth division of the Book of Caverns, actually represent $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$, *ḥfzw*, “snake,” followed by the adjective $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$ *ʿ3*, “great.”¹²⁴ In neither word does the vulture correspond to Drioton’s hypothetical *ayin*. The present reading, as *w*, is well attested in the broader cryptic corpus, including the former example from the Book of Caverns, and also appears unambiguously in cols. 13/10 from the present text (D↑). The following sky sign writes *p(w)* by rebus and phonetic change from *p.t*, as discussed above (§1, D). The resulting construction *wp.w kkw (smzw)*, “who separate the (primordial) darkness” from Re, finds parallels in other Underworld compositions.¹²⁵ In both of the present texts, *kkw*, “darkness,”







121 Leitz 2003–2003, vol. 2, 718–719 [1], with additional references; as a possible writing of the dual, i.e. *b3.wj ʿnh.wj*, cf. the spelling $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}}$ from Sarcophagus Vienna ÄS 6263 (thus, *ibid.*, [6], Third Intermediate Period).

122 Drioton 1942, 108, translated incorrectly as “celui qui plane” (cf. *Wb* I, 225.2: “fliegen”). Note that the vulture does occur in Ptolemaic Egyptian with the value *ʿ*, although this is a result of phonetic change, not acrophony (Fairman 1945, 69).

123 Drioton 1942, 108, n. 3. The initial serpent, recorded in Champollion 1790–1832, vol. 2, 543, is now destroyed; see Piankoff 1945, pl. 151, 45.



124 Werning 2011, vol. 2, 432.

125 Compare, e.g., from the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI: *ḥd=sn m s3z=sn sw wpw nn n ntr.w m kkwj*, “it is through their guarding him that they become bright, after these gods have been separated from darkness” (Roberson 2012, 361–362, translating *wpw*, as “judged”); also compare, from the twelfth hour of the *Amduat*: *ḥtp=f ḥr-tp sšm št3 n šw wpp p.t r t3 r kkw-smzw*, “He rests upon the secret image of Shu, who separates the sky from the land and from the uniform darkness” (AMD, 818; also cf. Persian variant in Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 367–368). Also compare the nearly homophonous root *wb3*, “opening” (a plausible alternate value for $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, by phonetic change), which occurs, e.g., in the fifth hour of the Book of Gates: *j(w) 3ḥ Rʿ wb3=f kkw-smzw*, “Re becomes luminous, when he opens the uniform darkness” (Hornung 1979–1980, vol. 1, 197; reading after Manassa 2006, 132; *idem*, 2007, vol. 1, 115); and Book of the Earth (see citations at n. 129, below); also see Dorman 1999, 84, 88–90, for *wb3* with the sense of “activating” or “spinning” the potter’s wheel, as a metaphor for solar rebirth. In the Underworld Book corpus, *wpj* occurs nearly twice as often

is written logographically. The participial adjective *sm3w*, lit. “unified,”¹²⁶ only appears in RVIb, where  substitutes for the similarly shaped *sm3*-hieroglyph, .¹²⁷ Drioton read the former sign as *n* (in the suffix =*sn*), being a *pars pro toto* substitution for *o*, *n(w)*.¹²⁸ Although the substitution itself presents no difficulties, Drioton’s solution remains improbable, as it results in the divergent constructions discussed above. By contrast, the present solution yields a plural participle in both texts, which diverge only in their realization of the direct object as either *kkw*, “darkness,” or *kkw-sm3w*, “primordial darkness.”¹²⁹ The following sign, , Drioton reads at face value as *m*. However, the groups, *o*  and  he interprets as *hnw* and *ʿry.t n*, respectively. As usual, some of his signs values require improbable derivation via acrophony.¹³⁰ More importantly, Drioton’s interpretation of these two, well attested textual variants of the divine name *R^c* as unrelated words appears unbelievably naïve, considering that he reads two identically written groups with their conventional values, in the section immediately following (§ 6).¹³¹ The present study interprets both groups conventionally, as variant spellings of *R^c*. The preceding sign, , supplies the expected preposition *r*,¹³² substituting one low, flat sign for another.¹³³

as *wb3* (Barta 1990, 124, citing 22 occurrences of the former in the books of *Amduat*, Gates, and Caverns, verses twelve of the latter in the *Amduat*, Gates, Caverns, and Earth), which frequency has informed the present reading.

126 I.e. “uniform; unbroken (by sunlight).” The translation as “primordial” darkness follows Hornung 1963, vol. 2, 7–8, and *idem* 1975, col. 1153 (“Urfinsternis,” in parallel to Nun, the “primordial waters”); thus also, with regard to Book of the Night, Roulin 1996, 28*d* and n. 125; for the relationship of the primordial/uniform darkness to the primordial waters and creation generally, see Allen 1988, 1–6; for more recent discussion of the mythological connotations of the *kkw-sm3w*, see also Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 62.

127 This value is unique but compare, for instance, the shape substitution  < , for *ʿ3*, attested in the Book of the Day (Müller-Roth 2008, 459).



128 Drioton 1942, 91, n. 2.

129 For the occasional equivalence of *kkw* and *kkw-sm3w*, compare a cryptographic text from the fifth hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung 1979–1980, vol. 1, 197, RVI; Manassa 2006, Text N); also compare the Book of the Earth of Ramesses IX: *hr(j.t) st.t m p(3)-n-št3y šhd=s kkw jmj.w ʿwj=s wb3=s kkw sm3w w3.tj*, “(She) who presides over the ray in Penshetay, illuminating the darkness that is in her arms, when she opens the utter darkness of the Two Ways” (Roberson 2012, 183, 5c); and *wnn ntr.w m kkwj-sm3w=sn j(w) n3 (n) b3.w=sn wb3 kkwj=sn m-ht*, “It is in their utter darkness that the gods shall exist. These *bas* of theirs open their darkness afterwards.” (*ibid.*, 403, text 13, 7–10); also compare two parallel texts in *ibid.*, 518, pl. 8, 1–2: *ʿq(=w) m kkw=sn*, “they having already entered their darkness” (Ramesses VI. Dyn. 20) vs. *ʿq=sn m kkw-sm3w* “when they enter into the unified darkness” (Tjahorpta, Dyn. 30).



130 Thus, Drioton 1942, 91, 104, N^o 92: acrophony from *n(tr)*.

131 Drioton 1942, 92, 13/15.

132 *Wb* I, 298.15–16: *wpj* A ... *r* B, “to separate A ... from B.”



133 In addition to the general similarity of shape, it is also possible that  was intended to evoke a mouth in profile, for which compare  as writing of *p*, for the spewing mouth (Darnell 2004, 43, n. 31).

§ 6. Cols. 14–18 / 12–15

RVla	RVlb
	

$3h.t \text{ } jmnt.t \text{ } hn^c$ ^[A] $R^c \text{ } r^c-nb$
 $ntr \text{ } htp.w$ ^[B] $r \text{ } jwt=sn$ ^[C] $htp=sn \text{ } (j)m$
 $wnn \text{ } sn.ty$ ^[D] pw

the western horizon being **with** Re every day,¹³⁴
after the god has rested, in order that they
 (too) **might come** and rest there.
That is how the **two sisters** exist perpetually.

- A. RVla employs a transparent, semi-cryptic orthography for the preposition hn^c , which incorporates a variant of the twisted flax-hieroglyph, with two loops instead of three,¹³⁵ and the red crown for n . RVlb exhibits a rare error of metathesis, reversing the expected order of  and .
- B. Drioton reads the seated divine figure as the negative particle n , by acrophony from ntr , translating “Ils ne se reposent pas.”¹³⁶ Against this value, I view the

¹³⁴ For $hn^c \text{ } R^c \text{ } r^c-nb$, “together with Re every day,” compare Louvre sarcophagus D9: $jw \text{ } Wsjr \text{ } N. \text{ } rh \text{ } w3.t \text{ } dsr \text{ } n \text{ } R3-st3w \text{ } m \text{ } wnn=f \text{ } hn^c \text{ } R^c \text{ } r^c \text{ } nb$, “Osiris N. knows the sacred roads of Rosetau, according as he exists with Re every day” (Manassa 2007, vol. 1, 101–102); probably also thus, P. Louvre 3276: $jmn \text{ } hnt \text{ } qrr.t \text{ } pr \text{ } ntr \text{ } ^c3 \text{ } jm=f \text{ } wnn=f \text{ } hn^c=k \text{ } r^c \text{ } nb$, “He who hides before the cavern, when the Great God emerges from it: Every day, he shall be together with you (i.e., the sun god)” (Roberson 2012, 405, 1text 2, 1–3). For $r^c \text{ } nb$, as an iterative, as opposed to momentary or durative, time marker, see Roccati 1986, 290–92.

¹³⁵ This orthography also appears frequently in non-cryptic texts from the same tomb (e.g., Roberson 2012, 321, Text 8, 4; 322, Text 9, 2; 330, Text 21, 5; 331, Text 23, 3, 17; 332, Text 24, 10, and *passim*; Roulin, vol. 2, 23, 4; 25, 3; 29, 4; 31, 4; 37, 4; 49, 3; 75, 2; 76, 2, and *passim*).

¹³⁶ Drioton 1942, 92 and 104, § 7.

sign as the well attested cryptic logogram for *ntr* itself,¹³⁷ at the head of a subject-stative construction in a clause of circumstance. This interpretation coincides well with numerous descriptions of Re “setting” in the evening and/or “resting” at various locales in the solar journey.¹³⁸ The stative *hṭp.w* writes the initial *h* with the herb-hieroglyph, as a class substitution for the *h3*-plant,¹³⁹ which becomes *ḥ* via the consonantal principle.¹⁴⁰ Note that RVia also exhibits metathesis (*ḥ-ntr-p-w-t*). However, this peculiarity does not appear to convey any additional level of meaning and should probably be regarded as scribal error, corrected in RVIb, as throughout the present text.

- C. I follow Drioton in his interpretation of the walking legs as a logographic writing of the verb *jw*, “to come.”¹⁴¹ However, the form of the verb following the preposition *r* in a clause of purpose would be either the infinitive or subjunctive.¹⁴² In either case, *jwt* would be the expected form.¹⁴³ Consequently, it would appear preferable to read the following vulture sign as the ending *-t*,¹⁴⁴ as opposed to Drioton’s otherwise plausible reading as a phonetic complement *-w*. Given that the verb of motion *jwt* is followed in this case by the suffix pronoun = *sn*, the subjunctive represents the most plausible interpretation. The present translation also renders the following verb, *hṭp=sn*, as a subjunctive,¹⁴⁵ gov-

137 See Drioton 1936, 2a; *idem* 1942, 102; Darnell 2004, 186; Manassa 2004, 589; and Diego Espinel 2010, 330.

138 E.g., from sixth division of the Book of Caverns: *hṭp R^c m ḏw jmnt.t ... psd=f m ḏw j3b.t*, “Just as Re sets in the mountain of the west ... he shines forth from the mountain of the east” (Piankoff 1944, pl. 62; Werning 2011, vol. 2, 236–237, 16–18); likewise, from the Litany of Re: *R^c pw hṭp m Wsjr ts pḥr*, “He is Re, who sets/rests in Osiris, and vice-versa” (Hornung 1975–1976, vol. 1, 178; *ibid.*, vol. 2, 53–54, 83, and 137–138); Book of the Earth: *ntr pn m šḥr pn ḥr psd j3kr šṯ3y hṭp(.w) m wj3=f*, “This god in this form upon the back of Mysterious Aker, where he rests in his barque” (Roberson 2012, 354–355, text 43, 1–2); et al. Note also that the royal burial chamber was described in similar terms, as *pr n nbw ntj hṭp=tw jm=f*, “the House of Gold in which one rests” (Černý 1973, 29–30).

139 Class + shape substitution: plants with three stalks. Examples of this interchange occur in the Book of Caverns, Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity, and Awakening of Osiris (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. M2, *h3*).

140 Contra Drioton 1942, 99, who derives the same value by acrophony, from *ḥn*. The herb and flowering plant occur in parallel, as spellings of *ḥ*, in the Book of Caverns (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. M2, *h*, and M16, *ḥ*).

141 Drioton 1942, 92. It is also possible that the preceding sign, *r*, conveys the phonetic value *jw*, as in Late Egyptian (Junge 2001, 38, 2) with the walking legs supplying only the determinative. The resulting construction – a bare subjunctive in a clause of purpose – would not alter the present translation.

142 Baumann 1998, 203–202, with regard to the Underworld Book corpus; for *r* + subjunctive, see Malaise and Winand 1999, §955.

143 Baumann 1998, 188, citing examples of prospective/subjunctive *jwt* from the *Amduat*, Book of Gates, and Book of Caverns.

144 Class substitution for the *tjw*-buzzard, reduced to *t* via the consonantal principal, as attested also in the Book of the Solar Osirian Unity (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. G1, *t*).

145 For the description of *bas* as “resting” with the sun god, compare the fourteenth address from a litany in the tomb of Ramesses IX: *j hy ‘p.n=j d3.t sw3š=j b3.w hṭp.w*, “Oho! I [i.e., the sun god,

erned likewise by the preposition *r*. This solution is preferable to that of Drioton, who translates *h̄tp=sn* as an independent, present tense clause,¹⁴⁶ in which case we should expect either an introductory particle or a topicalized subject.¹⁴⁷

- D. The variant of the *sn*-arrow employed in both versions is characteristic of texts from Dynasty 18 and later.¹⁴⁸ The *nw*-pot in RV1a substitutes by shape for the circle in RV1b, the latter being well attested as a cryptic writing of *t*.¹⁴⁹ “Two sisters” is a common epithet of paired goddesses, above all Isis and Nephthys,¹⁵⁰ and surely refers here to the “two kites” introduced in the preceding section (§ 5, C, n. 115). The construction employed at the end of the section here is an A *pw* nominal sentence (cf. §§ 1–4), in which the A-member is the nominal form of the verb, with nominal subject, functioning as an explanatory gloss.¹⁵¹ The verb *wnn*, “exist,” occurs here exceptionally, without a following stative or adverbial adjunct.¹⁵² The use of an existential statement as a gloss in this

Re] have traversed the *Dat*, so that I might honor the resting *bas*” (Roberson 2012, 402, 14); and the twenty-third address from that same text: *j hy ‘p.n=j d3.t jmj.w-ht=j h̄tp=sn h̄tw=j*, “Oho! I have traversed the *Dat*, even while my followers were resting behind me” (*ibid.*, 403, 23). Similar statements occur, e.g., in the ninth hour of the *Amduat*: *h̄tp p(3) n ntr ‘3 m h̄nj.w=f r njw.t tn jz.t=f h̄tp=s m wj3=f*, “That which belongs to the god (i.e. the solar barque) rests with his rowers at this very place and his crew rests in his barque” (Hornung 1987–1994, vol. 3, 668).

146 Drioton 1942, 92: “ils se reposent.”

147 For rare use of the circumstantial (imperfective) *s̄dm=f* as a “synchronous present tense” in the Underworld Books, see Baumann 1998, 126–126.

148 Gardiner 1994, 514 (T23).

149 *Crypt. Lexicon*, s.v. D12, *t* (whole for part, replacing the half-circle bread loaf); this same value occurs also in § 10, D↓. Also note that the *nw*-pot, employed for *t* in RV1a, occurs likewise in the Book of the Day (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s.v. W24).

150 *Wb* IV, 151.14–15; Leitz 2002–2003, vol. 6, 375–377 (Middle Kingdom through Greco-Roman).

151 Compare *Admonitions* 16, 1: *wn z pw tn̄jw*, “It is the case that there was a man who had grown old”; and Peasant R1: *z pw wnw*, “Once there was a man” (Gardiner 1909, 95, philological note to 16,1; Barta 1993, 13, ex. 2, and 13, ex. 78); *Urk.* V 53, 1–2. For the syntax of the A *pw* construction in glosses – a frequently occurring construction in religious texts – see Barta 1990, 137–138, B.b.1–4; and Baumann 1998, 50–51, with regard to the Underworld Books; for a grammatical analysis of predicative constructions embedded in nominal sentence patterns, including a variety of text genres (medical, literary, et al.), see now Uljas 2007, 287–307; more generally, see also Gardiner 1994, § 189 (with nominal subject at n. 8: *h̄pr h̄nnk pw n jwnw*, “That is how the *h̄nnk*-priest of Heliopolis came into being”); Malaise and Winand 1999, § 468 (with nominal subject at exs. 565: *h̄pr m3-h̄d pw*, “That is how the oryx came to be,” and 566: *tm md.t h̄3.tj pw*, “It means that the heart does not beat”); Allen 2010, § 25.3.5 (with nominal subjects: *mhh jb=f pw*, “it means that his heart forgets,” and *h̄pr m=f pw n mjw*, “That is how his name of ‘Cat’ came to be.”); for additional references, see also Baumann 1998, 36, n. 68, and 50, n. 97.

152 Cf. gloss constructions in which *wnn* functions merely as a nominal converter, e.g. Loprieno 1991, 203, ex. 2 (*wnn šw pw hr jrj.t jmj.t-prw n Gbb*, “It means: Shu is composing a will for Geb”); Malaise and Winand 1999, § 1076, exs. 1921 (*wnn mt.w pw nw nh̄b.t dwnw(=w)*, “it means that the vessels of his neck are stretched out”) and 1923 (*wnn mt.w pw n h̄3.tj hr hs*, “it means that the vessels of the heart are clogged with excrement”). Although bare existential statements, without a following stative or adverbial adjunct, are rare, examples may be cited both from the Underworld

the hippopotamus head writes the consonants 3-*t* and the circle substitutes for the usual solar disc determinative.¹⁵⁶ The alternative, followed above, views the aleph-vulture as the preposition *m*, substituting for the *m*-owl,¹⁵⁷ and transposed for graphic reasons with the small bread loaf for *t*(3).¹⁵⁸

- B. Following Drioton, the pustule writes *p-p*, by consonantal principle from *jpp.t*, "pustule."¹⁵⁹ This sign has been transposed with the initial *ayin*-arm, presumably to create a more aesthetically pleasing and compact orthography, in conjunction with the determinative from the preceding word and the following plural strokes, which write the 3ms stative ending *.w*.¹⁶⁰ The doubled radical *p* reflects a peculiarity of the verb *ʿpj*, "to pass; cross," which behaves occasionally as a 2ae-gem. root in the Underworld Books.¹⁶¹
- C. The suffix =*w* in this case cannot be the 3sm stative, as in the preceding example. On the one hand, we should not expect to find the bare stative (i.e. without a topicalized subject) in a negative construction.¹⁶² In addition, germination in the previous example (*ʿpp=w*), and the evident lack of germination in the present case (*ʿp=w*),¹⁶³ suggests that the scribe understood the two constructions differently. Thus, the most reasonable interpretation of *ʿp=w* would appear to be as a negative subjunctive, with the 3cp suffix =*w* as subject, under the influence of the contemporary Late Egyptian dialect.¹⁶⁴ The protasis-apodosis complex functions as a threat,¹⁶⁵ intended to safeguard the existence of the cosmos at the critical moment of transition from night to day: Forces hostile to the sun are warned that any effort

¹⁵⁶ For this spelling, see Gardiner 1994, 461 (F3); for the phrase *m t3 3.t*, "in this moment," see *Wb* I, 1.17 (Middle Kingdom and later).

¹⁵⁷ The value is well attested, in numerous compositions (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s.v. G1, *m*).

¹⁵⁸ For the frequent transposition of small signs with adjacent bird hieroglyphs, et al., see Gardiner 1994, 51, § 56.

¹⁵⁹ Drioton 1942, 104. Also cf. Darnell 2004, 294–295, who acknowledges this as a plausible reading but notes that the construction might instead represent the circumstantial *ʿp=w* or nominal *ʿpp=w* emphasizing the following negative clause. The former interpretation appears to me as a more plausible alternative, since the latter removes the parallelism between the two negative subjunctive clauses and, consequently, their protasis-apodosis relationship.

¹⁶⁰ This cryptic orthography recalls contemporary Late Egyptian spellings of the 3cp suffix pronoun, for which see *Wb* I, 243.12–14; Černý and Groll 1993, 27–37; and Junge 2001, 52–53.

¹⁶¹ For examples, from a variety of sources and in a variety of constructions, see Darnell 2004, 81–82; for other occurrences of the geminated stative *ʿpp*, see also Roberson 2012, 85–86, and nn. 175–176.

¹⁶² Allen 2010, § 17.15.








¹⁶³ It is possible to read the *p* + plural strokes as *p-p* (see discussion Darnell 2004, 81–82 and n. 210); however, given the interpretation of the pustule in the preceding example as *p-p*, the present spelling would appear to reflect the un-geminated stem.

¹⁶⁴ The Late Egyptian 3cp suffix also appears in § 5, D, and § 9, B.

¹⁶⁵ For *nn sdm=f* as the injunction in threat formulae, see Morschauser 1991, 27–30.

to delay his progress will result in cosmic calamity, such that “they,” i.e. the solar entourage, will not re-appear in the visible sky, among the living.¹⁶⁶

§ 8. Cols. (18) / 18–24

RV1a	RV1b
<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px dashed black; height: 400px; margin: 0 auto; width: 2px;"></div> <div style="margin-top: 200px;">skip</div> </div>	<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">-18-</div>  <div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">-19-</div>  <div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">-20-</div>  <div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">-21-</div>  <div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">-22-</div>  <div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">-23-</div>  <div style="margin-bottom: 5px;">-24-</div>  </div>

jr^[A] *nw*^[B] *jrr.w*^[C] *jn*^[D] *R^c n* [...] *rf sjp.w* [...] ^[E]

Now, as for these things that are done by Re for
 [...] those who control [...],

¹⁶⁶ For both cosmic and terrestrial threats to the sun, see Ritner 2008, 21–22, 202–203, and *passim*. Such threats are ubiquitous in the magical literature, where a failure of the solar entourage to appear in the proper time and place functions often as a cosmic “worst case scenario,” capable of motivating even the most trenchant of foes or obstacles; see, e.g., Borghouts 1978, 27, no. 39: “It is the head of Re himself who illuminates the earth, who keeps mankind alive. Beware lest Re goes to sleep hungry, beware of the mourning of the gods, lest utter darkness come about and the heaven(s) be united and the water of the land be robbed”; *ibid*, 40, no. 63: “The sun light will not appear, the inundation will not flow when he should flow forth at his time!” Regarding the solar entourage itself, compare also

- A. The *ḥn*-herb substitutes for the *j*-reed leaf, one plant for another.
- B. The *stp*-adze substitutes for the similarly shaped *nw*-adze and the following vulture supplies the phonetic complement, substituting for the *w*-quail chick, one bird for another.
- C. The vulture substitutes again for the quail chick, here supplying the plural ending *.w* to the imperfective passive participle.¹⁶⁷
- D. The *ḥn*-herb substitutes again for the *j*-reed leaf, as above.
- E. Approximately six additional columns have been lost from the end of the inscription, prior to the final, retrograde row *x* + 30.¹⁶⁸

§ 9. Rows 19 / *x* + 30 (beginning)

RVla, row 19, beginning (retrograde, →):

—skip— 

RIVb, row *x* + 30, beginning (retrograde, ←):



ḥntj.w pw ^[A] *njw.t=w*
nb ^[B] *ḥw.t* ^[C] *3.t* ^[D] *dsr(.w)* ^[D] *m Jwnw* ^[E]

They are the ones foremost of their locality,
the lord of the great mansion being cloistered, in Heliopolis.

- A. The calf’s head writes the preposition *ḥnt*, as a class substitution for the human face and nose, being literally “that which is in front.”¹⁶⁹ The vulture substitutes for the *tjw*-buzzard, supplying the phonetic complement *-t* and the plural nisbe ending. Following Drioton, the three *pr*-signs appear to supply a plural determi-









ibid., 65, no. 91: “Then the crew of Re will come to a standstill and the boat of Re will not sail so long as the boy Horus is lying on his side!”

¹⁶⁷ The masc. singular, imperfective passive participle itself has no ending (Allen 2010, § 25.5.4).

¹⁶⁸ Drioton 1942, 92; Roulin 1996, vol. 2, 155, nn. a and b, noting that traces of the original column borders were recorded originally by Champollion. A comparison with the photograph published in Piankoff 1954, pl. 150, shows that surface of the inscription after col. 24 was more or less entirely destroyed by that time.

¹⁶⁹ This spelling occurs also in non-cryptic contexts, from the Nineteenth Dynasty and later, eventually becoming standard in the Late Period and Greco-Roman eras (*Wb* III, 302–303; Wilson 1997, 737–741; Cauville 1997, 425–430).


native,¹⁷⁰ suggesting multiple buildings or localities. However, *hntj.w* in the present clause constitutes the plural antecedent to the ones “who ferry Re,” described at the end of the row (§ 10). This observation supports an interpretation of the “foremost ones” as beings, rather than structures.¹⁷¹ The following *p.t*-hieroglyph supplies the copula *pw*,¹⁷² by consonantal principle, as found throughout the present text.

- B. Drioton interprets  as *p.t*, “sky,”¹⁷³ followed by , for *s3.w*, “those who guard,” the horizon (C↓). However, the retrograde orientation of the text suggests that the plural strokes accompany the former group, i.e. , not the latter. More importantly, given that “their locality” has already been introduced (§ 4, A), it seems appropriate to retain the signs’ conventional reading in this case as well.¹⁷⁴ In contrast to that earlier occurrence, in which the 3cp suffix appeared as =*sn*, the present example employs the contemporary, Late Egyptian variant =*w*. This conventional spelling of the Late Egyptian pronoun finds a direct parallel in § 7, C,¹⁷⁵ and a cryptic parallel in § 5, D. The reading of the seated figure as a direct representation of *nb*, i.e. a seated “lord,” poses no difficulties, finding parallel also in the Book of the Day (C↓), et al.¹⁷⁶
- C. Drioton reads the group  as *3h.t*, “horizon.” He interprets  as *j*, by acrophony from *jtr.t* and phonetic change *j > 3*,¹⁷⁷ and  as *h*, by acrophony from *hps*.¹⁷⁸ Against these implausible derivations, the present study interprets  at face value, as *hw.t*, “temple; mansion; chapel,”¹⁷⁹ and the following group  as the

170 Drioton 1942, 93.



171 The house determinative is characteristic of New Kingdom spellings of the *nisbe* construction, employed for both places and people (*Wb* III, 304.10; Lesko 2002–2004, vol. 1, 367: “who is before”). For the identity of the *hntj.w*, see Darnell 2004, 421, n. 227, noting Hornung’s suggestion that the term might refer to location (i.e. “in front of”), rather than primacy, or perhaps to the beings of the “fore-hall” (*Wb* III, 307.10) of the solar sanctuary, mentioned later (C↓).

172 Note that *nisbe* + noun is a separable construction (cf. Allen 2010, 92: *jrj nb sšm*, “every one pertaining to a function”); as such, the intercession of the copula *pw* poses to no syntactic difficulties (see discussion at § 1, C, n. 32).

173 The city-hieroglyph would acquire the value *p* from its use as a logogram in spellings of *P*, “Pe; Buto,” as  (Drioton 1942, 109); although this substitution is probably unworkable in the present text, it does occur elsewhere, for which cf. examples in *Crypt. Lexicon*, s. v. O49, *p*.

174 Compare a description of the *js.t ntr*, “crew of gods” as *hntj(w) njw.t tn*, “foremost one(s) of this locality” (Manassa 2007, 237, *Amduat*, sixth hour, variant text of Nectanebo II).






175 In addition to the suffix pronoun, also note 3ms stative ending *.w*, in § 7, B.





176 Compare thus, with minor orthographic variations (scepters, etc.), *Crypt. Lexicon*, Reverse Index, s. v. *nb*. Note that the present figure is probably , not , as Drioton transcribed; cf. the photograph in Piankoff 1953, pl. 150, which shows clearly the curvature of the object back toward the face of the seated figure, as well as a (very) faint trace of the curved beard.

177 Drioton 1942, 93, n. 2, and 108.

178 Drioton 1942, 101.

179 Multiple structures described as *hw.t*, “mansion,” are associated with the afterlife in Heliopolis already in the Coffin Texts, e.g., *hw.t sr* (‘3.t) *jmj.t Jwnw*, “(great) mansion of the prince, which is

feminine adjective ʿ3.t, “great,” substituting the bovine foreleg, , for the similarly shaped ʿ3 column, . This reading is supported by a parallel text from the Book of the Day, which writes “lord of the great mansion” as   . ¹⁸⁰ The “great mansion” is associated specifically with Heliopolis as both a hall within the sun temple and as the temple itself. ¹⁸¹ The “Lord of the Great Mansion” is well attested in temple contexts as an epithet of the nocturnal sun god, Re-Atum. ¹⁸² In addition, Darnell suggests plausibly that the Great Mansion might allude to the place where Re and Osiris unite at the eastern horizon, as the final location in the Underworld, ¹⁸³ for which see below (§ 10, D).

- D. Drioton’s interpretation of   and   as *mk.w*, “those who protect,” ¹⁸⁴ requires that we read both groups backward, relative to the prevailing retrograde orientation of the text, and also requires that the jackal and lion represent *w* by acrophony. ¹⁸⁵ Against this reading, I believe that the *k*-basket in both texts substitutes for the *ds*-knife, by similarity of shape, ¹⁸⁶ yielding *ds* by phonetic change. ¹⁸⁷ The lion in RVIb writes *r*, by consonantal principle from the sign’s usual bi-literal value as *rw*. Nearly identical spellings occur already in the Coffin Texts. ¹⁸⁸ In RVIb, the jackal substitutes for the lion, one recumbent mammal for another, influenced surely by the prevailing “jackal theme” of the text as a whole. ¹⁸⁹ The error of metathesis, by which the jackal precedes the basket in RVIa, is rendered transparent by comparison with RVIb, where the signs appear in the correct order; similar errors and corrections occur also at the end of the

in Heliopolis” (CT I, 166a; IV, 94i; VI, 209i; VII, 37g); *hw.t wbnbn(.t) m jwnw*, “mansion that shines in Heliopolis” (CT V, 259b, d).

180 Thus, already Darnell 2004, 419, n. 217; followed by Müller-Roth 2008, 145, 3a; contra Drioton 1942, 87, who interprets the (non-cryptic!) group  , in the Book of the Day, as *3h.t*.

181 *Wb* III, 4.3–4; also see Darnell 2004, 419–420.



182 Darnell 2004, 420, n. 219, with additional references.



183 Darnell 2004, 420–421.

184 Drioton 1942, 93, cryptogram N^o 109.

185 Drioton 1942, 107, N^{os} 109A–B: acrophony from *w(pš)* and *w(p-w3.wt)*, respectively. Note that the *w* value has been explained more plausibly, by phonetic change (*r* > *w*), in Darnell 2004, 95, n. 270. Nevertheless, the *w* value is irrelevant in the present context, given the reading proposed above.

186 Assuming that the *ds*-knife was not, in fact, depicted on the wall; the sign is hardly visible in the Piankoff’s photograph of RVIa (Piankoff 1954, pl. 196) but the corresponding sign in RVIb (Piankoff 1954, pl. 150) might be construed as either the basket or knife.

187 Compare AMD, 347:  , *dsr.w*.

188 Van der Molen 2000, 804; also compare the sportive Ptolemaic variant   (*Wb* V, 609–611; Wilson 1997, 1247).

189 Note that lions and jackals are mentioned together several times in the Coffin Texts, e.g., in association with a shrine of the “self-generated” creator god (CT I, 385d–387a, M5C); also compare CT VI, 338h–i, *jnk s3b pw pr(r) m drd rw pw hntj t3 šm3w*, “I am that jackal, which emerged from the leaf, and that lion, which is before the land of Upper Egypt,” as well as CT VI, 391p, which mentions *s(3)b rw.tj*, the “jackal of the Double Lion.”

- determinative stroke. As in the opening row of the text (§1), the *ntsn*-fronted clause follows immediately after an A *pw* nominal sentence (§9).
- B. Drioton analyses $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ as *ms.tw ntr*, a passive construction following *hft*: “lors-que est enfanté le dieu.”¹⁹³ However, this analysis creates serious problems for the following groups (C–D↓). The present translation takes the signs at face value, as a conventional spelling of *msw.t-ntr*, literally “birth of a god.”¹⁹⁴
- C. Continuing from the previous group, Drioton reads $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ and $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ as *r wnw.t*, “at the hour of.” His solution requires that both groups be read backward, relative to the prevailing left-to-right, retrograde orientation of the text, and also requires an additional error of metathesis in RV1a, where $\text{𓏏} < \text{𓏏} < \text{𓏏}$. Furthermore, a reading of *r wnw.t* must also ignore the dual strokes present in both versions. I prefer to read $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ and $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ conventionally, as *dw3.tj*,¹⁹⁵ lit. “he of the *Duat*,” which *nisbe* construction is attested widely as an epithet of Osiris and of his reincarnated son Horus.¹⁹⁶ The next groups, $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ and $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$, therefore read *n wnt*, in the correct direction, with no errors of metathesis or cryptic substitutions required. The negation of existence is employed here in conjunction with a following infinitive, as a clause of circumstance.¹⁹⁷
- D. Drioton, following his interpretation of the previous groups as *r wnw.t*, “at the hour of,” reads the final signs as *prt m t3*, “emerging from the earth.”¹⁹⁸ Unfor-

193 Drioton 1942, 93.



194 *Wb* II, 140.19–141 (with thanks to David Klotz); for this phrase, compare, for example, AMD 837–840; AMD 882 (“birth of this great god”); AMD 837–38; AMD 827; AMD 795/short 92 (“birth of this great god”); Gates 371 (“birth of this great god”); AMD 381 (“birth of Khepri”); AMD 748/short 88 (“birth of Khepri”); Gates 368 (“birth of Re”); Litany of the Sun, eleventh address (Hornung 1975–1976, vol. 1, 169–70; “birth of [the deceased]” = “birth of *ba* of Re”); and Earth (Roberson 2012, 388, text 8, 4–5; “their births occurring after the birth of this Great God”).

195 Note that RV1a exhibits a minor error of metathesis, such that *tj* precedes *dw3* but, as with the texts discussed in A↑, the error is not present in RV1b, such that the correct orthography in the parallel renders the metathesized group transparent.

196 Letiz 2002–03, vol. 7, 522 (Osiris); *ibid.*, vol. 5, 295–296 (Horus); *dw3.tj* also occurs in conjunction with *ntr* (*ibid.*, vol. 4, 446), for which, compare also *ntr dw3y*, “god of the morning,” as a designation of the morning stars, associated with both Re and Osiris, which occurs in the Saite period with the spelling $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (*ibid.*, vol. 4, 445). The reincarnation of Osiris in the person of his son, Horus, who then rises into the daytime sky as the sun god and ascends the throne of Egypt as the king, constitutes the central motif of another cosmological composition, the so-called Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques, for which see Roberson 2013, 9–17, and 128 ff.

197 For circumstantial use of *n wnt*, see Gunn 2012, 166, §VII–VIII, exs. 17–21; in the Underworld Books, see Baumann 1998, 265; more generally, see also Satzinger 1968, §47; Gardiner 1994, §109 and §394, n. 7; and Zonhoven 1997, 398–399; for the sense of the negation, see Uljas 2007, 192–194; compare also the Old Egyptian circumstantial negation *njj wnt*, in Edel 1964, vol. 2, 571–572, §1099; Doret 1986, 37, ex. 33; and Vernus 2016, 216–223; for the distinction between *wnt* and the orthographically similar particle *wn(n)t*, see also Gardiner 1994, §249 and §402; and Oréal 2011, 259, n. 2.

198 Drioton 1942, 93 and n. 4, understanding *n* as *m*, via the Late Egyptian interchange of those two phonemes.

tunately, his derivation of the infinitive *pṛt* presents additional, serious difficulties. In RV1a, we do find that all of the expected consonants are present: The sky sign for *p*, as found throughout the present text (§1, D), plus *r* and *t* written conventionally. Nevertheless, these values require that the hieroglyphs be read out of sequence: *p-t-r* for <*pṛt*>, as an error of metathesis. For RV1b, Drioton reads  in reverse order, from bottom to top, with the circle writing *p* by similarity of shape with the *p3.t*-loaf, , which becomes *p* by consonantal principal.¹⁹⁹ It seems unlikely that both versions of the text would exhibit two different errors of metathesis in the same word and more unlikely still that metathesis would result in an entire word being written backward (thus, also C↑). In addition to these issues, it is noteworthy that a subsequent text, written conventionally, describes the “emergence” occurring in the twelfth hour as *m dw3.t*, “from the *Duat*,” rather than *m t3*, “from the earth.”²⁰⁰

Against Drioton’s more problematic analysis, the present translation takes each of the final signs in the order they are written, with only a single determinative misplaced through metathesis, in only one version of the text.²⁰¹ In RV1a, the sky sign writes *p*, as Drioton recognized, followed by conventional signs *t-r*, yielding *pṛt*, “to see (gaze, observe); be seen.”²⁰² The final group *n t3*, “upon earth,” is written conventionally.²⁰³ The combination *pṛt* + *n* is the expected idiom meaning to “gaze upon something.”²⁰⁴ However, in conjunction with the preceding adverbial expression describing the “god’s birth” of the *Duatian*, and

¹⁹⁹ Drioton 1942, 93 and 102: “par acrophonie” [sic].

²⁰⁰ Roulin 1996, vol. 2, 158–159, discussed below, at nn. 210–211; also compare the roughly analogous phrases *prj m p.t*, “emerging into the sky,” *prj m hrw*, “emerging into the day,” and *prj m 3h.t*, “emerging from the *akhet*” (*Wb* I, 520–21). It is also conceivable that *t3* might function here as a cryptic spelling of *d(w)3(.t)*, reflecting the contemporary pronunciation, as realized later in the Coptic reflex TH, “Hell” (see, e.g. Darnell 2004, 66, n. 139; and Roberson 2012, 73, 436, n. 745, and 437–438, n. 750).

²⁰¹ Thus, *t3* in RV1a, with the correct sign order in RV1b, as usual.

²⁰² *Wb* I, 564 (said of hidden things, II.7). In Middle Egyptian, the verb *pṛt* is distinguished from the generic verb of perception *m33*, “to see,” by deliberate willfulness involved in *pṛt*-seeing (Depuydt 1988, 12, §2.3), rendered above as “observe.” For the distribution and semantic range of the verbs of perception and their change over time, see also Winand 1986, noting in particular his discussion of “Égyptien classique avec influence du néo-égyptien,” at pp. 307–309, where the author notes that, during the Amarna period, *pṛt* and *m33*, signifying intentional looking (“regarder”) occur more or less interchangeably in certain stereotyped expressions, while contemporary, non-stereotyped expressions appear to prefer *dgi* or *nw* for this sense, with *pṛt* and *m33* conveying the more generic sense of seeing (“voir”).

²⁰³ Note the minor error of metathesis, in which the stroke and land determinatives appear in front of the *n t3* group; the correct sign order appears in RV1b.

²⁰⁴ *Wb* I, 564.19. Note that the other prepositions used with the sense of “gazed upon,” namely *m* and *r* (*ibid.*, 564.17–18), are also reasonable cryptic values for the *n*-water sign.

lacking a direct object,²⁰⁵ the sense is probably not active but passive.²⁰⁶ Thus, the birth of the chthonic deity is neither observed nor observable upon earth, i.e. by the living.²⁰⁷ In RVIb, the mouth writes *p*, a widely attested class substitution,²⁰⁸ and the pupil/circle writes *t*, as a substitution of shape, replacing the half-circle bread loaf, whole-for-part.²⁰⁹ The infinitive *ptr* appears in RVIb as *pt(j)*, a reduced spelling that is also attested widely.²¹⁰ The circumstantial clause “without being observed upon earth” locates the previously described events within a spatial and temporal matrix that is explicitly prior to the sun’s re-emergence into the daytime sky.²¹¹ It is tempting to speculate that the use of cryptography in the Jackal Hymn might relate specifically to the “unobservable” nature of events in the final hour of the night, culminating in the “divine birth of the *Duatian*,” just beyond the limits of human perception. In this regard, it is significant that the text immediately following, which is to say, the final annotation to the Book of the Night,²¹² reverts to the conventional Hieroglyphic script


205 Use of *ptr* with a following adverbial expression, without a direct object, betrays the influence of Late Egyptian (Baumann 1998, 108, n. 234).

206 Compare the passive expression *n m33 n ptr*, “unseen and unobserved,” employed in the *Amduat*, Book of the Dead, et al. (for discussion and examples, see Gunn 2012, 190–191; and esp. Baumann 1998, 31, 395–396, noting instances where the phrase occurs “at the end of sentences in which no logical object is expressed and which are therefore certainly to be analyzed as *n* + infinitive, ‘passively’ used, or participle”).

207 For the “forceful denial of the very possibility” of the negated state of affairs, see Uljas 2007, 193. The present expression may be viewed as a negative counterpart to the idiom *ptr ntr*, “observation of a god,” discussed in Depuydt 1988, 12, n. 17, who notes that the latter expression “lässt an die Bedeutung ‘schauen’ oder ‘betrachten’ (= gedehntes Blicken)”; for the different categories of beings, including the living upon earth, described as “seeing” (*m33, ptr, hf, dgj*) the gods, see Van Der Plas 1989, 7–9, §§1.1–3; for natural phenomena (e.g., the sunrise) described in these terms, see *ibid.*, 25, §3.3; and see also Derchain 2005 32–35, for discussion of *ptr* and *m33* with the connotation of “seeing” an (external) manifestation of the divine (e.g., a cult statue), as opposed to *hf*, which connotes (internal) spiritual contemplation. For the unobservable (from a terrestrial perspective) aspects of the solar journey at the liminal point of transition from night to day, see Dorman 1999, 92–93 and n. 34. Also see Uljas 2003, 396–397, for discussion of the verb of perception *m33* + noun clause converter *wnt*, marking an object clause that is observed objectively and independent of modality; the present clause of circumstance conveys a similarly non-modal nuance, insofar as the event described is objectively unobservable.

208 I.e. the frontal mouth for the spewing mouth, employed frequently in cryptic texts with the *p*-value.

209 Attested also in the Book of Gates and the Theban tomb of Djehuty (*Crypt. Lexicon*, s.v. D12, *t/d*).

210 See thus *Wb* I, 564:  and  (Old Kingdom); vs.  (Middle Kingdom); for similar New Kingdom orthographies, see Lesko 2002–2004, vol. 1, 159.

211 Compare the name of the twelfth hour, which evokes the impeding sunrise as a visible phenomenon, utilizing the same verb: *wnw.t n.t R^c ptr nfrw nb=s*, “the Hour of Re, ‘Observing her lord’s perfection’” (Roulin 1996, vol. 1, 342a; vol. 2, 160).

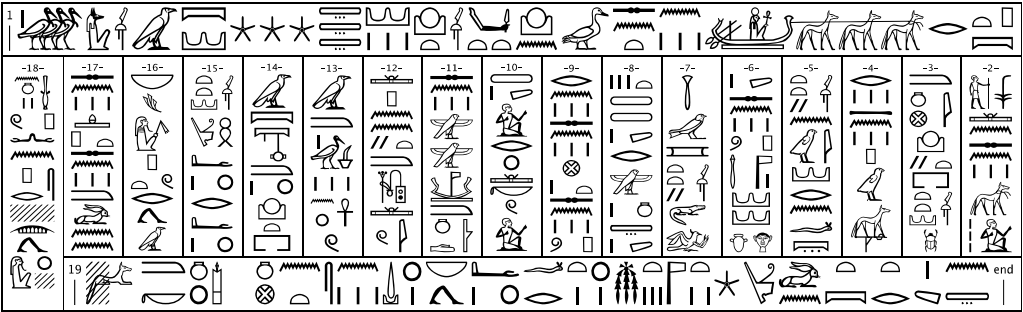
212 See Roulin 1996, vol. 1, 340–346; vol. 2, 158–163.

for its description of the “impeding sunrise ... [as] a clinically accurate description of natural childbirth on a cosmic scale.”²¹³ In the sarcophagus hall of Ramesses VI, these two complementary texts – one, a cryptic annotation culminating in Osirian rebirth, which cannot be observed on earth; the other, a non-cryptic description of solar rebirth, as the observable cosmic phenomenon *par excellence* – converge at right angles, the former exactly perpendicular to the midpoint of the latter. Between the two texts, the night and day barques appear, prow to prow, as an explicit representation of the daily transition from the chthonic realm to the visible sky, at the moment of sunrise.²¹⁴

²¹³ Dorman 1999, 85–86.

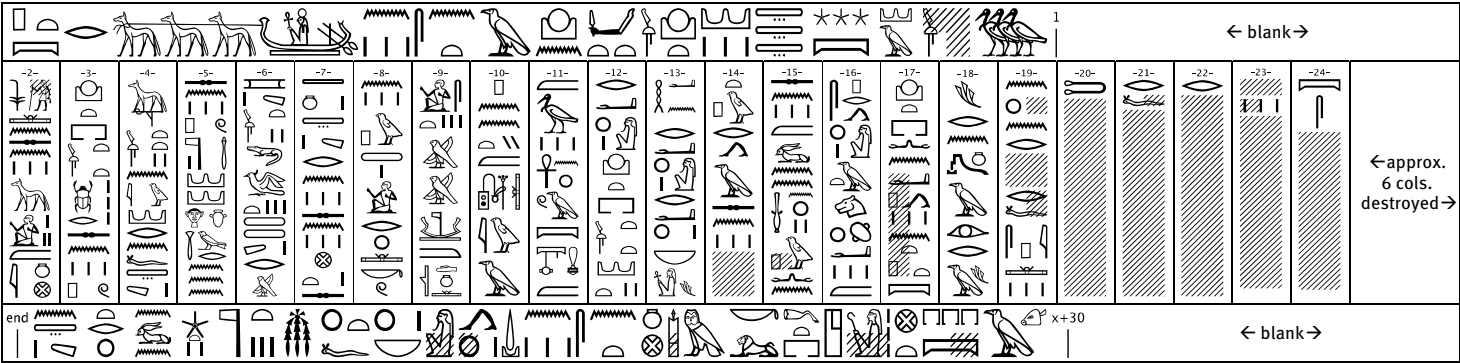
²¹⁴ For the attestations, meaning, and symbolism of the solar barques, prow-to-prow, see Thomas 1956; with additional discussion and references in Roberson 2013, 13–14, n. 57, and 128–131, § 4.3.1.

Plate 1



The Jackal Hymn of the West, hieroglyphic transcription illustrating approximate positions of signs in original retrograde rows and prograde columns.













RV1a (KV6, Sarcophagus Hall, following Piankoff 1954, pl. 196; and Roulin 1996, vol. 2, 152–155).




























RV1b (KV6, Hall E, following Piankoff 1954, pl. 150; and Roulin 1996, vol. 2, 152–155).

Appendix of Cryptographic Values Discussed in the “Jackal Hymn”

(shaded cells = values proposed as alternate or readings)

Sign nr.	Glyph	Value(s)	Substitution mechanism(s)	Occurrence(s)
A21a		<i>wr</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> IV, 70.17–23)	§ 1, J
		<i>t</i>	consonantal (<i>jty</i>)	§ 1, J, alternate
		<i>‘h^c</i>	Direct (“standing”)	§ 1, J, n. 70
A23a		see A21a	see A21a	see A21a
A40b		<i>nṯr</i>	Ideogram (<i>Wb</i> II, 359–259)	§ 6, B
A40c		<i>nb</i>	Direct (seated “lord”)	§ 9, B
A40e		<i>nṯr</i>	see A40b	see A40b
D12	○	<i>R^c</i>	Shape (circle: N5, ○)	§ 10, A
		<i>ḥ</i>	Shape (circle: Aa1, ☉)	§ 10, A
		<i>t</i>	Whole for part (X1, ⊂)	§ 6, D; § 10, D
		det., <i>ʒ.t</i>	Shape (circle: N5, ○)	§ 7, A
		det., <i>jwnw</i>	Shape (circle: O49, ⊗)	§ 9, E
D45		det., <i>jmnt.t</i>	Shape (central depression: N26, ☐); Class (mountains: N25, ☐) Thematic (<i>ḏsr.t</i> ~ <i>jmnt.t</i> as synonyms for the land of the dead)	§ 1, F
E17		<i>s3b</i>	Direct (“jackal”)	§ 1, K
		<i>st3</i>	See E228	§ 1, H
E17 variant		<i>s3b</i>	Direct (“jackal”)	§ 1, K
E18 variant		<i>s3b</i>	Direct (a “jackal” image)	§ 2, A
		<i>wṗ(.w) w3.wt</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> I, 304.16)	§ 2, A–B
E228		<i>st3 wj3 n R^c</i>	Direct (“those who haul the barque of Re”)	§ 1, H–I
F3		<i>ʒ.t</i>	Ideogram (<i>Wb</i> I, 1.14–21)	§ 7, A
F23		<i>‘3</i>	Shape (low, horizontal, tapering, hooved/capped on tapered end: O29, ☐)	§ 9, C

(continued)

Sign nr.	Glyph	Value(s)	Substitution mechanism(s)	Occurrence(s)
F63		<i>hnt</i>	Class (heads, noses: D19, )	§ 9, A
G1		<i>w</i>	Class (birds: G43, )	§ 1, G; § 5, D, E; § 8, C
		<i>m</i>	Class (tall birds: G17, )	§ 7, A
		<i>t</i>	Class (tall scavenger birds: G4  ; G4a, ); Consonantal (<i>tjw</i>)	§ 6, C
		<i>tjw</i>	Class (as previous)	§ 1, B; § 9, A
G39		<i>w</i>	Class (birds: G43, )	§ 1, G
G144		<i>dr.t</i>	Ideogram (<i>Wb</i> V, 596.2–8)	§ 5, C
		<i>dr(w)</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> V, 596.2–8) Consonantal (<i>dr.t</i>)	§ 3, G
G144b		<i>dr.t</i>	Ideogram (<i>Wb</i> V, 596.2–8)	§ 5, C
		<i>dr(w)</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> V, 596.2–8) Consonantal (<i>dr.t</i>)	§ 3, G
I5		<i>hntj</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> III, 308.4)	§ 3, E
M2		<i>j</i>	Class (plants: M17, )	§ 8, A, D
		<i>ḥ</i>	Shape and Class (plants with three stalks: M16, ); Consonantal (<i>ḥ3</i>)	§ 6, B
M23		<i>s</i>	Consonantal (<i>sw</i>)	§ 1, J
		<i>rsj</i>	pars pro toto / class (plants, sedge: M24, )	§ 1, J, alternate
N1		<i>p(w)</i>	Consonantal (<i>p.t</i>)	§ 1, D; § 5, E; § 9, A; § 10, D
N1 + N33a		<i>t3</i>	Shape and Class (earth, sky, water: N16, )	§ 3, B
N3B		<i>kkw</i>	Class (sky: N46b, ) Ideogram (<i>Wb</i> V, 142–143)	§ 5, E
N14		<i>sb(j)</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> IV, 82–83, <i>sb3</i>) + consonantal	§ 1, C
N18		<i>b</i>	logogram (<i>bj3</i> , <i>Wb</i> I, 439.6–8) + consonantal	§ 3, F, n. 104
		<i>n</i>	Shape and class (low, horizontal; earth, sky, water: N35, )	§ 3, F, n. 105

(continued)

Sign nr.	Glyph	Value(s)	Substitution mechanism(s)	Occurrence(s)
N18 + det.		<i>jw</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> I, 47.6–11)	§ 3, F, n. 106; § 5, A
N25 + N25		<i>jmn.tj</i>	ideogram (<i>Wb</i> I, 87) + false dual	§ 3, D
N27		<i>jw</i>	Class (land signs: N18,	§ 1, G
P109		<i>wj3 n R^c</i>	See E228	§ 1, I
P112		<i>wj3 ntr</i>	Direct (<i>wj3</i> , “boat” + <i>ntr</i> -fetish)	§ 5, C
S3		<i>n</i>	Consonantal (<i>n.t</i>)	§ 6, A
U21a		<i>nw</i>	Shape and class (adze: U19,	§ 8, B
W19		<i>sm3w</i>	Shape (F36,	§ 5, E
W24		<i>t</i>	Shape (cryptic D12↑, <i>t</i> :	§ 6, D
Z2 / Z3		<i>w</i>	Rebus (<i>Wb</i> I, 243.12–14)	§ 7, B, C; § 9, B
Aa2		<i>pp</i>	Consonantal (<i>jpp.t</i>)	§ 7, B
Aa13		<i>r</i>	Shape (low, horizontal: D21,	§ 5, E

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