

The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience

Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga

Edited by Camilla Di Biase-Dyson
and Leonie Donovan

in cooperation with
Heike Behlmer, Julien Cooper, Brenan Dew,
Alice McClymont, Kim McCorquodale and Ellen Ryan

ÄGYPTEN UND ALTES TESTAMENT

Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments

Band 85

Gegründet von Manfred Görg

Herausgegeben von Stefan Jakob Wimmer und Wolfgang Zwickel



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2017
Ugarit-Verlag
Münster

Umschlag-Vignette: The Theban Hills from Chicago House 1985
Drawing by Susan Osgood © Susan Osgood

Ägypten und Altes Testament, Band 85

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www.ugarit-verlag.com

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Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-86835-235-1

ISSN 0720-9061

Printed on acid-free paper

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List of Abbreviations

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- BD* Faulkner, R.O. 1972. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London.
- CT* Buck, A. de 1935–1961. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 Vols, Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago.
- KRI I* Kitchen, K.A. 1975. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. I, Oxford.
- KRI II* Kitchen, K.A. 1979. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. II: Ramses II, Oxford.
- KRI III* Kitchen, K.A. 1980. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. III, Oxford.
- KRI IV* Kitchen, K.A. 1982. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. IV, Oxford.
- KRI V* Kitchen, K.A. 1983. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. V, Oxford.
- KRI VI* Kitchen, K.A. 1983. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. VI, Oxford.
- KRI VII* Kitchen, K.A. 1989. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. VII, Oxford.
- KRI VIII* Kitchen, K.A. 1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. VIII, Oxford.
- RITA I* Kitchen, K.A. 1993. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations I, Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITA II* Kitchen, K.A. 1996. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, Oxford.
- RITA III* Kitchen, K.A. 2000. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations III, Ramesses II, his contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITA IV* Kitchen, K.A. 2003. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations IV, Merenptah and the late Nineteenth Dynasty*, Oxford.
- RITA V* Kitchen K.A. 2008. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations V, Setnakht, Ramesses III, and contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITA VI* Kitchen, K.A. 2012. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations VI, Ramesses IV to XI, and contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITA VII* Kitchen, K.A. 2012. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations VII, Addenda to I-VI*, Oxford.
- RITANC I* Kitchen, K.A. 1993. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments I, Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITANC II* Kitchen K.A. 1999. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, Malden-Oxford.
- RITANC III* Davies, B.G. 2013. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments III*, Malden-Oxford.
- RITANC IV* Davies, B.G. 2014. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments IV*, Malden-Oxford.
- RITANC VII* Davies, B.G. forthcoming 2017. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments VII*, Malden-Oxford.
- LÄ I* Helck, W. and Otto, E. (eds) 1975. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ II* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1977. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ III* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1980. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ IV* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1982. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ V* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1984. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ VI* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1986. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI*, Wiesbaden.
- LGG* Leitz, C. et al (eds), 2002–2003. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Bd. I–VII, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–116, Leuven.

- PM I/1 Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1960. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. I, *The Theban Necropolis*, Part 1: *Private Tombs*, second edition, Oxford.
- PM I/2 Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1964. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. I, *The Theban Necropolis*, Part 1: *Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, second edition, Oxford.
- PM II Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1972. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. II, *Theban Temples*, second edition, Oxford.
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- PM IV Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1934. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. IV, *Lower and Middle Egypt (Delta and Cairo – Asyût)*, Oxford.
- PM V Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1937. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. V, *Upper Egypt: Sites (Deir Rifâ to Aswân, excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kom Ômbo and Philae)*, Oxford.
- PM VII Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1951. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Vol. VII, *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*, Oxford.
- PM VIII Malek, J. 1999. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. VIII, *Objects of Provenance Not Known: Statues Part 1: Royal Statues. Private Statues (Predynastic to Dynasty XVII)*, assisted by D. Magee and E. Miles, Oxford.
- Print
PM VIII Malek, J., Magee, D. and Miles, E. 2008. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. VIII, *Objects of Provenance Not Known: Statues: Part 1: Royal Statues. Private Statues (Predynastic to Dynasty XVII)*. Online at <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/3statues.html>.
- Online
PN I Ranke, H., 1935. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I. Verzeichnis der Namen*, Glückstadt.
- PN II Ranke, H., 1952. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen II. Einleitung, Form und Inhalt der Namen, Geschichte der Namen, Vergleiche mit anderen Namen, Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I, Umschreibungslisten*, Glückstadt/Hamburg.
- PN III Ranke, H., 1977. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen III. Verzeichnis der Bestandteile*, Glückstadt.
- Urk. I Sethe, K. 1932–1933. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs, Abteilung I, Band I, Heft 1–4*, Leipzig.
- Urk. IV Sethe, K. 1906. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Abteilung IV, Band I, Heft 1–4, Historisch-biographische Urkunden*, Leipzig.
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- Helck, W. 1961. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22*, Berlin.
- Wb Erman, A. and Grapow, H. (eds) 1926–1963. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 Vols, Leipzig.
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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ÄM	Prefix for registration number, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin
AR	Altes Reich
Abb.	Abbildung
BM	Prefix for registration, British Museum, London
bes.	besonders
bzw.	beziehungsweise
c.	<i>circa</i> , about, approximately
cf.	confer, compare
DeM	Deir el-Medina
d. h.	das heißt
Diam.	diameter
DZA	<i>Digitalisiertes Zettelarchiv</i>
ed.	editor, edition
eds	editors
EK	El-Kab
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
evtl.	eventuell
fig.	figure
figs	figures
H.	height
Hrsg.	Herausgeber
JdE, JE	Journal d'Entrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Kol.	Kolumne
KV	Kings' Valley
L.	length
M.a.W.	Mit anderen Worten
MFA	Prefix for registration number, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MR	Mittleres Reich
n.	note
n.d.	no date
NR	Neues Reich
O.	Ostrakon
o. ä.	oder ähnliches
OIM	Prefix for registration number, Oriental Institute Museum, Univ. of Chicago
P.	Papyrus
pl.	plate
pls	plates
PN	Personenname, personal name

QV	Queens' Valley
rto	recto
s.	siehe
s. a.	siehe auch
s. o.	siehe oben
s. v.	<i>sub voce</i>
Sp.	Spalte
Taf.	Tafel
<i>TLA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i>
TT	Theban Tomb
u. a.	und andere, unter anderem
u. ä.	und ähnlich
UC	Prefix for registration number, University College, London
var.	variant
vgl.	vergleiche
vso	verso
W.	width
Z.	Zeile
z. B.	zum Beispiel
z. T.	zum Teil
ZwZt	Zwischenzeit

Between this world and the Duat

The land of Wetenet and Egyptian cosmography of the Red Sea

Julien Cooper, Oxford University

Professor Ockinga has an incredible knowledge of many diverse fields in Egyptology, and always has ample time to discuss any topic with his students, from finite matters of Egyptian grammar to funerary archaeology and the nature of Egyptian cultic practice. I, as one of the many beneficiaries of his knowledge, offer this text to Boyo, my mentor and supervisor, it being a token of my gratitude and appreciation for fostering and supporting my interests in Egyptology.


From a very early stage in Egyptian history, there are indications that the primary focus of geographical inquiry beyond the Egyptians own immediate sphere was conducted through the vehicle of solar cosmography. Cosmic theology provided a discourse in which Egyptians could speculate on the nature of not only the inaccessible universe, the stars, the heavens, the gates of the netherworld ‘the Duat’, but also the boundaries of the real universe, where the Duat joined the terrestrial sphere. Attempts by Egyptians to map and understand the cosmos are found explicitly in funerary literature such as *The Pyramid Texts*, *The Coffin Texts* and later the *The Book of the Day*, *The Book of the Night*, and more explicitly in the cosmographies of *The Book of Nut* and *The Amduat*. The central theme in these texts is the recurrent journey of the sun, the ubiquitous ‘solar cycle’, a linchpin of cosmic and theophanic drama. These texts also include treatises on topics that a modern university might place within the disciplines of ‘geography’ or even ‘cartography’. Thus the myth of the solar cycle was the theological vehicle with which Egyptians ordered the nature and landscapes of the physical and ‘netherworldly’ universes as well as the celestial realm—the entirety of the Egyptian cosmos. These tracts, which describe the Egyptian netherworld, cannot be interpreted purely as streams of subconscious thought and mythical inventions, although this certainly must have influenced these texts.¹ Much of their content, especially in regards to the nature of the solar cycle itself, is based on direct observation and inference by Egyptians, and some of this literature could, without much apprehension, be termed as *nature aetiologies*. They are reflections and extensions of observations made in the real world in the context of that all-encompassing Egyptian religious discourse of solar theology and cosmography.

A rather complex case study on how real observations and inspirations might shape cosmographic texts has been elucidated by Thomas Schneider in his exploration on the geography of *The Amduat*.² Schneider has produced an extensive argument that the landscapes described in the opening three hours of the *Amduat* are based on the real environment of Northern Chad and the Libyan Desert. In this thesis, the mythical lake of *Wrnz* was equated with ancient palaeolakes present in Northern Chad. This conclusion is based on an etymological link between *Wrnz* and equivalent phraseology in the Nilo-Saharan Tubu language (also known as Teda), as well as the cartographic measurements specified in *The Amduat* itself, which may correlate to the geography of the Western Desert. Indeed, it is possible that many other cosmographic texts may similarly draw their inspiration from geographical realities. On occasion, foreign placenames well known from historical texts, topographical lists, and other ‘real’

¹ The alternative to such an interpretation is to suggest that such environments are based on a stream of archetypes and the psychology of the collective unconscious, see specifically for *The Amduat*, Schweizer (2010: 12–14).

² Schneider (2010: 1–14). For alternative interpretations on the geography of *The Amduat*, see also Quirke (2003: 178–179).



contexts were used in these texts. These toponyms usually serve to anchor the solar cycle in a mutually intelligible geographical reality. Alternatively, these placenames could occur in an epithet, being associated with particular deities in such forms as ‘god-*X*, lord (*nb*) of toponym *Y*’ or just ‘god-*X*, the toponym-nisbe-*Y*’. But even here one is inclined to establish a cosmic reasoning behind many of these associations with foreign toponyms, it being likely that a deity embodies some celestial or solar element in the direction or locality of a said place.³

This holds true for toponyms such as Punt and *T3-ntr*, which are both regularly encountered in funerary and cosmographic literature as well as ‘historical’ documents, such as biographies and dedicatory inscriptions. In the cosmographies, Punt is used as a topos due its agency in the solar cycle, where it is evoked as the origin of the solar rising in the southeastern sky.⁴ The associated toponym *T3-ntr* ‘God’s-Land’ is a more general term, designating the easterly regions of the Egyptian periphery, namely the eastern horizon (*3h.t-3h.ty*) and the luminous horizon-land (*t3-3h.t*) where the sun rises.⁵ Many of these regions represented in cosmographies are clearly ‘real-world toponyms’ (whatever currency such a concept has in Egyptian thought),⁶ as documents reveal that Egyptians were able to travel to these regions, usually in order to obtain exotic resources. On this point it is revealing that the New Kingdom Egyptian onomastica do not list toponyms that are confined to the netherworld, but rather places that could be reached and observed from the real world, including constellations.⁷ The enigmatic New Kingdom topographical lists, generally presumed to represent itineraries of foreign settlements, do however, mention a number of placenames which are sometimes exclusively known from religious literature and cosmographies, such as *B3h.w/B33.w*, *Knzt*, and *Wnt*.⁸ This article will explore the cosmographic and religious discourse surrounding one such toponym, Wetenet ,⁹ a placename occurring in both historical texts and cosmographies, and explicate its place in the Egyptian world-view. As this toponym was visited by Egyptians on real expeditions on the Red Sea,¹⁰ and also evoked in religious discourse, it provides an important point of reference for discussing the boundaries of this world and the Duat.

³ It has been conjectured that the Hathoric associations of foreign placenames are attributable to her being identical with the wandering star Sirius/Sothis (although others have favoured an equation with the sun), see Quack (2002: 283–294).

⁴ The literature on Punt is extensive, and many of the attestations of the toponym in narrative texts are well known. See most recently the comprehensive survey of Espinel (2011). For Punt in both Africa and Arabia, see Balanda (2006: 33–44). For an African location, see Kitchen (1993: 587–608); Kitchen (2004: 25–31). An Arabian location is favoured in Meeks (2002: 267–335) and Meeks (2003: 53–80). For the use of Punt in cosmographic tracts, see von Lieven (2007: 49–51, 127–128) and Müller-Roth (2008: 161).

⁵ For God’s-Land, Punt, the Akhet-horizon and their interrelationship, see Kuentz (1920: 178–183) and more recently Nutz (2010: 281–288) and Cooper (2011: 47–66).

⁶ It is clear that Egyptian scribes had some interpretative difficulties in placing classifiers on these ‘unreachable’ placenames, and oscillated between using the classifiers  and  on the same placename, see Zibelius (1978: 46, 87–88, 134, 250).

⁷ As noted in Conman (2003: 34). One should also be open to the possibility that these places were not included in the onomastica precisely because they belong to a corpus of restricted knowledge. The *Onomasticon of Amenemope* specifically exclaims that this ‘teaching’ (*sb3.yt*) refers to ‘heaven (*p.t*) and its affairs, the earth (*t3*) and what is in it’, ‘what the mountains (*dw.w*) belch’, ‘what is watered by the flood (*nnw*)’, as well as ‘that which Re shines (*h3y*) upon’, see Gardiner (1947: 2).

⁸ *Urk.* IV, 799 (no. 64 and 86), 800 (no. 92).

⁹ A separate article devoted to analysing this toponym in *Expeditionsberichte* as well its etymology and geography is being prepared for publication. The placename alternates orthography between *Wnt* and *Wntt* (Zibelius 1972: 105), although *Wnt* is the oldest attested writing in a First Intermediate Period false door stele from Qubbet el-Hawa, see Edel et al. (2008: pl. 81–82). A variant, *Wdnt*, is also attested, see *Urk.* IV, 803 (no. 184) and Lepsius (1842: pl. 47, l. 24).

¹⁰ For the toponym in expeditions texts, see briefly Edel (1983, 178–179) and Edel et al. (2008: 1743–1744, pl. 81–82).

Wetenet and its solar associations

There has been very limited discussion on this toponym, probably due to the rather oblique and nondescript passages in which it occurs. Passing references to this placename occur in text editions of certain documents or geographical dictionaries and encyclopaedias.¹¹ In the few non-religious texts where *Wnt* occurs, it is almost always discussed tangentially in regards to the location of Punt. Wetenet has been placed on the East African coast (between the 19th and 21st parallels),¹² ‘south-east’ of Egypt by Meeks,¹³ ‘beyond Punt’ by Dixon,¹⁴ on the Egyptian Red Sea coast near Quseir in the case of Zyhlarz,¹⁵ and more specifically ‘west of Trinkitat’ by Kitchen, which would roughly mean the highlands of Erkowit in Eastern Sudan.¹⁶ Where the term occurs in religious literature, it appears most consistently in tracts relating to the solar cycle and the eastern souls (*b3.w-izb.ty*), those baboons that foretell the coming of Re in the morning. Assmann thus related *Wnt* to the rising of the sun in the southeastern sky, with similar conclusions made by Müller-Roth in the text edition of *The Book of the Day*.¹⁷ The appearance of this toponym in diverse textual genres provides a crux on which to study this toponym beyond merely an unknown place-name or a mythic toponym on the blurry boundaries where this world meets the Duat.

The religious associations of Wetenet are clearly related to solar deities and cosmic drama associated with the southeast. In a Middle Kingdom Hymn to Min (Louvre C30/Cairo 20089), the god is associated with various toponyms to the southeast of Egypt:¹⁸

dw3=i Mn.w sk3i=i Hr.w f3i ʿ.w nd-ḥr=k Mn.w m pri.t=f k3i šw.wy s3 Wsir msl.n 3s.t ntr(.y)t wr m sn.wt ʿ3 m ʿIp.w Gbtyw Hr.w tm3 ʿ.w nb ššf.t sgr f3w.w iti.y ntr.w nb.w wr izd.t h3i=f Mq3 ššf.ty m T3-sty Wnt.y iz(w) (?) ḥs (?)

I praise Min, I exalt Horus, the one who raises the arm. Hail to Min in his procession, high of the two plumes, son of Osiris, born of Isis, the divine-one, the great-one in the Senut, the great-one in Akhmim and Coptos, Horus, strong of arm, lord of awe, who silences threats, sovereign of all gods, great of moisture as he descends from Medja, respected-one of Ta-sety, He-of-Wetenet, honour(?) and praise(?).

Wetenet is included within the dominion of Min, a god whose lordship extends over the lands to the east and southeast of Egypt. Epithets such as *ḥk3 Twnt.yw* ‘ruler of Iuntiu-Nubians’, *Mq3 nfr n(.y) h3s.t izb.t*, ‘good Medja of the eastern hill-country’, *sr bi3 n(.y) Pwn.t*, ‘who proclaims the wonders of Punt’ and *nw n(.y) Pwnt* ‘the tracker of Punt’ attest to Min’s association with the extreme southeast.¹⁹ Related to this dominion is Min’s association with the solar cycle, where the god manifests as the morning sun, thus explaining his presence in the southeastern lands, the regions from where the sun rises every morning.²⁰ The epithet *wr izd.t h3i=f Mq3* ‘great of moisture as he descends from Medja’ is found in the much later pBoulaq XVII hymn where it refers to Amun-Re, who is, in this hymn at least, acquiring the characteristics regularly associated with Min.²¹ The *izd.t* ‘dew’ may refer to the moisture of the sun god’s eye and pupil (*dfd*), as is described in a solar hymn from the tomb of Imiseba.²² This context of

¹¹ Gauthier (1925: 209); *LGG* II, 597; O’Connor (1982: 931); Edel (1976: 92); Edel (1983: 178–179); Edel et al. (2008: 1751–1752).

¹² Zibelius (1972: 105); Zibelius (1988: 84–85); Kitchen (1993: 600); Edel (1983: 178–179, n.34).

¹³ Meeks (2002: 296–297); Meeks (2003: 64).

¹⁴ Dixon (1961: 32–33).

¹⁵ Zyhlarz (1958: 23).

¹⁶ Kitchen (1999: 178).

¹⁷ Assmann (1969: 209, n.96); Assmann (1970: 50–52); Müller-Roth (2008: 161–163, 296, 492–494).

¹⁸ Sethe (1983: 65) and Hasan (1928: 137–148).

¹⁹ Yoyotte (1952: 125–137); *LGG* VIII, 228.

²⁰ The relationship between Min, the southeast, and sunrise is well known, see for example Darnell (1995: 76, n.152).

²¹ Luiselli (2004: 51–52).

²² Assmann (1983: 124). For the sense and meaning of *izd.t* as the moisture of the sun’s eye, see Darnell (1997: 43–44).

solar associations is the persistent and enduring theme in religious literature where Wetenet occurs. The toponym is also found in several passages of *The Book of the Dead*:

CG 25095 (P. Maiherperi):²³

Chapter 125: *i šhr.y pri m Wtnt n thi-i iwn n i'i-i ntr*

Oh accuser who comes forth from Wetenet, I have not transgressed colour and have not washed the god.

EA 10477 (P. Nu):²⁴

Chapter 125: *i šhr.y pri m Wtnt n šš-hrw=i hr md.wt*

Oh accuser who comes forth from Wetenet, I was not talkative upon matters.

The ‘accuser who comes forth from Wetenet’ is qualified by different negative statements in the *Book of the Dead* papyri, either *n thi-i iwn n i'i-i ntr* or *n šš-hrw=i hr md.wt*. In P. Nu the latter phrase qualifies the previous line *i nb hr.w pri m Ndf.t* ‘Oh, lord of faces, who comes forth from Nedjfet’, while in P. Maiherperi *n šš-hrw=i hr md.wt* is coupled with *i b.wy pri m Zsw.ty* ‘Oh, double-horned-one, who comes forth from Assiut’. It is thus difficult to know which was the original or correct layout of these couplets, but a later Ptolemaic edition from P. Turin 1791 has *nn thi-i inm n(.y) w.t* ‘I have not damaged the skin of the herd’, a clear corruption of the P. Maiherperi text.²⁵ The originality, textual traditions and corruptions of these texts cannot be dealt with here, but clearly in all renditions the so-called *šhr.y* ‘accuser’ is envisaged as belonging to the solar cycle in rising from Wetenet. Another *Book of the Dead* chapter more explicitly evokes Wetenet as the land of the morning sun:

EA 10477 (P. Nu)²⁶

Chapter 64: *rw h(y) im.y Wtnt iw=k im-i*

Lion, child, who is in Wetenet, you are in me.

The lion is a common solar topos in Egyptian texts, and the ‘youth’ is the sun at dawn.²⁷ The text is thus a reference to the young sun at dawn (Khepri) being born in the eastern horizon and the land of Wetenet.

Wetenet and the Baboons

In *The Litany of Re*, a series of invocations and exaltations to the sun-god Re laud his different forms and names. In one of these invocations, Wetenet is mentioned in the nisbe form ‘he-of-Wetenet’. This invocation is preserved in several New Kingdom tombs, with the tomb of Seti II having the most well preserved rendition of Invocation 69.²⁸

hkn.w n=k R(.w) kzi(.w) šhm i'n(.w) htn(.w) Wtnt.y²⁹ Hpr.y m3^c irw.w tw is <h3.t>³⁰
i'n^c dw3.t

Praise to you, Re, who is high of sekhem-power, the rejoicing baboon, he of Wetenet;

Khepri, who makes forms anew, you are the <corpse> of the baboon of the Duat.

The mention of a baboon is a common topos in cosmographic tracts. In much of the cosmographic literature the baboons were the ‘eastern souls’ (*b3.w-i3b.ty*) who made sunrise possible and communicated

²³ Munro (1994: pl. 130).


²⁴ Lapp (1997: pl. 52, 67).

²⁵ Lepsius (1842: pl. 47, l. 24).

²⁶ Lapp (1997: pl. 37, 19–20).

²⁷ For the lion-youth of the morning sun (Khepri), see Darnell (2004: 143, 319).

²⁸ Hornung (1975: I, 78) and Piankoff (1964: 28, pl. VII).

²⁹ The Ramesses IV rendition of this invocation has *m rn n.ty*  ‘in the name which is in the hill-country (?)’ instead of the toponym Wetenet, for which see the varying orthographies in the synoptic edition of Hornung (1975: 78).

³⁰ *h3.t* ‘corpse’ is extant in the renditions from the tomb of Ramesses IV and Merenptah, following Hornung (1975: 78).

with the sun god as he rose in the east.³¹ Piankoff raises the idea that the ‘baboon’ in this text may be a constellation, but Hornung rightly rejects this on the grounds that the mention of baboons can be easily explained through solar, as opposed to stellar themes.³² The baboons, beyond being the eastern-souls, can also be equated with the sun-god himself. Re could manifest as a baboon, as is indicated by this text where he is called the ‘rejoicing baboon’. Darnell has noted the Osirian manifestation of baboons, where Osiris as a baboon acclaims Re as he rises from the eastern horizon.³³ He points out a text on the coffin of Ankhnesneferibre which exclaims that Osiris as a baboon (*kfdn*) travels on the solar barque with Re.³⁴ Indeed the corpse of Re, mentioned in the Litany, may be a reference to such solar-Osirian unity, where Re, the solar god *par excellence*, unifies with Osiris within the eastern horizon. The association with Khepri, the emerging creative sun at dawn, should leave no doubt that we are dealing with the sun-god of the morning. Wetenet is thus uniquely positioned between the solar heralding baboons and rising Khepri as the land of solar birth.

The home of these baboons in eastern regions can be further discerned from a text which lauds the kings’ knowledge of the solar cycle and the eastern souls, present on a number of monuments dating from the reign of Hatshepsut and onwards. In a cosmic cycle, a so-called ‘Begleittext’ inscribed on a number of monuments, these baboons are even called the *isz.tyw* ‘eastern ones’, their manifestation(s) being revealed through the use of the classifier *ḥ*.³⁵ In this text, the baboons are said to have lived in God’s-Land (*T3-ntr*), the indeterminate easterly regions from which the sun rises.³⁶ A related cosmic cycle, the so-called ‘Baboon Text’, which also lacks any complete rendition on a single monument, more explicitly describes the role of the *b3.w-isb.ty*. Efforts aimed at reconstructing and understanding this text are found in Voß’s treatment devoted to the Medinet Habu texts and Karkowski’s compilations based on the Deir el-Bahri copy.³⁷ In this tract the toponym Wetenet is again mentioned:³⁸

*iʿnʿ.w sr(.w) Rʿ(.w) msi ḥm ntr pn ʿz r wnw.t 6 m dw3.t ... ḥʿi ntr pn ʿz m ḥ.ty Nw.t m ḥr.ty rh.yt ḥnmn.t sdm=sn md.t hnw n(.y)*³⁹ *Wtnt m ntsn sr(.w) Rʿ(.w) m p.t t3...*

The baboons who foretell Re when the majesty of this great god is born at the sixth hour in the Duat... When this great god appears from the thighs of Nut, in the eyes of the Rekhyt-People and Henememet-People, they hear the speech of jubilating-ones of Wetenet. They are the ones who foretell Re in the sky and the earth...

Wetenet is again represented in a passage of solar birth, when the god issues forth from the eastern sky, the thighs of the sky goddess Nut. This act is elaborated and depicted in *The Book of Nut* where the sun god issues forth from the thighs of the sky goddess.⁴⁰ In the rendition of *The Book of the Day* from the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) Wetenet is described as the home of baboons, here identified as *Bnt.yw*, in

³¹ For the role of baboons in the solar drama, see te Velde (1988: 129–137).

³² Piankoff (1964: 28) and Hornung (1975: 120).

³³ Darnell (2004: 403–404, n.146).

³⁴ Sander-Hansen (1937: 38–39).

³⁵ The sign is Gardiner E35. For the text see Assmann (1970: 6); Voß (1996: 384–385).

³⁶ *iw=f rh bs=[s]n ḥpr.w=sn niw.wt=sn im[.ywt T3]-ntr* ‘He (the king) knows [th]eir (the eastern souls’) secrets, their manifestations, their cities (home?) [with]in God’s-[Land]’, see Brunner (1977: pl. 65).

³⁷ See Voß (1996: 378–379) and Karkowski (2003: 212–221).

³⁸ This transliteration follows the transcription of the various editions of the text in Karkowski (2003: 212–221). For the Medinet Habu text, see The Epigraphic Survey (1963: pl. 420).

³⁹ The alternate rendering of this passage present on the edifice of Taharqa at Karnak has *sdm=sn mdw ḥtt.yw n(.y) [Wt]n.t* ‘they hear the speech of the screaming-baboons of [Wet]enet’. Compare to the First Hour of *The Amduat* where a baboon in a vignette is labelled the *ḥty* see Hornung (1963: I, 14).

⁴⁰ See also the similar text in the twelfth hour of *The Amduat*, *ḥʿi=f m ḥ.ty Nwt* ‘He appears from the thighs of Nut’ in Hornung (1963: I, 192).

a text displaying elements of cryptography. The corpus has been compiled by Müller-Roth, who transcribed and transliterated the relevant text along with its parallels:⁴¹

*Bnt.yw rn{rn}=sn⁴² nīw.t=sn pw Pwn.t iw(=w)⁴³ m t3 knm.tyw⁴⁴ hr h3s.t {hr h3s.t} Wīnt
rn=s w3d-wr īzb.ty t3=sn pw 3h.t īzb.ty*

Bentiu is their name, their city is Punt. They are in the land of the Kenemtiu-faced-monkeys, the hill-country. Wetjenet is its name, (in) the eastern ocean. Their land is the eastern horizon.

While the text is difficult to succinctly translate, the meaning is clear enough. The baboons, who occupy the east, inhabit ‘Punt’, and their ‘hill-country’ in Wetenet which is near ‘the eastern ocean’ and the ‘eastern horizon’. The text clearly states that these entities are the home of the ‘eastern souls’, the baboons who cry out to Re when he rises in the eastern horizon.⁴⁵ These baboons are associated with the toponyms of Punt and Wetenet, which is described as being in the eastern ocean, a designation that can only refer to the Red Sea. A portion of this text was copied in the later papyri of Djedkhonsuiufankh, where Wetenet is included in a hymn to Atum and Horakhte:⁴⁶

*...īw hpr.w=sn m Bnt.yw n{n} rh.tw mdw=sn in {hnm} <hnm.t?> hr h3s.t Wīnt rn(=s)
w3d-wr hr īzb.t(y)t*

Their (the ennead) forms (are) as *bentiu*-monkeys, their speech not being known by the <sun-people ?> upon the foreign-land, Wetjenet is (its) name (in) the ocean upon the east.

This passage is taken by Rambova and Drioton to be a corruption of *The Book of the Day*, however this conclusion perhaps devalues the integrity of the papyri’s text as a continuous tract of solar allusions and the elasticity with which Egyptian funerary myths were copied and compiled. In these texts, Wetenet is the terrestrial body located at the doors of the eastern horizon, the ‘thighs of Nut’ (clearly a euphemism for her vagina), where Re is born from Nut’s body.⁴⁷ Clearly, Wetenet must be envisaged as the first land which the sun met after exiting Nut’s body and the Duat before beginning its daytime journey.

These texts have presented two different forms of baboons, the *īn* and *bnt.yw*. The former is probably a general zoological word for a baboon, while the *bnt.yw*-monkeys are exclusively mentioned in the context of the solar cycle. It is tempting to draw a connection between *bnt.yw* and the verb (w)*bn* ‘to rise’ but the exclusively triliteral nature of this lexeme (*bnt* not *bn.t*) perhaps beckons for another solution.⁴⁸ A very similar connection between monkeys and Wetenet is made in a passage of the damaged medico-magical text *Papyrus Rammesseum III*, which has */// m gs īzb.ty Wīnt īn n wrd-i (?)* ‘/// in the eastern side of Wetenet, the baboons of which I am not weary (?)...’.⁴⁹ The passage has many difficulties in reconstruction due to extensive lacunae, but might be taken to mean that this land really did have a baboon population, unless the medical text is evoking the myth of solar birth to ensure the efficacy of the medico-magical ritual.

The toponym is also attested in Graeco-Roman temple texts as epithets to particular deities. Horus has the epithet *ntr pri(.w) m Wīnt r snsn Wt3.t m nb srh* ‘the god who comes forth from Wetenet in

⁴¹ The toponym *Wīnt* is preserved only in copy from the Sarcophagus Hall of the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV9). The text before the toponym is also extant in the Corridor of KV9, see the synoptic edition of Müller-Roth (2008: 155–156). For the original publication from the tomb of Ramesses VI, see Piankoff (1954: pl. 151–152).

⁴² Duplications perhaps based on dittography seems to be present throughout the Sarcophagus hall copy of the text.

⁴³ For the cryptographic value of the G38 bird as *īw*, see Darnell (2004: 598–599).

⁴⁴ The *Knm.tyw* monkeys may be conceived of as ‘dark-faced monkeys’ from the root *knm* ‘be dark’. Conceivably, of the baboons known in the Egyptian archaeological record as well as those native to East Africa, this could possibly refer to the Anubis Baboon or less likely the Vervet Monkey.

⁴⁵ Te Velde (1988: 129–137).

⁴⁶ Piankoff and Rambova (1957: 157, pl. 19).

⁴⁷ Spalinger (2012: 369).

⁴⁸ Such an origin was called a ‘Volksetymologie’ in Takács (2001: 235–236).

⁴⁹ Barns (1956: pl. 12).

order to fraternise with the Edfu-nome as the lord of the throne.⁵⁰ Another Edfu inscription mentions *Wnt* next to the Nubian toponym *Bwgm*, known exclusively from Graeco-Roman contexts. A longer text from Behbeit el-Hagar relates some more precise information about the placename:⁵¹

*dd mdw (in 3s.t) di.n(=i) n=k h3s.t Wtnw hr shm=sn km3.tyw hr rmn n=k g3w n(y)
sh.(w)t=sn...*

Words spoken (by Isis): (I) have given to you the foreign land of Wetenu, bearing their power; the Qematiu bring for you the gifts of their fields...

The Qematiu is a little known ethnome particular to Ptolemaic temple texts. It could simply be rendered as ‘the gum-people’, the word being a nisbe deriving from the toponym *km3.t* ‘gum-land’ itself deriving from the Egyptian word *km.yt* or *km3.t* ‘gum, resin’.⁵² This resin, referred to here as ‘gifts of their field’, in several New Kingdom texts seems to derive from Punt or God’s-Land, thus suggesting a Red Sea locale for the Qematiu.⁵³ Although the text has vague assertions, it would seem to denote the inhabitants of Wetenet as people involved in the extraction of gum, as with the fragmentary New Kingdom expedition inscription Sinai 238 + 427.⁵⁴ Another text from Edfu evokes Wetenet as the land of *hd.w*-incense, a word which assumingly underwent a similar semantic progression to the more common Semitic root for aromatics, *lbn* ‘white’ > ‘milk’ > ‘resinous substance or tree’.⁵⁵

Wetenet at the edge of this world and the Duat

Taken as a corpus, these hymns, funerary tracts, and religious epithets consistently show that Wetenet is a foreign-land associated with the solar drama, specifically connected with the solar baboons who foretell the coming of Re in the eastern horizon. This topos in itself derives from a belief that Wetenet was the terrestrial site of solar birth, the point on the earth where the sun arose from Nut’s body and emerged from the sky. The southeastern peripheries of Egypt’s world were considered auspicious to Nile-centric Egyptians due to its place in solar drama, as this was the cardinal direction from where the sun was considered to rise and enter the world.⁵⁶ Solar hymns and cosmographies make use of this knowledge, and integrate solar rising with toponyms and agents of the southeast. *The Book of Nut* exclaims the sun exists (*wnn*) ‘behind Punt’ in the southeast.⁵⁷ Egyptians considered these southeastern regions not only directionally associated with solar birth (from Nut), but the region from which the sun issued forth from the Duat.⁵⁸ John Darnell has remarked on the use of hieroglyphic cryptography in texts, which concern the solar journey and solar transition between this world and the Duat in the eastern horizon.⁵⁹ This also accounts for the use of cryptography in texts that deal with southeastern

⁵⁰ Kurth (2004: 101).

⁵¹ The text is from Block 52a, see Edgar and Roeder (1913: 101).

⁵² *Wb* V, 38. Takács (2000: 96–99) notes Chadic cognates for this Egyptian root. Another etymological possibility is a nominal form from the Egyptian verb *km(3)* ‘to hammer out (metal)’ (*Wb* V, 33), perhaps similar to the English expression ‘to tap’ or ‘to extract’ in reference to the extraction technique of acquiring resin from incense bearing trees.

⁵³ For *km.yt* from Punt or *T3-ntr*, see The Punt Expedition of Hatshepsut (*Urk.* IV, 329.3, 346.13) and the triumphal scene at Karnak (*KRI* I, 26.14).

⁵⁴ Edel (1983: 178–179). Although the narrative sense of the text is uncertain, the aromatics *k3w* and *ti-šps* both derive from Wetenet, as well ebony (*hbny*).

⁵⁵ Kurth (2004: 233). For the names of aromatic substances in East African languages, see Banti and Contini (1997: 172, 183–184). Interestingly, Banti and Contini suggest a similar development may possibly be behind the origin of the word *nt.yw* ‘myrrh’ if a connection to Lowland East Cushitic root for milk, *ca(a)n*, is accepted. But see also the comments in Takács (2014: 267–268), who notes promising Somali lexical material.

⁵⁶ Spalinger (2012: 364–366).

⁵⁷ Neugebauer and Parker (1960: 45).

⁵⁸ For the conception of solar birth from the Duat and the body of Nut, see Spalinger (2012: 364–366). Spalinger importantly notes that the body of Nut is orientated across the sky not east-west but obliquely southeast-northwest, thus accounting for the Egyptian conception of solar birth and solstice in the southeastern sky.

⁵⁹ Darnell (2004: 480–481).

topography such the Punt expedition texts from Aksha and Amara, as well as the previous passage of *The Book of the Day*.⁶⁰ The notable reverence and esteem that southeastern sky and lands received may also stem from its role as a producer of aromatics, the pleasant scents attributed to Egyptian deities, who lived in the lush ‘gardens’ of the southeast.⁶¹ Furthermore, recent studies on the archaeoastronomy of Egyptian temples have suggested in some cases that the axis may be orientated to the position of the sun as it rises from the southeast horizon on the northern hemisphere winter solstice.⁶² Thus the cardinal southeast was uniquely associated with all these mythological allusions, a place of divine scent, regeneration, and solar birth. The cosmographies emphasise Wetenet as an easterly location, marked by its association with the baboons and the myth of solar rising.⁶³ Given that one text explicitly places Wetenet on the ‘eastern ocean’ it is tempting to suggest that Egyptian theologians imagined the sun as emerging from the Red Sea on a daily basis. Clearly, the origin for this myth, in at least one rendition of the solar-cycle, was that Wetenet was considered as the most extreme south-easterly place known to Egyptians. The fact that such ecologies on the southern Red Sea may have supported real baboon populations probably strengthened the solar associations of this locality when Egyptians first visited this region near Punt at some point in the Old Kingdom.⁶⁴

The sun’s eastern point of entry into the world was balanced by a western point where the sun entered the netherworld at sunset. Budge, in his illustration of the Egyptian cosmos, noted the presence of these two ‘holes’ in *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*.⁶⁵

...Egypt[,] was surrounded by a chain of mountains lofty and impassable, just like the Jebel Kâf of Muhammadan writers; from one hole in this mountain the sun rose, and in another he set.

Egyptian geographical language had a complex vocabulary to define the cosmic boundary of the earth and the beginning of the Duat. The *Bꜣḥ.w*-mountains could, somewhat counter-intuitively, be considered the mountains at both the eastern and western periphery of the world.⁶⁶ The *šn-wr* ‘great-encircler’ was also, by definition, a body of water, which surrounded the known limits (*ḏr.w*) of the universe.⁶⁷ The *ḳrr.t*-caverns of *The Book of Caverns* and *The Book of the Earth* also are justifiably topo-cosmographical entities through which the sun could travel, joining the eastern and western peripheries of the world.⁶⁸ What Budge had in mind, no doubt, is the various caverns and gateways through which the sun must enter the Duat as well as the *Bakhu* mountains of the eastern and western horizons. In the first hour of the night, the sun enters the netherworld via the *ꜥrry.t imn.t(y)t* ‘the western gateway’, while there is a reference in the second hour to the *ꜥꜣ.wy tꜣ*, ‘the twin doors of the earth.’⁶⁹ The text of the Eleventh and Twelfth hour describe the emergence of the sun from the Duat, where it emerges from the thighs of Nut

⁶⁰ Darnell (2004: 23–24).

⁶¹ For the aromatic gardens of the southeast, see Betrò (1997: 461–472) and Martinssen (2003: 270–273).

⁶² Wells (1985: 274, 278, 290) and Belmonte et al. (2009: 229–230).

⁶³ However, the baboons were not always agents of the eastern periphery, and *The Amduat* makes reference to baboons greeting Re in the netherworld in the first hour of the night after sunset in the West. See Schweizer (2010: 32–41).

⁶⁴ Although it is difficult to map the northern extremities of baboon populations in antiquity, the Hamadryas Baboon now extends as far north as Suakin on the Red Sea coast of Sudan, see Goudsmit and Brandon-Jones (2000: fig. 2). For the earliest expeditions to Punt, see Tallet (2013: 190–197).

⁶⁵ Budge (1905: 88). Budge makes reference to the geographical dictionary of the medieval Muslim writer Yaqut al-Hamawi (1179–1229).

⁶⁶ See *Wb* I, 422–423 and Wilson (1997: 302–303) for a discussion on the semantic shift of this word.

⁶⁷ *Wb* IV, 493. On the nature of the *šn-wr* see Espinel (2006: 93–94), where the term is explained as ‘hacia referencia a la extension de la autoridad del rey egipcio a lo largo de todas las tierras que abarca el trayecto del disco solar’.

⁶⁸ For the *Book of the Earth*, see J. Roberson (2012: 307–309) for the *ḳrr.t*-caverns and 460–461 for the difficulties in conceptualising the cosmographical system present in the text. *The Book of Caverns* is treated in Piankoff (1942: 1–11); Piankoff (1944: 1–62); Piankoff (1945: 1–50); Piankoff (1947: 1–42).

⁶⁹ Warburton (2007: 18, 28, 68).

in the east through a *sb3*-door.⁷⁰ The *sb3 pw št3* ‘this secret gate’, described in the books of the netherworld, was considered by Assmann to mark the boundary between the Duat and this world.⁷¹ Much of this imagery of the terrestrial portal from which the sun emerges uses the terminology of artificial temple architecture, and it is difficult to prescribe any of these references to the physical environment, but the idea of a secret, yet ‘real’, liminal space that separated the world from the Duat in the distant east and west is clearly communicated. The land of Wetenet, which was visited by Egyptians on expeditions towards Punt, occupied this liminal space in the southeastern sky, the very direction from which solar birth is ascribed in Egyptian cosmography. The point of interest here is whether, only after visiting this land on expeditions (at some point in the Old Kingdom) and becoming familiar with its environs, did Egyptians elevate the position of Wetenet to the land of solar birth and the gateway of the eastern horizon.

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⁷⁰ Warburton (2007: 421).

⁷¹ Assmann (1970: 33). Depressingly, Assmann states: ‘Alle Versuche, sich die ägyptische Vorstellung von den Horizont-Toren konkret auszumalen und ein Ausgangstor im Osten, ein Eingangstor im Westen anzunehmen, scheitern an dem einhelligen Zeugnis der Quellen, die offenbar nur ein Tor kennen, ein höchst geheimnisvolles, unergründliches Tor also, durch das der Sonnengott sowohl ein- wie ausgeht, der Übergang zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits.’

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