An early hymn to Osiris as nocturnal manifestation of Re\textsuperscript{5}. Text translation and commentary by J. van Dijk (Plates 66–7)

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

Measurements of the width of the wall and of
the columns reveal that originally there were 27 columns of text. From this it appears that about one-third of the hymn has been preserved (Fig. 16, below). The end of the text (ll. 26–7) is inscribed on the inner thickness of the south door jamb at the entrance of the passage, presumably through lack of space on the main reveal. The opposite north wall has been left entirely undecorated and uninscribed, and the necropolis of Memphis. Thus, ḫoremḥeb, and anyone who chanced to recite the hymn, was facing Osiris himself, just as ḫoremḥeb faces the god in the relief on the wall.

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

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

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

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1 Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden, 1963), 78–80.
4 Another early example is a hymn from Theban tomb 255 (Ro), which dates from the reign of ḫoremḥeb: see Baud and Drioton, *Le Tombeau de Roy* (Cairo, 1928), 18–20, 41–4, with fig. 13; cf. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich

and Munich, 1975), no. 53. The development of this type of hymn is foreshadowed in a line from the great hymn to Osiris, Louvre c 286, where Osiris is called b’r ṭē’ dī f ḏ s j, ‘Ba of ṭē’, his very body’ (l. 2).
5 See for the following remarks Assmann’s admirable introduction to his *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, especially pp. 64–77.
the traditional religion by the sole god Aten, who was in the first place a god of light, upon whose life-giving power everyone and everything upon earth depended. Darkness and night were interpreted only in a negative way: during the night the Aten is absent and the whole world falls back into a state of non-existence. In Amarna religion there was no place for Osiris, who therefore shared the fate of Amûn and the other traditional gods. However, this being so, Akhenaten was unable to deal with one of the most essential aspects of Egyptian religion, viz. death and life after death. In the period after the Amarna interlude the traditional religion was re-interpreted in reaction to Akhenaten’s doctrines. The problem of unity and plurality was solved by the concept of a universal god from whom all other gods emanate, and who manifests himself in his creation, which includes the present world and the hereafter. The cult of Osiris became much more important than before the Amarna Period, and in the tombs of private persons Osiris and RêÊ have a role of equal weight.¹

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

The Hymn to Osiris (Translation)

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

[Hail to you, Osiris, lord of eternity, great mighty one,³ foremost of the West, perfect king of everlastingness, great of terror in the Hâ(2)û-nebu⁴...who removes] evil, Tatenen,⁵ founder of the Shores, august Djed,⁶ who rules over eternity, (3) [...Ma]nu,⁷ fully equipped with body and atef-crown,⁸ ram-headed one,⁹ surrounded with uræî,¹⁰ (4) [...heaven] <his> deeds¹¹ as foremost of the West, who took possession of the Two Lands when he was still in the womb of Nut,¹² who became ruler of (5) [the plains of the Silent Land, golden] of body, lapis lazuli-like of head,¹³ turquoise being upon his arms,¹ four pillar of Hêh,¹⁴ wide of breast,¹⁵ (6) [kindly of countenance,¹⁶ who is in the Sacred Lan]d,¹⁷ heir of Geb, gracious upon his throne¹ in the seclusion¹ of Naref,¹⁸ lord of a fair remembrance of him (7) [in the palace,¹ nine great of appearances in (?)] the Chapel of the Phenix,¹ Ba of eternity, Akh of everlastingness,¹′ who administers justice in the Netherworld,¹" beautiful Orion who crosses heaven,¹⁰ (8) [...] the West,¹⁸ who is carried in pregnancy to the womb [of Nut] by day¹ and born in profound darkness¹⁹ by night [...]

(A1) [...the district of] Pêker when one is ushered in to him [on the day of] being called²² [...

(A2) [...] the Evil One, I will slay the Ass,²³ I will chase (B2) his gang²² [...

(A3) [...] Horus has driven away²² his enemies, the crew of the Thinite nome [...

(A4) [...] the Evil One, a flint knife being in my fist. He who is upon [his] side?²² [...

(26) [...] the re]bel.²²²²²² I am skilled <in> my task of cutting up his body²² in front of this august god. His carved flesh is loaded upon his slaughtering-place,²² Sakhmet [...(27)]... opened up is the way which is in his heart,²² Wepset²²²²²² has seized him, Horus is upon his throne, full of joy, and Isis is content²²...
The Hymn to Osiris (Commentary)

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

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

(c) T(1)nm: till now the earliest example of the identification of Osiris and Tatenen was the stela of Wepwautmosi in E. Berlin (Inv. 7316), from the Memphite necropolis and roughly contemporary with the tomb of Horemheb.3 The determinative after the god’s name has exactly the same ‘new’ shape there as in our text, cf. Schloegl, Der Gott Tatenen (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1980), 44–6. See further van Dijk, OMRO 66 (1986), 7–20.

(d) dd ṣps4: this Memphite deity is mentioned as early as the Fifth Dynasty in connection with Ptah and Sokar, but it is only from the second half of the New Kingdom onwards that a close relationship with Osiris can be demonstrated:4 see Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah (Lund, 1946), 154–66, and Altenmüller, in LdÄ i, cols. 1101–2. See van Dijk, op. cit.

(e) [m]nw: the ‘western’ mountain, the place where the sun sets on earth, but also the place of sunrise in the Netherworld, where it is known as the ‘eastern’ mountain, cf. Assmann, Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott (Berlin, 1969), 39.

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

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

(h) phrw m ḍsrw: like the sun god entering the realm of the dead6 Osiris is protected against the powers of chaos by his uraei which surround him, see for example, Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, iii:9 (Oxford, 1980), 288, 15–16: phrw ṣrw ṣr m ḫtm ḫrt, ‘the protective snake surrounds him like Atum in heaven’.7 In our text the rare designation ḍsrw8 is used, probably because these snakes keep the god in protective seclusion (for ḍsrw see note r below).

2 Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis (Darmstadt, 1979), 34–5.
3 PM iii, pt. 2, 734. See also Grapow, Sprachliche und schriftliche Formung ägyptischer Texte (Glückstadt, 1936), pl. 9.
4 In hynmical literature it rarely occurs as a name of Osiris: see for example O. Cairo 25212 (Erman, ZAS 38 (1900), 33); stela Theban tomb 41, of Amenemḥet (Myśliwiec, MDAIK 35 (1979), 34, l. 5); Gauthier, BIFAO 6 (1908), pl. 6.
5 Keen, Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten (Leipzig, 1956), 320.
6 See for example Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari, iv (London, [1901]), pl. 115: ‘You occupy your field in Manu, your uraei being around you.’
7 Cf. Zandee, op. cit., 55.
8 Cf. Wb. v, 617, 4–5.
like the mḥnt-snake:1 ʾk.k ḏsrw m mḥnt, ‘you enter the seclusion formed by the mḥnt-snake’, Hornung (ed.), Das Buch von den Pforten des Fenseits, i (Geneva, 1979), 149.

(i) ḫrw: perfective passive participle of ḫr. The writing with initial ḫ is probably influenced by words like ḫw, ‘shape’, ḫtt, ‘milk’, etc. (hardly the prothetic ḫ of both Old and Late Egyptian). At the beginning restore perhaps [skr (or a similar verb) ḫymw ṭ ḫrw, etc. ‘those who are in heaven praise ḫ’s deeds . . .’.

(j) ḫl ḫrw m ḫt Nwt: see note (f) above, and Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 303, with n. 10. From here until the beginning of l. 6 a parallel text is afforded by the Book of the Dead of Ani, sheet 2, ll. 8–10.

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

(l) ṭfkt ḫr-tp ḫwy.fy: ṭfkt, ‘turquoise’, is frequently connected with the rising sun god in the east, cf. Hornung (ed.), Das Amduat, ii (Wiesbaden, 1963), 187, and Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 127. The sun disk itself is often described and depicted as green (mḥkt), see discussion of Brunner-Traut, ‘Die grüne Sonne’, in Festschrift für Elmar Edel (Bamberg, 1979), 54–9. After ṭf and Osiris have become one god in the Duat ṭf ‘arises from the arms of his father Osiris’.4 In the morning ‘his father Osiris lifts him up’ to the sky.5 In the Book of the Dead of Ani these verses are found in a pair of hymns to ṭf and Osiris, accompanied by the vignette usually illustrating Chapter 15.6 In this vignette Osiris is depicted as a ḫd-piller flanked by Isis and Nephthys. On top of the ḫd is an ḫnk-sign with arms, which raise the sun disk aloft to the sky.7 Thus our text undoubtedly refers to the sun god arising upon the arms of Osiris. Note also the curious metathesis in the writing of ṭfkt, which is also found in the Book of the Dead of Ani.

(m) ḫw n ḫḥ: the ḫw-piller is connected with the moon as the nocturnal manifestation of ṭf. As such both ṭf and Osiris, as well as other gods, are often called ḫw, ‘pillar’, or ḫny, ‘he of the pillar’, ‘pillar god’.8 A hymn to ṭf from the Twenty-first Dynasty calls him ‘sun by day, pillar by night’.9 Isis and Nephthys address Osiris as follows: ‘O Pillar god, you rise for us in the sky daily . . . Thoth is your protection, he raises your ba in the mḥnt-barque in this your name of Moon’.10 At Edfu Horus is called: the ‘Exalting pillar11 who illumines the darkness . . . Horus of the Two Eyes (i.e. the sun and moon), accurate of eternal cycle when the

1 Cf. Chassinat, Le Temple d’Edfou, iv (Cairo, 1929), 218; Chassinat and Daumas, Le Temple de dendarah, vii (Cairo, 1972), 179, etc. (pfr m mḥnt).
3 ḫd-piller of Ptahmose, Leiden AP 514d: see Boese, Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung, iv (The Hague, 1911), pl. 28, 4d3.
4 Chester Beatty IX, rt. 6, 1.
5 Assmann, Der König als Sonnenpriester (Glückstadt, 1970), 20, 43, with n. 4.
6 See for example Sethe, Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne (Berlin, 1928), figs. on pp. 271–2.
7 Occasionally the arms are connected directly with the ḫd, e.g. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara 1908–9, 1909–10. The Monastery of Apa Jeremias (Cairo, 1912), pl. 73, 1; Schäfer, ZÄS 71 (1935), 26, fig. 10 (Theban tomb 178, Neferronpet); Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, i (Warminster, 1976), pl. 48, 2; Saqqāra stela Cairo JdE 1892 (unpublished).
9 p.Louvre 3202, Nagel, BIFAO 29 (1929), 80.
10 p.Berlin 3008, 4, 1–3, Faulkner, ‘The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys’, in Mélanges Maspero, i (Cairo, 1934), 339. For the transposition of mḥnt and ṭfkt see Sethe, op. cit., 278, with n. 5. Perhaps the origin of the exchange of the two boats is the same as with mḥnt and sḥhw, cf. note (e) above: the night-barque of ṭf is the day-barque of Osiris. See also Müller, Die beiden Totenpyxen Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg (Leipzig, 1913), 80 [39] on the moon in the mḥnt-barque.
11 ḫw-hḥr, Wb. i, 53, 17: ‘Name des Mondes’.
Osiris bears the epithet wpḥ pt ṛ ṭ, 'who separates heaven and earth', on an Eighteenth Dynasty stela from Saqqara,\(^{11}\) an epithet which is applied to Atum, the setting sun entering the Netherworld, in the tomb of Horemheb.\(^{12}\) This interpretation of ḫwn explains why ḫw, the god who supports heaven, is explicitly mentioned in our text.\(^{13}\) See van Dijk, OMRO 66 (1986), 7–20, for further implications.

(n) ḫsw ṣḥb: in the depths of the Duat Rē\(^{5}\) revivifies Osiris by shining on his breast (ṣḥb), see O. Cairo 25214 and 25209 (Erman, ZÄS 38 (1900), 29–30; Schott, Zum Weltbild der Jen- seitsführer des Neuen Reiches (Göttingen, 1965), 196–7; Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 286–7. Osiris is therefore called 'wide of breast', and he is endowed with the potential of life which only needs to be reactivated through unification with Rē\(^{5}\). The ḫsw-collar on the breast of mummies and coffins, often composed, for example, of drop-shaped beads representing the rays of the sun, and sometimes decorated with hawks' heads, may be a symbolic expression of this idea. It is interesting to note that in one of the Late Period manuscripts of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 158, the 'Spell for the ḫsw-collar of gold', the deceased says: 'My father is a Pillar god, my mother is a Pillar goddess'.\(^{14}\) Cf. also below, p. 67.

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

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1 Rochemonteix and Chassinat, Le Temple d'Edfou, i (Cairo, 1892–7), 39. See for the Meeting of the Two Bulls, Urk. viii, 74 (n9b), translated by Derchain, Mythes et dieux lunaires en Égypte, in La Lune, mythes et rites (Paris, 1962), 43.
2 Chassinat and Daumas, Le Temple de Dendara, vi (Cairo, 1965), 172, 49–50.
3 Assmann, Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete, 564 (Nr. 103, 4); Frankfurt, Kingship and the Gods (Chicago, 1948), 160.
4 Frankfurt, op. cit., 381 n. 27; Zivie, 'Les rites de l'érection de l'obélique et du pilier Ioun', in Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, i (Cairo, 1979), 488 n. 1; cf. Martin, 'Jun-Pfeiler', in LdA iii, col. 214, who calls the association of ḫw-pillar and bull 'secondary'.
5 Martin, Ein Garantysymbol des Lebens (Hildesheim, 1977), 17, and id., LdA iii, 213.
6 Pyr. 1142b.
7 pHarris, i, 11 (m ḫw), 'as Pillar', not 'in Heliopolis', Lange, Der magische Papyrus Harris (Copenhagen, 1927), 18.
8 See Kees, Aegypten (Tübingen, 1928), 20 = Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch. Zweite erweiterte Auflage, 10; also
9 Sauneron, Le Temple d’Esna ii (Cairo, 1963), no. 17, 51.
11 CTi, 320–1d to 322–3a; ii, 378. See also de Buck, Plaats en betekenis van Soroe in de egyptische theologie (Amsterdam, 1947), 247–8.
12 Stella Leiden v12, Boeser, op. cit., vi (The Hague, 1913), pl. 4, 13.
13 [11, 36, 123].
14 Roeder, who translated this passage (from the Book of the Dead of Ani) quite differently, nevertheless hinted at the right meaning by translating ḫw n hh by 'ein Pfeiler wie ein Himmelsträger' (Urkunden zur Religion des Alten Ägypten (Jena, 1923), 27). As a name of Osiris, ḫw hh seems also to occur in Urk. vi, 79, 10 (reading doubtful).
BSEG 4 (1980), 39-43, and for divine epithets composed with ḫr, ‘face’, see in general the important remarks of Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 132. It is only rarely used for Osiris. In the Coffin Texts it is only found in connection with Osiris in a spell written on funerary masks (Spell 531), where it is applied to the mask given by Rē to Osiris ‘in order to stop the injury by Seth against him’. The eyes of this mask are the Day- and Night-barques. This spell probably refers to the revivification of Osiris by Rē.

(p) Above the bubalis-sign of ḫrw, ‘heir’, there are clear traces of ḫrp, the last sign of Ṭī-dsr.

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


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

(t) nb šrwh.f nfr [m ḫr]: cf. the Middle Kingdom Hymn to Osiris (Louvre c 30 and var.): nb šrwh nfr m ḫr. By ḫr is meant the palace of Horus, successor of Osiris, as king upon earth, as is made clear in Coffin Text Spell 313, which deals with the demise of Osiris and the accession of his son Horus. In this text Thoth says to Osiris: ḫrw šrwh.f nfr m ḫr, ‘a fair remembrance of you is in the palace’ (CT iv, 88q.), and ḫrw rd.i n.f. šrwh.f nfr m ḫr, ‘I have set a fair remembrance of you in the palace’ (op. cit., 90q.). Being remembered means being assured of a funerary cult, and a ‘fair remembrance’ is therefore frequently prayed for in offering formulae from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.

(u) ḫwt-bnwn: the sanctuary of Rē in Heliopolis, also called ḫwt-bnwn, ‘chapel of the benben-stone’, cf. Pyr. 1652: ‘O Atum-Khepri . . . you have arisen as the benben-stone in the chapel of the Phœnix in Heliopolis’. The bnwn-bird is a symbol of the solar god of Heliopolis, but is already identified with Osiris in CT iv, 198/90a-c, see further Kees, Göttergläube, 266. The sanctuary of Heliopolis is the tomb of the sun god in which he rests as Osiris, and from which he rises as Rē, see Assmann, Liturgische Lieder, 311 n. 47, with reference to the sixth hour of the Book of Gates (Hornung (ed.), Das Buch von den Pfönten, i, 224–34). A Twenty-second Dynasty hymn to Osiris as nocturnal sun god addresses him as follows: ‘Hail to you, lord of Abydos, divine falcon, many-coloured of plumage, pillar god, lord of the Chapel of the Phœnix’. Another hymn to Osiris from the Twenty-first Dynasty calls him ‘lord of the Throne in the First Chapel of the Benben’.

(v) b nḥḥ, ḫ ḫt: the two complementary aspects of eternity, nḥḥ, ‘cyclic eternity’, and ḫt, ‘linear eternity’, both have their own group of associations in the theological speculations of the ancient Egyptians. Thus nḥḥ is connected with day, sun, Rē, and ba-soul, ḫt with night, moon, Osiris, and ḫt-body. According to Gertie Englund the ḫt represents the ‘power of

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1  Urk. v, 26, 10–11 = Naville, Das aegyptische Totenbuch (Berlin, 1886), 17, 24.
2  Kees, Göttergläube, 316–22.
4  Seirin Hassan, Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire (Cairo, 1929), 29–30.
6  See Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel (Glückstadt, 1968), Index, s.v. ‘šrwh’.
7  Published in Monet, La Nécropole royale de Tanis, ii (Paris, 1951), pl. 41.
autogeneration', the 'permanent, stable, element of life'\textsuperscript{1}. The relation between \textit{bš} and \textit{nh} is explained by her as follows: '\textit{nh} est un état d'être qui peut être virtuel ou manifesté et le \textit{nh} manifesté se présenterait comme \textit{bš}, forme perceptible, susceptible d’agir et de se mouvoir'.\textsuperscript{2} Osiris is the body permanently resting in the Duat, apparently dead, but endowed with the potential of life (\textit{nh} \textit{dt}). When \textit{Rēš} and Osiris unite, Osiris is resurrected as \textit{Rēš}, his visible manifestation, returning eternally (\textit{bš} \textit{nhh}).

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

(x) \textit{nh ēf dr hrt}: during the night Orion, the most brilliant constellation in the southern sky, is visible proof of the rejuvenated Osiris. Orion is already identified with Osiris in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts.\textsuperscript{3} In Late Period funerary texts in particular Osiris is often called 'Orion in the womb of Nut'.\textsuperscript{4} Texts on Memphite \textit{djed}-pillars call him 'Osiris-Phaenix, great god in heaven, divine falcon, ruler of everlastingness, beautiful Orion in the southern sky',\textsuperscript{5} or they address Osiris in this manner: 'Hail to you in your image of heaven, in your great manifestation of Phaenix, you approach as Orion ([\textit{nh}].k \textit{m \textit{nh}}), while [your followers] are sailing as stars in the southern sky. Your sister Isis is as Sothis beside you as [your] protection [in] the Bark of Flesh, and your son Horus is the helmsman. The Sea of Knives has abundance of offerings'.\textsuperscript{6} Just like the moon, Orion as the bringer of light in the darkness supports heaven: 'He (Osiris) shines in heaven as Orion, his followers are the unwearying stars. When he supports the sky they rejoice. He who is carrying her Lord is among them jubilating?'.\textsuperscript{7}

(y) \textit{imntr}: could be the end of a phrase such as \textit{dl tp.f (or hrf) m imntr}, 'who shows himself in the West', cf. p Carlsberg I, col. 5, 12–20.

(z) \textit{wrš bkwr ... sdr msw}: this portion reverses a theme frequent in sun hymns and related texts: \textit{wrš msw ... sdr lw rtr \textit{mn}, who is born by day... and carried in pregnancy by his mother during the night}.\textsuperscript{8} The meanings given by \textit{Wb.} i, 481 for \textit{bkwr} are, 'be pregnant', 'become pregnant', and in Late Period texts, 'make pregnant'. Here the subject of \textit{bkwr} is the child, not the mother, and it may therefore mean 'be conceived', or 'be carried in the womb' here. The latter meaning is also attested for \textit{lwr}, 'be pregnant', 'conceive', refer Schott, \textit{RdE} 17 (1965), 85 n. 1, followed by Assmann, \textit{Liturgische Lieder}, 175(5). Cf. the sun hymn from the tomb of Kheruef: \textit{sdr} \textit{b\textit{h}kwr m hrt-twr \textit{hdt-frn[p.f]}, 'who is carried in the womb during the night, day after day, being rejuvenated at daybreak'.\textsuperscript{9} For the birth of Orion see \textit{CT} iii, 263a–c: 'I am Osiris who approaches (\textit{nh}) his Two Lands, sailing ahead of the stars of heaven in the womb of my mother Nut. She has conceived (\textit{lwr}) me at her will, and will give birth to me at her desire'.

(aa) \textit{wt}\textit{srm}: 'profound darkness', i.e. the darkness of the Duat. The term refers to the period around midnight,\textsuperscript{10} but may also be used as a

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\textsuperscript{1} Englund, \textit{Akh, une notion religieuse dans l‘Égypte pharaonique} (Uppsala, 1978), 211.
\textsuperscript{2} Englund, op. cit., 123.
\textsuperscript{4} de Meulenaere, \textit{CDe} 48 (1973), 50 n.(k); also Haikal, \textit{Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin}, i (Brussels, 1970), 31, 36–7.
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Djed}-pillar of Prahmos, Leiden \textit{AP} 51; Boeser, op. cit., iv, pl. 28, 4c3; also on 4d3: \textit{nh} \textit{ispy m pt rwt}.
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Djed}-pillar of Iurokh, Cairo \textit{JdE} 65061; Gauthier, \textit{ASAE} 35 (1935), 81–4; also Kitchen, \textit{Ramesseide Inscriptions}, iii:6.
\textsuperscript{7} Raven, 'Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues', \textit{OMRO} 59–66 (1978–9), 279–80. For the difficult end of the text, op. cit., 277: perhaps \textit{hrī-nbt}, 'he who is carrying her lord' signifies Osiris lifting up \textit{Rēš}, 'her lord' meaning \textit{Rēš} as lord of heaven.
\textsuperscript{8} Assmann, \textit{Liturgische Lieder}, 113, 118–20.
\textsuperscript{10} 'The hours five to eight inclusive', according to Neugebauer and Parker, \textit{Egyptian Astronomical Texts}, i (Providence and London, 1960), 64.
synonym of dit. The latter may also be the meaning here, since it is the birth of Orion which is situated m wsrw in our text, unless wsrw is a more general term for 'night' here.

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

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

(dd) ఝ: in the translation I have connected this sign with Fragment B, reading phr[l] m-ṣ; s[m][r[y,f]], 'I chase his gang', cf. Wb. i, 546, 17. If this hypothesis is correct Fragment B belongs to the upper end of the wall.

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

(ff) The group which looks like  is perhaps to be read as , nty hₜ gs[f], the  being a distorted form of ḫₜ. 'He who is upon [his] side' is a reference to Osiris.

(gg) The damaged word at the beginning reads [l] sbl, 'rebel'. The determinative  (N33 in Gardiner’s Sign-list) is also found after hftyw, ‘enemies’, in Fragment A, l. 3.

(hh)  an early example of this writing of ssw, 'be skilled'. Normally the construction of ssw m kḥt, Wb. iv, 543, 12. The next group, badly damaged, is ḫḥt, 'slaughter'. The same arrangement of the signs (with  placed before ḫ) is found on a relief from the tomb of Ḥormin, Kitchen, Ramesseide Inscriptions, i:7–8 (1975), 309, 16.

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

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

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


