

Aegyptus et Pannonia VI.



Acta Symposií anno 2019

B U D A P E S T

Aegyptus et Pannonia VI.

Acta Symposii anno 2019

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AEGYPTUS ET PANNONIA VI.

Health and Life in Ancient Egypt. Mummies in Focus

Proceedings of the Conference held 27-29th

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INTRODUCTION TO THE “HEALTH AND LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT” CONFERENCE-VOLUME

Dr. Hedvig Győry PhD

Earlier readers of *Aegyptus et Pannonia* will surely be surprised by this volume. It has been more than 10 years since we organised our last conference for the fifth volume, and the theme has changed completely. Therefore, as an introduction, we would like to briefly summarize the recent events and the activities we have carried out in the professional field. This is also the reason for the structural change: the conference presentations will be followed by detailed articles resulting from the work of our Society.

The Hungarian-Egyptian Friendship Society and the Ancient Egyptian Committee

The Hungarian-Egyptian Friendship Society (HEFS) has been a non-governmental organization operating since 1995, which strives to acquaint and promote Egyptian culture; scientific activities and research are essential elements among its objectives. We discuss actual and earlier Egyptian topics from historical, artistic, literary, touristic or even economic points of view in our lectures. We also organize other programs according to the demand of situations and suggestions of our members. Thus, in the recent period our programs included Egyptian days and festivals, workshops, excursions, experience reports, public meetings and quizzes, as well as literary and photo competition. We also share other news and curiosities on our website and in our radio programs. Our activities are carried out partly in collaboration with other organizations, as was the conference organized in 2019 “Health and Life in ancient Egypt. Mummies in Focus”, presentations of which are published in this volume.

Particular emphasis is placed in our efforts to raise awareness of ancient Egyptian monuments, which is why an independent Committee (Ancient Egyptian Committee / AEC) has been set up to coordinate this. It plays a key role in the life of the Society and has done much work both in dissemination and research in recent years.

Part of our work is aimed at pupils who are taught ancient Egyptian knowledge through competitions in a playful way. There were also children’s classes and lectures in schools and community places (often called house of culture in the Hungarian language). Here, we primarily work through manual skills to develop on visual culture. We have been writing out fine art competitions (drawing/painting, puppet, digital

storytelling) for years. In the last two years, an adult category was also launched for the competition at the public's request, and we have organized some exhibitions with the paintings in Hungary, but had already a children's drawing/painting exhibition in Cairo. The committee has published a book on several occasions, most recently with children's drawings/paintings about the ancient Egyptian myth on the Eye of the Sun, and the next such volume is processed. Our radio programs belong also to this activity; there we present various faces of ancient Egypt and report on the latest news ("On the field of the Pharaohs"), resp. we draw attention to exhibitions in Hungary ("From Exhibition to Exhibition").

In the research field, the Ancient Egyptian Committee was initially involved in the excavation and reconstruction works of the Isis Temple in Szombathely (Savaria), focusing primarily on the religious, social, lifestyle, and artistic aspects of Egyptian religious cults. In co-operation with the archaeologists of the Savaria Museum in Szombathely and the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, it also organized five international conferences. At that presentation, national results, discussion of controversial cases, and lectures on international professional results took place. A significant part of the lectures appeared in the form of articles in the volumes of *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, founded by AEC, representing the diversity of relevant scientific researches.

The medico-history research group

Already in the early 1990s, we contacted the Semmelweis University II, Clinic for Internal Medicine. With the support of the then director, Professor János Fehér, we published several publications in the *Orvosi Hetilap* and other Hungarian medical / medico-historical periodicals. In 2003 under the auspices of the Kriterion Publishing House in Cluj-Napoca, the book "Health and Lifestyle in Ancient Egypt" was published with the assistance of a biochemical researcher at the University. Besides the articles, lectures were also given on request.

The medico-history research group in the AEC was established with such antecedents in 2010 to examine herbs of ancient Egyptian medicine that can still be used currently in today's life, in the knowledge that ancient Egyptian science has reached such a high standard that it has become an outstanding and exemplary professional skill for the surrounding peoples, and later became one of the cornerstones of modern medicine — through the mediation and further development of Greek and Roman and then Arabic medicine. A significant part of the substances used in prescriptions are of vegetal origin, so reviewing and examining their effects and the data on them may provide new uses for current pharmacology. In this field, we collaborated primarily with researchers from the Semmelweis University of Medicine, under the direction of Professor Anna Blázovics.

A few years ago, I was also invited to contribute to the work of the editorial staff of *Kaleidoscope, Journal of Culture, Science and Medical History* at the Semmelweis Uni-

versity. Last year a lecture was given with the staff of the University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on the occasion of the Science Day of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. We thus also maintain an excellent relationship with Professor Judit Forrai, who headed the Institute of Public Health at Semmelweis University, and with the Life Sciences and History Working Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under her leadership.

Over time, we contacted the HNM Semmelweis Museum of the history of Medicine, which also houses some Egyptian medical material, and the mummy of Zoltán Arányi, whose mummification method raises questions concerning the afterlife of this practice. Documents on this topic were encrypted for the conference, published in this volume.

Initially, our goal was to present international results to Hungarian people, which is why we have given several lectures inside and outside the Society on herbs known and used in ancient Egypt, from the point of view of phytotherapy, aromatherapy, and other medico-historical topics, some of which are summarized in our *Egyiptomi Füzetek* (Egyptian Booklets). We aimed to make aware as many people as possible of the newly acquired pieces of knowledge; at the same time these lectures provided us opportunity for a kind of summary and systematization, for reviewing the still immature results, and for expanding the professional consultation.

After years actively pursued in-depth research on *materia medica*, we have found interesting, even currently valid discoveries in the case of figs, sycamore, Christ's thorns, or coniza. In doing so, we collaborated with the Institute of Pharmacognosy at the Semmelweis University and the Hungarian Free Radical Research Society (Magyar Szabadgyök-Kutató Társaság), also involving pharmacist students at the University, focusing on free radical researches. It has led to a significant change in attitudes and approaches. Our research has yielded results that are as valuable from a medico-historical point of view as from a medical point of view, because they may provide solutions to broaden boundaries in the field of pharmacognosy and to discover newer therapeutic indications. It has been proven that the use of the ingredients listed in ancient Egyptian recipes studied so far can be proven to be effective drugs even today. One of our articles¹ was awarded the Lajos Markusovszky Prize by the *Orvosi Hetilap* (Medical Weekly, May 2017). The student, we worked with, took also a 2nd place prize for her work made for the rector's competition in the frame of the Scientific Students Body (TDK).

Scientific publications were thus produced and the need for wider dissemination of the results arose again. The idea of a public meeting or dissemination conference

1 Katona, Júlia – Győry, Hedvig – Blázovics, Anna: „Azon orvosságok kezdete, melyeket a májra adnak”. [The beginning of the medicaments given for the liver]. *Orvosi Hetilap* 157/48, 2016, 1926-1933.

was raised, where ancient Egyptian medicine could be approached from a historical, cultural, ethnographic and pharmaceutical historical point of view, while drawing attention to the diverse uses and health-preserving and improving roles of these plants. In the course of these researches, the study of the contemporary treatment of the liver came to the fore again, which is also reflected in the current volume, building on our previous results. In the course of this investigations, it was suggested that it would be worthwhile to follow the *jns.t* / anise identification more thoroughly. The results of the researches can be found in this volume, significantly expanded compared to what was presented at the conference. Another direction of research is the mineral analyses, which we recently launched with the participation of Dr. Klára Szentmihályi.

The year 2018 then gave our research team a new impetus and members. In addition to phytotherapy and pharmacognosy, there was an anthropological direction, as can be seen from our article in the volume, which is an expanded material for the 2019 conference presentation. At the same time, we have relaunched the series of *Aegyptus et Pannonia* scholarly symposia with a new direction: mummy research. That year namely, a PhD student Enikő Szvák, who has been investigating the Egyptian mummies of the Hungarian Natural History Museum, asked us to help with our expertise in ancient Egyptian culture by participating in the research of these mummies. We already made some insight into this field as we have continually monitoring the publications concerning ancient Egyptian mummies, but made some practical steps only in 1996, with the help of Ildikó Pap, the than director of the Anthropological Department, when a publication was issued for the 90th centenary of the Hungarian excavation at Gamhud, Middle Egypt. It included the human remains kept in the Hungarian Natural History Museum, taken out from the coffins published at that time.²

We have now embarked on a much wider range of activities, as indicated by our joining to the Nephthys Project. The new, exciting topic added new colour to the palette of our research team, and brought our earlier conference plan to the forefront. It was a natural consequence of organizing this conference together with the Hungarian Museum of Natural History. Still, since there are also ancient Egyptian monuments in the Hungarian National Museum's Semmelweis Museum of Medical History in Budapest, we wanted to draw attention to them as well. The fact that this conference remained not just a plan is due to the active participation of the two partner-institutions, and also to the National Cultural Fund (NKA), which not only made possible to organize the conference, but also contributed to the publication of this volume. We received further help from Ibisz Bt.

² Győry, Hedvig, *Az első magyar ásatás Egyiptomban, 1907. Válogatás a gamhudi ásatás anyagából, 1997.* [The first Hungarian Excavation in Egypt, 1907. Selection from the material of the Gamhud excavation. 1997]. Budapest 1998.

The Nephthys Project

Enikő Szvák

The Nephthys Project was launched in the fall of 2018 as part of a PhD dissertation. The aim of the research is a comprehensive series of studies on Egyptian human and animal mummies and mummy remains kept in Hungary. A particularly important aspect is to implement a multidisciplinary investigations that involves the least invasive procedures possible.

The research began with the biological anthropological reconstruction of the Egyptian mummy collection preserved in the Anthropological Department of the Hungarian Museum of Natural History. Based on the preliminary results, the investigation of the pathologically most promising pieces continued with industrial CT examination, electron microscopy and 3D digital microscope analyses. Radiocarbon dating was also performed, aiming to get a more precise age-determination of the mummies. We wanted to learn the age of death, the possibility of diseases, general health conditions, and materials used in mummification for the deceased individuals, and the period from which the remains originate.

In the course of our research, we found that not only human remains, but also the organic and inorganic chemical analysis of the materials used for mummification can add a lot of new and exciting information to our knowledge about mummies. Thus, the identification of mummifying substances is also treated as a priority area during the project.

We are also experimenting with new procedures. Our goal is not only to realize a multidirectional research, but also to advance in the field of innovation in the future. Therefore, we also performed non-destructive ion beam studies on mummy remains with the help of ATOMKI employees in Debrecen. The preliminary results of the procedure are encouraging, and it is believed that the method may be suitable for a preliminary assessment of the bones at a later stage. This could make further chemical analysis on remains in future safer and easier.

The project resulted in several conference-presentations and professional posters at renowned national and international conferences. These successes gave us the chance to find new research partners and bring new mummy remains under investigation. Currently, the research material of the project includes the remains of the Egyptian human and animal mummies of the HNM's Semmelweis Museum of Medical History and the Török Aurél Collection in the Eötvös Lóránt University, Budapest, as well as the fish mummy of the Déri Museum, Debrecen.

Some of the test series have been completed, and other ones are still ongoing, as the evaluation of the results is. The first scientific publications were scheduled for 2020, which is unfortunately severely hampered by the limitations due to COVID-19.

With the scientific conference we organized, we want to create a tradition. We want to encourage renowned international researchers to participate in the mummy conferences held in Hungary every few years to become an integral part of the circulation of the Egyptian mummy research. In our opinion, it is essential to maintain old professional relationships and make new acquaintances also for the sake of research and to increase our professional knowledge. To maintain the research's smoothness, from time to time, the partial results available to us should be presented to the general public and the narrower profession in the framework of scientific lectures and professional posters. It makes it easier to clarify the issues before the publications appear, so we also organized a mummy workshop on one of the afternoons of the "Health and Life" conference. We presented our results in front of a forum of excellent researchers.

We are pleased to announce that there are currently more than twenty Hungarian and international institutions and more than thirty colleagues working free of charge for the success of the research. We hope that this number will get higher over time and that even more will join us.

At present, we hope that our relatively recent research will stand the test of time and enrich the positive image of Hungarian anthropologists and researchers abroad as a long-term project.

Health and Life in Ancient Egypt conference

In 2012, our conference "Cultures and Therapies. Ethnography and Science" failed due to financial reasons, so it was a special pleasure for us to successfully apply in 2018/2019 for an international conference with the Hungarian Natural History Museum and the HNM's Semmelweis Museum of Medical History. The conference entitled "Health and Life in Ancient Egypt. Mummies in Focus" was held in August 2019. Its program could be followed on the conference's website to make it available to those interested.

The conference was preceded by a press reception organized by the Hungarian Natural History Museum, for which a separate promo spot was created. The participants of the conference were greeted by dr. Ildiko Pap PhD, the honorary director of the Department of Anthropology of the Hungarian Natural History Museum and dr. Gábor Tomka, the deputy general director of the Hungarian National Museum and the Egyptian Embassy. In the introductory speech the three organizing institutions presented their respective research and plans. During the lectures, we enjoyed the hospitality

of the two partner institutions for three days. An exhibition was also organized in the Semmelweis Museum of Medical History in honour of the conference, which was presented to the participants by the museum staff on the occasion of a reception. During the conference, lectures, a poster section and two workshops were held, which provided opportunities to get to know the new results more thoroughly, also on the situation of the research in ancient TB, and discuss the issues that arose during the research of the examined mummy material in the Museum. Many of the presentations were held as introduction to discussions and consultations, which provided an opportunity for exchanges of professional experience.

The program ended with a visit to the Egyptian exhibition in the Museum of Fine Arts and another one to the Holy Right preserved in St. Stephen's Basilica. It was also possible to visit the periodical exhibition "Gold of Mexico" and try out the "Escape Room" of the Hungarian Natural History Museum.

Acknowledgement

The publisher of this volume would like to thank all the organizations and individuals, who made possible the conference and the publication of the volume, as well as the speakers and the volunteers involved in organizing and conducting it, who contributed to the success of the conference by their work.

We want to emphasize the work of Krisztina Scheffer and Enikő Szvák, who not only contributed to the lectures, but also took part in eliminating many of the pitfalls of the organization process.

We also say special thanks to the members of the Scientific Committee: Prof. dr. Rosalie David (University of Manchester), dr. Dina Faltings (Heidelberg Universität, Sammlung Ägyptologisches Institut), dr. Győry Hedvig PhD (HEFS), Prof.dr. Salima Ikram (American University of Cairo), habil. dr. György Pálfi (University Szeged, Anthropology Chair), dr. Ildikó Pap PhD (Hungarian Natural History Museum), Prof. dr. Wilfried Rosendahl (Reiss Engelhorn Museum), Stephanie Zesch (Reiss Engelhorn Museum), habil. dr. Albert Zink (Eurac Research), who took part in the scientific preparation of the conference.

We want again thank the authors of this volume for their professional contributions, and also for their patience and cooperation.

Also, special thanks for Hedvig Király for her assistance in editing work, and for Almamag Bt's work in graphic editing and for its understanding and flexibility during these times burdened with COVID-19.

We then are greatly indebted to Rosalie David in Manchester for her invaluable help by proofreading almost every article in the volume, despite her many other tasks and the situation in Manchester, severely affected by the virus.

We hope you will be as happy to read this volume as the AEC has released it.

HYPOCEPHALI AND GATES

John Gee

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Abstract

The instructions for making a hypocephalus in the final rubric of Book of the Dead 162 say that the deceased can use it to pass through the gates. To date this claim has not been explored. In this paper I will demonstrate how phrases found on hypocephali match up with identical phrases on the walls of temple gateways and how both make allusions to the creation text from Esna. I will then explore what this intertextuality might mean for understanding the hypocephali that were placed at the head of Egyptian mummies.

Introduction

The connection between hypocephali and Book of the Dead 162 is long established, since a number of hypocephali are quoted from Book of the Dead 162.¹ The instructions for Book of the Dead 162 give the following as a purpose for the hypocephalus:

ir rdi.n=k ntrt tn iw hhw nsw wn=f hr-tp t3 mi sdt m hr n hftyw=f hr-tp t3. ir rdi.n=k sw iw hhw n s m-ht mt=f wn=f ntr m hrt-ntr nn sn^cy=f tw=f hr sb3 nb nw dw3t.

“If you have placed this goddess at the neck of the king, he will be on the earth like a fire in the face of his enemies on the earth. If you have placed her at the neck of a man after he dies, he will be a god in the god’s property, and he will not be held back at any gate of the subterranean world.”²

So ancient Egyptians saw some sort of connection between hypocephali and gates. It is this connection that I wish to explore in this paper.

1 GEE 2006, 46; WÜTHRICH 2010, 52-53.

2 BD 162 rubric from P. Louvre N 3087, in ALLAM 1992, 49, cf. 45-56; WÜTHRICH 2015, 2:27-29.

Gates of the Netherworld

Book of the Dead 162 specifically identifies the gates as gates of the subterranean world (*sb3 nb nw dw3t*). The number of gates can vary,³ usually in multiples of 7: 7,⁴ 14,⁵ or 21,⁶ but variations with 12,⁷ or 15 gates⁸ are also known. These gates are depicted as topped with uraei. “According to this conception, the underworld is imagined as a temple, in the innermost and holiest part of which Osiris sits enthroned.”⁹

This connection between underworld and temple is further emphasized in the temples themselves. In the Dendara temple, the crypt is explicitly called the *dw3t*, the underworld or subterranean world because one of the passageways is labelled *sb3 n nmt r dw3t nt Nbt Twnt* “the gate of passing to the *dw3t* (crypt/subterranean world) of the lady of Dendara.”¹⁰ The passage is lined with anthropomorphized serpents.¹¹ All but one of these serpents speaks in alliteration, and the one who does not speak in alliteration is named in alliteration. One of these serpents is identified as *šꜥd šntyw m T3t-di dn tpw nw hftyw nw 3htyt* “one who hack up the foes in Dendara, who cut off the heads of the enemies of the lady of the horizon,”¹² and says: *hdb=i hftyw r hm n 3htyt* “I kill the enemies of the chapel of the lady of the horizon.”¹³ The second says: *šꜥd=i šntyw r štyt nt špst* “I cut up the foes of the secret place of the noble lady.”¹⁴ The third, who is called the *ndty nsrt* “protector of the flame,” says: *sft=i sbyw nw sdtyt s3t Rꜥ* “I slaughter the rebels of the child, the daughter of Re.”¹⁵ The fourth, who is called *hnty hntyw r hwt-ntr nt hryt-tp* “the one who kills those who attack the temple of the uraeus,” says: *wd=i r [šꜥrq r] spr m rwty r ksm sš3 n Pyt* “I shoot to [bring an end to] those who come from outside to assault the secret image of the lady of Buto.”¹⁶ The fifth, who is called *šꜥd sbyw r šspw* “the one who cuts up those who rebel against the images” and *sdn sbyw r štyt* “the one who decapitates those who rebel against the secret place,” says: *dr.n=i t3rw r dryt nt drtyt* “I have opposed those who are hostile against the shrine of the venerable lady.”¹⁷ The final ser-

3 ASSMANN 1989, 147-48.

4 BD 144.

5 BD 145 (in Dynasty 18 versions).

6 BD 145 (in Dynasty 26 versions)

7 BD 146 (Dynasty 18 versions); Amduat.

8 BD 146 (Dynasty 26 versions).

9 ASSMANN 1989, 149.

10 Dendara V 66.

11 Dendara V 86-88, pls. CCCXCII, CCCXCVIII.

12 Dendara V 86.

13 Dendara V 87.

14 Dendara V 87.

15 Dendara V 87.

16 Dendara V 87-88.

17 Dendara V 88.

pent says: *hnt=i hmty r h3yt nt hryt-tp* “I kill the one who desecrates the sanctuary of the uraeus.”¹⁸ So gates to the netherworld are guarded by serpents who attack and destroy those who would come nearer.

There are also clear connections with the netherworld. At the end of the first hour of the Amduat, after the individual has passed the twelve fire-spitting snakes guarding the place, the individual says: *swn n=i sb3=tn sn n=i rryt=tn st n=i ir n=i ssm wi* “Open to me your gate. Open to me your doors. Light up for me. Act on my behalf. Guide me.”¹⁹ This text, occurring at the beginning of the Amduat, expresses similar hopes as those expressed in the hypocephalus: to open the doors of the next life to the individual, to light the individual’s way and to serve as a guide, or map for the individual’s journey, which can take on an astronomical dimension.

Snakes

The snakes serving as guardians to the netherworld gates have their counterpart in the snakes that guard the king. This is illustrated in the offerings of the uraeus, *tm hr r=k irw [s3]=k hnt 3yt=k . . . wdw hhw r hftyw=k* “who are not far from you and who [protect] you before your sanctuary . . . who cast fire against your enemies.”²⁰ The possessor of the uraeus is told that the uraeus *wbn=s m wpt=t* “burns from your brow.”²¹ The uraeus, identified with the eye of Re, is the one “great of flame (*ifrt 3t nbyt*).”²² The eye of Re is the name of a figure behind the cow on many hypocephali.²³



Figure 1. Gee 2000, in *Fs Edith Varga*, 333.

Here is the connection between the gate and the fire and the snake. In the snake manual, the venom of the snake is described as a fire that burns within its victim. It notes of one snake that *r3 n dm=f . . . hr=f sdt=f*

18 Dendara V 88.

19 Amduat, first hour, final text, in HORNUNG 1987, 151-52.

20 Dendara IV 74.

21 Dendara IV 270.

22 Dendara III 164.

23 GEE 2016, 63.

hrw 9 “the touch of his mouth . . . is a fire upon him for nine days.”²⁴ The rhetoric of the uraeus possessing flame has other connections: *[iw]=s rdi sdt pr m Nhn r sdt pr m r3=k* “She set the fire which came from Herakleopolis against the fire which came forth from your mouth.”²⁵ Thus the uraeus provides the fire in the face of the enemies (*sdt m hr n hftyw*).²⁶

Gates of Temples

Most hypocephali come from Thebes,²⁷ most come from high-ranking priestly families,²⁸ and most come from the Ptolemaic period.²⁹ It so happens that we have a number of gateways from Theban temples dating from the Ptolemaic period. They include the gateway of the Montu temple of north Karnak built by Ptolemy III,³⁰ the gateway of the Khonsu temple also built by Ptolemy III,³¹ and the gateway on the west side of the second pylon of Karnak built by Ptolemy VI.³² It is therefore noteworthy that several phrases appear on both hypocephali and these Ptolemaic period gates.



Figure 2 a. The second pylon of Karnak, temple of Amun-Ra (©Dennis Jarvis)

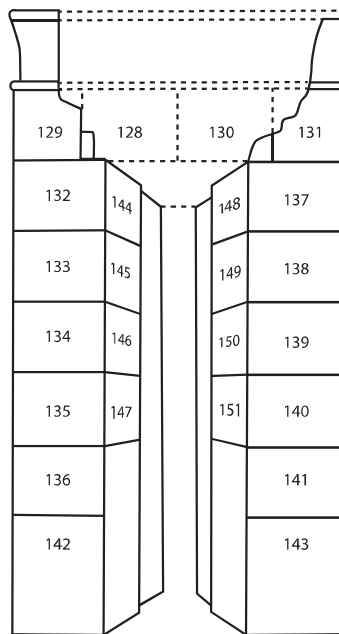


Figure 2 b. Structure of the inscriptions on the gateway

es appear on both hypocephali and these Ptolemaic period gates.

The second pylon of Karnak currently is a gateway. It is identified as a gate (*sb3*).³³ The lintel is gone. At the top of the pylon are remnants of a cavetto-cornice and atop that what look to be the remains of uraei. Originally it had doors. The doors

24 Brooklyn no 47.218.48+85 1/19-20, in SAUNERON 1989, 13.

25 Brooklyn no 47.218.48+85 6/22-23, in SAUNERON 1989, 132.

26 BD 162 rubric.

27 WÜTHRICH 2010, 52.

28 WÜTHRICH 2010, 52.

29 WÜTHRICH 2010, 52; MEKIS, 2008 34; ASTON 2003, 161-62.

30 AUFRÈRE 2000.

31 CLÈRE 1961.

32 Urk. VIII 102-122.

33 Urk. VIII 114-15.

were 53 2/3 by 29 1/2 cubits made of cedar with copper bands.³⁴ At about 24 by 15 meters, these were very heavy doors. At 530 kg/m³ dried weight for red cedar,³⁵ and assuming a half meter thick door leaf, each of the leaves would have weighed 95,400 kg, a staggering weight that means they would not be opened or closed easily. When the text mentions being held back by gates, there was a clear physical reality behind it.

The gateway to the second pylon is organized as follows (Figure 2 a, b). At the top of the gate on either side are wine offerings (129, 131).³⁶ On the left side, descending are offerings of oil (132),³⁷ cloth (133),³⁸ incense (134),³⁹ milk (135),⁴⁰ and fields (136).⁴¹ On the right side, descending are offerings of oil (137),⁴² a pectoral (138),⁴³ food offerings (139),⁴⁴ water (140),⁴⁵ and fields (141).⁴⁶ On lower registers of either side are dedicatory inscriptions (142-143).⁴⁷ Inside the gate, on the left side are, in descending order, offerings of Maat (144),⁴⁸ food offerings (145),⁴⁹ the inscribing of the year plant (146),⁵⁰ and dedicating offerings (147).⁵¹ Inside the gate, on the right side are offerings of wine (148),⁵² offerings of incense and libation (149),⁵³ libations (150),⁵⁴ and dedications of offerings (151).⁵⁵ On the face of it, these decorations do not seem particularly remarkable, nor do they seem particularly connected to hypocephali. The details, however, contain a number of references to hypocephali.

We will start with the repelling of the king's enemies.

At the top of the right-hand front of the pylon, in response to the king offering an oil vessel in the shape of a sphinx, Amun replies *di.n=(i) n=k p̄dt ps̄dt dmd̄ hr̄ t̄bwt=k wrw=sn*

34 Urk. VIII 115.

35 From wood-database.com, accessed 7 August 2019.

36 Urk. VIII 103-104.

37 Urk. VIII 104-105.

38 Urk. VIII 105-106.

39 Urk. VIII 106-107.

40 Urk. VIII 107-108.

41 Urk. VIII 108-109.

42 Urk. VIII 109-10.

43 Urk. VIII 110-11.

44 Urk. VIII 111-12.

45 Urk. VIII 112-13.

46 Urk. VIII 113-14.

47 Urk. VIII 114-16.

48 Urk. VIII 116-17.

49 Urk. VIII 117-18.

50 Urk. VIII 118-19.

51 Urk. VIII 119-20.

52 Urk. VIII 119.

53 Urk. VIII 119-20.

54 Urk. VIII 120-21.

55 Urk. VIII 121.

m ksw n hr=k “I have placed the nine bows together under your feet, their chiefs bowing before you.”⁵⁶ The oil vessel itself can be read as a hieroglyph as either *šsp*,⁵⁷ “image” or *nb*,⁵⁸ “lord.” The image then is the king offering up his lordship to Amun and Khonsu because his enemies, the foreign lands have been placed under his feet. In the left-hand scene opposite, also an oil offering scene, Amun says: *di=i n=k m3^ct hnty ntrw rdh=i n=k ibw n tmmw* “I have given to you justice before the gods so that I might restrain the hearts of those who are not.”⁵⁹

The instructions for hypocephali in the Book of the Dead specify differences between the living and the dead. For the living, the hypocephalus is a fire in the face of enemies (*sdt m hr n hftyw=f*), for the dead, it allows individuals to pass through the gates. One of the dedicatory inscriptions on the second pylon of Karnak unites these two purposes: *nh Hr nfr (iw^c n ntrwy prw stp n Pth ir m3^ct-R^c shm nh Imn) | sm3wy.n=f mnw n sb3 3 wr špsy h^c s3 hd 3ht m hft-hr n šspst st dr-^c w3t ^cp nwn nnt n imn rn=f ir.n=f m km3.n=f qfn.n=f s m nbi n irt=f m š[r]-^c nh.n=n[. . .] di=f hr=s[] bsi [. . .] rt 3 n tk3 sr.n=f nmt hp=sn hr-^c*

“May the good Horus (Ptolemy VIII) | live. He renewed the monument of this very great, noble, joyful, protective, shining gate, the horizon opposite the sphinxes, the place at the beginning of the road. The abyss and heaven flew to the one whose name is hidden. He had made what he created. He burned it with the fire of his eye in [. . .]. He prayed [. . .]. He gave her attention [. . .] flame [. . .] uraeus great of flame. He foretold the courses that would occur beforehand.”⁶⁰

Rim Inscriptions

Besides the connection between the general purposes of hypocephali and gates, there are specific repetitions of phrases. We will consider these from the perspective of hypocephali. The longest inscription on a hypocephalus is the rim inscription. There are several types of these rim inscriptions. As a reminder, we can look at the rim inscriptions on class B hypocephali: *i(nk) dbbty m hw.t bnbm m Twnw q3 q3 3h 3h k3 nk ntr w^c iwty sn.w=f ntr pwy 3 m hw.t bnbm m Twnw mi rk n Wsir N di=k nh b3 N ntf ntr pf m hw.t-sr*

“I am the revenger in the temple of the phoenix in Heliopolis, so high, and so exalted, a copulating bull without equal, that great god in the temple of the phoenix in Heliopolis come to the Osiris of N, so that you may give life to the soul of N; he is that god in the temple of the official.”⁶¹

On the rim inscriptions of class B hypocephali (type 2 in the typology of Mekis),⁶² the

56 Urk. VIII 110.

57 LEITZ 2004, 160.

58 LEITZ 2004, 160.

59 Urk. VIII 105.

60 Urk. VIII 114.

61 GEE 2006, 46.

62 MEKIS 2020, 83.

deity addressed is called the copulating bull (*k3 nk*), a somewhat rare epithet.⁶³ This epithet also appears applied to Amun in a censuring scene on the left side of the gateway to the second pylon.⁶⁴ The phrase appears in a string of sexualized epithets (*bbn, wsn, ir ndmdm, k3 nk, hry-nfrw wtt-3 m 3 n mtwt m sp-sn m ntrw rmtt 3wt nb*) describing Amun as creator,⁶⁵ while the description as creator extend to the labels behind the gods,⁶⁶ and it is probably not coincidence that Amun is ithyphallic in the scene.

The offering scene opposite on the right side also references the theme, both in the epithets of Amun above his head,⁶⁷ and in the description behind him.⁶⁸

Twice in class B rim inscriptions there is reference to the *hwt-bnbn*, the temple of the phoenix.⁶⁹ This is paralleled in the gateway of the second pylon by reference to the *hwt-bbnt*.⁷⁰

Figures

One of the most prominent figures on hypocephali is the cow (Figure 3), usually located on the lower portion of the hypocephalus. This cow is labelled *iht wrt ms R3* “the great cow who bore Re.”⁷¹ This phrase also appears in the food offering scene on the right side of the second pylon in Karnak. There Amaunet is called: *Imnt 3t wrt nb 3wy hry-ib Ipt-swt Nt wrt mwt-ntr iht ms R3* “Amaunet the very great, the lady of the two lands dwelling in Karnak, Neith, the great, the mother of God, the cow who bore Re.”⁷² The pylon inscription equates Amaunet

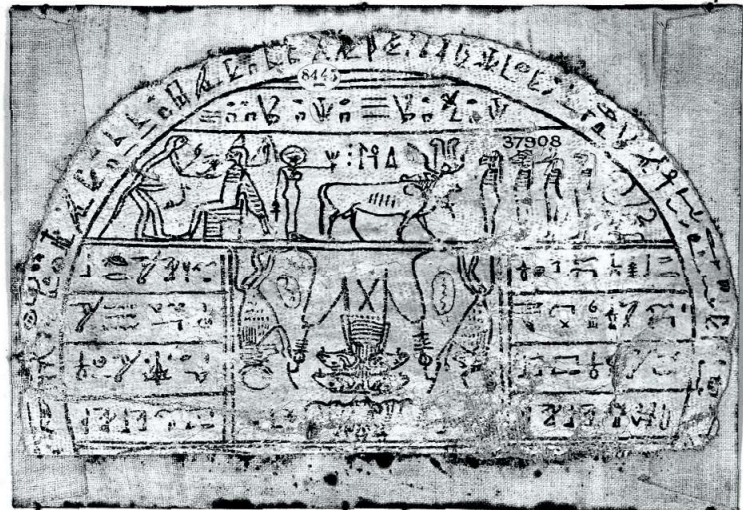


Figure 3. Hypocephalus in the Egyptian collection of the British Museum (EA37908)

63 LEITZ 2002, 7:265.

64 Urk. VIII 106; LEITZ 2002, 7:265.

65 Urk. VIII 106.

66 Urk. VIII 107.

67 Urk. VIII 111.

68 Urk. VIII 112.

69 GEE 2006, 46.

70 Urk. VIII 109.

71 GEE 2001, 333.

72 Urk. VIII 111.

with Neith as the great cow who bore Re. This is a couple of centuries before Neith is described as such in the Roman period temple of Esna. The identification occurs in two places: on the astronomical ceiling,⁷³ and on the cosmology inscribed in the hypostyle hall.⁷⁴ In the temple of Dendara she is equated with Mut,⁷⁵ and Hathor.⁷⁶ As an astronomical figure, she is equated with the horizon, the sky, and the sun.⁷⁷

All of these epithets refer back to a text describing the creation of the world. This is best known in the version from Esna, where it is explicitly said to be a ritual, celebrated on the thirteenth day of Epiph (*3 šmw*).⁷⁸ This is the description of the event there:

“The cow was sitting considering what would happen. She said: ‘A noble god will appear today. When he opens his eyes, light will come into being. When he closes them darkness will occur. Men will come into being as the tears of his eyes, and gods as the spittle of his lips. I will strengthen him in victory; I will make him effective in efficiency; I will fortify him in strength more than any of my children. Those who rebel against him shall be overthrown for him, and shall be smitten for him. He is the child who comes forth from my body. He will rule over this earth forever. I will protect him from the abyss. My arms will encircle him lest any evil should reach him. You will call his name Kheperi in the morning and Atum in the evening. As the sun he will appear in his name of Re every day.’

Then these gods said: ‘We did not know that these things which we heard will happen.’ The ogdoad became the name of these gods, and it (Ashmunein) became of the name of this city.

This god stood in the fluid which came forth from her. She put him inside an egg, and the abyss broke it for her. Rejoicing over the path of the water occurred in one place, the male of the egg breaking for him. This egg being a great one of this noble god. He is Re. He hid himself in the abyss, in his name of Amun the great who unites the gods in his rays in his name of Khnum.

His mother the cow cried out in a loud voice: ‘Come, come, o creature. Come, come, o child. Come, come, o creator. I am your mother, who made you, the cow.’ This god came with his mouth open and his arms open to this goddess. He threw himself on her neck. These things a son would do when he saw his mother. That day became the holiday of new year’s. He wept in the abyss

73 Esna 442, in SAUNERON 1969, 58-59; MÉNASSA 1975, pls. XII-XXIII; VON LIEVEN 2000, 144-48; GEE 2016, 61.

74 Esna 206, in SAUNERON 1968, 28-34.

75 Dendara VI 39.

76 Dendara IV 239.

77 GEE 2016, 61-63.

78 Esna 206.

when he did not see his mother, the cow. Men came into being from the tears of his eyes. He laughed after he saw her, and gods came into being from the spittle of his lips."⁷⁹

This text contains many of the themes that we have already encountered: the overthrowing of enemies, the great cow who bears Re. Even in Esna, this is connected with Amun.

Side Inscriptions

Hypocephali refer to the creation, the first time (*sp tp*).⁸⁰ In the gateway of the second pylon there is also repeated reference to Amun as *"the one who came into being in the first time (hp m sp tp)*".⁸¹ This is an epithet that first appears in the New Kingdom but is most popular in Greco-Roman times.⁸²

In at least one hypocephalus, a figure is invoked: *i ntr šps m sp tpy ntr ʕ3 nb pt t3 dw3t mw ɗw* "O noble god in the beginning, great god, lord of heaven, earth, the underworld, the water and the mountains."⁸³ At the crown of the gateway of the second pylon, Amun is called "Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, chief of Karnak, the great god, lord of heaven, earth, the underworld, the waters and the mountains (*Imn-rʕ-nb-nswt-t3wy hnty Ipt-swt ntr-ʕ3 nb pt t3 dw3t mw ɗw*)."⁸⁴ At the base of the gateway, he is called "Amonrasonter, the noble power, the chief of all the gods, the great god, lord of heaven, earth, the underworld, the waters and the mountains."⁸⁵ This epithet first appears in Saite times and lasts until the Roman period but is particularly prominent in the Greco-Roman period,⁸⁶ and is thus coterminous with the attestations of hypocephali. He is also called in abbreviated fashion "the great god, lord of heaven, earth, and the underworld (*ntr-ʕ3 nb pt t3 dw3t*)."⁸⁷ This epithet first appears in the Twenty-first Dynasty and survives until Roman times,⁸⁸ and thus is coterminous with Book of the Dead 162.⁸⁹ It sometimes is abbreviated further to "the great god, lord of heaven and earth (*ntr-ʕ3*

79 Esna 206.

80 E.g. Wien 253 a-1; MEKIS 2020, pl. XV, no. 61.

81 Urk. VIII 109.

82 LEITZ 2002, 5:699-700.

83 Joseph Smith Hypocephalus.

84 Urk. VIII 103.

85 Urk. VIII 108.

86 LEITZ 2002, 3:628 lists this as attested first in the Twenty-first Dynasty and gives one citation. That citation – EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, 1981, PL. 192 D – if copied correctly gives instead *nb pt t3 dw3t mw h3sty* "lord of heaven, earth, the underworld, the water and the foreign countries".

87 Urk. VIII 103, 111.

88 LEITZ 2002, 3:627.

89 WÜTHRICH 2010, 45.

nb pt t3).⁹⁰ A curious expansion of the epithet also occurs when Amun is called the one “*who made heaven, and created earth, lord of the mountains (ir pt qm3 t3 nb dww)*.”⁹¹

The epithet also occurs on the pylon of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak. On opposite sides of the gateway, as well as in facing scenes on the top of the lintel, Amun is called the *ntr ʿ3 nb pt t3 mw dww* “*the great god, lord of heaven, earth, the water and the mountains*.”⁹²



Figure 4. The pylon of the Montu temple at Karnak ©Paul Getty Museum (Henry Cammas, 1860)

not as disparate as it might first appear since gates serve to keep enemies out and allow friends in.

Second, both hypocephali and the gates at Karnak employ the same phraseology connected with the god Amun. Since the majority of hypocephali are connected with clergy of Amun, the prominence of his role is understandable.

Third, the similarities focus on creation. The epithets of Amun are those that deal with his role as creator. This, however, is a facet of hypocephali that needs more examination.⁹⁴

Conclusions

In this brief survey, we have only begun to explore a theme which the Egyptians clearly saw as fundamental to hypocephali.

We have seen a number of connections between hypocephali and gates, particularly the gateway of the second pylon at Karnak. Interestingly, those connections do not apply when we look at the Bab el-Abd, the gateway to the Montu temple north of Karnak constructed by Ptolemy III,⁹³ but some of them do when we look at the other gateway constructed by Ptolemy III, the gateway to the Khonsu temple.

Because the connection between hypocephali and gates is made by the ancient Egyptians themselves, it is worth considering what those connections are:

First, the two purposes of hypocephali are

90 Urk. VIII 106; LEITZ 2002, 3:626-27.

91 Urk. VIII 109.

92 CLÈRE 1961, pls. 3, 4, 14, 15, 20, 21.

93 AUFRÈRE 2000.

94 For a start, see MEKIS 2013, 49.

Fourth, the hypocephalus connects itself to the gates of both the temple and the next life.

The connection between hypocephali and gates found in the Book of the Dead is not an arbitrary feature but purposeful on the part of the ancient Egyptians. The inclusion in Book of the Dead 162 is deliberate, and we should take it seriously. Book of the Dead 162 also ends with the lines *md3t pw ʕ3t št3* “*this book is a great secret.*”⁹⁵ If so, we should not expect it to give up its secrets easily.

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⁹⁵ BD 162 rubric, in LEPSIUS 1842, TAFEL LXXVII; DE RACHEWILTZ 1992.

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