



A Journey through the Beyond

The Development of the Concept of Duat
and Related Cosmological Notions
in Egyptian Funerary Literature

Silvia Zago

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE BEYOND

MATERIAL AND VISUAL CULTURE
OF ANCIENT EGYPT

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By
Silvia Zago



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Lo duca e io per quel cammino ascoso
intrammo a ritornar nel chiaro mondo;
e senza cura aver d'alcun riposo,
salimmo sù, el primo e io secondo,
tanto ch'i' vidi de le cose belle
che porta 'l ciel, per un pertugio tondo.
E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.

Dante, *Divine Comedy, Inferno*, Canto 34.133–139

“The beauty of the universe consists not only of unity in variety,
but also of variety in unity.”

Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*, First Day, Prime

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Chronology

The following chronological table is based on Ian Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, new ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), which will be implied henceforth whenever dates are provided, unless otherwise noted. Details of regnal years are provided only when they are relevant for the present study, starting with the Fifth Dynasty, when the Pyramid Texts appeared, and ending with the demise of the New Kingdom. Dates are omitted whenever a great deal of uncertainty is involved, as is the case for the (mostly) ephemeral kings of the so-called Intermediate periods, for instance.

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD	5300–3000 BCE
EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD	ca. 3000–2686 BCE
First Dynasty	ca. 3000–2890 BCE
Second Dynasty	ca. 2890–2686 BCE
OLD KINGDOM	2686–2160 BCE
Third Dynasty	2686–2613 BCE
Fourth Dynasty	2613–2494 BCE
Fifth Dynasty	2494–2345 BCE
Userkaf	2494–2487
Sahure	2487–2475
Neferirkare	2475–2455
Shepseskare	2455–2448
Reneferef	2448–2445
Niuserre	2445–2421
Menkauhor	2421–2414
Djedkare	2414–2375
Wenis	2375–2345
Sixth Dynasty	2345–2181 BCE
Teti	2345–2323
Userkare	2323–2321
Pepi I	2321–2287
Merenre	2287–2278
Pepi II	2278–2184
Nitiqret	2184–2181
Seventh and Eighth Dynasties	2181–2160 BCE

First Intermediate period	2160–2055 BCE
Ninth and Tenth Dynasties (Herakleopolis)	2160–2025 BCE
Eleventh Dynasty (Thebes)	2125–2055 BCE
MIDDLE KINGDOM	2055–1650 BCE
Eleventh Dynasty (all Egypt)	2055–1985 BCE
Mentuhotep II	2055–2004
Mentuhotep III	2004–1992
Mentuhotep IV	1992–1985
Twelfth Dynasty	1985–1773 BCE
Amenemhat I	1985–1956
Senwosret I	1956–1911
Amenemhat II	1911–1877
Senwosret II	1877–1870
Senwosret III	1870–1831
Amenemhat III	1831–1786
Amenhemhat IV	1786–1777
Sobekneferu	1777–1773
Thirteenth Dynasty	1773–after 1650 BCE
Fourteenth Dynasty	1773–1650 BCE
Second Intermediate period	1650–1550 BCE
Fifteenth Dynasty (Hyksos)	1650–1550 BCE
Sixteenth Dynasty	1650–1580 BCE
Seventeenth Dynasty	ca. 1580–1550 BCE
NEW KINGDOM	1550–1069 BCE
Eighteenth Dynasty	1550–1295 BCE
Ahmose	1550–1525
Amenhotep I	1525–1504
Thutmose I	1504–1492
Thutmose II	1492–1479
Thutmose III	1479–1425
Hatshepsut	1473–1458
Amenhotep II	1427–1400
Thutmose IV	1400–1390
Amenhotep III	1390–1352
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	1352–1336
Neferneferuaten	1338–1336
Tutankhamun	1336–1327
Ay	1327–1323
Horemheb	1323–1295

Nineteenth Dynasty	1295–1186 BCE
Ramesses I	1295–1294
Seti I	1294–1279
Ramesses II	1279–1213
Merneptah	1213–1203
Amenmesse	1203–1200 (?)
Seti II	1200–1194
Siptah	1194–1188
Tawosret	1188–1186
Twentieth Dynasty	1186–1069 BCE
Sethnakht	1186–1184
Ramesses III	1184–1153
Ramesses IV	1153–1147
Ramesses V	1147–1143
Ramesses VI	1143–1136
Ramesses VII	1136–1129
Ramesses VIII	1129–1126
Ramesses IX	1126–1108
Ramesses X	1108–1099
Ramesses XI	1099–1069
Third Intermediate period	1069–664 BCE
Twenty-First Dynasty	1069–945 BCE
Twenty-Second Dynasty	945–715 BCE
Twenty-Third Dynasty	818–715 BCE
Twenty-Fourth Dynasty	727–715 BCE
Twenty-Fifth Dynasty	747–656 BCE
Late period	664–332 BCE
Twenty-Sixth Dynasty	664–525 BCE
Twenty-Seventh Dynasty (First Persian period)	525–404 BCE
Twenty-Eighth Dynasty	404–399 BCE
Twenty-Ninth Dynasty	399–380 BCE
Thirtieth Dynasty	380–343 BCE
Second Persian period	343–332 BCE
Ptolemaic period	332–30 BCE
Macedonian Dynasty	332–305 BCE
Ptolemaic Dynasty	305–30 BCE
Roman period	30 BCE–395 CE
Byzantine period	395–641 CE

Abbreviations

ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
AEL	Lichtheim, Miriam. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings</i> . 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973–1980.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AegHelv	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AegLeod	Aegyptiaca Leodiensia
AOAT	Alter Orient and Altes Testament
ÄOPH	Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies: Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara</i>
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOB	Acta Orientalia Belgica
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse
Archéo-Nil	<i>Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la Société pour l'Étude des Cultures Pré Pharaoniques de la Vallée du Nil</i>
ArchVer	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse
BA	Bibliotheca Aegyptia
BACE	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
BÄBA	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BEStud	Brown Egyptological Studies
BiAeg	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
BiEtud	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMPES	British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
BollSer	Bollingen Series
Boreas	Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilisations
BSAK	Beihefte Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève</i>

BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie</i>
CahOr	Cahiers d'Orientalisme
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
CDD	Johnson, Janet, ed. <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2001–. https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago .
ch(s).	chapter(s)
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
ChronEg	<i>Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth</i>
Civilisations	<i>Civilisations: Revue Internationale d'Anthropologie et de Sciences Humaines</i>
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications
CNMAL	Collection of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
CSEG	Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie
CT	Buck, Adriaan de. <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> . 7 vols. OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935–1961.
DemGloss	Erichsen, Wolja. <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954.
DiscEg	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
DVSS	Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Skrifter
EAT 1	Neugebauer, Otto, and Richard A. Parker. <i>The Early Decans</i> . Vol. 1 of <i>Egyptian Astronomical Texts</i> . BEStud 3. Providence: Brown University Press, 1960.
EAT 2	Neugebauer, Otto, and Richard A. Parker. <i>The Rameside Star Clocks</i> . Vol. 2 of <i>Egyptian Astronomical Texts</i> . BEStud 5. Providence: Brown University Press, 1964.
EAT 3	Neugebauer, Otto, and Richard A. Parker. <i>Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs</i> . Vol. 3 of <i>Egyptian Astronomical Texts</i> . 2 vols. BEStud 6. Providence: Brown University Press, 1969.
EgArch	<i>Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i>
EgUit	Egyptologische Uitgaven
Enchoria	<i>Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i>
ENiM	<i>Égypte Nilotique et méditerranéenne</i>
EQTÄ	Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie
Eranos Jb	<i>Eranos Jahrbuch</i>
esp.	especially
ETCSL	Black, Jeremy A., Graham Cunningham, Jarle Ebeling, Esther Flückiger-Hawker, Eleanor Robson, Jon Taylor, and Gábor Zólyomi. <i>The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature</i> . Oxford: University of Oxford, Faculty of Oriental Studies, 1998–2006.
EtudTrav	<i>Études et Travaux: Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne d'Académie Polonaise des Sciences</i>
EVO	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i>
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
GDG	Gauthier, Henri. <i>Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques</i> . 7 vols. Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, 1925–1931.
GHP Egyptology	Golden House Publications, Egyptology
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen, Reihe Ägypten
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie
HES	Harvard Egyptological Studies

<i>HierPal</i>	Möller, Georg. <i>Hieratische Paläographie: Die ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit</i> . 3 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909–1912. 2nd. ed., 1927–1936.
JA EI	<i>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JHA	<i>Journal for the History of Astronomy</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KAW	Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt
LÄ	Helck, Wolfgang, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975–1992.
LANE	Languages of the Ancient Near East
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LGG	Leitz, Christian, ed. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . 8 vols. OLA 110–116, 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i>
LingAeg, StudMon	Lingua Aegyptia, Studia monographica
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien
MÄU	Münchener Ägyptologische Untersuchungen
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MCLB	Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres, Brussels
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MEEF	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund (later MEES)
MEES	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Cairo
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
MVÄG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
MVCAE	Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt
MVEOL	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
<i>Numen</i>	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIMP	Oriental Institute Museum Publications
OINN	<i>Oriental Institute News and Notes</i>
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen vit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

Or	<i>Orientalia</i> NS
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OrMonsp	Orientalia Monspeliensia
PÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PALMA	Papers on Archeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities
PIREI	Publications Interuniversitaires de Recherches Égyptologiques Informatisée
PM	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . 7 vols. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1927–1995.
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art
PPYE	Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt
PT	Pyramid Text
RAIN	<i>Royal Anthropological Institute News</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–.
RSFen	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SOr	Sources Orientales
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SAT	Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch
SAWH	Schriften der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SDAIK	Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SMSR	<i>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</i>
SSR	Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion
StudAeg	Studia Aegyptiaca
StudPohl SM	Studia Pohl: Series Maior
Supp SAWH	Supplemente zu den Sitzungsberichten der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
TMP	Theban Mapping Project. https://thebanmappingproject.com/ .
TrabEg	<i>Trabajos de Egiptología—Papers on Ancient Egypt</i>
TUAT-NF	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments: Neue Folge</i>
UAVA	Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens
ÜKPT	Sethe, Kurt. <i>Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten</i> . 6 vols. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935–1962.
USE	Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
Urk.	Sethe, Kurt, et al., eds. <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> . 8 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903–1957.
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes
VarAeg	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
VicOr	<i>Vicino Oriente</i>
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World

<i>Wb</i>	Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols. and 5 vols. <i>Belegstellen</i> . Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1926–1963.
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>YES</i>	Yale Egyptological Studies
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>ZBA</i>	Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>