



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

Series Editors

Joshua A. Roberson

Christina Geisen

NUMBER SEVEN

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE BEYOND:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF DUAT
AND RELATED COSMOLOGICAL NOTIONS
IN EGYPTIAN FUNERARY LITERATURE

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE BEYOND
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF DUAT
AND RELATED COSMOLOGICAL NOTIONS
IN EGYPTIAN FUNERARY LITERATURE

By
Silvia Zago



LOCKWOOD PRESS
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA
2022

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE BEYOND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF DUAT AND RELATED COSMOLOGICAL NOTIONS IN EGYPTIAN FUNERARY LITERATURE

Copyright © 2022 by Lockwood Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to Lockwood Press, 14 W 5th St., Columbus, GA 31901, USA (admin@lockwoodpress.com).

Cover design by Susanne Wilhelm. Cover image: The Netherworld Papyrus of Gautsoshen from Deir el-Bahri, Tomb MMA 60, Pit, Burial 4 (Gautsoshen), MMA excavations, 1923–24. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, CC0, via Wikimedia Commons.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Zago, Silvia (Egyptologist), author.

Title: A journey through the beyond : the development of the concept of Duat and related cosmological notions in Egyptian funerary literature / Silvia Zago.

Other titles: Development of the concept of Duat and related cosmological notions in Egyptian funerary literature | Material and visual culture of ancient Egypt ; no. 7.

Description: Columbus, Georgia : Lockwood Press, 2022. | Series: Material and visual culture of ancient Egypt ; number 7 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021059752 (print) | LCCN 2021059753 (ebook) | ISBN 9781948488532 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781948488549 (pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Future life--Ancient Egyptian religion. | Religious literature, Egyptian--History and criticism. | Egypt--Religion.

Classification: LCC BL2450.F83 Z34 2022 (print) | LCC BL2450.F83 (ebook) | DDC 299/.31388--dc23/eng/20220126

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021059752>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021059753>

This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).

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

Contents

List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	xiv
List of Plates	xv
Acknowledgments	xvii
Chronology	xix
Abbreviations	xxiii
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	
1.1. General Remarks	1
1.2. Aims and Methodology of the Study	6
1.3. Structure of the Study	13
1.4. Previous Scholarship on the Notion of Duat	16
1.5. Note on the Transliteration and Translation	23
CHAPTER 2. THE PYRAMID TEXTS	
2.1. Introduction	27
2.2. Ideology and Funerary Beliefs in the Old Kingdom	34
2.3. The Egyptian Vision of the Cosmos	41
2.4. The Duat in the Pyramid Texts	50
2.5. The Correlation between Texts and Pyramid Architecture	66
2.6. Conclusion	71
CHAPTER 3. THE COFFIN TEXTS	
3.1. Introduction	75
3.2. Ideology and Funerary Beliefs between the Late Old Kingdom and throughout the Middle Kingdom	89
3.3. Excursus: The Coffins Decorative Program	94
3.4. The Duat in the Coffin Texts: Preliminary Remarks	97
3.5. Conclusion	118
CHAPTER 4. THE BOOK OF THE DEAD	
4.1. Introduction	123
4.2. The Development of New Kingdom Private Tombs	133
4.3. The Duat in the Book of the Dead	140
4.4. Conclusion	155

CHAPTER 5. THE UNDERWORLD BOOKS	
5.1. Introduction	159
5.2. The Amduat	176
5.3. The Book of Gates	207
5.4. The Book of Caverns	227
5.5. The Books of the Earth	246
5.6. Conclusion	268
CHAPTER 6. THE BOOKS OF THE SKY	
6.1. Introduction	273
6.2. The Book of Nut	281
6.3. The Book of the Night	315
6.4. The Book of the Day	322
6.5. Conclusion	327
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS	
7.1. Concepts of the Afterlife in Comparison	331
7.2. Epilogue	350
Appendix: Tables 1–13	355
Plates	401
Bibliography	435
Indexes	469
General Index	469
Index of Deities	479
Index of Ancient Words	481
Index of Ancient Sources	484

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1

- Fig. 1.1. Schematic representation of the solar cycle. Drawing by Silvia Zago. 5

CHAPTER 2

- Fig. 2.1. The cosmography of the subterranean chambers of Old Kingdom pyramids. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Allen, "Reading a Pyramid," 24, fig. 5). 67

CHAPTER 3

- Fig. 3.1. Floorboard of the inner coffin of Sathedjhetep (B3C) from Deir el-Bersheh with distribution of the texts of the Book of the Two Ways (after *CT* 7: pl. 2). Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. 84

CHAPTER 4

- Fig. 4.1. Plan of the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos, showing the location of the elements of the decorative program. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm," 186, fig. 1). 125
- Fig. 4.2. BD 1, Papyrus of Hunefer (EA 9901), Nineteenth Dynasty (modified from Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, pl. II). 135
- Fig. 4.3. BD 186, Papyrus of Qenena (Leiden T2, left) and papyrus of Re (pLeiden T5, right), Nineteenth Dynasty (modified from Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, pl. CCXII). 139

CHAPTER 5

- Fig. 5.1. Plan and section of the "cenotaph" tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Wegner, "Tomb of Senwosret III," 116, fig. 7). 169
- Fig. 5.2. Ideal organization of the Ramesside burial chamber as a model of the cosmos (after Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 57, fig. 2.25). Reproduced by permission of the author. 175
- Fig. 5.3. Amduat, hour 2, register 1: Horus of the Duat (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 75). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University. 185
- Fig. 5.4. Amduat, hour 4, register 2: The solar bark being hauled through the land of Rosetau (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 77). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University. 189
- Fig. 5.5. Amduat, hour 5, register 1: The mound from which the solar beetle emerges, flanked by Isis and Nephthys (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 78). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University. 190
- Fig. 5.6. Amduat, hour 5, registers 2 and 3: The Cavern of Sokar in Rosetau (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 78). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University. 191
- Fig. 5.7. Amduat, hour 6, register 1: The limbs of the solar-Osirian god inside burial chests (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 79). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University. 193

Fig. 5.8.	Amduat, hour 6, register 2: A supine god crowned by a scarab beetle is encircled by a multi-headed serpent (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 79). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	193
Fig. 5.9.	Amduat, hour 7, register 2: The defeat of Apophis (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 80). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	196
Fig. 5.10.	Amduat, hour 7, register 2: Four <i>hn</i> -chests bearing divine images (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 80). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	197
Fig. 5.11.	Amduat, hour 7, register 3: Horus “upon his stairs” directs the course of the stars and the hours (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 80). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	197
Fig. 5.12.	Amduat, hour 8, register 2: The <i>bas</i> of Tatenen (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 82). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	198
Fig. 5.13.	Amduat, hour 9, register 1: Twelve standing goddesses (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 83). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	199
Fig. 5.14.	Amduat, hour 10, register 3: The drowned in the Nun (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 85). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	200
Fig. 5.15.	Amduat, hour 10, register 1: A scarab beetle pushes an oval upward (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 85). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	200
Fig. 5.16.	Amduat, hour 10, register 2: The <i>ba</i> of Sokar perched on a serpent (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 85). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	201
Fig. 5.17.	Amduat, hour 10, register 2: A falcon-headed serpent as the <i>ba</i> of Osiris-Khentiaementiu (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 85). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	201
Fig. 5.18.	Amduat, hour 11, register 1: The goddess Eternity atop the serpent “He Who Takes the Hours” (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 86). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	202
Fig. 5.19.	Amduat, hour 11, register 1: Atum holding a winged serpent (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 86). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	202
Fig. 5.20.	Amduat, hour 11, register 1: The four goddesses of the counterwinds (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 86). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	203
Fig. 5.21.	Amduat, hour 11, register 3: The punishment of the solar enemies (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 86). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	203
Fig. 5.22.	Amduat, hour 12, register 2: The serpent “Life of the Gods,” through which the solar bark is hauled (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 87). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	205
Fig. 5.23.	Amduat, hour 12, register 2: The solar beetle Khepri flies toward Shu (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 87). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	206
Fig. 5.24.	Amduat, hour 12, register 3: The reclining mummiform figure of Osiris at the end of the Duat (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 87). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	206
Fig. 5.25.	Book of Gates, hour 5, doorway 5. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 45).	209
Fig. 5.26.	Book of Gates: The bark of Re with its crew. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 32).	210
Fig. 5.27.	Book of Gates, hour 1, register 2, scene 2. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 30).	211

Fig. 5.28. Book of Gates, hour 3, register 1, scene 9. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 35).	213
Fig. 5.29. Book of Gates, hour 3, register 1, scene 10. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 36).	213
Fig. 5.30. Book of Gates, hour 4, register 1, scenes 16–17. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 39a).	214
Fig. 5.31. Book of Gates, hour 5, register 1, scene 23. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 42).	215
Fig. 5.32. Book of Gates, hour 5, register 3, scene 30. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Hornung, <i>Das Buch von den Pforten</i> , 2:134)	216
Fig. 5.33. Book of Gates, scene 33: The Judgment Hall of Osiris. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 45).	217
Fig. 5.34. Book of Gates, hour 6, register 2, scene 38. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 42).	219
Fig. 5.35. Book of Gates, hour 9, register 2, scene 58. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 54).	219
Fig. 5.36. Book of Gates, hour 9, register 3, scene 60. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 57).	219
Fig. 5.37. Book of Gates, hour 10, register 2, scene 66. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 54).	220
Fig. 5.38. Book of Gates, hour 10, register 2, scene 67. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 60).	221
Fig. 5.39. Book of Gates, hour 10, register 3, scene 68. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 54).	221
Fig. 5.40. Book of Gates, hour 11, register 2, scene 73. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 64).	222
Fig. 5.41. Book of Gates, hour 11, register 3, scene 80. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 66).	223
Fig. 5.42. Book of Gates, hour 12, register 1, scene 82. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 68).	223
Fig. 5.43. Book of Gates, hour 12, register 1, scene 83. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 68).	224
Fig. 5.44. Book of Gates, concluding scene. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 73).	226
Fig. 5.45. Book of Caverns, division 4, scenes 38–40. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. XXXVIII).	234
Fig. 5.46. Book of Caverns, division 1, scene 13. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, 1er tableau,” pl. I)	235
Fig. 5.47. Book of Caverns, division 5, scene 50. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. LI).	235
Fig. 5.48. Book of Caverns, division 5, scene 59. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. LI).	238
Fig. 5.49. Book of Caverns, division 5, scene 60. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. LI).	239
Fig. 5.50. Book of Caverns, division 4, scene 41. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. XXXVIII).	239

Fig. 5.51. Book of Caverns, division 5, scene 51. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. LI).	241
Fig. 5.52. Book of Caverns, division 6, scene 66. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, sixième division,” pl. CXXI).	241
Fig. 5.53. Book of Caverns, division 6, scene 68. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, sixième division,” pl. CXXI).	242
Fig. 5.54. Book of Caverns, division 3, scene 29. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. XXVII).	242
Fig. 5.55. Book of Caverns, division 2, scene 16. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. X).	243
Fig. 5.56. Book of Caverns, division 2, scene 21. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. X).	244
Fig. 5.57. Book of Caverns, division 3, scene 32. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. XXVII).	245
Fig. 5.58. Book of Caverns, division 3, scene 33. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. XXVII).	245
Fig. 5.59. Book of Caverns, concluding image, scene 78. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, sixième division,” pl. CXXI).	246
Fig. 5.60. Book of Caverns, division 5, scenes 57, 58, 63. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, second division,” pl. LI).	247
Fig. 5.61. Book of Caverns, division 6, scene 76. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, “Quererts, sixième division,” pl. CXXI).	247
Fig. 5.62. Book of the Earth, KV 1 (Ramesses VII), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, scene 23 (after Roberson, <i>Books of the Earth</i> , pl. 12). Reproduced by permission of the author.	252
Fig. 5.63. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, scene 55 (after Piankoff, <i>La création du disque solaire</i> , pl. A). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.	255
Fig. 5.64. The Enigmatic Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, side 1, scene 6. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Darnell, <i>Enigmatic Netherworld Books</i> , pl. 6).	256
Fig. 5.65. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, scene 38 (after Piankoff, <i>La création du disque solaire</i> , pl. A). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.	257
Fig. 5.66. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, scene 56. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 112).	258
Fig. 5.67. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, scene 74 (after Piankoff, <i>La création du disque solaire</i> , pl. D). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.	259
Fig. 5.68. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, scene 5 (after Piankoff, <i>La création du disque solaire</i> , pl. A). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.	261
Fig. 5.69. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, scene 26 (after Piankoff, <i>La création du disque solaire</i> , pl. A). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.	262
Fig. 5.70. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, scene 27 (after Piankoff, <i>La création du disque solaire</i> , pl. A). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.	262

- Fig. 5.71. Book of the Earth, KV 6 (Ramesses IX), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, scene 29 (after Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, pl. 14). Reproduced by permission of the author. 263
- Fig. 5.72. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, rear wall, scene 18 (after Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. C). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 264
- Fig. 5.73. Book of the Earth, KV 11 (Ramesses III), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, scene 69. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, 272, fig. 5.69). 265
- Fig. 5.74. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, scene 10 (after Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. B). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 265
- Fig. 5.75. Book of the Earth, Sarcophagus of Nakhtnebef (Berlin 7), scene 5. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, pl. 35). 267
- Fig. 5.76. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, scene 35 (after Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. D). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 268
- Fig. 5.77. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, scene 14 (after Piankoff, *La création du disque solaire*, pl. D). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 269
- Fig. 5.78. Location of the Duat within the cosmos and in relation to the solar cycle, according to the New Kingdom funerary texts. Drawing by Silvia Zago. 272
- CHAPTER 6
- Fig. 6.1. Arrangement of the texts belonging to the Book of Nut on the ceiling of the Osireion. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after *EAT* 1:39, fig. 20). 284
- Fig. 6.2. Arrangement of the texts belonging to the Book of Nut on the ceiling of the burial chamber of KV 2 (Ramesses IV). Drawing by Silvia Zago (after *EAT* 1:40, fig. 21). 285
- Fig. 6.3. Osireion (Seti I): The area with the falcon idol and the vulture between the shadow-clock and the Book of Nut (after Frankfort, *Cenotaph*, pl. LXXXII). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. 287
- Fig. 6.4. Fragment of a map of the cosmos, Late period. The map collection, Yale University library *61. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Clère, "Nouvelle représentation," 52, fig. 2). 304
- Fig. 6.5. Map of the cosmos from the lid of the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer (Thirtieth Dynasty). The Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.7.1b. Drawing by Alberto Urcia. Reproduced by permission of the author. 305
- Fig. 6.6. Book of the Night, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), corridor D, conclusion of Hour 12: The nocturnal sun god turns into a rejuvenated solar scarab and a child. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 130). 322
- Fig. 6.7. Book of the Night, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), corridor D, conclusion of Hour 12: The solar barks prow to prow and the moment of changeover at dawn. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 130). 322
- Fig. 6.8. Book of the Day, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), corridor D, hour 1: The rebirth of the sun god. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 130). 323

List of Tables

CHAPTER 2

Table 2.1. Old Kingdom attestations of the Pyramid Texts.	29
Table 2.2. Main locales of the otherworld in the Pyramid Texts.	72

CHAPTER 3

Table 3.1. Main locales of the otherworld in the Coffin Texts.	119
--	-----

CHAPTER 4

Table 4.1. Main locales of the otherworld in the Book of the Dead.	156
--	-----

CHAPTER 5

Table 5.1. Attestations of the Amduat in the Valley of the Kings.	178
Table 5.2. Attestations of the Book of Gates in New Kingdom royal monuments.	208
Table 5.3. Attestations of the Book of Caverns in New Kingdom royal monuments.	229
Table 5.4. Attestations of the Books of the Earth in New Kingdom royal monuments.	249
Table 5.5. Designations of the location of texts and scenes of the Books of the Earth.	253
Table 5.6. Main locales of the otherworld in the Underworld Books.	271

CHAPTER 6

Table 6.1. Attestations of the Books of the Sky in New Kingdom royal monuments.	275
Table 6.2. The content of pCarlsberg I arranged by sides and columns.	286
Table 6.3. Main locales of the otherworld in the Books of the Sky.	327

APPENDIX 1

Table 1. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Pyramid Texts.	355
Table 2. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Coffin Texts.	357
Table 3. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Middle Kingdom copies of the Pyramid Texts.	365
Table 4. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Book of the Dead.	367
Table 5. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Amduat (long version).	371
Table 6. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Book of Gates.	378
Table 7. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Book of Caverns.	381
Table 8. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Books of the Earth.	388
Table 9. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Book of Nut.	390
Table 10. Occurrences of the word Duat in the Book of the Night.	393
Table 11. Overview of the decoration of Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs.	394
Table 12. Overview of the decoration of the front sections of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty royal tombs.	395
Table 13. Overview of the decoration of the rear sections of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty royal tombs.	397

List of Plates

Plate 1.	Amduat, hour 1 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 74). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	401
Plate 2.	Amduat, hour 2 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 75). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	402
Plate 3.	Amduat, hour 3 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 76). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	403
Plate 4.	Amduat, hour 4 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 77). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	404
Plate 5.	Amduat, hour 5 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 78). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	405
Plate 6.	Amduat, hour 6 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 79). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	406
Plate 7.	Amduat, hour 7 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 80). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	407
Plate 8.	Amduat, hour 8 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 82). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	408
Plate 9.	Amduat, hour 9 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 83). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	409
Plate 10.	Amduat, hour 10 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 85). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	410
Plate 11.	Amduat, hour 11 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 86). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	411
Plate 12.	Amduat, hour 12 (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 87). Reproduced by permission of the Natacha Rambova Archive, Yale University.	412
Plate 13.	Book of Gates, hour 1. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, <i>Ramesses VI</i> , fig. 30).	413
Plate 14.	Book of Caverns, division 1. Drawing by Silvia Zago (modified from Piankoff, "Quererts, 1er tableau," pl. I).	414
Plate 15.	Book of Caverns, division 2. Drawing by Silvia Zago (modified from Piankoff, "Quererts, second division," pl. X).	415
Plate 16.	Book of Caverns, division 3. Drawing by Silvia Zago (modified from Piankoff, "Quererts, second division," pl. XXVII).	416
Plate 17.	Book of Caverns, division 4. Drawing by Silvia Zago (modified from Piankoff, "Quererts, second division," pl. XXXVIII).	417
Plate 18.	Book of Caverns, division 5. Drawing by Silvia Zago (modified from Piankoff, "Quererts, second division," pl. LI).	418
Plate 19.	Book of Caverns, division 6. Drawing by Silvia Zago (modified from Piankoff, "Quererts, sixième division," pl. CXXI).	419
Plate 20.	Book of Caverns, concluding scene. Drawing by Silvia Zago (modified from Piankoff, "Quererts, sixième division," pl. CXXI).	420
Plate 21.	Book of the Earth, KV 14 (Tawosret), sarcophagus chamber, left wall (Roberson, <i>Books of the Earth</i> , pl. 2). Reproduced by permission of the author.	421

- Plate 22. Book of the Earth, KV 14 (Tawosret), sarcophagus chamber, right wall (Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, pl. 3). Reproduced by permission of the author. 422
- Plate 23. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, section A (modified from Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. D). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 423
- Plate 24. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, rear wall, section A2 (modified from Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. C). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 424
- Plate 25. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, right wall, section B (modified from Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. A). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 425
- Plate 26. Book of the Earth, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), sarcophagus chamber, left wall, section B2 (modified from Piankoff, *Création du disque solaire*, pl. B). Reproduced by permission of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. 426
- Plate 27. Book of the Earth, KV 1 (Ramesses VII), sarcophagus chamber, left wall (Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, pl. 11). Reproduced by permission of the author. 427
- Plate 28. Book of the Earth, KV 1 (Ramesses VII), sarcophagus chamber, right wall (Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, pl. 12). Reproduced by permission of the author. 428
- Plate 29. Book of the Earth, KV 6 (Ramesses IX), sarcophagus chamber, left wall (Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, pl. 13). Reproduced by permission of the author. 429
- Plate 30. Book of the Earth, KV 6 (Ramesses IX), sarcophagus chamber, right wall (Roberson, *Books of the Earth*, pl. 14). Reproduced by permission of the author. 430
- Plate 31. Osireion (Seti I), west side of the ceiling of the transverse chamber: The Book of Nut, shadow-clock, and the Dramatic Text (after Frankfort, *Cenotaph*, pl. LXXXI–LXXXV). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. 431
- Plate 32. Book of the Night, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), corridor D, conclusion of hour 12. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 130). 432
- Plate 33. Book of the Day, KV 9 (Ramesses VI), corridor D, hour 1. Drawing by Silvia Zago (after Piankoff, *Ramesses VI*, fig. 130). 433

Acknowledgments

This book represents a reworked, updated, and augmented version of my doctoral dissertation, submitted originally to the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations of the University of Toronto, and accepted officially in 2019. For that, I again wish to offer my sincere thanks to my dissertation advisor, Katja Goebis, and to the members of my dissertation committee, Ronald J. Leprohon and Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner, as well as to Enrico Raffaelli and Joshua A. Roberson, who served as additional reader and external examiner, respectively. I am particularly indebted to Joshua A. Roberson for his invitation to publish the present monograph in the series *Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt*, through Lockwood Press, and to Billie Jean Collins, the director of Lockwood Press. I would also like to express my gratitude to all members of the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations of the University of Toronto for the assistance they have provided during my years as a doctoral student. In particular, Anna Sousa always offered me her unwavering support and friendship and helped me push through the hardest times, and for this I will be forever grateful.

With regard to the current volume, I wish to extend my thanks to the following scholars for providing me with (un)published material to include in my study and/or for granting me permission to reproduce a number of images: James P. Allen, Marilina Betrò, John C. Darnell and Colleen M. Manassa Darnell, Andreas Dorn, Christian Leitz and Daniela Mendel Leitz, Alexandra von Lieven, Joshua A. Roberson, Foy D. Scalf, and Alberto Urcia. I am moreover grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society, the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, the Natacha Rambova Archive of Yale University, and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The present work has benefited greatly from discussions with several other people in the field of Egyptology and beyond, who offered me their assistance on a number of matters—scholarly and otherwise. For this, I am indebted particularly to M. Victoria Almansa-Villatoro, Myrto Aloumpi, Heather D. Baker, Odette Boivin, Benjamin Cartlidge, Mark Collier, Roland Enmarch, Marina Escolano-Poveda, Christina Geisen, Glenn Godenho, Rita Lucarelli, Elaine Sanderson, and Daniel A. Werning.

Since the completion of my dissertation, my academic life has brought me back across the pond once again, to the University of Liverpool. I would like to acknowledge the Department of Archaeology, Classics, and Egyptology, which has provided a friendly environment for taking this project through its final stages, and to thank my colleagues—in particular the Egyptology team—for welcoming me into the department and for their support in navigating the insidious waters of a new teaching system in a new country. A special thanks goes to the Head of Department, Bruce Gibson, for his continued support and his formidable leadership in the most difficult of times. Moreover, the pandemic world in which we have been living of late has shaped this work in unexpected ways. While I write this, I am reminded that, despite the unprecedented circumstances, I have been lucky enough to have crossed paths with many wonderful people in academia and beyond, who have contributed to making my research possible. The global academic community has come to my rescue countless times, and I therefore wish to express my sincere gratitude to all those who helped me see this through, one way or another.

I could not fail to mention the invaluable support and encouragement of my family and my friends around the world. Regrettably, I cannot name everyone, but I shall cite a few, who stand in for all the others for their friendship over the years: Odette Boivin, Nicoletta Fagni, Christina Geisen, Aleksandra Ksiezak, Eric Liang, Paolo Marini, Manuel Rossi, Christopher Schoene, Angela Ulacco, and Emanuela Zampieri. To all friends, close and far, whom I could not mention, but whom I have in my heart: thank you!

The final, biggest, and most heartfelt thanks go to the most important people in my life. I could not have done this without my partner Gianluca, who always stood by me with his unfaltering love and assistance and his never-end-

ing confidence in my abilities, who kept me going even during the toughest of times, and who bravely weathered countless discussions of what must have seemed the strangest aspects of the (after)world imagined by the Egyptians. Finally, to my parents, who have invariably supported me in the pursuit of my studies and encouraged my academic aspirations with incredible patience and enthusiasm. Even though sometimes puzzled by my bizarre choices, they were nevertheless always there with their love and guidance, helping steer my journey through good and hard times. None of this would have been possible without them, and it is to them that I therefore dedicate this book.

Liverpool, August 2, 2021

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>
Numen	<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>

Indexes

General Index

A

- Abu Ghurob, 304 n. 183
Abusir, 59, 92 n. 107
Abu Simbel, 316
Abydos, 77 n. 17, 112, 124 n. 12, 138 n. 99, 277–78, 294
 Ahmose complex, 168 n. 67
 Osireion (Seti I), 15 n. 70, 19–20 n. 94, 43, 47, 125, 68 n. 265, 99 n. 149, 121 n. 288, 125, 132 n. 62, 159–60, 207, 227–28, 232, 248, 259 n. 520, 273, 276–78, 280–84, 315–19, and *passim*. See also General Index, Book of Nut
 Portal Temple (Seti I and Ramesses II), 278
 Tomb of Senwosret III, 81, 134, 168, 171 n. 78, 173, 179–80, 277 n. 26
 Wadi Umm el-Qa'ab, 138 n. 99, 277–78
 Wah-Sut (South Abydos), 278 n. 29, 291 n. 102
Achilles, 341 n. 62, 342–43, 344 n. 76, 345 n. 82
Adaptive reading, 69
Aeschylus, 344–45
Agency, divine, 138, 278
Akh. See Index of Egyptian words, *3h*, “transfigured spirit”
Akhenaten, 134–35, 169
Akhmim, 128 n. 38
Amarna period, 103, 125, 134–37, 169, 177, 208, 248, 273, 318
Amduat, 176–207 and *passim*. See also Underworld Books; Index of Egyptian Sources, Amduat composition and dating, 179–81
Amenemhat I, 73, 83 n. 50, 103 n. 178
Amenemhat III, 73, 81 n. 39, 90–91
Amenhotep II, tomb (KV 35), 125, 163, 168–69, 180. See also Papyri
 Amenhotep III,
 Konosso stela. See Index of Egyptian Sources, *Urkunden* 4
 tomb (KV/WV 22), 168, 170 n. 73
Ancestors. See Ghosts (spirits of the dead), Letters to the Dead
Anchises, 341 n. 62, 344 n. 74, 347
Anti-canonicity of tradition, 2, 7, 9, 72, 123, 340
Antikleia, 343
Apollonous Rhodius, 347
Apotropaia, 77 n. 16, 82 n. 43, 97 n. 140, 176 n. 112, 180, 258 n. 515
Apuleius, 349–50
Archaism, 78 n. 19, 163, 180–81, 282–83 n. 57
Aristophanes, 345
Arms (cosmic), 205–6 n. 265, 210, 223–27, 232–33, 237–38, 245, 251, 260–62, 266, 268, 305 n. 187, 416. See also Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Texts F, J, Aa)
Aspective, mindset, 10
Aspelta, 165–66
Assyria, 331–32 n. 2, 333 n. 9
Astronomical ceilings, 43, 53–54, 125 n. 14, 175, 273–74, 275 n. 13, 310 n. 214
Astronomy, *passim*. See also Book of Nut, Books of the Sky, Cosmology, Decans, Stars
Aswan, 77
Asyut, 77, 83. See also Star-clocks (diagonal)
Atar en-Nabi, 116
Athribis,
 temple of Repit, 282–83, 304 n. 183
 zodiac tomb, 313 n. 232
Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of Solar Barques, 15, 160 n. 5, 162, 256 n. 506, 275 n. 12

- Embalming Hall of Osiris, 275, 315
 Ay, tomb (KV/WV 23), 170 n. 73, 171, 177
- B**
- Ba*, *passim*. See also Index of Egyptian words, *prt m hrw*, “going forth by day”
 as (migratory) bird, 54 n. 189, 68 n. 265, 124 n. 6, 232 n. 384. See also Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Text Dd)
 double *ba*, 87, 239–40, 257, 263. See also Index of Egyptian words, (*d*)*b3-dmd*, “united *ba*”
 and *h3t*-corpse, 88–89, 129–30, 140, 147, 154, 160, 164, 181–82, 185, 187, 254. See also Index of Egyptian words, *h3t*, “corpse”. Index of Egyptian Deities, Re-Osiris (union)
- Babylon, 331–39
 Barks, solar (prow to prow), 105 n. 196, 204, 261 n. 529, 322. See also Index of Egyptian words, *mndt*, “Day-bark,” *mskt*, “Night-bark”
 Bay, tomb (KV 13), 324 n. 307
 Beni Hasan, 77, 81 n. 37, 83, 97 n. 140
Bild-Text Komposition, 127, 159 n. 3, 162, 179 n. 123
 Birds, 189, 192 n. 204, 213, 238 n. 422, 264, 282 n. 55, 283, 302–6. See also *Ba*
 Birth-brick, 62 n. 236, 278 n. 29, 290–91
 Blood. See Damned
 Book of Breathing, 127 n. 29, 339 n. 46
 Book of Caverns, 227–46 and *passim*. See also Underworld Books; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Caverns
 Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. See Book(s) of the Earth
 Book of the Day, 15–16, 175–76, 273–74, 279–81, 316–17, 322–26. See also Books of the Sky, Cosmography; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of the Day
 Book of the Dead, 14, 123–57 and *passim*. See also Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of the Dead composition and dating, 124, 126 and Pyramid and Coffin Texts, 128–29 Saite Recension, 123 n. 1, 126–27, 179 n. 122 Spell of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168), 15, 125
 Book(s) of the Earth, 246–68 and *passim*. See also Underworld Books; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book(s) of the Earth and Book of Caverns, 233, 248–49
 Book of Gates, 207–27 and *passim*. See also Underworld Books; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Gates
 Book of the Heavenly Cow, 44, 150 n. 166, 165, 167, 274, , 283, 287 n. 82, 295 n. 133, 298 n. 151, 315 n. 242. See also Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of the Heavenly Cow
 Book of the Hidden Chamber. See *Amduat*
 Book of the Night, 15–16, 176, 209, 212, 273–76, 278–81, 315–22, 323–24. See also Books of the Sky, Cosmography; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of the Night
 Book of Nut, 4 n. 18, 15–16, 23, 54 n. 186, 62, 68 n. 265, 150 n. 166, 224–25, 237, 266, 273–74, 276, 278–81, 281–315, 327–28, 353 and *passim*. See also Books of the Sky, Cosmography; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut
 Book of Traversing Eternity, 127 n. 29, 202 n. 255, 287 n. 83, 295 n. 134
 Book of the Two Ways, 13, 83–89, *passim*. See also Index of Egyptian Sources, Coffin Texts Cairo leather roll (JdE 69292), 75, 83 and Underworld Books, 86, 161
 Books of the Sky, 15–16, 273–75 and *passim*. See also Cosmography; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of the Day, Book of the Night, Book of Nut and tomb architecture, 275–81
 Burial, 3, 18, 61, 64, 66–71, 116–17, 191–94, 276–78, 326. See also Funerary beliefs and customs
 Busiris (Djedu), 107, 112
 Buto, 69 n. 270
- C**
- Cannibal Spell. See Index of Egyptian Sources, Pyramid Texts (PT 273–274)
 Cardinal points, 33, 44, 96–97, 107, 150 n. 166, 170–73, 175–76, 256, 276, 278–81, 283 n. 59, 287, 301 n. 167, 303, 308, 315 n. 244, 317 n. 258, 327 and *passim*
 Catfish, 231, 319
 Cauldrons, 205 n. 265, 213–14 n. 305, 245, 259
 Cenotaph, 81 n. 40. See also Abydos, Osireion (Seti I)
 Child (solar), 105 n. 196, 231–32, 236–38, 266, 321, 323
 Christianity, 2 n. 9, 11–12, 345 n. 81, 348 n. 101, 353
 Cicero, 349–50

- Cimmerians, 342
 Circe, 341–42, 348
 Claudian, 341 n. 59
 Coffin Texts, 13, 75–121 and *passim*. See also Democratization of the afterlife; Index of Egyptian Sources, Coffin Texts
 composition and dating, 78–79
 and Pyramid Texts, 79–81
 Coffins, 94–97 and *passim*
 Aashyt (Cairo JE 47355), 76 n. 12
 Ankh (in situ), 83 n. 50
 Heqata (Cairo JE 36418), 94, 96 n. 131
 Herunefer (BM EA 29997), 77 n. 18, 124 n. 12
 Mentuhotep (lost), 77 n. 18, 124, 141 n. 109
 Neferi (Cairo CG 28088), 91 n. 96
 Sesenebenef (in situ?), 77 n. 18
 Sepi (Cairo JE 28983), 195 n. 217
 Cognitive linguistics, 20 nn. 98, 100
 Corpse. See *Ba* (and *h3t*-corpse); Index of Egyptian words, *h3t*, “corpse,” (*s*)*št3*, “secret, mystery, secrecy”
 Cosmology (Egyptian), 41–50 and *passim*. See also Heliopolitan cosmogony (Ennead), Hermopolitan cosmogony (Ogdoad); Index of Egyptian words, *3ht*, “horizon,” *bi3*, “(meteoric) iron, sky,” *pt*, “sky,” *mr-n-h3*, “winding canal,” *msqt(t)*, “Mesqet;” *hrt*, “upper (side/region), sky,” *šht i3rw*, “Field of Rushes,” *šht htp(w)*, “Field of Offering(s),” *qbhw*, “fresh waters, firmament,” *kkw-sm3w*, “complete darkness,” *d(w)3t*, “Duat, otherworld;” Index of Egyptian Deities, Atum, Geb, Heh/Hehet, Horus, Khepri, Nun, Nunet, Nut, Shu, Tefnut
 Cosmography, 15–16, 84–86, 161, 167, 177, 179, 225, 237, 250, 272, 274, 284–310, 318, 321, 324, 351–53 and *passim*, esp. ch. 5–6. See also Cosmology; King as Solar Priest; Index of Egyptian words, *pt b3 dw3t*, “sky, earth, Duat”
 and (esoteric) knowledge, 130–32, 165–66, 274–75, 292, 318, 325. See also Hour Ritual (*Stundenritual*), King as Solar Priest
 and pyramid architecture, 66–71
 Crocodiles, 188 n. 179, 220, 236, 258 n. 515
 (Pen)-Wenti, 262–63
 Crowns, 35, 106, 187, 220, 225 n. 346, 258, 292
 Cryptography, 164–65, 181, 188, 208 n. 279, 210, 216–17, 232, 317
 Crypts, temple, 297 n. 145, 165–66 n. 48, 193 n. 206, 214 n. 308
 Cursive hieroglyphs, 78, 126
- ## D
- Dakhla, 79, 93 n. 113
 Deir el-Haggar temple, 274 n. 5
 tomb of Medunefer (Balat), 76, 91–92
 tomb of Petosiris, 304 n. 183
 Damned, 160, 192, 199 n. 244, 209, 211–12, 218, 258, 263, 318, 351. See also Cauldrons, Horizon (eastern); Index of Egyptian words, *hbt*, “place of execution,” *h3tmyt*, “Place of Destruction,” *tms/tmsw*, “redness, execration”
 Dante (*Divine Comedy*), 341 n. 62, 343 n. 69, 345 n. 81
 Death, 1–2 and *passim*
 as enemy, 1, 119–20
 as return to maternal womb, 43–46, 65, 67, 95–96, 119–20, 174, 241, 279, 290, 323
 as sleep, 134, 199 n. 242
 Decans, 19, 54, 96 n. 132, 121 nn. 287–88, 197, 216 n. 316, 259 n. 519, ch. 6 *passim*. See also Starclocks (diagonal); Index of Egyptian words, *šn(i) dw3t*, “encircling (of) the Duat”
 cycle, 310–15
 and embalming process (mummification), 54 n. 189, 259 n. 519, 312–13
 Orion, 19, 21, 53, 55, 57–58, 60, 73, 96 n. 132, 104 n. 187, 111–12, 153. See also Index of Egyptian Deities, Osiris
 Seti I A and B families, 310 n. 214
 Sirius. See Index of Egyptian Deities, Sopdet/Sopthis/Sirius
 Decorum, 40, 91–92, 137 n. 90, 161 n. 16,
 Deir el-Bersheh, 77, 83, 87, 97 n. 140, 114 n. 246, 118.
 See also Book of the Two Ways
 Deir el-Medina, 131 n. 59, 136 n. 82, 138, 194 n. 212, 323
 Democratization of the afterlife, 9, 13–14, 79–80, 89–93, 128, 161
 Demons, 21, 97, 130, 176 n. 112, 266. See also Ghosts (spirits of the dead); Index of Egyptian Deities, Apophis
 h3tyw-demons, 276–77 n. 21, 313 n. 235
 Demotic (language and script), ch. 6 *passim*
 Demotic literature, 339
 Inaros-Petubastis Cycle, 342 n. 65

Setne Khaemwas (Setne I), 342 n. 65
 Dendera, 124, 131 n. 55, 193 n. 206, 214 n. 308, 273 n. 3, 291 n. 105, 321 n. 288. *See also* Khoiak festival
 Destruction. *See* Damned, Horizon
 Place of. *See* Index of Egyptian words *ḥtmyt*, “Place of Destruction”
 Determinatives, 20–21, 51–52, 65, 101–3, 121, 140, 269, 287, 327, 352–53 and *passim*
 Disk (solar), *passim*
 Djedkare Izezi, 33, 38–39
 Djer, 277
 Dra Abu el-Naga, 145 n. 131, 208
 Dreams, 5, 155 n. 187, 167, 342, 349
 Drowning, 191 n. 196, 195, 199, 218
 Duat. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *d(w)ʒt*, “Duat, otherworld”
 architectural features of, 121, 183–84, 192, 241, 269
 as body of Osiris, 61, 182 n. 143, 225–27, 238–39, 246, 253 n. 496, 267–69, 352
 cave(rn)s of, 102, 116, 125 n. 15, 149, 162, 183, 188, 197–98, 200–201, 203–4, 218, 228–29, 233–36, 239–4, 243–44, 246, 254, 256, 258. *See also* Index of Egyptian Deities, Sokar, Nun
 doors/gate(way)s/portals of, 57–59, 80, 98 n. 143, 102, 105–8, 111, 131 n. 55, 150, 165, 183, 208–9, 241, 317, 320. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *ʿrryt*, “portal, gateway, forecourt”
 fields of, 105 n. 195, 149, 183, 185, 214. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *šḥt iʒrw*, “Field of Rushes,” *šḥt ḥtp(w)*, “Field of Offering(s)”
 gatekeepers/guardians/demons of, 130, 149–50
 islands of, 104
 ladders/staircases to/from, 37, 54–55, 57 n. 205, 60, 68, 104, 153
 lake(s) of, 50 n. 158, 55–56, 104, 109, 110 n. 222, 261 n. 526, 298 n. 149, 314–15. *See also* Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut, Dramatic Text
 lords of, 152
 meteorological phenomena in, 201–2 n. 253
 mounds of, 37, 142 n. 118, 149, 189 n. 188, 190–91, 196, 198 n. 234, 216, 228, 232, 238 n. 426, 244, 258, 280 n. 42, 320
 scholarly debate, 16–23
 stellar and solar traditions of, 17–20

E

Ecliptic. *See* Index of Egyptian words, *mr-n-ḥʒ*, “winding canal”
 Edfu, 124, 190, 274, 321 n. 288, 323
 Elephantine, 36
 Heqaib chapel, 29 n. 12, 93 n. 113
 Qubbet el-Hawa, 81 n. 37, 83
 Elpenor, 342, 343 n. 68
 Embracing (as condition for rebirth), 46, 53 n. 184, 72, 87, 138, 152–53, 226 n. 354, 239, 260–61, 292, 298
 Emic vs. etic constructs, 2–3, 12–13, 31 n. 22, 69 n. 272
 Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, 14, 22, 23 n. 115, 162 n. 22, 167, 229, 233, 248, 258, 272, 326. *See also* Solar-Osirian unity; Index of Egyptian Sources, Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity
 Enkidu, 335–37
 Enuma Elish, 331–32
 Epicurean philosophy, 350
 Er, myth of, 345
 Erichto, 348–49
 Esna. *See* Index of Egyptian Sources, Esna
 Etana, 336 n. 28
 Eteocles, 348
 Eurydice, 344
 Eye (solar), 38, 243–44, 263. *See also* Goddess of the eye of the sun

F

Falcons, 59, 107, 143 n. 122, 185, 189 n. 186, 200, 220, 233, 238 n. 426, 255, 282, 285, 308–9, 315 n. 244, 324
 False doors, 95, 129–30 n. 50, 136
 Family (in otherworld), 39–40, 82–83, 103 n. 182, 129–30, 137 n. 94
 Fayum, 47 n. 128, 81 n. 39, 179, 281, 283 n. 57
 Festivals, 62, 110–11, 112 n. 238, 130, 134, 137 n. 94, 139. *See also* Khoiak festival
 Final tableau (*Schlussbild*), 160, 164 n. 36, 174, 204 n. 260, 222, 227–29, 232–33, 239, 244, 251, 260, 268, n. 524, 270 n. 555, 272. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Gates (final tableau)
 Fire. *See* Cauldrons, Damned, Horizon; Index of Egyptian words, *ḥtmyt*, “Place of Destruction,” *tms/tmsw*, “redness, execration”

Island of, 48 n. 140, 109, 117, 218
 Foreign(ers), 12, 215, 270, 284, 303, 305–6, 318 n. 268
 Frontality, 96 n. 134, 221 n. 332, 323
 Funerary beliefs and customs. *See also* Burial, Offerings, funerary
 Old Kingdom, 34–41, 89–93
 Middle Kingdom, 77–78, 89–97
 New Kingdom, 133–39, chs. 4, 5, 6 *passim*
 Funerary literature (*Totenliteratur*), 3–4

G

Ghosts (spirits of the dead). *See* Letters to the Dead
 Mesopotamia, 333–34, 337–38
 Greece and Rome, 341–43, 346–47
 Giant figures (divine), 15 n. 65, 23, 152 n. 173, 229–32, 234–38, 243 n. 448, 246, 254–58, 260, 268, 272, 283, 300, 326, 328
 Gilgamesh, 333–36
 Giza, 36–37, 111, 113 n. 246, 202 n. 255
 Glorification spells (*s3ḥw*), 27–28, 40, 49 n. 151, 75, 80, 92, 93 n. 111, 128–29, 165
 Goddess of the eye of the sun, 187 n. 170, 198, 221 n. 331, 309 n. 210
 Graeco-Roman otherworld, 339–50
 Acheron, 342–43, 347 n. 92
 Avernus, 347
 burial, 342–44
 Cerberus, 347 n. 92
 Cocytus, 344 n. 73
 Charon, 341 n. 63, 342–43, 347 n. 92
 celestial version of, 344–46, 349
 contrapasso punishment, 343
 Elysium/Elysian Fields, 343–44, 347–49
 Erebus, 342, 349
 Hades/Dis, 340–45, 347, 349–50
 judgment, 343–48
 Lethe, 345
 Styx, 333, 342, 343 n. 67, 344 n. 73, 347 n. 90
 Tartarus, 345, 347, 349
 Graeco-Roman period. *See also* Ptolemaic period
 literary and artistic production, 339–40
 Egyptian funerary texts, 6 n. 23, 339–40 nn. 48–49
 grammaire du temple, 8 n. 135, 97, 170 n. 75
 temples, 9 n. 38, 97, 124, 131 n. 55, 193 n. 206
 Graffiti, 80 n. 29, 138 n. 101, 276–77
 Greeting, solar, 185, 214 n. 306

H

Hadrian, 22
 Hatshepsut, 78, 125–26, 165
 tomb (KV 20), 172, 174 n. 103, 177
 Deir el-Bahari temple, 85 n. 58, 165, 274, 316
 Headlessness, 99 n. 149, 258–59, 199–200 n. 244
 Heliodoros, 348 n. 96
 Heliopolis, 38, 57, 78, 79 n. 27, 81, 88 n. 84, 100 n. 154, 107 n. 208, 114 n. 247, 146–47, 152 n. 173, 163 n. 30, 189 n. 183, 193 n. 209, 202 n. 255, 218, 228, 273 n. 3, 297 n. 145, 298 n. 151
 benben (temple of), 37 n. 61, 193 n. 209, 218
 Heliopolitan cosmogony (Ennead), 47 n. 128, 48–49, 267 n. 549
 Hellenistic period. *See* Graeco-Roman otherworld, Graeco-Roman period
 Heracles, 341 n. 63, 343
 Heraclitus, 345 n. 82
 Herakleopolis, 76 n. 12, 148
 Hermetism, 10 nn. 40, 42, 23 n. 116, 349 n. 107
 Hermopolis. *See* Deir el-Bersheh
 Hermopolitan cosmogony (Ogdoad), 47 n. 128, 48, 154 n. 182, 192
 Hesiod. *See* Index of Greek Sources, *Theogony, Works and Days*
 Hierakonpolis, 69 n. 270
 Hieratic (script), 30, 78, 124, 126, 170 n. 173, ch. 6 *passim*
 Homer, 12 n. 50, 341–43, 347–48
 Homeric Hymns, 344 n. 72
 Horemheb, tomb (KV 57), 169 n. 70, 207
 Horizon (*akhet*), 21, 52–54, 56–58, 102–3, 109–10, 120–21, 147, 160, and *passim*. *See also* sun (god), cycle
 Bakhu and Manu (mountains), 152 n. 73
 eastern, and punishment of enemies, 33, 184, 195, 196 n. 229, 202–3, 217–18, 246, 249, 251, 272, 290, 292 n. 109, 290, 293. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *3ḥt*, “horizon”, *tms/tmsw*, “redness, execration”, *dšrt*, “redness”
 and pyramid/necropolis/tomb symbolism, 66–71, 172, 175–176, 275–81
 Hour ritual (*Stundenritual*), 161 n. 13, 166, 274 n. 8, 316 n. 253, 325
 Hour vigil (*Stundenwachen*), 68 n. 269, 96 n. 131, 115, 131 n. 55, 185 n. 161, 318, 324 n. 308
 House of Life, 77, 177 n. 116, 241 n. 438

I

- Ibi, 33 n. 37, 70, 76
 Igeret. *See* Index of Egyptian words, *igrt*, “(realm of) silence, necropolis”
 Imhet. *See* Index of Egyptian words, *imht*, “Imhet”
 Immortality, 2, 17, 43, 71, 104, 155–56, 216 n. 316, 341 n. 62, 343–46, 349–50
 Inertness, 46–47, 69–70 n. 274, 70 n. 280, 199 n. 242, 231 n. 379, 238, 243, 246, 250, 301 n. 167
 Initiation, initiatory (journey), 4–5, 27, 56, 80 n. 33, 84 n. 55, 112–13, 130–31, 145, 150, 167, 352
 Inundation. *See* Index of Egyptian words, *3gbi wr*; “Great Flood,” *mht wrt*, “Great Flood;” Index of Egyptian Deities, Nun
 Inversion (in the otherworld), 48, 153 n. 174, 164, 199, 211, 244–45, 256, 258–59, 298, 319
 Ithaca, 342 n. 66
 Ithyphallic figures, 190 n. 193, 230–31, 238, 243 n. 448, 323 n. 303

J

- Jackals, 37 n. 59, 211, 213–14, 216, 243, 315, 317. *See also* Lake(s)
 Julius Caesar, 348–49
 Judgment (of the dead), 81–82, 212, 229 n. 371, 326, 351. *See also* Damned; Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of the Dead 125, Book of Gates (Scene 33); Index of Egyptian Deities, Osiris

K

- Ka*, 37, 89, 129–30 n. 50, 209 n. 284
Ka-houses, 78–79
 el-Kab, 144–45
 Karnak, temple, 85 n. 58, 138, 165, 224 n. 343, 274, 316
 Kenset, 221
 Khendjer, 90–91
 Khoiak festival, 22, 117, 131 n. 55, 177 n. 116, 259, 277, 313 n. 229
 Khufu, 37
 King as Solar Priest, 165–66, 195 n. 218, 204, 274, 290, 321 n. 283, 325
 Kingship (ideology), 35–39
 Knives, 196, 245. *See also* Lake(s)
 Kom el-Hisn, 76, 83
 Kom el-Shoqafa, catacombs, 341

Konosso, 306

L

- Lake(s),
 of the Duat. *See* Duat
 of Fire/Knives, 59 n. 219, 84, 188 n. 179, 192–93, 212–13
 of fresh waters, 261 n. 526
 of Jackals, 104, 109, 156 n. 199, 315
 of Life, 213, 261 n. 526, 315 n. 243
 of the Sky, 314 n. 240
 of Uraei, 213
 Late Egyptian(isms), 126, 163, 208, 282–83
 Letters to the Dead, 1 n. 5, 82, 155 n. 187
 Libation (water), 111 n. 232, 207, 291, 337 n. 35
 Light (vs. darkness), ch. 5 *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *kkw-sm3w*, “complete darkness”
 Lions, 192 n. 202
 double Lion (Ruty), 152 n. 173, 192 n. 202. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of the Dead 17
 double sphinx. *See* Index of Egyptian deities, Aker el-Lisht, 77, 83
 tomb of Imhotep (L–JMH1), 102 n. 171
 tomb of Senwosret-ankh, 32 n. 33, 75 n. 2, 91 n. 97
 tomb of Wosret (L–Wsr1), 102 n. 171
 Litany of Re, 7, 14, 16, 78 n. 20, 161 n. 16, 167, 228, 287 n. 82. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Litany of Re
 Lucan, 348–49
 Lucius, 349–50
 Lucretius, 350 n. 110
 Luxor, temple, 165
- M
- Maat, 24, 36, 38, 132, 156, 216, 245. *See also* Cosmography, King as Solar Priest
 Magic, 10–13, 31, 130–31, 176, 195, 220, 236, 258, 342 n. 65, 348 n. 101 and *passim*.
 Manilius, 349
 Manto, 348
 Maps, 84–85 nn. 57–58, 131 n. 58, 142 n. 118, 256 n. 506. *See also* Book of the Two Ways
 Wereshnefer, sarcophagus (MMA 14.7.1b), 215 n. 314, 305–6
 Yale University Library *61, 215 n. 314, 304–7

- Marcus Aurelius, 350 n. 110
 Marshes, 42, 51 n. 170, 302–3, 333
 Measurements (in funerary literature), 149, 182–83, 270
 Mehen (serpent), 152 n. 173, **194–95**, 204, 209, 214, 318 n. 255, 214 n. 308
 Meir, 77, 83
 Memphis, 27, 40 n. 78, 59, 78, 102, 114, 128 n. 38, 141 n. 113, 202 n. 265
 Mendes, 76, 83, 87 n. 76
 Menelaus, 343
 Mentuhotep II, 83 n. 50, 102 n. 171
 Mentuhotep III, 93 n. 113
 Merenptah, 124–25, 178, 227, 282, 315–16
 tomb (KV 8), 170, 174
 template, 227 n. 360, 237, **251**, 270 n. 555
 Merenre, 30 n. 12, 76, 83 n. 50
 Meretites II, 29
 Mesopotamian otherworld, 331–39
 death and burial, 333, 335–38
 gates of, 334–37
 horizontal vs. vertical perception of, 334–35
 journey and roads to, 333, 335–36
 judgment, 337
 living conditions in, 337–38
 netherworld vs. earth (Sumer), 335–36
 Mesqet. *See* Index of Egyptian words, *mqst(t)*, “Mesqet”
 Middle Egyptian, 78, 126, 163, 180–81, 208, 283 n. 57
 Milky Way, 45, 66. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *mqst shdw*, “Starry stretch;” Index of Latin words, Lacteus Orbis; Index of Egyptian Deities, Nut
 Minos, 343–44
Minyas (Greek epic), 341 n. 63
 Mirgissa deposit, 203 n. 256
 Monkeys, 216, 222 n. 336
 Moon, 35, 87–88, 104, 108, 282 n. 52. *See also* Book of Nut
 Mortuary liturgies (*Totenliturgien*), 3–4, 88, 130
 Multiplicity of approaches, 9–10, 21, 71, 95 n. 126, 132 n. 64
 Mummification, 39 n. 72, 54 n. 189, 113, 115, 149, 259, 312–13, 315
 Mummiform figures, 187, 193–94, 206–7, 212, 215–16, 230, 238, 252, 254–56, 258–60, 263–64, 285, 308–9
 Music (in the otherworld), 198, 338, 344
 Mystery cults (Greece), 343–44, 346, 349–50. *See also* Orpheus, Orphism
 Mythical geography, 85, 111, 114, 116, 147–48, 187–88, 189, 202, 277, 308–10
 Mythological papyri, 126–27, 174 n. 103, 178, 208, 225 n. 343, 227, 243 n. 448, 260 n. 554, 284 n. 64, 339 n. 44
N
 Naref, 148
 Nebuchadnezzar I, 332 n. 2
 Necromancy. *See* Index of Greek words, *Nekyia*, “necromancy”
 Nefertari, tomb (QV 66), 132 n. 62, 194, 209 n. 282
 Nile flood, 46–47 n. 127, 53 n. 185, 116, 188 n. 179, 308–9. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *ꜥgbi wr*, “great flood”
 Nippur, 337
 Niuserre, 39 n. 73, 304 n. 183
 Nomes, 305–6
 Nuri, 166
O
 Odysseus, 341–43, 348–49
 Offerings, funerary, 1 n. 5, 32, 39–40, 89, 95–96, 116–17, 129–30, 142–44, 147–48, 209, 338
 Old Egyptian, 30, 45 n. 114, 78, 163, 180 n. 134
 Olympus, 343
 Opening of the Mouth ritual, 32, 92 n. 107
 Orpheus, 344
 Orphism, 344–46, 347 n. 94
 Ouroboros. *See* Index of Greek words, Ouroboros, “Tail-devouring”
 Ovals, **43–44**, 169, **190–92**, 206, 228–30, 232, 238, 244, 252, 267–69, 304 n. 184, 323 n. 303. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, (*n*)*nwt*, “oval, egg”
 Ovid, 344 n. 73, 349
P
 Paheri, 144–45
 Palinurus, 343 n. 68
 Papyri
 Amenhotep II (Cairo CG 24742), 125
 Anhai (BM EA 10472), 225 n. 349

- Ani (BM EA 10470), 149 n. 158, 150 n. 163, 154
 Berlin 10480–10482, 83 n. 52, 91 n. 101
 Brooklyn 47.218.84, 282 n. 52
 Butehamun (Turin 1858), 228 n. 364
 Carlsberg I. *See* Book of Nut
 Carlsberg Ia. *See* Book of Nut
 Carlsberg 228. *See* Book of Nut
 Carlsberg 496. *See* Book of Nut
 Denitenbast (Cairo CG 40027), 153
 Gardiner papyri, 75 n. 2, 83 n. 52, 91 n. 101
 Gatseshen (Cairo JE 95838), 146–47 n. 139, 148 n. 153
 Gold Mine (Turin 1879+1899+1969), 85 n. 58
 Golénischeff, 84 n. 56, 91 n. 101
 Heruheben (Cairo JE 31986), 152 n. 173
 Hunefer (BM EA 9901), 149 n. 158
 Iahtesnakht (Cologne pAeg. 10207), 148 n. 153
 Iufankh (Turin 1791), 127 n. 27, 140 n. 105, 146
 Khay (BM EA 9953, B1), 166
 Khonsumes (Vienna ÄS 3859), 46 n. 127, 305 n. 185
 Nakhtamun (Berlin 3002), 143
 Nebimes (BM EA 10281)
 Nedjmet (BM EA 10490), 228
 Nespasef (Marseille 291), 147 n. 145
 Nestanebetisheru (BM EA 10554), 145 n. 133
 Nu (BM EA 10477), 148 n. 148
 Pashebmutwebkhet (Berlin 3031), 147 n. 139
 Pinedjem I (Cairo CG 40006), 125
 Qenena (Leiden T2), 150 n. 165
 Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus (BM EA 10610.1-5), 83–84 n. 52, 180 n. 134
 Tui (BM EA 79431), 147 n. 142
 Weill, 91 n. 101
 Paratextual notations, 14, 32, 78, 80, 128
 Patroclus, 342
 Pe, 50 n. 154, 60, 114 n. 247
 Pepi I, 29, 76, 83 n. 50,
 Pepi II, 76
Perpetuum mobile, 1, 152 n. 73, 160, 171, 182 n. 143, 210, 242, 272, 326
 Personal piety, 136–37, 161 n. 19, 318
 Pharsalus, 348
 Philae, 22, 309, 313 n. 229
 Phoenix (*benu*), 153, 232 n. 384
 Pig(let)s, 43, 216, 297 n. 141
 Pindar, 344, 347 n. 94
 Pirithous, 341 n. 63
 Plato(nism), 344–46, 347 n. 94, 349 nn. 104, 107
 Plutarch, 345 n. 81
 Pompeius Magnus, 348
 Pomponius Mela, 347 n. 90
 Poqer, 277
 Priests (Egyptian), 11, 12 n. 50, 33, 38, 93, 131. *See also* King as Solar Priest
 Primordial ocean. *See* Index of Egyptian Deities, Nun
 Ptolemaic period, 44 n. 105, 126–27, 316. *See also* Graeco-Roman period
 Punt, 85 n. 58. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Text A)
 Purification, 31, 50, 56, 80, 104, 148–50, 291, 299, 312–15. *See also* Libation (water)
 Pyramids, 36–39 and ch. 2 *passim*. *See also* Pyramid Texts
 Pyramid Texts, 13, 27–73 and *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Pyramid Texts composition and dating, 30–31 and Coffin Texts, 79–81 and pyramid architecture, 66–71 typological structure, 32–34
 Pythagoreanism, 344–45, 347 n. 94, 349 n. 107
- Q**
- Qadesh, 85 n. 58
- R**
- Ramesses II, tomb (KV 7), 169 n. 70, 170,
 Ramesses III
 tomb (KV 11), 279 n. 34
 Medinet Habu temple, 124, 165, 274, 316, 323, 325
 Ramesses IV, tomb (KV 2), 278–79, 281, 316,
 Ramesses VI, tomb (KV 9), 169, 173 n. 98, 175–76, 251, 279 n. 36, 280, 316–17, 322
 Ramesses VII, tomb (KV 1), 275 n. 13
 Ramesses IX, tomb (KV 6), 146, 173 n. 98, 175–76, 279–80, 316. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity
 ostrakon CG 25074, 323
 Rams, 87 n. 76, 162, 185, 197–98, 230–32, 236, 240–41, 243–44, 246, 251, 255, 262, 266, 319
 Rebirth, *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian Deities, Nut; General Index, Horizon, Sun (god)
 sounds, 192, 198, 201

- Reincarnation. *See* Orphism
 Rhadamantys, 344
 Roda (Nilometer), 228, 316
 Rome, 346–50
 Romulus, 349
 Rosetau, *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *r3-st3w*; “Rosetau,” *imht*, “Imhet”
- S**
- Saft el-Henna, 313
 Sais, 127 n. 27, 202
 Saqqara, 27, 39 n. 76, 77, 92 n. 106, 102 n. 173, 111, 129 n. 47, 134 n. 70, 165, 202 n. 255, 274 n. 5
 tomb of Bakenrenef, 274 n. 5
 tomb of Hermeru, 92 n. 106
 tomb of Mereruka, 39 n. 76
 tomb of Metjen, 40 n. 82
 tomb of Pasherientaisu, 165
 tomb of Ptahshepses, 39 n. 73
 Sarcophagi
 Merenptah (in situ), 46 n. 124
 Nakhtnebef (Berlin 7), 266
 Padi-Isis (Berlin 29), 237 nn. 415–16
 Seti I (SM M470), 207
 Tauher (MMA 86.1.30), 323, 325
 Teti (in situ), 94 n. 115
 Tjaihorpata (CG 29306), 228, 234, 235 n. 403, 237 nn. 415–16, 255–56, 265
 Wereshnefer. *See* Maps
 Scarab (solar). *See* Index of Egyptian deities, Khepri
 Scipio, 349
 Seneca, 350 n. 110
 Senet (board game), 150 n. 165
 Senwosret II, 96, 97 n. 135
 pyramid (Fayum), 81, 179
 Senwosret III, 282
 pyramid complex (Dahshur), 81 n. 40, 91 n. 98, 180
 reform, 77–78, 133
 tomb. *See* Abydos
 Seti I, tomb (KV 17), 169 n. 70, 170
 Osireion. *See* Abydos, Osireion (Seti I)
 Seti II, tomb (KV 15), 279 n. 34, 324 n. 307
 Sextus Pompeius, 348
Shabtis, 77 n. 16, 124, 151
 Sibyl of Cumae, 343 n. 68, 347–48, 350 n. 109
 Simmias, 345 n. 81
 Siptah, tomb (KV 47), 323, 324 n. 307
 Shades, 256, 264–66
 Shadow-clock (Osireion), 285, 295 n. 134, 296 n. 138, 299, 307
 Sheikh ‘Abd el-Qurna, 125 n. 14
 Sinuhe, 73
Sitz im Leben, 34, 71, 128
 Snakes, 148, 164, 185, 188–89, 191, 193–94, 200–201, 204–5, 209, 211, 218, 220, 230–31, 233–36, 243, 258, 263, 321. *See also* Mehen; Index of Greek words, Ouroboros; Index of Egyptian Deities, Apophis
 Protection against, 30, 32–33
 Snefru, 37
 Socrates, 341 n. 62, 345, 346 n. 84
 Solar-Osirian unity, 14–15, 20, 206 n. 267, 216 n. 315, 257. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, (*d*)*b3-dmd*, “united *ba*”; Index of Egyptian deities, Re-Osiris (union)
 Stars, *passim*. *See also* Decans; Index of Egyptian words, *i.hmw-wrd* “Unwearying Stars,” *i.hmw-sk*, “Imperishable Stars,” *sb3 wty*, “Lone Star”
 as fish, 110 n. 222, 298 n. 149, 315. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Dramatic Text)
 Star-clocks (diagonal), 21 n. 105, 96, 120, 276, 310
 Statius, 348–49
 Stoicism, 350
 Sumer, 333, 335, 337
 Sun (god), *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian Deities, Re
 burial of, 38 n. 71, 114 n. 247, 147, 193 n. 209, 202 n. 255, 218, 297 n. 145, 298 n. 151
 cycle, 4–5, 19–21, 152 n. 173, 288–300 and *passim*
 Swimming, 42 n. 93, 50, 218 n. 325. *See also* Stars (as fish); Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Text E)
- T**
- Taharqa, 165–66, 274, 316, 323
 Tanis, 126 n. 26, 275 n. 12, 306 n. 190
 tomb of Osorkon II, 316, 323
 tomb of Sheshonq III, 316, 323
 Tawosret/Sethnakht, tomb (KV 14), 209 n. 282, 227, 324 n. 307
 Tebtynis temple library, 281, 282–83 n. 57, 324 n. 308
 Temples, mortuary, 4, 37, 136 n. 82, 165–66, 325
 Temples, solar, 37–39, 163 n. 30, 304 n. 183

- Teti, 29, 33, 39 n. 75, 94 n. 115
- Theban tombs (TT)
- TT 24 (Nebamun). *See* Egyptian Sources, *Urk.* 4
 - TT 27 (Sheshonq), 165
 - TT 33 (Padiamenope), 165, 179 n. 122, 208, 228, 251 n. 486, 282, 316
 - TT 34 (Montuemhat), 282
 - TT 49 (Neferhotep), 137 n. 92
 - TT 61 (Useramun), 161 n. 16, 173, 176–77
 - TT 71 (Senenmut), 161 n. 16, 135 n. 81
 - TT 82 (Amenemhat), 125 n. 14
 - TT 87 (Minnakht), 125 n. 14
 - TT 100 (Rekhmire). *See* Egyptian Sources, *Urk.* 4
 - TT 131 (Useramun), 161 n. 16
 - TT 132 (Ramose), 316, 323
 - TT 158 (Tjanefer), 161 n. 16, 166, 193 n. 209, 207–8
 - TT 192 (Kheruef). *See* Egyptian Sources, *Urk.* 4
 - TT 197 (Padineith), 228 n. 360, 251 n. 486
 - TT 223 (Karakhamun), 274 n. 5
 - TT 240 (Meru), 102 nn. 171, 173
 - TT 279 (Pabasa), 282
 - TT 290 (Irunefer), 194 n. 212
 - TT 319 (Neferu), 76 n. 12
 - TT 335 (Nakhtamun), 194 n. 212, 323
 - TT 336 (Neferrenpet), 194 n. 212
 - TT 353 (Senenmut), 125 n. 14, 161 n. 16, 274
 - TT 410 (Mutirdis), 208, 316, 273–74 n. 4, 275 n. 12, 280, 282, 308
- Thebes, 77, 102, 123 n. 1, 124 n. 10, 125–26, 128 n. 38, 133–39, 142–43, 147, 180, 316
- ritual landscape, 138–39
 - non-royal tombs, 133–37. *See also* Theban tombs (TT)
 - royal tombs (Valley of the Kings), 167–76 and ch. 5, *passim*, 278–80. *See also* under the names of individual rulers
- Theron of Akragas, 344
- Theseus, 341 n. 63
- Thutmose I,
- tomb (KV 38), 161, 172, 174 n. 103, 177
 - Tombos stela. *See* Index of Egyptian Sources, *Urk.* 4
- Thutmose III, 14, 78, 125–26, 161 n. 16
- tomb (KV 34), 163, 167 n. 63, 168, 172–73, 176–77, 180, 183 n. 149, 250 n. 482
- Thutmose IV, tomb (KV 43), 169
- Timekeeping. *See* Decans
- Tiresias, 342–43, 348–49
- Titans, 340 n. 56, 344
- Tjenenet (shrine), 141
- Troy, 343, 347
- Trygaeus, 345
- Turin Canon, 38 n. 67
- Tutankhamun, tomb (KV 62), 126, 169, 170 n. 73
- second shrine. *See* Index of Egyptian Sources, Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity
- U**
- Umma, 336 n. 23
- Underworld Books, 14–15, 159–67 and *passim*. *See also* Amduat, Book of Caverns, Book(s) of the Earth, Book of Gates, Cosmography
- composition and dating, 162–63
 - liturgical component, 165–67
 - psychoanalytical interpretations, 166–67
 - ritual-initiatory character, 3, 165 n. 44, 167
 - and tomb architecture, 167–76
- Ur, 334 n. 11, 335 n. 21, 337–38
- Ur-Namma, 336–38
- Utnapishtim, 333 n. 7
- V**
- Virgil, 344, 348–350
- W**
- Wadi Hammamat, 85 n. 58
- Wahkare Khety, 76 n. 12
- Wenamun, report, 304 n. 183
- Wenis, 27–28, 30, 31 n. 22, 32, 33, 39 nn. 73, 75, 69–70, 92 n. 107. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Pyramid Texts (PT 263)
- West, 18, 62, 64, 107, 138–39, 141, 144, 146, 148, 152, 187–88, 196–97, 200, 211–12, 224, 240, 253, 197–98, 303, 314, 325–26, and *passim*. *See also* Cardinal points
- Woseribre Seneb-kay, 124 n. 12
- Z**
- Zagros (mountains), 335–36
- Zeno of Citium, 350 n. 110
- Zodiac, 304 n. 183, 314 n. 240

Index of Deities

Egyptian

- Aker, 56–60, 152 n. 173, 160, 162, 190–92, 230–31, 243, 249–50, 260, 261 n. 528, 268
- Amun/Amun-Re, 137–38, 224 n. 343
Hymn to, 147 n. 141
- Andjety, 112
- Anubis, 18, 37 n. 59, 57, 59, 60 n. 223, 98 n. 143, 113, 188, 216, 232 n. 384, 258, 315
- Apophis, 21 n. 106, 87, 118, 148 n. 147, 184, 194–97, 209 n. 284, 213, 219–20, 229, 245–46 n. 458, 263, 293, 318, 324, 352
- Aten, 134–35
- Atum, 4, 48, 53, 83 n. 48, 97, 99, 103 n. 182, 106, 132 n. 64, 145, 150, 188 n. 176, 192 n. 202, 196, 201, 232, 243 n. 447, 262–63, 267 n. 549, 319, 321, 324 n. 305. *See also* Re-Atum
- Geb, 44, 48, 56–57, 59–61, 103 n. 182, 147, 190 n. 193, 227 n. 354, 231, 232 n. 384, 261 n. 526, 283 n. 58, 60, 287, 297 n. 141, 305 n. 187, 313 n. 232, 315 n. 242. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Dramatic Text)
- House of, 312, 313 n. 235
- Ha, 306 n. 189
- Hapy, 65 n. 249, 145
- Hathor, 120 n. 282, 221 n. 331, 260 n. 525, 273 n. 3
Hathor-Imentet (Goddess of the West), 138, 278 n. 28, 323 n. 301
She Who Faces Her Lord (*hft-hr-nb=s*), 138
- Heh/Hehet, 47 n. 128, 109, 204, 321
- Heka, 209
- Heqet, 278 n. 29
- Horus, 35, 39, 54, 57–59, 61, 83, 107, 112, 198, 206, 210, 231, 256 n. 506, 306, and *passim*
of the Duat, 45 n. 120, 50 n. 158, 52–53, 61, 104, 185, 196–97, 199, 202, 220, 267 n. 549, 319 n. 278
of Edfu (Behedeti), 267, 294, 305, 308 n. 205
of the Horizon (Harakhty), 52, 145 n. 133, 147 n. 139, 151 n. 169, 185, 195 n. 218, 232 n. 387, 233, 276 n. 21
as Khenti-menit-ef, 64
sons of, 96, 97 n. 135, 149 n. 158, 254 n. 502
- Imenrenef, 224 n. 343
- Ipy/Taweret, 138
- Isis, 60, 64, 96, 189, 191, 195, 239, 266–67, 278, and *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Gates, final tableau, Book of the Night, Hour 12, Book of the Day, Hour 1
cult of (Graeco-Roman period), 339 n. 47, 349–50
- Khentiamenti, 18, 37, 200
- Khepri/Kheprer, 4, 50 n. 154, 106, 132 n. 64, 185, 188 n. 179, 190–94, 196, 200, 203, 205–6, 220, 226, 232, 236 240, 246 n. 458, 263, 266, 290, 292–93, 296 n. 136, 321, 324 n. 305
- Khepri-Re-Atum, 194
- Khnum, 284 n. 63, 290
- Maat, 24, 36, 38, 132, 156, 216, 245
- Meretseger, 138 n. 97
- Meskhenet, 62 n. 236, 278 n. 29
- Nedi, 64
- Nefertem, 48 n. 140
- Neith, 44 n. 109, 46 n. 124, 284 n. 63
- Nekhet, 170 n. 75, 283, 309
- Nephthys, 60, 64, 96, 189, 239, 246, 266–67, and *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources: Book of Gates, final tableau; Book of the Night, Hour 12; Book of the Day, Hour 1
- Nun, 46–48, 103, 109–10, 148–49, 162, 164, 173, 175, 181, 187, 192–93, 198–200, 204, 218, 268, 287, 290, 294, 320–21, 328 and *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Texts L, Dd)
arms of, 205 n. 265, 223–25, 237, 245, 250 n. 480, 260, 266
cavern of, *See* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book(s) of the Earth (Scene 5)
and Osiris. *See* Osiris
- Nunet, 48–49, 66, 72, 99–100, 110, 116, 120, 154, 201, 204, 266–67
- Nut, 20, 42–50, 55, 61–63, 65–67, 71–72, 109, 120–21, 138, 151–54, 190–93, 203–4, 206–7, 219–27, 253–54, 264–68, 271–72, 352–53 and *passim*. *See also* Hathor; General Index, Books of the Sky and Milky Way, 44–45, 66
as sarcophagus/coffin, 46, 95–97, 174 n. 104, 267–68, 278
and Shetayt, *See* Shetayt
She Who Hides Her Lord (*h3pt-nb=s*), 138 n. 99, 278

Osiris, *passim*

Embalming Hall of. *See* General Index, Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of Solar Barques
engendering role of, 83, 210, 226–27, 238–39, 267, 291

Judgment Hall of. *See* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Gates (Scene 33)

and Nun/water, 56, 207, 224–25, 237–38. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Texts F, J, Aa); Index of Egyptian words, *ʒgbi wr*; “great flood,” *rdw*, “efflux”

and Orion, 19, 35, 55, 61–63

and Re. *See* Re-Osiris (union)

Wennefer, 144

Ptah, 59

Re, *passim*. *See also* General Index, Sun (god)

Re-Atum. *See* Egyptian Sources, Coffin Texts 1138

Re-Osiris (union), 20, 68 n. 265, 87–89, 118, 120, 130–31 n. 55, 132, 140–41, 160, 164, 174, 176–77, 181–82, 185 n. 161, 193–94, 209–10, 211 n. 287, 218, 230, 232, 239, 244, 246, 249–50, 252–53, 256–58, 263, 276–78, 318, 351. *See also* Index of Egyptian words, *(d)bʒ-dmd*, “united ba;” General Index, Solar-Osirian unity

Sekhmet, 318 n. 267

Seth, 54, 57–58, 195 n. 218, 212 n. 298, 263

Shetayt, 214, 231–32, 234–38, 240, 246, 256–59, 263, 271–72, 300, 307 n. 194, 328, 352. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Caverns, Scene 50, Book(s) of the Earth (Scene 56)

Shu, 48, 102, 195, 205–7, 293, 301 n. 168, 305 n. 187. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Amduat Hour 12, Book of Gates final tableau, Book of Nut, Dramatic Text; General Index, Arms (cosmic)

Book of (CT 75–83), 48 n. 135, 83 n. 48

supports of, 150, 297

Sia, 209

Sokar, 59, 99, 111–12, 134, 160, 173–74, 176 n. 116, 179, 188–92, 200–201, 214 n. 308, 217, 268, 309

cavern. *See* Index of Egyptian Sources, Amduat Hours 4–5; Index of Egyptian words, *imht*, “Imhet,” *(n)nwt*, “oval, egg,” *rʒ-stʒw*, “Rosetau”

Sopdet/Sothis/Sirius, 19, 52–54, 61, 96 n. 132, 104 n. 187, 282, 309 n. 210

heliacal rising of, 282, 289 n. 88, 310 n. 214

Sopdu, 306 n. 189

Tatenen, 162, 198, 205–6 n. 265, 214, 231–32, 242 n. 443, 246 n. 459, 260–61, 320

Tefnut, 49, 152 n. 173

Thoth, 57, 77, 87, 98, 115–16, 142, 147, 148 n. 148

Book of, 241 n. 438

Wadjet, 170 n. 75

Wepwawet, 315 n. 244

Mesopotamian

An(u)/Anum, 332 n. 3

Dumu(zi)/Tammuz, 334 n. 15, 335 n. 18, 337 n. 36, 338. *See also* Index of Mesopotamian Sources, Death of Dumuzi, Inanna Myths

Ea/Enki, 332, 334 n. 15

Enlil, 332 n. 3. *See also* Index of Mesopotamian Sources, Enlil and Ninlil

Ereshkigal, 332 n. 4, 334 n. 14, 336. *See also* Index of Mesopotamian Sources, Nergal and Ereshkigal
Inanna/Ishtar/Astarte (Venus), 283 n. 58, 334–38. *See also* Index of Mesopotamian Sources, Inanna Myths

Lugala’abba, 333 n. 7

Marduk, 331–32

Nergal/Erra, 336 n. 23, 337–38. *See also* Index of Mesopotamian Sources, Nergal and Ereshkigal

Ningishzida. *See* Ningishzida’s Journey to the Netherworld

Ninlil. *See* Index of Mesopotamian Sources, Enlil and Ninlil

Ninmug, 333 n. 7

Nungal, 336 n. 23

Tiamat, 331–32

Utu/Shamash, 334

Greek and Roman

Apollo, 343 n. 68, 347

Chaos, 48, 342 n. 65, 347 n. 93

Charon, 341 n. 63, 342–43, 347 n. 92,

Chronos, 340

Demeter, 341

Hymn to, 344 n. 72

Dionysus (Zagreus), 344

Gaea, 340 n. 56, 344

- Hades/Pluto (Lat. Orcus), 340–45, 347, 349–50
 Hermes, 341
 Kore/Persephone (Lat. Proserpina), 341, 342 n. 64, 344
 Okeanos, 48, 333 n. 6, 342–43
 Poseidon, 340
 Proteus, 343
 Tethys, 333 n. 6
- Uranus, 340 n. 56, 344
 Venus, 349
 as Morning Star, 45 n. 120, 52–53, 58, 60, 104. *See also* Index of Mesopotamian Deities, Inanna/Ishtar/Astarte (Venus)
 as planet, 334 n. 15, 335, 338
 Zeus, 340, 343, 347 n. 93

Index of Ancient Words

(Selected Terms and Phrases)

Egyptian



- ḥ*, “transfigured spirit,” 1, 13, 24, 27, 33, 40, 50, 57–58, 61, 64, 65, 67–68, 70, 80, 92, 99, 110, 115, 128–29, 150, 172, 291, 351
ḥt, “horizon,” 49–50, 105–7 and *passim*. *See also* *msqt(t)*, “Mesqet;” General Index, Horizon, Sun (god) cycle
ḥbi wr, “Great Flood,” 48 n. 140, 64–65, 206–7



- (*i*)*ḥ(w)*, “brilliance, radiance, brightness,” 49–50, 102, 106, 108, 320
(*i*)*r*, “to climb up, ascend,” 188, 214–15
iwf, “flesh,” 186, 190–92
iwr, “to conceive,” 61–63
imy dwꜣt, “that which is in the Duat,” 16, 159
imḥ, “transfigured being/state,” 88, 144
imḥt, “Imhet,” 116–18, 134, 142–45, 148, 155–56, 173–74, 188–92. *See also* *rꜣ-stḥw*, “Rosetau;” Index of Egyptian Sources, Amduat Hours 4–5
i.ḥmw-wrꜥ “Unwearying Stars,” 42, 64
i.ḥmw-sk, “Imperishable Stars,” 18–19, 42, 43 n. 104, 45, 53, 55, 64, 151, 197
igrt, “(realm of) silence, necropolis,” 115 n. 250, 187–88, 200, 223, 234, 253–54, 255–56



- t imnt*, “hidden chamber,” 174, 176–77, 182, 189, 198, 214, 258, 351

- m*, “to swallow, devour,” 43, 201 n. 252, 216 n. 316, 273 n. 2
rꜣryt, “portal, gateway, forecourt” 109 n. 216, 182, 184–85, 202, 211, 218–19



- wbꜣ*, “to (split) open,” 42 n. 88, 103, 105 n. 193, 107, 109, 116 n. 261, 117, 142, 144, 146, 148, 185, 213, 216–17, 242–43, 262–63, 289–90, 296, 303. *See also* *nḥp(w)* “dung/clay ball, potter’s wheel,” *kkw-smꜣw*, “complete darkness”



- biꜣ*, “(meteoric) iron, sky,” 41–42 n. 87, 45 n. 119, 59



- pt*, “sky,” 41–42 and *passim*. *See also* Index of Egyptian Deities, Nut
pt ḥrt/ḥrt, “upper/lower sky,” 88 n. 84, 99 n. 153, 153–54
pt tꜣ dwꜣt, “sky, earth, Duat,” 22, 103, 133–34, 146–47, 196
pꜣwt, “primeval state,” 121 n. 287, 294
pnꜥ, “to turn over,” 298
pꜣrt m ḥrw, “going forth by day,” 123–24, 129, 137. *See also* General Index, Book of the Dead
phꜣr, “to go around, encircle,” 31, 220



- mꜥndt*, “Day-bark,” 42, 64, 105, 108, 201, 203–4, 205 n. 265, 225–26, 260, 317 n. 265, 321

mr-n-h3, “winding canal,” 41–42, 52, 57–59, 105
mht wrt, “Great Flood,” 44
ms(i), “to give birth,” 61–63 and *passim*
mshnt, “birthplace,” 62 n. 236, 278 n. 29
msqt(t), “Mesqet,” 45, 107–8, 151, 224, 294–95
msqt shdw, “Starry stretch,” 44–45
msktt, “Night-bark,” 42, 59 n. 220, 64, 98, 105, 108, 260, 265, 317 n. 265
md(w)t, “aquatic depth(s),” 193, 200

𓂃 n

niwt, “town, locale” (as necropolis/otherworld), 40 n. 77, 51 n. 170, 98 n. 144, 183
nw(n), var. *nww*, *nnw*, “primordial waters.” See Index of Egyptian Deities, Nun
n(w)nt, var. *n(n)wt*, *nnt*, “lower sky.” See Index of Egyptian Deities, Nunet
nb ʿnh, “Lord of Life” (i.e., coffin), 95–96
nmstt, “birthplace,” 62 n. 236, 294–95
(n)nwt, “oval, egg,” 174, 192, 198, 200, 229 n. 369, 239 n. 431, 266–67
nn(w)t, “Nunet/nethersky.” See Index of Egyptian Deities, Nunet
nhp, “to fashion, create, build,” 290
nhp(w), “dung/clay ball, potter’s wheel,” 44 n. 107, 289–90
nhh, “cyclical time,” 1 n. 3, 171, 173

𓂃 r

r3wy, “double door (i.e. labia, vulva),” 204, 328
r3-st3w, “Rosetau,” 22 n. 108, 110–16, 134, 148, 173–74, 188–92 and *passim*. See also *imht*, “Imhet;” Index of Egyptian Sources, Amduat Hours 4–5; Index of Egyptian Deities, Sokar
rh, “knowledge,” 165, 325. See also General Index, King as Solar Priest
rth-q3bt, “what/who masters the (southern) meanders/borders,” 301 n. 166, 306 n. 190, 308–9
rdw, var. *rdw*, “(putrefaction) efflux,” 111, 114–15, 207

𓂃 h

hmhmt, “roar,” 192
hn, “chest,” 190, 192, 196, 243–44

𓂃 h

hwt-ʿ3t, “Great Mansion (of Heliopolis),” 99–100
hrt, “upper (side/region), sky,” 254 n. 502, 301 n. 165 and *passim*. See also List of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Text L)
hk3(w), “magic,” 11–12, 195 n. 218, 209
htp, “to (go to) rest, settle,” 132 n. 62, 141 n. 112, 228 and *passim*
htp m ʿnh, “setting in life,” 297–300
htmyt, “Place of Destruction,” 184, 215–18, 229, 237, 244–46, 255, 259–63, 300

𓂃 h

hbt, “place of execution,” 97, 155
htmt, “sealed place/thing,” 114–15, 190 n. 192

𓂃 h

ht, “body, belly, womb,” 47, 100 n. 155 and *passim*
h3t, “corpse,” 27 n. 2, 142, 186 n. 166, 198 n. 234, 243–44, 257, 267. See also *(s)st3*, “secret, mystery, secrecy;” General Index, *Ba(s)* and *h3t*-corpse

𓂃 s

sb3 wʿty, “Lone Star,” 19, 45
sp tpy, “first occasion,” 37, 207, 242–43, 294, 308 n. 205
srq-hyt, “that which/the one who makes the throat breathe,” 308
shṯ i3rw, “Field of Rushes,” 42, 58, 61–62, 145, 151, 155–56, 214
shṯ htp(w), “Field of Offering(s),” 42, 151
shd, “to be inverted,” 152 n. 174, 199–200 n. 244, 235 n. 403
sšm, “(divine, hidden) image,” 186–87, 192–93, 196, 197 n. 233, 200–201, 203, 205–7, 223, 238
(s)st3, “secret, mystery, secrecy,” 97–98, 112–13, 115, 160, 190 n. 193, 236, 238, 243–44, 257, 263 n. 535. See also *h3t*, “corpse”

𓂃 š

šn(i) dw3t, “encircling (of) the Duat,” 53–54, 226, 239, 310 n. 214. See also Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Texts U, V)

 **q**

qbḥw, “fresh waters, firmament,” 61, 62 n. 236, 68 n. 265, 302–3, 306, 309, 314
qbḥw ntrw, “fresh waters/firmament of the gods,” 303–7
qbḥw Hr w, “fresh waters/firmament of Horus,” 306–8

 **k**

kkw-smḏw, “complete darkness,” 109, 184, 202–3, 205–6, 211, 216–18, 224, 300, 319. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Texts L, Dd)

 **t**

tms/tmsw, “redness, execration,” 202, 225

 **d**

dwḏ, “morning (worship),” 21, 52
d(w)ḏt, “Duat, otherworld,” *passim*
dwḏt hrt, “Upper Duat,” 18, 22, 99–100, 116, 118, 120, 134, 233, 235–37, 254–55, 257, 259–60, 264, 271–72, 276–77, 300, 307 n. 194, 325–26
dwḏt hrt, “Lower Duat,” 18, 22, 99–100, 116, 118, 120, 134, 233–37, 245, 254–57, 259–60, 265, 271–72, 276–77, 300, 307 n. 194, 325–26
dwḏty, “Double Duat,” 118, 233, 246
d(w)ḏty(w), “that, those of the Duat,” 50–51 and *passim*
dšrt, “redness,” 50, 184 n. 156, 202–3 n. 256, 217–18, 292. *See also* Index of Egyptian Sources, Book of Nut (Text G)

 **d**

dt, “linear time,” 171, 173
(d)bḏ-dmd, “united *ba*,” 141 n. 110, 265

Coptic

ⲉⲠⲱⲗ, “solution, explanation,” 311 n. 222
 Ⲓⲓⲕ, “magic,” 12

Demotic

itn, “ground, (celestial) disk,” 292 n. 110
 Ⲣⲱⲩ, “district, place” 289 n. 93
w(ḏ)y, “to withdraw,” 295 n. 133
bnr; bnl, “solution (book),” 311 n. 222
mḥ, “nest,” 303 n. 180
rḏ-ḥtp, “descendant,” 314 n. 240
ss(w), “day, time, period,” 296 n. 139
sšḏ, “secret (divine) image/form,” 293 n. 116
šw, “high,” 301–2
šbn, “to join, unite with,” 301 n. 166
št, var. *šd* “to nourish, nurture, raise, rear,” 294 n. 125
glp, “to manifest,” 289
tḏ, “time, season,” 296 n. 139
twḏt (= dwḏt), “Duat” 287 n. 83
tby(t) n ms, “birth-brick,” 290
dd, “to say,” 288 n. 86, 311 n. 221

Sumerian and Akkadian

abzu, Akk. *apsû*, “cosmic waters,” 332, 334 n. 14
 an, Akk. *šamû*, “sky, heaven,” 331, 332 n. 4
 arali, Akk. *arallû*, “netherworld,” 332 n. 4, 335 n. 21
 galla, “evil spirit, demon,” 333 n. 8
 gidim, Akk. *eṭemmu*, “(evil) spirit,” 333 n. 8
 kalam, “heartland of Sumer,” 335
 ki, Akk. *erṣetu*, “earth, place,” 331, 332 n. 4, 335 n. 21
 kigal, “great earth,” 332 n. 4, 335 n. 21
 kukku, Akk. *kukkû*, “darkness,” 332 n. 4
 kur, “mountain, netherworld, foreign land,” 332, 334, 335–36, 338–39
 mes, “divine powers/decrees,” 334 n. 15
 urugal/erigal, Akk. *irkalla*, “big city,” 332 n. 4

Greek

Anemos, “wind,” 341 n. 62
Dodecatropos, “system of twelve houses” (astrology), 314 n. 240
Dysis, “descendant” (astrology), 314 n. 240
Eidolon, “phantom image,” 341, 343
Katabasis, “descent to the underworld,” 335 n. 16, 347 n. 93
Logos, “order, natural law,” 350 n. 110
Mageia, “magic,” and *magos*, “magician,” 11–12

Mesourania, “mid-heaven” (astrology), 314 n. 240
Nekyia, “necromancy,” 342 nn. 65–66, 348–49
Ouroboros, “tail-devouring,” 152 n. 173, 164 n. 38, 195
 n. 217, 226–27, 244, 246, 254–55
Psyche, “breath, spirit,” 341, 342 n. 65

Latin

Anima, 341 n. 62
Di Manes, 346
Lacteus orbis, 349
Medium caelum. See Index of Greek words, *Mesourania*
Occasus. See Index of Greek words, *Dysis*

Index of Ancient Sources

Egyptian

Amduat

Hour 1 170 n. 73, **184–85**, 196
 Hour 2 **185–86**, 300
 Hour 3 187–88
 Hour 4 117, 173–74, **188–89**
 Hour 5 114–15 n. 251, 117, 160, 174, 177 n. 116,
 181 n. 140, 185 n. 159, **189–92**, 200 n. 247,
 201, 217, 231, 268
 Hour 6 164 n. 38, 181–82, 184 n. 155, 192 n. 202,
193–94, 195 n. 217
 Hour 7 118 n. 275, 184, 190 n. 192, **194–97**
 Hour 8 187 n. 170, **197–98**,
 Hour 9 198–99
 Hour 10 198 n. 238, **199–201**, 268
 Hour 11 184, 199 n. 244, **201–2**, 225 n. 347, 236 n.
 405
 Hour 12 164, 184, 196 n. 229, 202 n. 256, **203–7**, 243
 n. 448, 268, 293

Book of Caverns

Division 1 230–31
 Scenes 1–2 230
 Scene 9 230, 244 n. 451
 Scene 13 234
 Division 2 230–31
 Scene 15 233 n. 394
 Scene 16 241–42
 Scene 17 242–43
 Scenes 21–23 231 n. 380, 242 nn. 442–43, 243–
 44

Division 3, 230–31, 243
 Scene 26 231
 Scene 29 241
 Scene 32 190 n. 193, 231, 243, 246
 Scene 33 244
 Litany 3 241 n. 439
 Division 4 231
 Scenes 38–40 231, 233
 Scene 41 239, 246, 267
 Scene 46 232 n. 384
 Litany 4 230
 Division 5 231–32, 246
 Scene 50 231–32, **234–38**, 246, 256, 259,
 300
 Scene 51 240
 Scene 52 231 n. 380, 232
 Scene 57 245
 Scene 58 245
 Scene 59 230 n. 378, **231–32**, 236 n. 405,
 238, 246
 Scene 60 232, 238
 Scene 63 245
 Litany 6 242 n. 443
 Litany 7 236
 Litany 8 236
 Litany 9 231 n. 380
 Litany 10 203 n. 256
 Litany 11 234
 Litany 12 234
 Litany 14 237 n. 420, 245
 Litany 20 245 n. 455
 Division 6 232–33
 Scene 65 244 n. 450

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|--|
| Scene 66 | 240 | 134 | 153 n. 181 |
| Scene 67 | 238 n. 426 | 137 | 115 n. 252 |
| Scene 68 | 232, 240–41 | 146 | 143 n. 120, 148 n. 153 |
| Scene 70 | 231 n. 380, 246 n. 459 | 148 | 147 |
| Scene 76 | 246 | 149 | 142 n. 118, 151 n. 169, 149, 151 n. 169,
153 n. 180 |
| Scene 77 | 232 | 150 | 142 n. 118, 149 |
| Scene 78 | 232–33, 244 | 151 | 31 n. 23 |
| Scene 79 | 233 | 162 | 147, 193 n. 209 |
| Scene 80 | 232 | 168A | 87 n. 75 |
| <i>Book of the Day</i> | | | |
| Hour 1 | 105 n. 194, 204, 261 n. 529, 323–24 | 169 | 153 n. 180 |
| Hour 6 | 195 n. 218 | 175 | 149, 212 n. 297 |
| Hour 8 | 195 n. 224 | 176 | 151 n. 168 |
| Hour 12 | 319 n. 276, 325–26 | 180 | 146, 153 , 206 n. 265 |
| <i>Book of the Dead (BD)</i> | | | |
| 1B | 141 | 182 | 147 |
| 2 | 142 | 186 | 138 |
| 4 | 148 n. 148 | 190 | 157 n. 43 |
| 6 | 124 n. 9 | <i>Book(s) of the Earth</i> | |
| 6B | 148 | Scene 1 | 249, 250 n. 480, 251 |
| 9 | 117, 142–43 , 148 n. 148 | Scene 2 | 243 n. 448, 250 |
| 13 (= 121) | 129 n. 44 | Scene 5 | 176, 205 n. 265, 245 n. 458, 249, 250
n. 480, 260–61 , 266 |
| 15 | 146 n. 135, 151 | Scene 10 | 223 n. 339, 264–65 |
| 15BII | 152–53 | Scene 13 | 267 n. 549 |
| 15BIII | 145–46 | Scene 14 | 239 n. 431, 267 |
| 17 | 87 n. 76, 130 n. 54, 141, 148, 150, 151
n. 168, 152 n. 173, 194 n. 212, 203 n. 257 | Scene 15 | 267 n. 549 |
| 30 | 124 n. 9 | Scene 18 | 263 |
| 58 (= 122) | 129 n. 44 | Scene 19 | 238 n. 423, 263 |
| 64 | 115 n. 250, 131 n. 55, 132 n. 63, 144
n. 127, 152 n. 173, 194 n. 212 | Scene 22 | 232 n. 388 |
| 72 | 142 n. 118, 151 n. 168 | Scene 23 | 251 |
| 73 | 143 | Scene 24 | 198 n. 234, 261 |
| 75 | 142 | Scene 25 | 261 n. 528 |
| 78 | 143 n. 123, 148 n. 148 | Scene 26 | 261 |
| 79 | 99 n. 153, 154 | Scene 27 | 262 |
| 85 | 155 | Scene 28 | 257 n. 511, 258 n. 515, 261 n. 528 |
| 89 | 154 | Scene 29 | 258 n. 515, 262–63 |
| 99 | 152 n. 174 | Scene 30 | 199–200 n. 244 |
| 110 | 131 n. 58, 151 | Scene 32 | 245 n. 457 |
| 115 | 142 n. 118 | Scene 35 | 266–67 |
| 125 | 82, 131, 149, 155, 210, 229 n. 371, 351 | Scene 36 | 194 n. 213 |
| 126 | 142 n. 118, 148 | Scene 38 | 255–56 |
| 127 | 146 | Scene 39 | 238 n. 426 |
| 133 | 154 | Scene 44 | 254 n. 502 |
| | | Scene 49 | 261 n. 528 |
| | | Scene 55 | 254–56 |
| | | Scene 56 | 239–40, 256–58 , 300 |

Scene 67	260 n. 525
Scene 68	243 n. 448, 250
Scene 69	263–64
Scene 71	258 n. 515, 263 n. 534
Scene 72	260
Scene 74	258–59
Scene 75	192 n. 204, 252–54

Book of Gates

Hour 1	211
Scene 2	211
Hour 2	211–12 , 300
Scene 7	188 n. 176, 211 n. 295
Scene 8	194 n. 212
Hour 3	212–13
Scene 9	212
Scene 10	192 n. 204, 212
Scene 11	212 n. 300
Scene 14	213
Hour 4	213–214
Scene 16	213, 315 n. 243
Scene 17	213–14
Scene 21	210 n. 287
Hour 5	214–15
Scene 23	214
Scene 30	215
Scene 33	131–32, 208 n. 279, 210, 215–18 , 232, 258
Hour 6	218
Scene 34	195 n. 223
Scene 38	218
Hour 7	218
Scene 45	188 n. 176
Hour 8	218
Scene 48	218
Hour 9	218
Scene 55	218
Scene 56	218
Scene 58	191 n. 196, 199 n. 242, 218
Scene 60	218–19
Hour 10	204, 219–21
Scene 66	219–20
Scene 67	195 n. 223, 221
Scene 68	202 n. 253, 204 n. 260, 220–21
Hour 11	221–22
Scene 73	221
Scene 79	196 n. 229

Scene 80	222
Scene 81	222 n. 336
Hour 12	222–25
Scene 82	222–23
Scene 83	223–24
Scene 86	295–96 n. 134
Scene 88	224–25
Scene 94	225
Scene 97	202–3 n. 256, 225
Final tableau	46 n. 127, 105 n. 106, 182 n. 143, 210, 225–27 , 251, 268, 321

Book of the Heavenly Cow

ll. 226–239	103 n. 181, 147 n. 141
-------------	------------------------

Book of the Night

Hour 1	319
Hour 2	184 n. 157, 300, 316, 319
Hour 3	199 n. 242, 319
Hour 4	319
Hour 8	318
Hour 9	320
Hour 12	50, 105 n. 196, 204, 232 n. 388, 261 n. 529, 290, 293 n. 114, 317 n. 265, 320–22

Book of Nut

pCarlsberg I, I, 5	288
pCarlsberg I, I, 6–10	309 n. 209
pCarlsberg I, I, 14 (= Seti I col. 29 shadow-clock)	283
Text A (pCarlsberg I, I, 16, 21–23)	308–9
Text D (pCarlsberg I, I, 33–38)	289 n. 88
Text E (pCarlsberg I, I, 39–40)	50, 203 n. 256, 289–90
Text F (pCarlsberg I, I, 43–44)	50, 225 n. 348, 237, 291–92 , 312 n. 227
Text G (pCarlsberg I, II, 1–3)	50, 203 n. 256, 217, 278 n. 29, 289, 292
Text H (pCarlsberg I, I, 29)	293
Text J (pCarlsberg I, II, 4–5, 7, 9–10)	62 n. 236, 107–8, 224, 237, 294–95 , 309 n. 209
Text K (pCarlsberg I, II, 16)	293
Text L (pCarlsberg I, II, 20–21, 32–35)	47, 300–302 , 308 n. 205
Text M	289
Text N	292
Text O	293
Text P	62, 289, 292

- Text Q 298
Text R 298
Text T 282 n. 56
Text U (pCarlsberg I, II, 44–III, 1–3, 6–8) 282 n. 56, 310–13
Text V (pCarlsberg I, III, 12–30) 295, 298 n. 148, 311 n. 216, 311, 313–15
Text Y 283
Text Z (and pCarlsberg I, III, 39) 298–300
Text Aa (pCarlsberg I, III, 40–44, IV, 1–10) 184 n. 157, 294, 296, 298–99, 308 n. 205
Text Bb (pCarlsberg I, III, 31–35) 296–97
Text Dd (pCarlsberg I, IV, 26–34) 19 n. 94, 54 n. 189, 68 n. 265, 303–7
Text Ee (pCarlsberg I, IV, 23) 304 n. 183, 308
Text Hh (pCarlsberg I, IV, 25) 303
Text Jj 303 n. 182
Text Kk 297
Text Ll 312
Dramatic Text
Seti I, cols. 1–2 (pCarlsberg I, V, 27, 29, 15, 21, 23–24) 307–8
Seti I, cols. 2–3 (pCarlsberg I, V, 24–26, 12, 17, 19) 297–98
Seti I, cols. 3–5 (pCarlsberg I, IV, 41–V, 11–43) 43, 216 n. 316, 287, 297 n. 141
Seti I, col. 6 (pCarlsberg I, IV, 38–42) 312, 313 n. 235
Seti I, col. 6 (pCarlsberg I, V, 35–36) 298
Seti I, cols. 6–7 (pCarlsberg I, V, 37–39) 312
Seti I, col. 7 (pCarlsberg I, V, 41) 121 n. 288
Seti I, cols. 8–10 (pCarlsberg I, VI, 9–21) 298 n. 149, 314–15 n. 241
Seti I, cols. 8, 10–11 (pCarlsberg I, VI, 1–4, 27–36) 99 n. 149, 313 n. 232
Seti I, col. 9 (pCarlsberg I, VI, 11–20) 110 n. 222, 315 n. 242
Seti I, col. 10 (pCarlsberg I, VI, 22) 293 n. 114
Seti I, cols. 12–13 (pCarlsberg I, VI, 43–VII, 13) 307 n. 197
- Coffin Texts*
1 (CT 1: 1) 75 n. 2
18 (CT 1: 53d–54b) 105
35 (CT 1: 130b) 104
38 (CT 1: 161e–g) 109
44 (CT 1: 185a–b, 187e–188c) 53 n. 184, 88 n. 84, 104 n. 187, 186 n. 167
55 (CT 1: 245) 104 n. 184
60 (CT 1: 255a–e) 112
62 (CT 1: 270e–271c) 104
80 (CT 2: 37i–38a) 195
93 (CT 2: 64b–66a) 88 n. 79, 108
107 (CT 2: 119f, h–j) 100
108 (CT 2: 121a–d) 108
141 (CT 2: 174a–e) 103 n. 182
154 (CT 2: 268a–b, 273f–g, 288c–d) 105 n. 193
220 (CT 3: 203b) 100
236 (CT 3: 303i–304e, 305c) 111–12, 115 n. 251
237 (CT 3: 308c) 98 n. 143
241 (CT 3: 325 a, j–l, 326e) 98 n. 143, 112–13, 145 n. 132
256 (CT 3: 365b–d) 106
306 (CT 4: 61m–p) 99–100, 154 n. 182
312 (CT 4: 78h–79b, 86e–f) 107
314 (CT 4: 94a–96j) 145 n. 142
315 (CT 4: 97g, n) 117
317 (CT 4: 118d) 100
326 (CT 4: 160c–161c) 106
335 (CT 4: 192–193b–c, 276c–281a) 87, 141, 194 n. 212
335 (CT 4: 225d, 227a) 105–6
340 (CT 4: 340e–342e) 129 n. 44
341 (CT 4: 95b, m) 113
341 (CT 4: 344c–f) 117
349 (CT 4: 381e) 53 n. 181
378 (CT 5: 41f) 104 n. 184
397 (CT 5: 114d–f) 98 n. 143
460 (CT 5: 333h) 187–88 n. 175
463 (CT 5: 535c–e) 100
486 (CT 6: 65a) 106 n. 200
495 (CT 6: 76g–77a) 97 n. 141
525 (CT 6: 118a–d) 97 n. 135
551 (CT 6: 149a–150e, 151) 109
556 (CT 6: 156h–g) 104 n. 185
572 (CT 6: 176j) 177 n. 116
573 (CT 6: 182e–f) 315 n. 242
619 (CT 6: 231q–232n) 107 n. 205, 108 n. 211
631 (CT 6: 253i) 106
645 (CT 6: 265i–l) 102
648 (CT 6: 270a, d) 109 n. 215
673 (CT 6: 301n) 98 n. 143
703 (CT 6: 334o–p, 335e) 109–10
712 (CT 6: 343a) 118 n. 273
722 (CT 6: 350f–j) 106

760 (CT 6: 390a–o)	195 n. 217	Litany 6	166 n. 50
782 (CT 6: 412j–k)	107–8 n. 208	Litany 8	153 n. 176
789 (CT 7: 2j)	107		
790 (CT 7: 2o–p, t–v)	103	<i>pLeiden I 344 verso</i>	
824 (CT 7: 24h–i)	121 n. 287	Strophe 5, III.4	147 n. 141
1034 (CT 7: 281b)	84		
1035 (CT 7: 282a–283a)	22 n. 108, 115–16	<i>pLeiden I 350</i>	
1046 (CT 7: 298a)	87 n. 75	Chapter 200	147 n. 141
1054 (CT 7: 306e–f)	192 n. 204		
1068 (CT 7: 329a–331b)	88, 117	<i>pLeopold-Amherst</i>	
1072 (CT 7: 339e–341b)	86–87 n. 70, 113–14	2.8	172 n. 85
1073 (CT 7: 343b)	115 n. 252		
1080 (CT 7: 352a–353c)	114–15 , 190 n. 192	<i>pSalt 825</i>	
1086 (CT 7: 362c–364a)	113 n. 246, 148 n. 150	VII, l. 1	177 n. 116
1087 (CT 7: 364b–366d)	115	XVIII, ll. 1–2	160 n. 9
1089 (CT 7: 367a–368b)	98–99 , 313 n. 232		
1130 (CT 7: 262g, 471c–f)	88	<i>Pyramid Texts (PT)</i>	
1130 (CT 7: 464f–465a)	88, 315 n. 242	10 §8d	68 n. 265
1132 (CT 7: 474i–l)	109 n. 216	215 §140b–141c, 149a–b	48 n. 139, 53
1138 (CT 7: 483j)	97	216 §151a–c	53–54
1150 (CT 7: 500a–b)	112	217 §§152c–d, 154c–d	28 n. 4
<i>Dialogue of a Man and His Ba</i>		222 §§207b, 209a, 210a–c	48 n. 139, 63–64
ll. 37–38, 153–54	129	247 §257c	53 n. 181
<i>Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity</i>		249 §265b, e	48 n. 140
Tutankhamun shrine, side 1, scenes 3–4	255 n. 503	254 §§279d, 282a, 285a–c	45, 64–65
Tutankhamun shrine, side 1, scene 6	152 n. 173, 238 n. 422, 254–55 , 257, 326	257 §§305a–306b	37 n. 63
Tutankhamun shrine, side 2, scene 9	205 n. 265, 261 n. 529	260 §§323a–b	164 n. 35
Enigmatic wall, tomb of Ramses IX, left portion, register 1	55 n. 194, 152 n. 174	263 §341 a–c	52
Enigmatic wall, tomb of Ramses IX, reclining Osiris-King figure	243 n. 448	266 §362a	52–53
<i>Esna</i>		271 §390a–b, 391c	54, 68
Esna 416	296 n. 136	273–274	39 n. 75, 43 n. 100, 52 , 97 n. 141, 100, 203 n. 256
Esna 436, 441–442	277 n. 21	298 §442a–c	119 n. 275
<i>Litany of Re</i>		305 §474a	27 n. 2
Introductory text (title)	131 n. 55, 165 n. 46	355 §572a	32 n. 26
Re-Osiris figure caption	194	360 §603a	43 n. 99
Great Litany, addresses 73–74	218	364 §616d–f	46 n. 121
Great Litany, address 75	306 n. 191	401 §697a	50 n. 154
		437 §§796a–797b, 799a, 800a, 801a–802c, 805a	47, 57–58 , 60
		442 §819c–822c–e	61–63
		454	61 n. 228
		466 §§882a–883d	55–56
		483 §§1013c, 1014a–1016d	58–59
		486 §§1044a–b	291 n. 105

- 504 §1082a–b 63
 510 §1134a–b 61
 513 §§1168a–1170b, 1171a–1173a 55, 64–65
 515 §1880a 62 n. 236
 534 §1277a–d 31
 562 §1405a 49 n. 144
 563 §§1416c–1417d 20 n. 95, 43, 273 n. 2
 568 §§1431c–1432b 54–55
 571 §1466c–d 1 n. 2
 576 §§1517a–b 225 n. 345
 577 §1527a–c 63
 600 §1657a–b 66 n. 260
 606 §§1687a–1688c 43 n. 100
 607 §1701a–b 47 n. 131
 610 §§1710b, 1711a, 1713a–1717a 58, 60, 68 n. 267
 670 §§1972a–1973d, 1986a–b 60–61
 677 35
 688 §2084a–c 56–57
- Tale of Sinuhe*
 R 6–7 73
- Teaching for King Merikare*
 ll. 136–137 11 n. 47
- Tomb of Kheruef (TT 192)* 142–43
- Urk. 4
 83.7 (Tombos stela) 309 n. 210
 113–19 (Prayers of Paheri) 144–45
 149.4 (TT 24) 145 n. 131
 1071.9 (TT 100) 147 n. 141
 1662.11–12 (Konosso stela) 306
- Mesopotamian**
- Death of Dumuzi*
 BM 100046, ll. 40–43 337 n. 31
- Enlil and Ninlil*
 ll. 65–90 337
- Enuma Elish*
 Tablet VI, l. 46 332 n. 4
- Epic of Etana*
 I/A, l. 10 336 n. 28
- Epic of Gilgamesh*
 Tablet VII, ll. 183–192 337 n. 35
 Tablet VII, l. 184 332 n. 4
 Tablet X, ll. 76–103 333 n. 7
 Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld
 l. 93 334 n. 14
 ll. 166–175 336 n. 30
 ll. 175–182 335
 ll. 243–303 337 n. 37
- Inanna myths*
 Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld
 ll. 8, 32–33 337 n. 35
 ll. 65–67, 217–235, 246–253, 273–281 337 n. 35
 ll. 73–77, 94–101, 114–128 336 n. 29
 ll. 78–84 337 n. 34
 ll. 119, 125 336 n. 28
 ll. 165–166 338 n. 39
 Inanna and Enki
 F23–24, J16–21 334 n. 15
- Nergal and Ereshkigal*
 i, 17–26 336 n. 28
 iii, ll. 3–5 337 n. 35, 338 n. 39
- Ninġishzida's Journey to the Netherworld*
 ll. 29–37 337 n. 35
- Udughul-incantations*
 ll. 846–854 334 n. 13
- Ur-Namma A*
 l. 76 336 n. 28
 ll. 76–87, 92–96, 132–144 337–38
 l. 83 337 n. 34

Greek*Agamemnon* (Aeschylus)

4–7 344–45

Aithiopika (Heliodoros)

6.12–15 348 n. 96

Argonautica (Apollonius Rhodius)

2.734–42 347

Iliad (Homer)

8.13–16 347 n. 93

23.61–107 342

23.99–101 341 n. 62

Metamorphoses (Apuleius)

2.21–30 348 n. 96

11.1–30 349–50

Odyssey (Homer)

4.561–570 343, 344 n. 76

10.487–495 341–42

10.504–515 342 n. 64

11.9–21 342

11.22–151 342

11.34–37 342 n. 65

11.47–50 342 n. 65

11.155–159 343 n. 67

11.204–208 341 n. 62

11.465–540 343

11.568–575 343

11.581–600 343 n. 69

11.601–626 343

24.1–10 341 n. 62

24.11–18 342 n. 66

Olympian Odes (Pindar)

2.55–56 344 n. 77

2.68–83 344 and n. 76

Peace (Aristophanes)

832–835 345

Phaedo (Plato)

67d 346 n. 84

77b 345 n. 81

107d–108c 345 n. 81

113a–114a 345 n. 81

109b–110a, 114bc 345–46

Republic (Plato)

10.614–621 345

Theogony (Hesiod)

116–124 342 n. 65, 347 n. 93

311–313 347 n. 92

361, 385–390 333 n. 6, 343 n. 67

453–819 340 n. 56

717–819 347 n. 93

736–745 345 n. 82

767–774 347 n. 92

807–814 345 n. 82

969–974 341 n. 57

Works and Days (Hesiod)

168–173 343 n. 71

Latin*Aeneid* (Virgil)

6.264–547 344, 347

6.298–304 347 n. 92

6.325–330 343 n. 68

6.347–371 343 n. 68

6.384–425 347 n. 92

6.548–581 347 n. 93

6.548–892 347

6.566 344 n. 76

6.700–701 341 n. 62

6.893–896 342–43 n. 67, 350 n. 109

Astronomica (Manilius)

753–804 349

De Chorographia (Pomponius Mela)

1.103 347 n. 90

Georgics (Virgil)

4.467–503 344 n. 73
4.493 347 n. 91

Metamorphoses (Ovid)

10.1–85 344 n. 73
14.101–153 347 n. 93
14.805–828 349
15.745–842 349

Pharsalia (Lucan)

6.333–830 348–49

Republic (Cicero)

6.9–26 349

Thebaid (Statius)

4.443–644 348–49
12.815–817 349 n. 102