

Charles University
Faculty of Arts
Czech Institute of Egyptology
Egyptology

Doctoral dissertation

Mgr. Marie Peterková Hloučová

Gods with solar aspects during the Old Kingdom

**Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg
in the light of various evidence**

Božstva se slunečnými aspekty ve Staré říši

**Atum, Šu, Cheprer, Nefertum a Veneg
ve světle různých pramenů**

Supervisor of dissertation: doc. Jiří Janák, Th.D.

Tutor: doc. PhDr. Hana Vymazalová, Ph.D.

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V Praze dne 23. prosince 2019.

.....

Marie Peterková Hlouchová

“And the sun toiled across the sky.

Many people have wondered why. Some people think a giant dung beetle pushes it. As explanations go it lacks a certain technical edge, and has the added drawback that, as certain circumstances may reveal, it is possibly correct.”

Terry Pratchett, *Pyramids*, London 1990, p. 9.

To my family

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Abstract

The thesis focuses on the group of deities with solar aspects in the period of the Old Kingdom (ca. 2592–2118⁺²⁵ BC). For this research, five gods were selected: Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg. They were either linked to the sun cycle and light (Atum and Kheprer, evening and morning sun respectively, Shu), or to some particular plants (Nefertum to water lily and Weneg to the so-called *wng*-plant). Some of the deities under survey also represented a part of the so-called Heliopolitan cosmogony and cosmology. A number of Old Kingdom sources (Pyramid Texts, tomb decoration and burial equipment with special focus on the funerary domains and offering formulae, royal names and epithets, personal names, royal annals and administrative sources, namely seals and sealings, papyri from Wadi el-Jarf, Gebelein and Abusir, and titles) are analysed, taking into consideration the attestations for the individual gods and the information concerning the links of the deities to the sun and their solar aspects. Likewise, the roles and functions of these divinities, and their relation to other divine beings are studied. Further research questions are in which social spheres these gods appeared and where they were venerated, if exclusively in Heliopolis and its vicinity, or if there were diverse sanctuaries devoted to them. Besides these analyses, three excursi were incorporated: one of them is devoted to one of the Pyramid Text spells, namely to the so-called the Cannibal Hymn where strong solar influences can be recognised; the second excursus investigates the possible identification of the so-called *wng*-plant; and the last one presents several thoughts on the phenomenon of the origins and roots of the ancient Egyptian solar notions.

Keywords

god; the sun; aspect; Atum; Shu; Kheprer; Nefertum; Weneg; Old Kingdom; Pyramid Texts; tomb decoration; personal names; administrative sources

Abstrakt

Disertační práce se zaměřuje na skupinu božstev se slunečními aspekty v období Staré říše (ca. 2592–2118⁺²⁵ př. n. l.). Pro účely této studie bylo zvoleno pět bohů: Atum, Šu, Cheprer, Nefertum a Veneg. Důvod, proč byla vybrána tato skupina božstev, spočívá v tom, že byli spojeni se slunečním cyklem a světlem (Atum s večerním a Cheprer s ranním sluncem, Šu), případně s květinami (Nefertum s leknínem a Veneg s tzv. rostlinou *wng*). Někteří z těchto bohů byli součástí tzv. héliopolské kosmogonie a kosmologie. V předkládané práci jsou analyzovány různé staroříšské prameny (Texty pyramid, výzdoba hrobek a pohřební výbava se zvláštním zřetelem na domény a obětní formule, dále panovnická jména a epiteta, vlastní jména, královské anály a administrativní dokumenty, konkrétně pečete a jejich otisky, papiry z Wádí el-Džarf, Gebélenu a Abúsíru, tituly). Pozornost je věnována tomu, v jakých dokumentech se uvedená božstva vyskytují. Na základě tohoto zkoumání jsou určeny jejich vazby ke slunci, sluneční aspekty, také role a funkce, ve kterých se vyskytují, a v neposlední řadě vztahy k ostatním bohům. Dalšími výzkumnými otázkami je, v kterých vrstvách staroegyptské společnosti se tato božstva objevují a na jakých místech byla uctívána, jestli se jednalo pouze o Héliopoli a její okolí nebo zda existovaly jiné svatyně, které by jim byly zasvěceny. Kromě těchto analýz obsahuje disertační práce tři exkurzy. První z nich se věnuje jednomu říkání Textů pyramid, tzv. Kanibalskému hymnu, kde lze vysledovat silný vliv slunečního náboženství. Další se zabývá možnou identifikací takzvané rostliny *wng*. Třetí text prezentuje několik myšlenek ohledně problematiky počátků staroegyptských náboženských představ spojených se sluncem.

Klíčová slova

bůh; slunce; aspekt; Atum; Šu; Cheprer; Nefertum; Veneg; Stará říše; Texty pyramid; výzdoba hrobek; vlastní jména; administrativní prameny

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1 Introduction

1.1 Sun worshipping in ancient Egypt

Sun worshipping in ancient Egypt is a huge topic still to be examined. Like in many cultures, even there the veneration of the sun became one of the most significant elements of its religion. It was present in many aspects of the then society, not only in its everyday life and afterlife conceptions.¹ As the ruler of the daily sky, the sun was salient in royal ideology,² and in the maintaining of the world order *mꜣ.t*.³ Besides a number of deities, many ritual objects, symbols, sacred plants and beasts were associated with the sun religion. For instance, the broad collar *wsḥ* may refer to the sunrise (Eaton 2013: 88, 147), and incense used during rituals may reflect the idea of constant burning, like the sun (Eaton 2013: 164). Solar notions were also present in ancient Egyptian magic where the word *phr*, “umhergehen, umwenden, zirkulieren” (Erman – Grapow 1971 I: 544.12–547.7), can refer to the journey of the sun. There is also an assumption that sometimes the final phases of the funerary ritual could have reflected the end of the solar journey (see Araújo Duarte 2014: 87).

The Egyptian religion and, naturally, the beliefs connected with the sun, was developing and changing through thousands of years. The main concepts, however, remained more or less unaltered. In the context of solar notions, several major changes can be observed, but the attention of Egyptological scholarship has mainly been focused on the ones occurring during the New Kingdom. The so-called new solar religion was formed at

¹ According to Jan Assmann (2011b) two main conceptions of visions of the afterlife can be observed in ancient Egypt. He defined them as “imitatio solis” and “imitatio Osiridis”. The first was connected to the sun and return to the womb of the mother (Nut), whereas the second referred to the god Osiris and paternal principle (Assmann 2011b: 230).

² Assmann distinguished two symbolic models of the Egyptian king: the incarnatory model (“inkarnatorische Modell”) in which the king was a manifestation of the falcon god Horus, and the constellation one (“konstelative Modell”) where the ruler as the son of the sun god Re acted in his respect (Assmann 1996: 212; Assmann 2002: 184).

³ For the concept *mꜣ.t*, consult, for instance, Assmann (1990b).

that time,⁴ and King Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten established the cult of the supreme sun god Aton as the official state religion.⁵

The earlier historical epochs are not excluded from the research about the sun notions. However, at least for the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, a comprehensive study is missing. It is the main solar god Re who has attracted major attention. Some scholars even consider Re's cult and the sun cult as identical (e.g. Voss 2010: 228). Admittedly, Re was one of the most important deities of the ancient Egyptian pantheon.⁶ He himself was the personification of the sun, especially in its midday phase, of its power and energy, but the sun notions of ancient Egypt were more complex. The sun cult is a summarising modern term unifying cults and ideas about various gods who either were directly connected with the sun (e.g. Re, Kheprer, Horus), or at least had a solar aspect (e.g. Shu, Weneg). In addition, in the ancient Egyptian religion more deities could have adopted solar aspects or could have fused in a syncretic way with one of the sun divinities (e.g. Sokar,⁷ Osiris,⁸ Montu,⁹ Amun,¹⁰ Sobek,¹¹ Khnum¹²). This phenomenon has been designated as the solar syncretism (e.g. B. Altenmüller 1975b). It was introduced in many sources including the Pyramid Texts. According to Brigitte Altenmüller (1975b: 7), the major feature of this syncretic union can

⁴ A brief summary of the new solar religion was offered by Jan Assmann and Erik Hornung (cf. Assmann 1984: 235–243; Assmann 1995: 9–10; Hornung 1999a: 19–20).

⁵ There is a considerable amount of theories which tried to explain the reform of King Akhenaten. The approaches were summarised by Hornung (1999a: 3–18). Several major studies, with other references, can be mentioned: Assmann (1984: 243–257); Hornung (1999a); Allen (1989b); also Quirke (2001: 143–170). Recently, Jiří Janák (2019) stressed the political aspects of the Akhenaten's act, observing the aim to centralise the power. He expressed his hesitation in designating the religion of Akhenaten as monotheistic (Janák 2009: 273–275; Janák 2011; Janák 2014: 476; Janák 2019). In this respect, it is noteworthy that it was already Aylward M. Blackman (1923) who tried to look for inspirations of the Akhetaten's reform in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

⁶ For Re, see, e.g., Anthes (1974 and 1984); Barta (1984); Müller (2001); Quirke (2001); Leitz (2002 IV: 612–642); Wilkinson (2003: 205–209); Janák (2005: 140–145); Kahl (2007).

⁷ For Sokar, see, for instance, Kindler (1970); Brovarski (1984b); Graindorge (2001); Winter (2001); Janák (2005: 159–161).

⁸ In the mind of Racheli Shalomi-Hen (2015: 465), Osiris did not have solar aspects in the period of the Old Kingdom. This statement was opposed by Bernard Mathieu (2010).

⁹ For Montu, see Werner (1985); Janák (2005: 119–120).

¹⁰ See, e.g., Assmann (1983); Janák (2005: 23–25).

¹¹ Consult, for instance, Brovarski (1984a); Janák (2005: 158–159); Kockelmann (2017: 186–195).

¹² For Khnum, see Otto (1975); Janák (2005: 92–95).

be distinguished in the application of the determinative of the sun: ☉ (N5)¹³ behind the gods' names. Some goddesses were also linked to the sun, or more precisely to its manifestations and activities (e.g. Hathor,¹⁴ Tefnut,¹⁵ Sakhmet¹⁶).

The variability of the roles, functions and epithets of these deities is wider, but the gods were often in a close relationship to the sun, to the creation of the world, and therefore to the resurrection, rebirth or renewal, or to the kingship. However, the sun notions in the characteristics of these divinities remain largely unexplored. This fact is the main reason for choosing this topic for the thesis.

1.2 Scope of the research

I became interested in solar religion already during the research conducted for my Master's thesis where the sun cult during the Old Kingdom, with the focus on the god Re, was studied (Hlouchová 2012b). What became apparent was that more deities with an association to the sun appeared already in the same period as Re, if not earlier, but their solar aspects had been overlooked by scholars.¹⁷

Therefore, the topic of this thesis is devoted to the gods with solar aspects in the period of the Old Kingdom (ca. 2592–2118⁺²⁵ BC; cf. Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490; see also Chapter 1.4), with the exception of Re, who has been studied more than the deities in the focus of the present thesis (e.g. Quirke 2001; Hlouchová 2012b).¹⁸ As far as the

¹³ The codes follow the Sign-list created by Sir Alan H. Gardiner (1927: 432–531).

¹⁴ Hathor bore a number of roles. Among others, she was connected to the god Re and likewise was one of the goddesses of the so-called Eye of Re (cf. for instance Allam 1963: 113–116, 120–121; B. Altenmüller 1975b: 9, 130–136; Janák 2005: 65–69).

¹⁵ Tefnut held an epithet as Daughter of Re (*z3.t R^c*) from the Middle Kingdom onwards, being thus related the main sun god, who himself became a creator god due to his merging with Atum. For her roles, see Verhoeven (1986); Assmann (1990b: 167–174), Bickel (1994a: 168–176); Bickel (1994b); B. Altenmüller (1975b: 231–232); Janák (2005: 174–175). For her links to the sun god Re in the Old Kingdom, consult also Peterková Hlouchová (2019).

¹⁶ For the roles of Sakhmet, see, e.g., Hoenes (1976); B. Altenmüller (1975b: 195–197); Janák (2005: 150–151); Yoyotte (2013).

¹⁷ In this respect, it is worth mentioning that according to some opinions the sun cult might have been established in Heliopolis even before the dynastic period (Watterson 2003: 25).

¹⁸ Re will be referred when necessary, e.g. for comparative purposes.

term “solar aspect” is concerned it refers to qualities, functions or situations connecting the divinities with the sun and/or with Re.¹⁹ These gods played a significant role in the notions of cosmic creation, regeneration and rebirth of the sun, and thus of the deceased. Motifs of *m3^c.t* and victory over chaos and death, the links to the royal ideology, eternal cycle, (mainly the eastern) horizon (*3h.t*),²⁰ references to light and shining in every variant (*wbn*, *h^cj*, *shd*, etc.) are likewise significant. Some of the deities can be possessors of a barque, and in many instances, they had the falcon appearance.

For this study, five deities with solar aspects were selected: the creator god Atum, the personification of light and air Shu, Kheprer connected to the morning sun and autogenesis, Nefertum, the youthful god, and Weneg linked to the resurrection of the sun and the king. Although the number of research objects might seem rather small, the reason for it lies in the fact that these five deities were linked to the sun cycle (Atum and Kheprer, evening and morning sun respectively) or to some particular plants (Nefertum to water lily and Weneg to the so-called *wng*-plant). Shu as the son of Atum closely belonged to him. Moreover, some of the gods under research represent a part of the Heliopolitan belief system. Even though the topic of the thesis deals with a celestial body, astronomical observations and their reflection in the religion are not included in this research.²¹

The aim of this thesis is to find answers to the following research questions:²²

1. In which way can the deities be connected to the sun in the Old Kingdom period? What were their solar aspects?
2. In which roles and functions did they appear?
3. Of which nature were relations to other gods?

¹⁹ James P. Allen did not distinguish between Re and the sun, and translated the name “Re” as “the Sun” (Allen 2015: 14–15, note 11). Although his opinion reflects the reality since the ancient Egyptian term *r^c* (𓇺) held the meaning “Sonne” (Erman – Grapow 1971 II: 401.5–401.10), the sun was still linked to other deities as well.

²⁰ For the *3h.t*, and mainly to the *3h*, the two phenomena closely interconnected, see Jansen-Winkel (1996). Consult also Janák (2009: 83–86) and Janák (2013).

²¹ For such an analysis, see, e.g., Wells (1991).

²² It has to be emphasised that during the preparation of this thesis some analyses were presented on various local or international conferences, and were published or are prepared to be published (Hlouchová 2013 and 2014; Peterková Hlouchová 2016a, 2016b, 2017, 2018 and 2019; Bělohoubková – Janák – Peterková Hlouchová 2019).

4. Are they attested in all spheres of the Old Kingdom society?
5. Where were these gods venerated? Was it only Heliopolis and its vicinity, or were there other sanctuaries devoted to them during the Old Kingdom?

1.3 Structure of the thesis

As far as the structure is concerned, the thesis has seven chapters that can be divided into two units: the first part (Chapters 1–4) contains a theoretical background as a basis for the analysis, synthesis and discussion, and conclusions which form the second part of the thesis (i.e. Chapters 5–7).

Chapter 1 (Introduction) brings a brief introduction into sun worshipping in ancient Egypt (Chapter 1.1). Objectives and scope of the research are defined in this chapter (Chapter 1.2), followed by the description of the structure of this dissertation (Chapter 1.3), and relevant notes on chronology and names (Chapters 1.4 and 1.5).

Given the general width of the topic addressed here, it is necessary to devote an individual chapter to previous research: Chapter 2 (State of research), taking into account the treatises on the sun religion in general (Chapter 2.1), and the studies on individual deities (2.2). This part offers a summary of the scholarly literature.

The methodology applied to the study on the gods with solar aspects is presented in Chapter 3 (Methodology), where the selected sources (Chapter 3.1) and the methods (Chapter 3.2) are described. In the effort to avoid inaccurate categories, the documents are listed without a further categorisation, beginning with the Pyramid Texts as the oldest corpus of religious texts attested in ancient Egypt (Chapter 3.1.1). Decoration of pyramid complexes and tombs and burial equipment, with a special focus on the names of funerary domains and offering formulae (Chapter 3.1.2), follows. Anthroponymy, the examination of royal names and epithets (Chapter 3.1.3)²³ and personal names (Chapter 3.1.4) is also addressed, as well as the records of the royal annals (Palermo Stone, the so-called South Saqqara List) (Chapter

²³ Naturally leaving aside the names with the element Re.

3.1.5). So are administrative documents (corpora of seals and sealings, papyri, titles and epithets) concerned (Chapter 3.1.6). The methodological approach itself is presented at the end of this part (Chapter 3.2). It has to be pointed out that closer attention is devoted to the Pyramid Texts since they bring more information about the gods than the other documents. Additionally, the research uses many sources that are not primarily evidencing the ancient Egyptian religion.²⁴ Even this non-religious material can, however, provide us with a wider context as well as with interesting details regarding a religious topic. From the methodological point of view, it is essential to evaluate the sources from different perspectives, albeit similar methods can be applied in more instances.

Chapter 4 (Characteristics of the deities) evaluates the roles of the gods which were gained throughout the whole ancient Egyptian history. Admittedly, this section has a character of encyclopaedic entries, because in the course of time, the majority of the gods possessed a large number of functions. Therefore, such an overview is helpful for comparisons of the general and the Old Kingdom characteristics. What regards the sequence of the deities in this thesis, first, the creator of the world and deities (according to the Heliopolitan cosmogony), Atum, is mentioned, followed by his offspring Shu. After, Kheperer as one of the deities of the three-partite sun daily circle is studied. Furthermore, the divinities Nefertum and Weneg are examined. The thesis thus proposes an insight into the cosmic and minor categories of the deities.²⁵

Chapter 5 (Analyses of preserved sources) is the main analytical part of the thesis. This section investigates the above-listed documents with the effort to detect the occurrences of the deities and other information concerning their qualities, if possible.

Chapter 6 (Synthesis of the evidence for individual gods) gathers the data for the gods under study, and explains in which functions and situations they appeared. It is also

²⁴ In a past few decades, scholars studying the ancient Egyptian religion has turned their attention to different, rather than textual sources. They have stressed the importance of e.g. personal names (Baines 1987), votive offerings (Pinch 1993) and other archaeological sources (Fitzenreiter 2011).

²⁵ For the distinction between a “major” and a “minor” deity, see, e.g., lately Turriziani (2014 and 2015), with further references. One of the minor gods (Khentytjenenet) was in the interest of Veronika Dulíková (2016b and 2016c: 161–172).

important to observe which motifs are common and which appear in the majority of cases. Beyond five individual chapters (6.1 Atum, 6.2 Shu, 6.3 Kheprer, 6.4 Nefertum, 6.5 Weneg) three excursi are included. The first one deals with the so-called Cannibal Hymn (PT 273–274) (see *Excursus I*), the second addresses the topic of the so-called *wng*-plant (see *Excursus II*), and at the end of this section, a case study investigates the possible roots and origin of the sun notions in ancient Egypt (see *Excursus III*). This placement might seem fairly illogical at first sight, but it has a good reason: since various deities with solar aspects are studied, these analyses might provide us with some extra insights in prehistory of solar veneration.

The last chapter, Chapter 7 (Conclusions) of the thesis offers a summary of the main conclusions and recommendations for future research.

1.4 Notes on chronology

The chronological framework of this study is the Old Kingdom period. The beginning and the end of this era are beyond the general consensus in Egyptology. The most widespread attitude has been that the Old Kingdom started in the Third Dynasty and declined at the end of the Sixth Dynasty. According to some earlier opinions, the Third Dynasty belonged to the Old Kingdom because the constructing of the first (Step) pyramid has been considered an important turning point (Málek 1986: 124; Kemp 2006: 14). However, new investigations of the Early Dynastic Period have shown that the Third Dynasty, especially the material culture, evinces more similarities with the previous two dynasties, rather than with the following era (e.g. Wilkinson 1999: 60–61, with further references). It is of course a matter of discussion and it can be compared only with comparable data.

The end of the Old Kingdom has not been a matter of general agreement, either. Traditionally, it has been believed that the decay of the era of the first peak of the Egyptian state came with the end of the Sixth Dynasty. Michel Baud (2006: 144–158), however, suggested that Manetho's Seventh and Eighth Dynasty, too, belonged to the Old Kingdom period.

Having the above-mentioned discussion in mind, the Old Kingdom in this text is understood traditionally as the period of the Third to the Sixth Dynasty (ca. 2592–2118⁺²⁵ BC; cf. Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490). It also has to be noted that the absolute dates might significantly differ in various publications. For instance, Miroslav Bárta (2015: 2) indicated ca. 2700–2200 BC for the Old Kingdom period. For the topic of the thesis, the precise time span is not that important and that is why it works only with approximate dates. Likewise, as necessary, older or earlier and later sources can be mentioned.

1.5 Notes on names

Versions of the divine names slightly differ in various publications. In the thesis, predominantly the Egyptian forms are preferred. However, sometimes also the Greek ones (e.g. Osiris, Isis) are used, following the general trend of the Egyptological studies in English. When a name begins with the vowel *w*, it is transcribed as “w”: for instance, Weneg rather than Uneg, similarly Wenis instead of Unas. Furthermore, a preference is given to the version Nefertum referring to his connection to the creator deity Atum (see below, Chapter 4.4). The choice of the appellation Kheprer instead of Kheper and Khepri is discussed in Chapter 4.3. As far as the names of the kings are concerned, in the majority of cases their forms follow the style of Leprohon (2013), with some alternations, as needed. Regarding the names of the Sixth Dynasty queens, the thesis follows the versions used by the *Mission archéologique franco-suisse de Saqqâra* (MafS), i.e. Ankhnespepy II and Wedjebten.²⁶

²⁶ Cf. <http://mafssaqqara.wixsite.com/mafS>, with further references. Accessed on 17th May 2019.

2 State of research

2.1 Treatises on the sun religion²⁷

In general, notions connected to the sun influenced many aspects of ancient Egyptian society. That is why some deities of this circuit are at the centre of attention of various Egyptological studies, while other gods are at the edge of scholarly research.

Naturally, it is encyclopaedic entries that provide us with first looks into the characteristics of the deities. For the deities covered in this thesis, they are listed below in individual chapters. Compendia of the ancient Egyptian religion also deal with these divinities (e.g. Kees 1941; Erman 1934; Bonnet 1952; Černý 1952; Morenz 1960; Frankfort 1975; Quirke 1992; Koch 1993; Janák 2005, 2009 and 2012). These are important studies about the ancient Egyptian religion, but they do not go much into details, touching the phenomenon of individual characteristics of the deities rather superficially and providing statements that are too general and ambiguous. Even the lists of the Egyptian deities may be succinct. The *Lexikon der Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (LGG), a German eight-volume publication edited by Christian Leitz (2002–2003), is salutary in the study of Egyptian deities. It collected a large number of various divine names and epithets. Likewise, it listed ancient Egyptian and modern sources where their various forms are attested. Bearing in mind the large extent of the volumes, the records are sometimes incomplete (see, e.g., below Chapter 2.2.5).

What might also be interesting is the publication of Richard H. Wilkinson (2003) who divided the deities according to their appearance. Such categories are problematic since many deities were depicted in a number of forms: for instance, Atum may bear the appearance of a man or a bent male figure with a falcon head. Another type of literature,

²⁷ It is beyond one's skills to collect all studies touching the topic of the solar religion. Even in this overview, only a selection of the secondary sources is presented, focusing on treatises that fundamentally influence our knowledge and perception of the topic.

works that concern slightly different topics, can discuss some religious notions, too (e.g. Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 80–103; Barta 1968: passim).

Studies dealing with the sun religion and similar topics in later periods of ancient Egyptian history have to be mentioned as well. They can provide external stimuli for analysing the Old Kingdom notions. One for all, the work of Jan Assmann can be referred here. He collected the texts where the king appeared in the sun-priest role (“Sonnenpriester”) (Assmann 1970), and he was concerned with topics of the solar religion of the New Kingdom (Assmann 1983 and 1995).

The publication of Stephen Quirke (2001), *The Cult of Ra. Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt*, may serve as an introduction into the sun-religion studies. As is clear from the title, Quirke focused on the major sun god Re, investigating kingship, mythology, time measurement, the main centre of the sun cult in Heliopolis (*Jwn.w*) and some architectonic elements (pyramids and obelisks) in a link to Re. An evaluation of Akhenaten’s reform was incorporated as well. Even though the topics in Quirke’s book are fairly selective, it provides us with significant, albeit incomplete insights into the solar religion, including the Old Kingdom.

Various cosmogonies were connected with the sun notions, and they also attract attention of Egyptologists. James P. Allen (1988) collected 16 ancient Egyptian texts, and he analysed the cosmogony and cosmology in its Heliopolitan version, mainly on the basis of the depiction of Nut, Geb and Shu in the Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos, and of some Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts spells.²⁸ He observed the importance of the sun and sun deities (Atum, Re, Khepre(r), Aton, Horus) in these conceptions. Also Susanne Bickel (1994a) was interested in the cosmogonies. On the contrary, Winfried Barta (1973) focused on the Ennead group.

Older and formative phases have not been explored in details but, admittedly, some scholars devoted their research to the beginnings of the solar notions (Schott 1945: 16–17; Saied 2005; Kahl 2007; Bárta 2009a a 2010b; see also below, *Excursus III*). Regarding the Old

²⁸ For the translations of the Pyramid Texts, see below (Chapter 3.1.1). The translation of the Coffin Texts consult e.g. in Faulkner (1973, 1977 and 1978).

Kingdom religion, Sigfried Schott (1945: 10–20) was engaged with the topic of the sun cult in his publication on the Egyptian myths. He focused his attention mainly on Re, but also on the syncretic deity Re-Atum. There is a treatise dealing with the Third Millennium BC pantheon, published by Rudolf Anthes (1959) where he summarised most of the information about the nature of the beliefs of that period. His work can be deemed as a sole compendium of the Old Kingdom religion. A thought-provoking study about the relationship of the sun cult and the stellar cult was published by Roberto Murgano (2006) who demonstrated, using the term “duble cult”, that it was not inimical, but dependent. His observations might sometimes be succinct but it seems that they reflect the reality. Likewise, the synthesis of Mark Smith (2017) has to be mentioned. He prepared a comprehensive study on the god Osiris, taken into account sources from the Predynastic Period up to the final phase of the Osiris’s veneration as the god of deceased. Even though the topic does not primarily address the gods with solar aspects, the publication offers useful methodological approaches for studying other deities. Smith questioned some major issues, especially the origins of the Osiris’s cult.

Beliefs connected to the sun during the Old Kingdom period have primarily been studied focusing on the Re’s cult and the so-called sun temples. A summarising study on the Re’s cult of the Old Kingdom was prepared by Michael Haase (1999). He focused on the cult of Re mainly in the royal sphere. Some topics touching the phenomenon of solar notions were lately discussed by Miroslav Verner (2014) who analysed the Fifth Dynasty in a broader context. Massimiliano Nuzzolo and Jaromír Krejčí (2017) were engaged in the research of the sun cult of the Third Millennium BC, linking the topic with Heliopolis. Religious significance of the sun temples, and titles connected with them have been studied fairly intensively in a past few decades (Kaiser 1956; Verner 2003 and 2005; Voss 2004; Krejčí – Magdolen 2006; Nuzzolo 2007a, 2007b, 2010b, 2015a, 2015b and 2018b; Janák – Vymazalová – Coppens 2011). Likewise, the solar symbolism of the pyramid complexes has been broadly discussed among scholars, observing e.g. their east-west orientation (Verner *et al.* 2006: 172–184; Nuzzolo 2007a).

When studying the religion of the Old Kingdom, the Pyramid Texts represent the principal source. Besides other conceptions, the sun notions have been analysed in relation to a number of topics, such as, for instance, the Cannibal Hymn (PT 273–274; see below, *Excursus I*),²⁹ crowns and their symbolism (Goebis 2008), a relationship between Re and the king (Hlouchová 2012a), or of Shu, Tefnut and Re (Peterková Hlouchová 2019). Possible pseudonyms of Re has likewise been investigated (Amer 2014). It was Anthes (1955) who was concerned with the topics of the origins of the god Nefertum, his relationship to Atum (Anthes 1957a), and of Re and Harakhty in the Pyramid Texts (Anthes 1974). In the connection with Atum, it is noteworthy that Anthes was interested in mythologies (Anthes 1965) and in the relationship between this god and the king in the Pyramid Texts (Anthes 1983).

Some scholars focused on other sources, different from the Pyramid Texts. For instance, Barbara L. Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981) selected several major gods and goddesses of the period from the end of the Fourth and from the Fifth Dynasty and tried to find attestations for them in titles, personal names, names of royal domains and offering formulae. She wished to reconstruct the then pantheon, and, thus, to fill in the gap in the investigation of the Old Kingdom religion. As for the divinities under study, she did not incorporate them into her research. However, other solar deities were examined: Horus, Re and Sokar. Albeit significant, her work was published in the 1980s and from that time on has extensive field research been conducted, bringing new evidence. As a result, the study needs to be updated.

During the study of the scholarly literature (see above and below), it became obvious that there is a need to provide more precise and re-evaluated data for all the deities under survey.

²⁹ Studies devoted to the Cannibal Hymn are presented in *Excursus I*.

2.2 Studies on individual gods

In general, there are not many specialised studies on the deities under survey, either in the Old Kingdom, or in later periods. Needless to say that if there are some, they are mainly obsolete or they investigate different aspects of the gods, sometimes overlooking the solar ones. Rarely the divinities were the solely object of treatises in Egyptological scholarship. Therefore, there is a need to further elaborate on these studies.

2.2.1 Atum

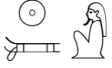
Atum,³⁰ as one of the creator gods, has attracted significant attention, being studied from various perspectives. According to Kurt Sethe (1930: 94–96, 114), Atum was a local god, installed as a theological speculation encompassing abstract ideas. This local divinity merged with Re who personified the sun. Sethe (1928) was also interested in ichneumon, one of the sacred animals of Atum. Other aspects of this deity were examined as well, for instance, by Emma Brunner-Traut (1956) who focused on the representations of Atum as a bowman.

Anthes (1957a) concentrated on the topic of Atum in connection to the god Nefertum (see below, Chapter 2.2.4). He discussed the name of both deities and was also concerned with the Heliopolitan cosmogony.³¹ In his opinion, the Atum's name bore fairly complicated meaning: “der welcher eine Gesamtheit ist”, “der welcher vollzählig ist an denen, die als Einzelwesen vergangen sind und sich ihm eingeordnet haben”, or also “der Vollendete”, “der Erfüllte” (Anthes 1957a: 2). Anthes (1955: 86) firstly rejected Sethe's theory about the origin of Atum, but later he revised his opinion and agreed with Sethe (Anthes 1957a: 2). The phenomenon of the epithet “lord of all” was in his interest, too (Anthes 1957b). Furthermore, it is the topic of the king appearing as Atum in the Pyramid Texts,

³⁰ For Atum, see entries in compendia and lexica: Kees (1941: 214–219); Kákósy (1975); Myśliwiec (2001); Leitz (2002 VII: 411–422); Wilkinson (2003: 98–101); Janák (2005: 35–37).

³¹ For more details about the name of Atum, see below, Chapter 4.1.

based on a translation and interpretation of spell PT 215, that was touched upon by him (Anthes 1983).

The roles of Atum in which he appeared in the Coffin Texts were analysed by Brigitte Altenmüller (1975b: 25–32). She summarised main topics and listed the gods with whom Atum was related, touching upon the phenomenon of the so-called solar syncretism. She was convinced that the reading of the sign group  (N5 + U15 + A40) should be comprehended as Re-Atum (see also below). In this respect, it was demonstrated that Re was a manifestation of the creator (B. Altenmüller 1975b: 25). This phenomenon of the so-called solar syncretism was briefly studied by Wolfhart Westendorf (1983). He emphasised the fact that the sledge-sign in the name of Atum did not only bear the phonetic value, *tm*, but also represented one of the means of transport of the sun god. Therefore, he preferred to read the name of Atum when appearing with the sign *r*^c (N5) only as Atum, not Re-Atum. It would signify that Atum's solar attribute did not come from his link to Re. His conclusion was challenged and discussed by Barta (1983) who observed the syncretic relationship and was of the opinion that Atum adopted his solar role on the basis of his connection to Re. He also added that these two deities could have merged in later times.

In the 1970s a paramount treatise was published by Karol Myśliwiec (1978 and 1979b), focusing on the meaning and different types of Atum's name, and furthermore on his epithets, sacred animals, and iconography. Myśliwiec's interest in this deity was fairly long-term, since he prepared a number of other articles dedicated to various aspects of Atum. For instance, he compared the roles of Atum and Osiris, trying to identify the differences and similarities in their characteristics (Myśliwiec 1979a). He was also concerned with the roles played by Atum in the so-called *jšd*-tree scenes (Myśliwiec 1980), or in a distinguishing between an eel and a snake, i.e. depictions of Atum or the goddess Meretseger (Myśliwiec 1981). He later analysed possible similarities in the characteristics of Atum and Re-Harakhty from the Old Kingdom until the Ptolemaic Period,³² observing that both deities symbolised

³² For Harakhty, see Assmann (1977). For Re-Harakhty, cf. Berteaux (2005).

two contrasts, two different phases of the sun coarse (Myśliwiec 1983: 297), which is attested in texts and in iconography. Importantly, he was convinced that the depiction of Re-Harakhty in the mortuary temple of King Pepy II at South Saqqara was accompanied by a figure of Atum in his male form with the Double Crown (Myśliwiec 1983: 298). It has to be admitted that even though his studies touched upon many phenomena connected with the god Atum, he focused mainly on younger periods.

In this context, a thought-provoking assumption was published by Mark E. Lehner (1991: 91–99) who presented a theory about the Sphinx at Giza as representing the god Atum in his chthonic aspect. He also emphasised the fact that the lion should be the first creature emerging from the primeval mound³³ and, as was observed by Karol Myśliwiec (1978: 12), Atum can appear in a form of a sphinx which seems to be first attested in the time of King Sety I at Abydos (Myśliwiec 1978: 12).

With her research of the god Atum, Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska (1999, 2001 and 2013) has continued the work of her tutor Myśliwiec. She has been investigating the nature of the relationship between Atum and the king in the Pyramid Texts. Her conclusion about the identity of Atum and the king is stimulating. She observed this in the fact that Atum was not depicted in relief scenes and statues (Popielska-Grzybowska 2001: 123), thus elaborating on the opinion of Myśliwiec (1979b: 208–236) that the king and the deity were depicted as one entity in this type of the material. Popielska-Grzybowska also focused on Atum's relationship to other gods, on a summary of main roles of Atum in the Pyramid Texts, and on writing of his name in this corpus observing that the Atum's name was recorded in a similar way in all pyramids. She detected only five spells where Atum appeared in his solar aspect: PT 222, PT 362, PT 480, PT 587, and PT 606 (Popielska-Grzybowska 2001: 116).³⁴ Recently, she analysed the relationship of Atum and the figures designated as his son (Popielska-Grzybowska 2013).

³³ To the connection between Atum and the lion, see also Wit (1995: 195–198).

³⁴ However, in the case of PT 606 the Atum's solar aspect is uncertain in her opinion (Popielska-Grzybowska 2001: 116).

Significant are also the studies on the Egyptian cosmogonies where Atum had the pre-eminent role (e.g. Barta 1973: 78–85; Allen 1988; Bickel 1994a: 33–55). As the creator who produced the first divine pair, a male and a female deity, was studied by Jan Zandee (1992). He likewise stressed the fact that not only Shu and Tefnut, but also gods in general were born by him which underlined the Atum's uniqueness. In the article, he also expressed the idea of the androgynous deity, unifying the male and female principle, reflected in the name Atum (Zandee 1992: 181–182).

The topic of the Atum's Old Kingdom characteristics was studied in an article prepared by the present author where Atum's origin, an overview of the mentions in the Pyramid Texts and other Old Kingdom documents were discussed (Hloučová 2014). However, this text has to be elaborated in more detail.

2.2.2 Shu

Shu,³⁵ Atum's offspring, has been studied mainly in connection to the Heliopolitan theogony (Barta 1973: 85–89; Bickel 1994a: 129–136; Köthen-Welpot 2003: 64, 138, 174, 259, 266, 277; cf. also Allen 1988: *passim*) or other topics (Wit 1995: 107–122). Interestingly, according to Barta (1973: 85), Shu was just an abstract deity of the Egyptian priests. As aforementioned, the same suggestion was expressed regarding to Atum (Sethe 1930: 94–96, 114; Anthes 1957a: 2; see also above, Chapter 2.2.1). Barta (1973: 88–89) touched upon the topic of Shu's roles in the Pyramid Texts. This topic was also in the interest of Philippe Derchain (1975: 112–113) who expressed his objections to the generally accepted meaning of the name Shu, preferring the translation “the raised one” (“Celui qui se dresse”) (Derchain 1975: 113–114). He contradicted the possibility that the Egyptians of the Fourth Millennium BC used such an abstract name to describe a deity (Derchain 1975: 111; see also below, Chapter 4.2).

Shu's connection not only to the creator god Atum, but also to his twin-sister Tefnut, and to the double lion Ruty was analysed by Zandee (1992: 169–173). It was Adriaan de Buck

³⁵ For Shu, see also entries in compendia and lexica: Velde (1984a); Houser-Wegner (2001b); Leitz (2002 VII: 34–39, 405–410); Wilkinson (2003: 129–130); Janák (2005: 171–172).

(1947a) who prepared a concise treatise on this deity, analysing the significance of Shu in the ancient Egyptian belief system. Shu in his lion appearance was in the interest of Constant de Wit (1995: 198–212, 324–332). Moreover, the nature of the relationship of Shu, Tefnut and Re, the major solar god, in the Pyramid Text was studied by the present author (Peterková Hlouchová 2019). What also attracts attention is a group of spells called the “Book of Shu”, attested in the Coffin Texts. Here a close Shu’s link to maintenance or renewal of life is demonstrated (cf. Chapter 4.2).

2.2.3 Kheprer

The history of the research on the god Kheprer³⁶ was summarised by Martina Minas-Nerpel (2006: 1–4)³⁷ in her comprehensive study of this divinity. It can be mentioned here that until her treatise, this god was examined predominantly in relation to the sun coarse (for instance, Assmann 1983; Myśliwiec 1979b: 175; Wiebach-Koepke 2003: passim; Wiebach-Koepke 2007). An opinion of Gustave Jéquier (1946: 107) is worth mentioning. He was convinced that Kheprer was only an epithet of the god Re, excluding thus Kheprer’s divine existence. This hypothesis, however, has nowadays been reconsidered.

The treatise of Minas-Nerpel (2006) represents a significant contribution to the god Kheprer, searching for his attestations in textual sources from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period, and in the material culture and iconography from the Middle Kingdom. For the chronological delimitation of the present thesis it is important to mention that she assembled the mentions in the Pyramid Texts (Minas-Nerpel 2006: 10–66). Even though her work is of cardinal importance, the Old Kingdom material has to be slightly updated to reflect the newest findings.

³⁶ For Kheprer, see Assmann (1975); Leitz (2002 V: 686–721); Wilkinson (2003: 230–233); Janák (2005: 91–92).

³⁷ Minas-Nerpel (2006) used the form Khepri.

2.2.4 Nefertum

A comprehensive treatise on the god Nefertum is missing.³⁸ Scholars are often interested in the connection between this deity and the water-lily flower, also observing his creative nature (Neville 1927; Morenz – Schubert 1954; Schlögl 1977: 30–33). It is noteworthy that in later periods, statuettes of Nefertum were produced and these have been analysed by various authors (e.g. George 1983; Vleeming 1999; Grzymski 1994).

As for Nefertum in the Old Kingdom, Anthes (1955) analysed two Pyramid Text spells (PT 249 and 307), and a mention in the Memphite theology (Anthes 1955: 83), being engaged with the origins of the deity and the meaning of his name, connecting it with the god Atum or with the king as his anew manifestation (Anthes 1955: 86–87). However, later he reassessed this opinion which was caused mainly by critique remarks of Fritz Hintze and Elmar Edel, as Anthes himself stated (Anthes 1957a: 1). Thus, Anthes translated Nefertum's name as “die Gesamtheit ist neu erscheinen” or “der neu Erschienene ist vollständig” (Anthes 1957a: 1). Besides the theonym, Anthes was interested in the topic of the Heliopolitan cosmogony, and he identified two primeval pairs: Atum with the king, and Re with Nefertum (Anthes 1957a: 4). He also presented the idea that the relationship between Re and Nefertum can be observed in the festival *hnt R^c* attested in the sun temple of Nyuserre at Abu Ghurab (Anthes 1955: 85).³⁹

Nefertum's name drew attention of other scholars, being interpreted as a compound word of *nfr*, “gut, schön, vollkommen sein, schön machen” (Erman – Grapow 1971 II: 253.1–256.15, 257.7; Hannig 2003: 624), and *tm*, “vollständig sein; aufhören, zu Ende sein, nicht sein; All, Alles, Universum” (Erman – Grapow 1971 V: 302.5–305.6; Hannig 2003: 1430–1431). Sometimes it is associated with the god Atum (creator): “Atum is good” (Houser-Wegner 2001a: 514),⁴⁰ at times with the abstract meaning of the word *tm*: “Der völlig Schöne”

³⁸ For Nefertum, see also entries in compendia and lexica: Schlögl (1982); Houser-Wegner (2001a); Leitz (2002 IV: 221–223); Wilkinson (2003: 133–135); Janák (2005: 123–124).

³⁹ To this topic, cf. below (Chapter 6.4).

⁴⁰ However, Jennifer Houser-Wegner (2001a: 513), presented an incorrect name of the god, perhaps by mistake. She translated the name as “Amun^{sic} is good”.

(Morenz – Schubert 1954: 15), “he who has newly appeared is perfect” (Houser-Wegner 2001a: 514), “totalement parfait” (Carrier 2009 I: 173).

Working on the presumption that Nefertum was considered a god of perfumes, Hermann Kees (1941: 288) understood his characteristics as a deity of court perfumes.

Peter Munro (1968) studied the lotus (resp. water lily)⁴¹ emblem of Nefertum, accepting the opinion of Anthes about the first testimony for the relation of Nefertum and Re, being represented in the list of festivals from the sun temple of King Nyuserre at Abu Ghurab (Munro 1968: 38). Furthermore, Munro observed the importance of the emblem during the Sokar feast (*hb Skr*),⁴² based especially on the New Kingdom sources (Munro 1968: 34), and in the coronation ritual (Munro 1968: 39). Nefertum in the Old Kingdom sources was the topic of an article by the present author (Hlouchová 2013), but this work needs to be slightly elaborated.

2.2.5 Weneg

Similarly to the previously mentioned deities, even the minor god Weneg has not been discussed by many scholars.⁴³ There are some short studies, but they are not very precise and a comprehensive treatise is still missing. It was Kees (1941: 226–227, footnote 6, 252) who examined Weneg. In his mind, this deity was the son of Re, that is Shu, who supported the sky, led the earth and judged the gods. Kees believed that Weneg was originally connected with the flower of the same name and only afterwards became another designation of Shu, the god of the air and light who supported the sky (Kees 1941: 252, footnote 1). His opinion was adopted by Dieter Kurth (1986: 847) and by Bernhard Grdseloff (1944: 289) who added another seeming piece of evidence (see Chapter 3.1.2). What is interesting in this context is the fact that Samuel A. B. Mercer (1952 II: 485) believed that the deified plant or flower fused

⁴¹ For the flower species, see below (Chapter 4.4).

⁴² For the festival of Sokar, see Wohlgemuth (1957); Bleeker (1967: 51–90); Gaballa –Kitchen (1969); Verner (2013a and 2014: 145–147).

⁴³ For Weneg, see appropriate entries in Kees (1941: 226–227, footnote 6, 252); Bonnet (1952: 841); Kurth (1986); Leitz (2002 II: 418); Wilkinson (2003: 131); Janák (2005: 190–191).

with Shu and later with Osiris, albeit he provided no sources for his claims. On the contrary, Hans Bonnet (1952: 841) perceived Weneg in a slightly different way. He thought that the god was not identified with Shu, but took over one of his functions and became the supporter of heaven. According to Richard H. Wilkinson (2003: 131), Weneg was a little known deity, attested only in the Pyramid Texts, as the son of Re and as the one who was connected with the world order *m3^c.t*.⁴⁴ Wilkinson observed strong parallel with the goddess Maat. Weneg was classified by him among the male anthropomorphic deities (Wilkinson 2003: 92 and 131). This statement might be problematic, though. Weneg is attested only in written sources, thus his iconography is unknown, and Wilkinson did not present any piece of evidence proving his statement. He presumably built upon the iconography of Heh. Weneg was also briefly mentioned by Jochem Kahl (2007: 13–15) in his publication on the existence of the sun god Re in the Early Dynastic Period.

The close relationship between Weneg and his plant was observed by the majority of the researchers focusing on this deity (e.g. Kees 1941: 226–227, Sethe 1935–1962 VI: 112; Mercer 1952 I: 123, 171; Zibelius 1977: 659–660; Leitz 2002 II: 418). Although many understood the significance of the so called *wng*-plant, in a number of studies some inconsistencies can be recognised (see below, *Excursus II*). The author of this thesis has been concerned with Weneg for a longer period of time, having published two studies on this topic, focusing on Weneg and his plant (Hlouchová 2013; Peterková Hlouchová 2018) and on his relationship to the goddess Wenegit, attested in some of the Middle Kingdom sources (Peterková Hlouchová 2016b) (see also below, Chapter 5.1.5 and 6.5).

⁴⁴ In the LGG one single attestation for Weneg was mentioned (Pyr. 952c) (cf. Leitz 2002 II: 418).

3 Methodology

3.1 Sources

The source base for studying the topic of this thesis is rather wide, as the attestations for the gods appear in various types of evidence. Given the fact that the dissertation deals with Old Kingdom solar conceptions, it is reasonable to begin with the analysis of the Pyramid Texts, the oldest preserved corpus of religious compositions from ancient Egypt. In comparison to the other documents, these texts attract more attention. Moreover, it is tomb decoration and equipment, names of funerary domains and offering formulae that provide us with some thought-provoking notions. Additionally, other sources, not primarily of religious nature (royal and non-royal names and epithets, royal annals and administrative material: seal and sealings, papyri, titles), may reveal interesting information about the belief system of that period. Since the majority of the attestations can be found in the Pyramid Texts, this corpus is covered in more detail compared to the other sources.

There were some attempts to categorise the Egyptian documents. It was, for instance, Sigfried Morenz (1960: 1) who distinguished between direct (textual and archaeological) and indirect evidence.⁴⁵ Claude Traunecker (2001: 1–2) divided the sources as profane and religious. It is challenging to divide the Egyptian sources used in this thesis into modern categories (archaeological, epigraphic, written sources, etc.) since they often overlap. Likewise, sometimes it is not without difficulties to distinguish between material from mortuary and non-mortuary contexts. For instance, the so-called Giza writing board was found in a shaft but it has been supposed that it is a school exercise (Turriziani 2018), having thus its purpose in the earthly life. For this reason, the above-mentioned categorisation might seem to be auxiliary and rather superficial. Admittedly, some pieces of evidence do not have primarily religious meaning: their practical, rather than religious, usage was more important. However, the religious element was present in every daily action of ancient

⁴⁵ For more information on the indirect sources, consult Morenz (1960: 2–3).

Egyptians (e.g. Janák 2009: 13), and as a result of that, every document might be considered religious, in a certain way. Therefore, the sources are not further divided in this manner in the thesis. They will be listed according to their types:

- a) religious texts, representing a compact corpus;
- b) decoration which can be found in tombs, and equipment of burials (with special attention to the names of funerary domains and offering formulae);
- c) anthroponymy (royal and non-royal names, or epithets);
- d) royal annals, recording significant acts of profane and religious character;
- e) sources connected to the administrative practice.

3.1.1 Pyramid Texts

By their nature, the Pyramid Texts are the primary documents not only for studying the Old Kingdom royal claims for the existence after death, and ideology of the kingship, but also for understanding Old Kingdom religious thinking and practice.⁴⁶ Albeit they are the oldest preserved religious texts,⁴⁷ they appeared relatively late in the Old Kingdom, at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.⁴⁸ For the first time, they were carved on the walls of the inner chambers in the pyramid of King Wenis (2321–2306⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491), the last ruler of the dynasty. In his sepulchre, the texts decorated the burial chamber, the antechamber, and partially the descending/ascending corridor.⁴⁹ The only room that was

⁴⁶ Generally to the Pyramid Texts, see Altenmüller (1984).

⁴⁷ According to Allen (2017b), the Pyramid Texts also represent the first examples of ancient Egyptian literature.

⁴⁸ Harold M. Hays (2012: 1, footnote 3) noted that some religious texts might be older than the Pyramid Texts but they are not textual collections. In his opinion, an earlier religious composition is represented by the blocks of Netjerikhet's shrine from Heliopolis (Kahl – Kloth – Zimmermann 1995: 116 [Ne/He/4]), beginning with the *ḏd mdw* formula. He also mentioned a papyrus from the Ramesseum temple (P. Ramesseum E; see Gardiner 1955: 17), dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty, even though in the mind of Jaroslav Černý, the funerary ritual it recorded may have originated as early as the Third Dynasty (Hays 2012: 1, footnote 3). However, a *ḏd mdw* formula also appeared in the decoration of pyramid temples in connection with bringing the offerings (cf., for instance, Sahure: El Awady 2009: Pls. 13 and 14). For the phenomenon of the origin of the Pyramid Texts, see below.

⁴⁹ There is a preference to call this room as a descending corridor (e.g. Edwards 1961; Stadelmann 1991; Lehner 1997; Verner 2002 and 2008; Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001: 188). However, Allen (1994 and 2015: 9–13) preferred

void any inscription was the so-called serdab. Almost all kings of the following Sixth Dynasty (ca. 2305–2218⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491): Teti, Pepy I, Merenre (I), Pepy II,⁵⁰ and also one of the kings in the Eighth Dynasty (ca. 2150–2118⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491), Ibi (Jéquier 1935: 4–20 and pls. III–XVI; Theis 2010: 327–329; Allen 2015: 1), included the texts into their pyramids, expanding in the extent of the carved surfaces. The corpus of King Pepy I is the most extensive one (Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001; Mathieu 2018).

Additionally, the Pyramid Texts were found in the pyramid interiors of some spouses of Kings Pepy I and Pepy II.⁵¹ Given her status of the king's mother, Queen Ankhnespepy II had the Pyramid Texts in her monument which is located to the south-west of the one of Pepy I (Leclant – Labrousse 2001; Mathieu – Bène – Spahr 2005).⁵² The corpus of Behenu, the wife of Pepy I, represents another example of queen's Pyramid Texts (Berger-el Naggar – Fraisse 2008: 5–7; Berger-el Naggar – Fraisse 2015 and 2016). In the tomb of Queen Meretites II, which is located to the south-west of the pyramid of King Pepy I, a vault with a painted hieroglyphic inscription was found (Labrousse 2012: 305). Similarly, an inscribed vault was discovered inside the pyramid of Queen Ankhnespepy III, located to the north of the tomb of Ankhnespepy II (Labrousse 2012: 304). Furthermore, in the burial chamber of Meretites II, were 13 wooden planks with inscriptions (spells from the Pyramid Texts) found (Labrousse 2012: 306). According to Audran Labrousse (2012: 306), the fragments came from a casket rather than a coffin or a canopic box, which indicated that the texts could have been applied on (portable) pieces of the burial equipment. This find is particularly interesting since it demonstrated that the textual corpus could have been applied on a different kind of writing material, revealing thus new information on the extent of its usage. Moreover, it has

the designation “ascending”, reflecting the direction in which the soul of the deceased ascended to the heaven, to the circumpolar stars. It seems to be a reasonable suggestion since the texts tend to be oriented to the north. However, the present thesis will follow the first designation.

⁵⁰ Leaving aside the problematic of Kings Weserkare and Merenre II now (cf. Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491; Leprohon 2013: 42).

⁵¹ For a chronological development of queens' pyramids (and also the Pyramid Texts) in the Sixth Dynasty, see Labrousse (2005: 204–205) and Berger-el Naggar – Fraisse (2016: 189). For the list of the Old Kingdom monuments with the Pyramid Texts in various pyramids, see Allen (2015: 1).

⁵² For a plan of the Pepy I necropolis, see, for instance, Labrousse (2012: 301).

to be pointed out that the royal sepulchres were looted and destroyed by robbers in the past and there are not many examples of royal burial equipment available for research. Therefore, it is impossible to determine whether even the kings were endowed with some pieces of burial equipment which might have been inscribed with the Pyramid Texts.

The pyramids of three spouses of King Pepy II: Neith (Jéquier 1933: 14–28), Iput II (Jéquier 1933: 47–48) and Wedjebten (Jéquier 1928: 5–8) also contained the Pyramid Texts. The corpora of Iput II and Wedjebten are fragmentary (see also Allen 1986), but Neith’s texts represent a comparatively extensive corpus.

In the tomb of an Eighth Dynasty king, Ibi, the Pyramid Texts were also uncovered (Jéquier 1935: 4–20, pls. III–XVI). His pyramid was found damaged at South Saqqara, which also reflected the state of the preserved spells. In the past few decades, new inscribed fragments have been uncovered and analysed by the MafS (Alvarez 2016).

Furthermore, examples of Pyramid Text spells in non-royal contexts, dated to the end of the Old Kingdom or to the beginning of the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2118–1980⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491), can be found on other provincial sites (for instance, Dendera, Mendes) and at the Memphite necropolis (South Saqqara) (see Morales 2013: 136–705; Smith 2017: 173–174, with further references). However, the dating of these finds is ambiguous.

The application of the Pyramid Texts in the mortuary contexts did not end with the Eighth Dynasty but it continued in later periods.⁵³ After the Old Kingdom were the Pyramid Texts used alongside the Coffin Texts, another textual corpus for reaching the afterlife.⁵⁴ The former can be found, for instance, in a mastaba at Lisht, belonging to the high priest of Ptah at Memphis and overseer of works, Senwosretankh (Hayes 1937; see also Allen 1994), and is

⁵³ For the textual transmission, see, e.g., Allen (2006b); Hussein (2011, 2013 and 2017); Morales (2013, 2017a and 2017b).

⁵⁴ Sometimes the texts are called mortuary or funerary. The distinction was made by Jan Assmann (1990a), who divided them into two groups: “mortuary liturgies” and “funerary literature”. However, this attitude was criticised by Smith (2009b: 209–211) who preferred to use the term “texts for the afterlife”. Lately, the terminology was addressed by Susanne Bickel and Lucía Díaz-Iglesias (2017: XIII–XV, with further references). However, in the present author’s opinion it is the Smith’s designation that reflects the reality, and that is why the present thesis follows this conception.

dated to the reign of Senwosret I (1920–1875⁺⁶ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491) and Amenemhat II (1878–1843⁺³ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491). The texts for reaching the afterlife were applied on new media (stelae, papyri, coffins, etc.). For instance, a stand for a libation basin (T 1892) bearing a copy of spell PT 32 was found in a shaft belonging to a person called Imy, in the mortuary temple of King Pepy I at South Saqqara (Leclant 1990). According to Antonio J. Morales (2013: xxvii), the stand belonged to Pepy I himself. However, the precise dating was not established by Jean Leclant (1990) who discovered the object. Even though he observed that the same spell was carved likewise inside the pyramid, on the northern wall of the burial chamber, the palaeography is similar to the texts of Senwosretankh and the Coffin Texts (Leclant 1990: 654–655). Thus, the Middle Kingdom origin of the piece has to be taken into consideration. Also a papyrus (T 2147) with spells PT 217 and PT 690, dated to the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1980⁺¹⁶–1760 BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491), was uncovered in the pyramid complex of the same ruler (Berger-el Naggat 2004).

Additionally, some Pyramid Text spells were incorporated into the Coffin Texts (cf. Allen 2006b), and also New Kingdom compositions (see Allen 2015: 1–2). Their transmissions into large shaft tombs of the Saite-Persian era are also notable.⁵⁵ The occurrences of the Pyramid Texts in the Late Period were listed by Massimo Patanè (1992) and the corpus was used until Roman Period (Coenen 2001: 71).

The Pyramid Texts' heterogeneous nature leads to the question of their origin. On the basis of linguistic and religious analyses, some scholars declared that at least a few spells were created as early as the Predynastic Period (ca. 4500–3150 BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490) noticing very ancient notions and archaic language (for instance, Sethe 1930: 87; Allen 1916: 10). Allen (2015: 4) observed that the majority of the spells is older than Old Kingdom, reflecting earlier burial practices. In his mind these utterances must have been used before they were written down in the form of the Pyramid Texts. However, for instance, Alexander Scharff (1948: 5) believed in a younger date of the texts and also

⁵⁵ For instance, in Abusir, they can be found in the tombs of Iufaa (Landgráfová *et al.*, *in preparation a*), Padihor (Coppens 2009: 46–72) and Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová *et al.*, *in preparation b*).

others set their origin closer to the time they were firstly recorded on the inner walls of the pyramids (Hornung 1999b: 4).⁵⁶ What has to be pointed out is the fact that the theories based on the language can be misleading since it can be hardly proven whether the archaic language reflects the ancient date of the texts or if it was used intentionally to give such an impression. There is also the possibility that the old notions could have been recorded in at that time modern language. On the other hand, a number of ideas in the Pyramid Texts, such as offering lists, magical spells, etc., are attested long before the first recording of this textual corpus (consult, e.g., Schott 1945: 1; Allen 1992: 39; Allen 2015: 5). Susann Bickel (2017) investigated the origins of the Pyramid Texts, observing that various spells have their predecessors in the non-royal sphere, but they had to be modified, altered for the king. She introduced the term “pharaonisation”. At this stage of the research, it is indisputable that many of the spells worked on earlier oral tradition in the non-royal sphere. But some texts, especially those stressing the unique status of the Egyptian king, could have been created for the royal person only (see below, Chapters 5.1 and *Excursus I*).

There are also some theories focusing on the reason why the textual corpus was firstly recorded. The question of their first usage in pyramids might have had something in common with abandoning the tradition of building the sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty (Janák – Vymazalová – Coppens 2011: 438; Vymazalová 2011: 300).⁵⁷

It is worth mentioning that there has been a discussion in Egyptology regarding the origin of the Coffin Texts, and their connection to the Pyramid Texts (e.g. Baines 2004; Smith 2009a; Hays 2011; Janák 2012: 204–206; Smith 2017: 192–194, with further references). The theories have influenced the character of our understanding of the non-royal afterlife expectations in the Old Kingdom and the so-called democratisation of the afterlife (cf. Smith 2009a; Hays 2011). The Coffin Texts have been considered typically Middle Kingdom corpus. However, some predecessors, if not examples, come from earlier periods: from the end of the Old Kingdom or the beginning of the First Intermediate Period. In the tomb of governor Meduneferr at Balat in the Dakhla Oasis, dated to the end of Sixth Dynasty

⁵⁶ See also Goedicke (2011: 363) for the dating of the origin of the so-called Cannibal Hymn.


⁵⁷ For the sun temples, see below, Chapter 3.1.2.

(Valloggia 1986: 168), 18 textile fragments were found, bearing remains of inscriptions resembling the Coffin Texts (Valloggia 1986: 74–78). It seems that originally the texts were present on a coffin and that the signs on the linen represent an unintended imprint. Although one has to bear in mind that its provenance is a provincial centre, far from the then capital, the textile is a significant attestation for understanding the spreading of the early texts.

Another possible predecessor was found in the Memphite necropolis, at the locality Tabbet el-Guesh, a part of the Memphite necropolis (Dobrev 2010). In a tomb dated to the second half of the Sixth Dynasty an inscription mentioning *pṛt m hrw*, “going forth by day / going forth in daylight”, was discovered. Not only was the formula *pṛt m hrw* a designation for the Book of the Dead (see, e.g. Quirke 2013), but also was referred in a few Coffin Texts spells, for instance in CT 225 (see Buck 1947b: 212). This find brought about new questions regarding the origin of religious texts and the extent of their usage in the Old Kingdom.

On the basis of these findings and the evaluation of the content of both corpora and other sources and indications (e.g. offering formulae), some scholars have suggested an existence of archetypal sources for both, and analogous afterlife beliefs in royal and non-royal spheres (Baines 2004; Smith 2009a: 4; Smith 2017: 171–194). As a result of it, they have proposed to abandon the concept of the texts’ division into two corpora (Smith 2009a: 7; Hays 2011: 117–121). On the other hand, as noticed, for instance, by Jiří Janák (2012: 205), it has to be pointed out that besides the similarities there are considerable differences, too. Even though Janák (2012: 205) admitted that both corpora might have been copied from one source, they also highlighted different phases of the netherworld journey, reflecting thus the social status of the Egyptian king and the commons/elite. The unique position of the king was clearly demonstrated in some of the Pyramid Texts spell, for instance in the so-called Cannibal Hymn (Bělohoubková – Janák – Peterková Hlouchová 2019; see also below, *Excursus I*).

There are approximately 800 spells of the Pyramid Texts (see Allen 2013), written in Old Egyptian with some archaic features. However, each pyramid represents a unique corpus: the total number of the spells differs, also their selection is slightly diverse. Regarding

their physical appearance, the Pyramid Texts were predominantly incised in columns, with some exceptions in lines (cf. Allen 2013 I: PT 1–20) or in horizontal registers (Hays 2012: 82). Contrary to the later Book of the Dead, the Pyramid Texts did not contain vignettes. In the majority of cases the spells were initiated with the *dd mdw (jn)* formula: “recitation/to be recited” and sometimes the spell’s ending was indicated with a horizontal line in Wenis’ pyramid and in others with a sign resembling the *hw.t*-hieroglyph:  (O6), literary “enclosure”, there “chapter, section” (cf. for instance, Allen 2013; also Allen 2015: 3). Moreover, the signs were originally painted green-blue, thus stressing their importance for the afterlife (e.g. Labrousse 1999: 88). In the pyramid of Wenis, the signs have blue rather than green colour (**fig. 1**) whereas the pyramid of Pepy I reveals more green colour (**fig. 2**). In some instances, there is also a difference in orthography: Wenis’ texts are fairly concise, without many determinatives. In a number of instances, paronomasias, puns, can be observed.⁵⁸ Although the texts might give us the impression of a homogenous finalised corpus, a number of errors and re-carvings appear (see, e.g., Sethe 1908–1922 IV: 125–127; Mathieu 1996), which supports the theory that the compositions were copied from hieratic or cursive hieroglyphs (Hays 2012: 114). Furthermore, the texts in burial chambers were accompanied by a depiction of the palace-façade motif predominantly on the western walls (**figs. 3** and **4**), even though the pyramid of Pepy I is without this decoration, being replaced by texts (cf. Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001: 283, fig. 8). In addition, the vaults of burial chambers were ornamented with series of stars (see **fig. 3**).

Several genres can be distinguished in the Pyramid Texts; they have been referred to as either ritual, or personal spells (see, e.g., Allen 2015: 6). Some texts resemble the offering lists of private tombs, thus providing the deceased with all important requirements. A number of magical formulae and utterances being used during the rituals (morning or

⁵⁸ For puns in ancient Egypt, see, for instance, Schott (1945: 59–63); Loprieno (2000).



Fig. 1 Hieroglyphic signs filled with blue colour in the burial chamber of King Wenis at Saqqara (photo Milan Zemina, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)



Fig. 2 Hieroglyphic signs with green colour from the burial chamber of King Pepy I at Saqqara (after Labrousse 1999: 56)

funeral) can be observed there as well, with hymns to the gods and king, apotropaic compositions against snakes and other inimical beings, mythemes, prayers, petitions, or praising of the king. Not only do the Pyramid Texts represent a conglomerate of different textual types, but they also contain several religious ideas incorporated into one corpus.

According to some scholars (Verner 2008: 56), three major religious notions can be detected in the Pyramid Texts: astral, solar and Osirian. Taken into account the magical power of the texts, it can be observed that the images of some dangerous creatures were partially damaged, to prevent them from inimical acts against the deceased.



Fig. 3 Colourful palace-façade motif on the western, northern and southern walls, together with the star ceiling in the burial chamber of King Wenis at Saqqara (photo Martin Frouz, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)



Fig. 4 Carving of the palace-façade motif, without preserved polychrome, and star ceiling in the burial chamber of King Teti at Saqqara (photo Marie Peterková Hloučová, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

The Pyramid Texts entered into the modern research in the 1880s,⁵⁹ when the pyramids with hieroglyphic texts inside were explored in the Saqqara region, being discovered by Gaston Maspero, and first reported by Heinrich Brugsch (1881). The earliest scholarly edition and translation were issued by Maspero, initially each pyramid (Wenis, Teti, Pepy I, Merenre, Pepy II) separately in the journal *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (Maspero 1882, 1883, 1884a, 1884b, 1886a, 1886b, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890 and 1893), and later summarised in the publication *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah* (Maspero 1894). Since then, the literature on the Pyramid Texts has become vast, being represented by editions, translations, concordances, philological or religious studies, and many more.

It was Sethe (1908–1922) who prepared a standard edition of the Pyramid Texts, dividing the corpus into 714 *Sprüche*, with 1a–2217b fundamental units (marked as Pyr. or §). Even though there were some attempts to use other codes (e.g. Allen 1950; Allen 2005), Sethe's numbering has still been the most widely used in Egyptological literature.⁶⁰ Besides, Sethe's translation and comments on this corpus were published posthumously (Sethe 1935–1962).⁶¹ Interestingly, James Henry Breasted compiled a translation too, but it was never published (Allen 1916: 9). On the basis of this translation he prepared the publication *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Breasted 1912), observing elements from much older periods in this corpus, among other things (Breasted 1912: 85).

Translations in other languages followed, like in French by Louis Speleers (1923–1924) in the 1920s. The subsequent excavations of the Saqqara pyramids carried by Gustav Jéquier (Wedjebten: Jéquier 1928; Pepy II: Jéquier 1929; Neith and Iput II: Jéquier 1933; Ibi: Jéquier 1935), brought to light numerous new fragments and spells.

⁵⁹ The following text does not aim at being a comprehensive list of Egyptological literature to the topic of the Pyramid Texts since there is a considerable amount of studies, monographs, translations, etc. Instead, a summary of main streams and trends in their investigation is presented, with the focus on the studies connected with the topic of the thesis itself.

⁶⁰ Specific codes reflecting the pyramid, room and wall (for instance, P/A-F/N: pyramid of Pepy I / passage between antechamber and burial chamber / north wall) were invented by Jean Leclant (1975: 137) and they have been used by the MafS.

⁶¹ Sethe died in 1934 (Bierbrier 2012: 502–503).

As for English, the first translation was issued by Mercer in 1952, published in four volumes with a commentary (Mercer 1952). He studied the texts in terms of literary criticism (Mercer 1956), being concerned with their date, stylistics, authorship, allusions, dominant ideas, etc. Mercer (1956: 4) observed two main theological concepts which were connected with Re and Osiris, and presented the theory of the Heliopolitan origin of the texts with solar notions (Mercer 1956: 28). These compositions were Osirianised in Mercer's opinion and he also observed solar influences in Osirian texts (Mercer 1956: 29). In this regard, he demonstrated that the Pyramid Texts of Wenis and Teti contained mainly solar texts whereas Pepy I, Merenre, Pepy II evinced stronger Osirian influence (Mercer 1956: 33). However, he did not define what the solar and Osirian texts were. Such categories can undoubtedly be found in the corpus, but he did not take much into consideration the fusions of conceptions even in one single spell (see below, Chapters 5.1).⁶²

Later, Raymond O. Faulkner added another translation in 1969, presenting 759 spells (Faulkner 1969). Some spells of the Pyramid Texts were translated also by Miriam Lichtheim (1975: 29–50).

An updated English translation appeared in 2005 where Allen categorised the spells in individual pyramids (Wenis, Teti, Pepy I, Merenre, Pepy II, Queen Neith) (cf. Allen 2005). He paid attention to the position of the spells inside the royal funerary monuments, following thus his theory about the symbolic meaning of the inner rooms (cf. Allen 1994). He also applied a new code system to the spells, from 1 to X in each pyramid. However, in the second edition (Allen 2015) he returned back to Sethe's numbering, presenting the texts in the order in which they were supposed to be read (Allen 2015: 11). He likewise added more texts from queens' pyramids; besides Neith, also Ankhnespepy II, Iput II and Wedjebten (Allen 2015: 325–327) and spells' variants (Allen 2015: 329–348).⁶³

⁶² Hays (2012 I: 167–174, 247, 257) observed that Osiris is referred mainly in the ritual texts whereas Re predominantly in the personal ones. Contrary, in the opinion of Allen (2015: 7) they both belong to a single concept.

⁶³ Allen did not include the texts from the pyramid of Ibi since, based on his research, they did not belong to the main Old Kingdom tradition (Allen 2015: 3)

Another translation can be mentioned: the one of Lucas Baqué i Manzano (2012). This was supplemented by a number of evaluations of the spells in individual pyramids.

Continuing in the field research of the Sixth Dynasty pyramids, the MafS has supplemented the Pyramid Texts with new fragments and spells, mainly that of King Pepy I (Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001) and queens buried in the vicinity of his pyramid (see, e.g., Leclant – Labrousse 2001; Mathieu – Bène – Spahr 2005; Berger-el Naggar – Fraisse 2008: 5–7; Berger-el Naggar – Fraisse 2015 and 2016; Labrousse 1999 and 2012).⁶⁴ Lately, Bernard Mathieu (2018) prepared a new and updated translation of the corpus of Pepy I. With regard to French, also Carrier (2009 and 2010) published four volumes of Pyramid Texts translations in individual pyramids.

Besides the translations, the Pyramid Texts have been published mainly in line drawings. In this matter, the publication of Wenis' Pyramid Texts by Alexandre Piankoff (1968) is valuable since it offered the possibility to consult the texts in photographs. Furthermore, Piankoff (1968: 17–99) presented a translation of the Wenis' texts in a slightly different order than it is common, beginning with the entrance into the antechamber (western – eastern wall), then the antechamber (northern – western – southern – eastern wall), passage to the burial, resp. sarcophagus, chamber (southern – northern wall), burial, resp. sarcophagus, chamber (southern – eastern – northern – western wall). Photographs also supplemented the publication of the Pyramid Texts of Pepy I (Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001). A photographic edition of the texts of Pepy I, together with the translation based on the one of Allen (2005), was published by Serge Feneuille (2008).

When analysing the Pyramid Texts, one has to take into consideration the concordances of the spells (Allen 1950; Allen 2013). They demonstrate the occurrences of the utterances in individual pyramids, which leads to the observation of the distribution and content of each corpus. Naturally, one should be cautious with conclusions since in many cases the Pyramid Texts are preserved very fragmentarily. Not only can the concordances

⁶⁴ Recently, the Pyramid Texts of King Merenre were published by Isabelle Pierre-Croisiau with the contribution of Bernard Mathieu who translated the new spells (see Pierre-Croisiau 2019). At the time of writing this thesis, this work was, however, unavailable to the present author. That is why it is not reflected in the analysis of the Pyramid Texts (see below, Chapter 5.1).

provide us with an overview of the spells' frequency, but also they uncover, for instance, some preferences in their selection and which deities were more popular than the others. The occurrences have been observed in the present author's studies (Hlouchová 2013; Peterková Hlouchová 2018 and 2019; see also below Chapters 5.1 and 6).

There have been attempts to group and categorise these texts. For instance, Sigfried Schott (1945: 30–52) observed four categories there: dramatic texts (“die Dramatischen Texte”), hymns (“die Hymnen mit der Namesformel”), divine instructions and litanies (“Götterlehren und Litaneien”), and transfiguration texts (“die Verklärungen”).

It was Jürgen Osing (1986) who studied the disposition of the Pyramid Texts, based on the corpora of King Wenis. He was persuaded that the spells should be read from west to east (Osing 1986: 132). Regarding their content, he divided them according to their topics into five groups:

- *Group A*

The first group contains spells against serpents and scorpions (“Schlangensprüche”), having two sub-groups: *A1* (PT 226–243, located on the western wall of the burial chamber) and *A2* (PT 276–299, on the eastern wall of the antechamber) (Osing 1986: 132). Since the spells were engraved on the two opposite limits of the substructure, they provided protection for Wenis' pyramid (Osing 1986: 134). Although Osing (1986: 135) focused on the pyramid of Wenis, he also observed that the “Schlangensprüche”, mainly those of *A2* group, were used in other pyramids, and likewise on the eastern wall of the antechamber.

- *Group B*

It was Group B that, for Osing (1986: 136), represented the list of offerings on the northern and eastern wall of the burial chamber (PT 23–171, PT 199, PT 200, PT 204–212, PT 223–224, PT 244). Osing also noticed that, in this section, the king is addressed as Osiris Wenis, not only as Wenis, as it is the case of the other texts.

- *Group C*

Main motifs of another Osing's group are: rule of the king over the earth/land, netherworld, and gods, also connection with the sun god Atum (PT 215, PT 216, PT 217, PT 222), the king's part in the sun's course, his existence as a star (PT 216, PT 217), and identification of

body parts with various deities (Osing 1986: 140). The spells of this category were written down on the southern wall and the rest of the eastern wall of the burial chamber. As for PT 245–246, they can belong either to this group, or to the following one (Osing 1986: 138).

- *Group D*

The spells in the antechamber (PT 248–258, PT 260–263, PT 267–312) with topics of stressing the role of Re, the king ascending heaven, his might and power, and dealing with the existence of the king in the hereafter belong to group D (Osing 1986: 140–141).

- *Group E*

Finally, the entrance with spells PT 313–321 focusing on the themes of the king appearing among gods of day and night sky, mainly in animal forms (baboon, bull, etc.), was contained in the last group (Osing 1986: 141–142).

Based on his study analysing the genres of the Pyramid Texts, Allen (1992: 38–39, 43) distinguished three types of the spells:

1. “Incantations”, spells with protective functions against inimical beings;
2. Ritual texts (Offering and “Resurrection” Rituals), representing a corpus of utterances, being recited during funerary rituals by a living person for the deceased;
3. “Private” spells which should assist the deceased with their transition into eternal life.

Allen elaborated on this view further in his later works (Allen 1994; Allen 2015: 6–7). He observed two types of the compositions: ritual (Offering and Insignia Rituals, Resurrection Ritual), and personal (spells against inimical creatures, etc.). Alike Osing, Allen observed different spatial distributions of both categories which led him to the assumption of symbolic significance of the interior rooms in the pyramid (cf. Allen 1994; see also below and **fig. 5**).

The typology of Harold M. Hays (2006 and 2012) is based on the analysis of the texts in kings’ pyramids, containing 821 spells, distinguishing two categories in the Pyramid Texts: personal and sacerdotal structures (texts), with types (see Hays 2012 I: 10; Hays 2012 II: 314, figs. 18 and 19). In his opinion, the former one was used by individuals personally, whereas the latter were performed for the deceased by another person (Hays 2012 I: 21). Moreover, he classified 15 groups of the spells with different topics (see Hays 2012 I: 79–111), seven of them being sacerdotal (A–G), six personal (H–M) and two mixed (N–O):

Group A. Offering Ritual (Hays 2012 I: 81–92),
Group B. Transfiguration (Hays 2012 I: 92–99),
Group C. Perpetuation of Cult (Hays 2012 I: 99–101)
Group D. Horus Resurrects (Hays 2012 I: 101–102),
Group E. Nut Protects (Hays 2012 I: 103),
Group F. Isis and Nephthys Lament (Hays 2012 I: 103–104),
Group G. Anointing and Wrapping (Hays 2012 I: 104–105),
Group H. Provisioning (Hays 2012 I: 105–106),
Group I. Isis and Nephthys Summon (Hays 2012 I: 106),
Group J. Aggregation with the gods (Hays 2012 I: 106–107),
Group K. Apotropaia (Hays 2012 I: 107–108),
Group L. Transformation (Hays 2012 I: 108–109),
Group M. Ascent to the Sky (Hays 2012 I: 109–110),
Group N. The Celestial Circuit (Hays 2012 I: 110),
Group O. Mixed (Hays 2012 I: 110–111).

Each of the spells was included in one group, sometimes with several motifs, and thus being listed in two or more groups (cf. Hays 2012 II: 315–452).⁶⁵

In addition to this classification, Hays (2012 II: 453–486) identified 224 sequences (listed only 161, cf. Hays 2012 II: 453–468) and 293 subsequences (with listed 232, cf. Hays 2012 II: 469–486) in the Pyramid Texts corpus. These are the groups of two or more spells appearing in the same order in the pyramids and in textual collections of younger periods. It has to be admitted that Hays' typology might seem complicated, but it took into consideration the wide range of topics of the Pyramid Texts. As a result of his analysis, Hays (2012 I: 258) concluded that there was no order in positioning the spells, contributing thus to the discussion on their spatial distribution (see below).

Various analyses of the Pyramid Texts have lead the authors to a deeper examination of their meaning and importance (e.g. Schott 1950; Spiegel 1971; Altenmüller 1972; Barta

⁶⁵ Hays (2012 II: 315) began his list with PT 12.

1981) or to studies focused on a particular topic. It was Bonnet (1953: 264–265) who observed that the inner rooms of the royal sepulchres reflected the dispositions of the pyramid complexes themselves: “Gangkammer” corresponded to the valley temple and the rituals presented there, “Gang” reflected the idea of the causeway, and the rest (“Vorkammer, Serdab und Sargkammer”) of the mortuary temple. For him, the Pyramid Texts were a kind of a ritual book for performance of various rituals.

With the attempt to understand the meaning of the texts, Sigfried Schott (1950) comprehended them in the terms of the so-called pyramid cult. The funerary ritual was in the interest of Joachim Spiegel (1971) who assembled and translated the texts from the pyramid of King Wenis which were, in his opinion, recited during the ritual. It was also Hartwig Altenmüller (1972) who studied the texts for the funerary cult.

The cosmological symbolism of the inner chambers of the pyramids was observed by Osing (1986). It was Allen (1989a, 1994 and 2015: 11–12) who elaborated on this assumption. On the basis of the spatial distribution of the spells, he observed that the sarcophagus can be identified with the sky goddess Nut, the burial chamber represented the netherworld (*d3.t*), whereas the antechamber the horizon (*3h.t*), and finally, the corridor, vestibule and ascending corridor, with their south-north orientation, led the spirit of the deceased king to the sky (*p.t*), to the Imperishable Stars or maybe to nightly existence before the sunrise (Allen 2015: 12) (see **fig. 5**).

Allen’s theory has been widely accepted, but also criticised. It was Hays (2009) who pointed out that the theory was plausible only in the case of the pyramid of King Wenis, and that it has some problems with regards to the pyramids of queens. Hays likewise suggested that the spatial distribution was fairly random (Hays 2012 I: 258). This statement was challenged by Allen (2014: 526–527) who was aware with the fact that there was no strict rule, but he was convinced that, on the other hand, there must have existed an inner logic in

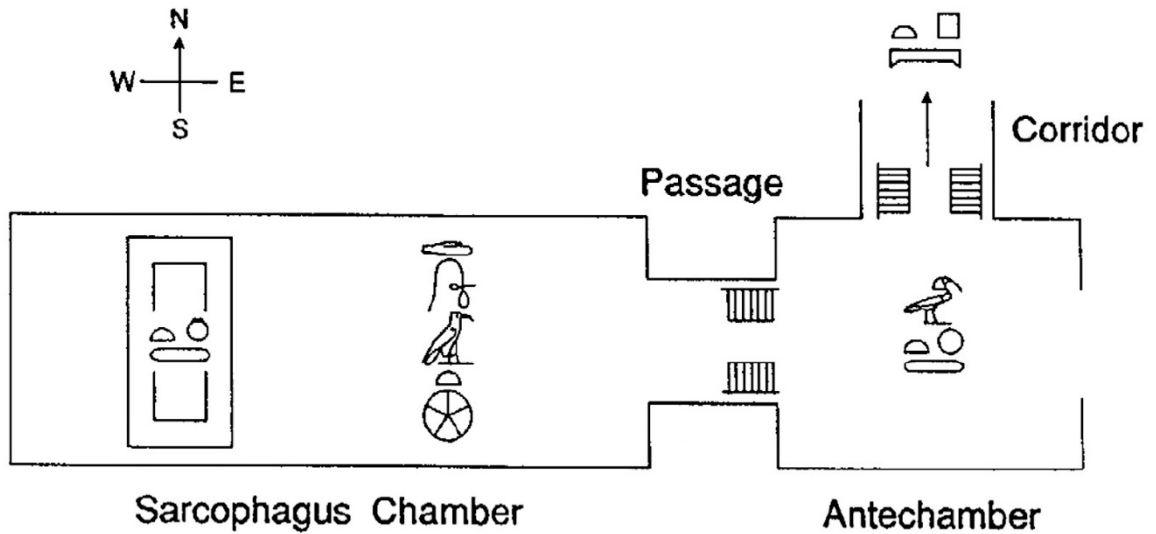


Fig. 5 Visualisation of the Allen’s cosmological interpretation of the inner rooms of the pyramids. According to this theory the sarcophagus can be identified with the goddess Nut, the burial chamber with the *d3.t*, the antechamber with the *3h.t*, and the corridor as the passageway leading to *p.t* (after Allen 1994: 24, fig. 5)

the placement of the spells. Even though the Hays’ critique is reasonable, it has to be admitted that the Allen’s theory, at least partially, reflects the ancient Egyptian visions of the afterlife. Another contribution to the relation of the architecture of royal pyramid complexes and the Pyramid Texts was observed by Massimiliano Nuzzolo (2010a) who, for instance, presented some critical remarks to the fact that Allen omitted the serdab (Nuzzolo 2010a: 178).

Furthermore, Bernard Mathieu (1997 and 2017) and Burkhard Backes (2017) contributed to the topic expressing further support to Allen’s theory. What Mathieu added was the interpretation of the serdab as the Mansion of Osiris or the Cavern of Nu (Mathieu 1997: 297). In the terms of religious thinking of the ancient Egyptians, these interpretations might reflect reality. On the contrary, it has to be kept in mind that this might not be the sole significance, considering the varied locations of some Pyramid Text spells.⁶⁶ This fact shows that there was not a strict rule in ordering the texts, indicating thus to a more elaborated symbolism of the inside rooms of the pyramids.

⁶⁶ For some examples, see Chapter 5.1.

Not only were the Pyramid Texts perceived as one unit, but they were also analysed in the terms of some particularities, for instance, deities and their roles (e.g. Popielska-Grzybowska 1999 and 2001; Hlouchová 2012; Peterková Hlouchová 2018 and 2019), various objects (e.g. harpoons: Odler – Peterková Hlouchová 2017; scent: Iannarilli 2018 and 2019), individual spells or groups of spells (e.g. the so-called Cannibal Hymn, Bělohoubková – Janák – Peterková Hlouchová 2019; see also below, *Excursus I*; PT 355: Morales 2016).

It was Thomas George Allen (1916) who analysed the roles of the god Horus in this textual corpus (group of Horuses respectively; Allen 1916: 10), noticing also the ways of writing the god's name, epithets, relationships, nature and various activities. Moreover, the Eye of Horus attracted his attention. He declared that Horus appeared mainly in connection to Osiris (Allen 1916: 12), but he also remarked his heavenly character. Albeit useful, Allen's work represents only a short summary, without any detailed discussion.

Lászlo Kákosy (1981) focused on analysing the Pyramid Texts as a source reflecting the social and political circumstances of the society which compiled the texts. In this respect, he observed similarities as well as differences in this corpus and in non-royal tombs, stressing the obvious need for an appropriate behaviour and a “trend toward humanism” (Kákosy 1981: 32). Based on his research, he adhered the theory of the democratisation of the afterlife (Kákosy 1981: 39).⁶⁷

Besides religious symbolism of the Pyramid Texts, also grammar has attracted considerable attention of the scholars. For instance, Hans Schack-Schackenburg (1902) prepared a linguistic study of the Pyramid Texts, with comparisons to later phases of the Egyptian language. The language of the Pyramid Texts represented grounds for Elmar Edel's grammar of Old Egyptian (Edel 1955 and 1964). In addition, Allen (1984 and 2017a) was concerned with verbal system and grammar of these texts and was interested in the corpus from the pyramid of Wenis and focused on its orthography, editing, phonology, grammar and translation.

⁶⁷ For the phenomenon of the democratisation of the afterlife, see above.

As far as the research of the Pyramid Texts in the Czech lands is concerned, systematic investigation into the topic does not have a long tradition, even though František Lexa translated some spells into the Czech language (Lexa 1921: 155–181; Lexa 1923: 9–15). Likewise, some spells of the Pyramid Texts can be found in the Abusir shaft tombs from the Late Period and these have been detected in the structures belonging to Wedjahorresnet (Bareš 1999: 51–53), Padihor (Coppens 2009: 50–54, 60–69), Iufaa (Landgráfová, *in preparation a*) and Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová *et al.*, *in preparation b*). A Czech translation of the complete corpus does not exist, although the religion of the Old Kingdom, especially the sun cult, is in the interest of many scholars of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, and its associates (e.g. Nuzzolo 2010a and 2015a; Janák – Vymazalová – Coppens 2011; Verner 2014; Nuzzolo – Krejčí 2017; Krejčí 2017 and 2019; also Hlouchová 2012a, 2013 and 2014; Bělohoubková – Janák – Peterková Hlouchová 2019).

3.1.2 Tomb decoration and equipment

Considering the fact that the deities under survey are attested in the Pyramid Texts, i.e. in the funerary contexts (see Chapter 3.1.1), one would expect that they might appear in other records preserved in burial structures (pyramid complexes and mastabas), mainly in their superstructures. It could also be assumed that the gods might be mentioned in some pieces of inscribed burial equipment, or the notions connected to them might be hinted in various mortuary objects. It was, for instance, Katherine Eaton (2013: 88, 147) who observed solar symbolism of the *wsj*-collar. The above-mentioned assumptions led the present author to the analysis of the tomb decoration and burial equipment in this thesis. However, in the context of the non-royal sphere, it has to be mentioned that there has been a protracted discussion on the nature of the afterlife expectations (cf., for instance, Kees 1956; Allen 2006a; Morales 2016). The deities attested in the tombs of non-royal persons have likewise been a point of research (see, e.g., Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981).

It is undeniable that there is a large number of decorated tombs not only in the Memphite necropolis, but also in the cemeteries in other regions. Thus, many treatises on

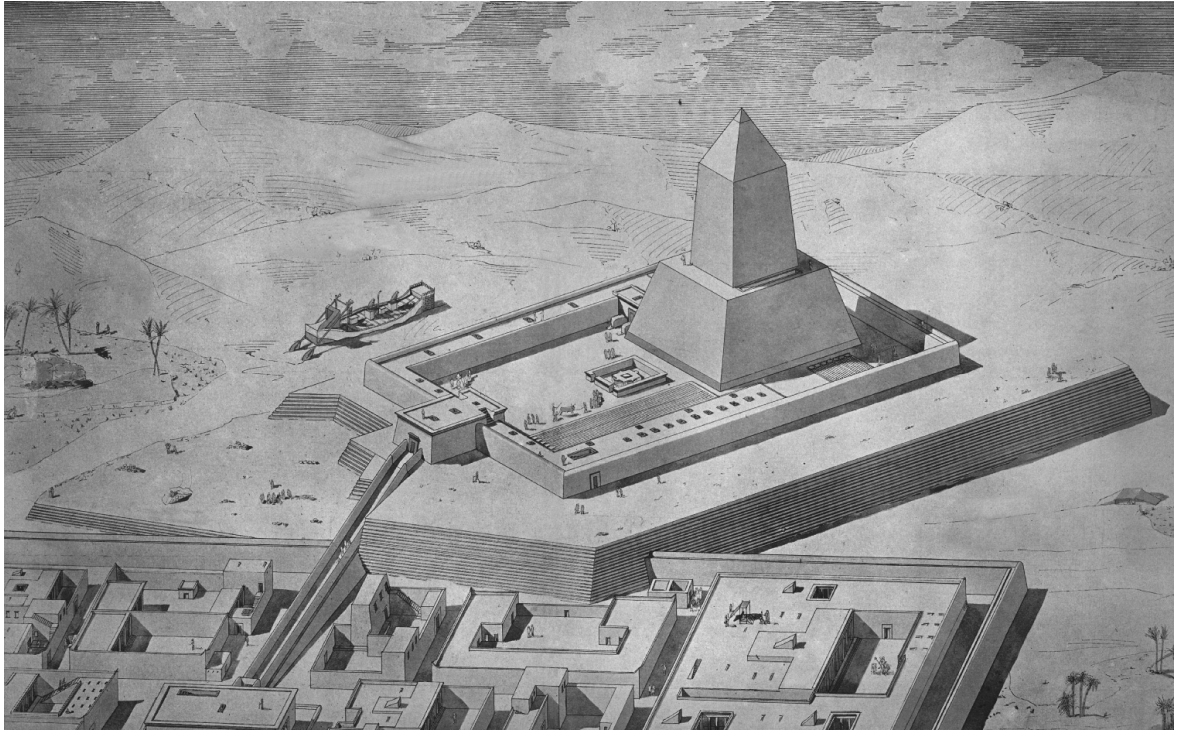


Fig. 6 Reconstruction of the sun temple of King Nyuserre at Abu Ghurab (after Borchartd 1905: Bl. 1, 6)

the tomb decoration of both, royal and non-royal tombs, can be found, dealing with scenes in individual pyramid complexes or mastabas with less or more details (e.g. Verner 1977; Harpur 2001; Vachala 2004; Harpur – Scremin 2006, 2008, 2010, 2015 and 2017; El Awady 2006 and 2009; Megahed 2016; El-Tayeb 2017; and many others), or focusing on more advanced analysis of scenes (e.g. Harpur 1987; Ćwiek 2003; Stockfisch 2003; O’Neill 2015; Jánosi – Vymazalová 2018). As far as the burial equipment is concerned, there is likewise extensive Egyptological literature on the topic. The objects placed into tombs are tackled in relation to their finding contexts (e.g. Dulíková *et al.* 2018a and 2018b; Odler – Peterková Hloučová *et al.* 2019a and 2019b; and many others), typologies or broader contexts (e.g. Odler 2016; Arias 2017; Jirásková, *in preparation*; and many others).⁶⁸

In this context, the decoration of the so-called sun temples also has to be taken into account. Various Old Kingdom documents brought to light evidence for six structures of

⁶⁸ Since the bibliography of these topics is extensive, only a few publications is mentioned here.

this kind, built by Kings Weserkaf (*Nḥn-R*),⁶⁹ Sahure (*Sh.t-R*),⁷⁰ Neferirkare (*S.t-jb-R*),⁷¹ Raneferef (*Htp-R*),⁷² Nyuserre (*Šsp-jb-R*; **fig. 6**),⁷³ and Menkauhor (*3ḥ.t-R*)⁷⁴ but so far archaeology has recovered only two (those of Weserkaf and Nyuserre).⁷⁵ Both of them are located on the western bank of the Nile, close to Abusir: the former at Abusir North, the latter more to the north, at Abu Ghurab. The temple of King Weserkaf was uncovered by Ludwig Borchardt in the years 1907 and 1913 (Ricke 1965: 2). Between 1954 and 1957 the joint Swiss-German mission conducted its research there (Ricke 1965; Ricke *et al.* 1969). As for the Nyuserre's temple, it was excavated likewise by Borchardt between 1898 and 1901 (Borchardt 1905). It was the main sun god Re, together with the king and some other deities (especially Hathor) who were venerated there. As for their architecture, the sun temples followed the plan of the pyramid complexes, with their valley temples, causeways, mortuary temples and the most prominent structure (pedestal with an obelisk). Besides, to the south of the sun temple of King Nyuserre a barque built of mud bricks was excavated (see Borchardt 1905: fig. 46). The structures were richly decorated; in many respects the scenes recall the decoration in tombs (Nuzzolo 2018b: 130–200; Seyfried 2019).

A protracted discussion has been devoted to the meaning and significance of these structures. Besides the publication of the material from both sun temples (Kees 1923 and 1928; Edel 1961 and 1963; Ricke *et al.* 1969; Edel – Wenig 1947 and 1974), it was other phenomena connected to the topic of the sun temples that were studied: e.g. determinatives (Kaiser 1956), titles and temple personnel (Voss 2004; Nuzzolo 2007a, 2007b, 2010b, 2015a, 2015b; Nuzzolo 2018b: 265–297), economy (Posener-Kriéger 1976: 611–641; Vymazalová 2011), or their architecture, religious and ideological meaning (Verner 2003 and 2005;

⁶⁹ For the sun temple of Weserkaf, see, for instance, Ricke (1965); Ricke *et al.* (1969); Verner (2014: 199–207); Nuzzolo (2018b: 74–99).

⁷⁰ Sahure's sun temple see lately in Verner (2014: 207–209); Nuzzolo (2018b: 99–104).

⁷¹ For the sun temple of Neferirkare, see, for instance, Verner (2014: 209–211); Nuzzolo (2018b: 104–111).

⁷² The sun temple of Raneferef consult, e.g., in Verner (2014: 211–212); Nuzzolo (2018b: 112–113).

⁷³ For the sun temple of Nyuserre, see, for instance, Borchardt (1905); Verner (2014: 212–218); Nuzzolo (2018b: 113–249).

⁷⁴ For the sun temple of Menkauhor, see, e.g., Verner (2014: 218–219); Nuzzolo (2018b: 249–251).

⁷⁵ It is worth mentioning that some scholars presented their doubts if the unexcavated temples ever existed (e.g. Stadelmann 2000: 540–542).

Verner 2014: 199–226; Krejčí – Magdolen 2006; Janák – Vymazalová – Coppens 2011). Lately, a comprehensive study was published by Nuzzolo (2018b), analysing the architecture, temple personnel, significance of the sun temples for the ideology of the Old Kingdom kingship and their religious importance.

As far as their interpretation is concerned, the sun temples were perceived as the temples of the setting sun (Goedicke 1995: 46) or as a structure combining the features of the tomb for the solar god and divine temple (Stadelmann 2000: 542). They were also comprehended as royal monuments (Winter 1957: 232), or as buildings for both, the cult of the king and the god, for maintaining the power of the ruler (Rochholz 1994: 280; also Janák – Vymazalová – Coppens 2011: 434). On the contrary, Ronald A. Wells (1991) was of the opinion that it was stars that are significant for the understanding of the symbolic meaning of the structures under survey. However, Krejčí (2000: 471, footnote 21) opposed this assumption claiming that nothing was found in the sun temples which could corroborate stellar observations.

Since these structures must (somehow) have served the cult connected with solar conceptions (which is demonstrated in their designations) at the least, it could be intriguing to analyse them (mainly its decoration) from the perspective of the deities under study.

Allowing for the substantial number, it is beyond the scope of one thesis to analyse tomb decoration and pieces of burial equipment of every single tomb from the Old Kingdom, even though it could contribute to the research on a religious topic. Therefore, the present thesis does not aim at an exhaustive investigation of this theme. Instead, it focuses mainly on the material from Abusir (see below). In this context it might seem quite problematic to reach any conclusion on the basis of a selection.⁷⁶ However, if there was a trend in mentioning the deities under study, it would be apparent in the compendia (such as, for instance, Harpur 1987). If the gods were referred in some tombs, it would merely be an

⁷⁶ Problems can also arise when analysing individual scenes, since there are publications of various quality, sometimes with mistakes in drawings or incorrect reconstructions, as was pointed out, for instance, by Mohamed Megahed (2019b).

exception, which is particularly thought-provoking taken into consideration the nature of these divinities (see below, Chapter 4).

For the reason of their immense number, the thesis is focused mostly, but not exclusively, on the sources from Abusir, the locality which has been excavated by the Czech (former Czechoslovak) Institute of Egyptology for many decades. The present author had the opportunity to work not only with the published material but also with the unpublished documentation and the database of the Institute. Likewise, other parts of the Memphite necropolis and the provinces have to be taken into consideration. Nonetheless, in this case, the list of the relevant evidence is not comprehensive but selective, taken into consideration the ones where some particularities can be detected. This time, solely the published material was investigated.

If Abusir is taken into account, it was already Weserkaf (2435–2429⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491), the first king of the Fifth Dynasty, who was active in Abusir.⁷⁷ Although he built his pyramid complex (*W^cb-*js.wt*-*Wsr-k3=f**) at North Saqqara, in the immediate vicinity of the north-eastern corner of the Step Pyramid complex,⁷⁸ he was the first who got constructed the first sun temple (*N_{hn}-R^c*) and this project was realised in Abusir North (Ricke 1965). Both his monuments were richly decorated (Ricke 1965; Labrousse – Lauer 2000).

At Abusir were four rulers of the Fifth Dynasty (Sahure, Neferirkare, Raneferef and Nyuserre) buried in their decorated pyramid complexes. King Sahure (2428–2416⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491) was the first ruler buried at Abusir Centre. His pyramid complex (*H3-b3-S3h.w-R^c*)⁷⁹ was excavated by Borhardt (1913) and the area of and around the causeway has been excavated by the Egyptian mission since the 1990's, bringing to light a number of decorated limestone blocks (Hawass – Verner 1996; El Awady 2006 and 2009; Khaled 2008b and 2017).

⁷⁷ For more details about this king, see Verner (2014: 29–36).

⁷⁸ For his pyramid complex, see Labrousse – Lauer (2000); Verner (2002: 274–280); Verner (2014: 154–160).

⁷⁹ For King Sahure, see Verner (2014: 36–46). To the pyramid complex, consult Verner (2002: 280–290); Verner (2014: 160–165; 2017: 77–90).

Sahure's successor Neferirkare (2415–2405⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491) started building his stone complex (*B3-Nfr-jr-k3-R*^c) to the south-west of the monument of his predecessor.⁸⁰ However, Neferirkare died earlier than expected and that is why his sons Raneferef and Nyuserre completed his structures in mud bricks (Verner 2017: 67). The complex was decorated not only with reliefs carved in limestone blocks (Borchardt 1909: 28–30), but also with faience inlays (Borchardt 1909: 64–65, Bl. 7 and 8; see below).

After the death of King Neferirkare, it was Queen Khentkaus II (**fig. 7**) who played a prominent role for securing the continuation of succession on the throne.⁸¹ She held the unique title *mw.t nswt-bjtj nswt-bjtj* (see Verner 1999), and her prominent status was demonstrated in her pyramid complex located close to the south-eastern corner of the pyramid of her spouse, Neferirkare, at Abusir Centre. This structure was excavated by the Czech (former Czechoslovak) Institute of Egyptology in the 1970s (Verner 2001). Not many fragments of decoration were collected there, with the exception of some pieces of faience inlays and of the so-called Egyptian blue (see Verner 2001) and they were analysed by Renata Landgráfová (2000 and



Fig. 7 The name of Queen Khentkaus II on one of the pillars in her mortuary temple at Abusir Centre (photo Martin Frouz, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

⁸⁰ For Neferirkare, consult Verner (2014: 47–55), and for the pyramid complex, see Verner (2002: 291–297); Verner (2014: 165–168; 2017: 63–68).

⁸¹ There seem to be three royal mothers with the name Khentkaus. Khentkaus I was a queen in the Fourth Dynasty and was buried at Giza (LG 100, G 8400; Hassan 1943: 1–62). Khentkaus II (Verner 2001) and III (Krejčí – Arias Kytarová – Odler 2015) lived in the Fifth Dynasty and their tombs are located at Abusir Centre. It was Verner who focused on the so-called Khentkaus problem (Verner 1999; Verner 2001: 165–178; Verner 2011; Verner 2014: 20–24; Verner 2017: 91–11). To Queens Khentkaus I and II, see also Callender (2011: 136–154, 171–179). To the name Khentkaus, “vorne sind ihre Kas”, in general, see Ranke (1935: 273, no. 7) and Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 607–608 [2806]).

2004). Furthermore, the excavations brought to light corpora of seals and sealings, and of papyri (see below, Chapter 3.1.6) which can be incorporated into the research as well (see below).

Likewise, the pyramid complex (*Ntr.y-b3.w-R^c-nfr=f*) of King Raneferef (2404⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491) was unfinished due to Raneferef's short reign (cf. Verner *et al.* 2006: 100; Posener-Kriéger – Verner – Vymazalová 2006: 325).⁸² His cultic areas were accomplished by his brother, King Nyuserre, what was the reason for being completed in mud bricks, without limestone casing, and thus without a surface suitable for reliefs (Verner *et al.* 2006: 100–112). Since the decoration of cultic areas was essential, Egyptians found a different solution: they transferred the motifs which should have appeared in proper decoration into faience and Egyptian-blue inlays (Landgráfová 2006a). These objects were collected in several rooms of Raneferef's mortuary temple (see Landgráfová 2006b: 13) and were published by Landgráfová (2006b).

King Nyuserre (2402–2374⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491) belongs to one of the most significant rulers of the Fifth Dynasty.⁸³ During his reign a number of significant novelties were implemented, containing changes in administration, society or religion (see Bárta 2013: 171–172; Dulíková 2016c and 2018). Nyuserre built his pyramid between the one of Sahure and Neferirkare, diverting the Neferirkare's causeway and including valley temple of his father to his own pyramid complex (*Mn-js.wt-Ny-wsr-R^c*).⁸⁴ The Nyuserre's monument was richly decorated. Remains of the decoration were excavated by Borchardt (1907: 37–96).

It was King Djedkare (2365–2322⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491),⁸⁵ the second ruler after Nyuserre, who is closely connected to the Abusir necropolis.⁸⁶ His reign was likewise significant, being it the longest in the Fifth Dynasty and

⁸² For King Raneferef, see lately Verner (2014: 56–61). For his pyramid complex, consult Verner *et al.* (2006); Verner (2002: 301–310); Verner (2014: 170–173; 2017: 111–141).

⁸³ For Nyuserre, see, e.g., Verner (2014: 61–75); Dulíková (2016c and 2018).

⁸⁴ For the pyramid complex, consult Verner (2014: 173–176; 2017: 72–77).

⁸⁵ For King Djedkare, see Verner (2014: 79–88); Megahed (2016: 36–63).

⁸⁶ His imminent predecessor was King Menkauhor (2373–2366⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491; see also Verner 2014: 75–79).

complementing the innovations of the previous period (cf. Baer 1960: 297). Written documents bring evidence for re-organisation of the mortuary cults at Abusir (e.g. Verner 2002: 272; also Vymazalová 2019). Moreover, some members his family were buried there (Verner – Callender 2002). Djedkare built his sepulchre at South Saqqara (*Nfr-Dd-k3-Rc*).⁸⁷ In the past it was explored several times,⁸⁸ but and nowadays the excavation has continued with the Egyptian mission (e.g. Megahed – Jánosi – Vymazalová 2017, 2018 and 2019, with further references) and they have brought to light a number of decorated limestone blocks that have been studied by Mohamed Megahed (2016) (also Megahed – Jánosi – Vymazalová 2017, 2018 and 2019).

If the decoration of the non-royal tombs in Abusir is concerned, there are many structures with preserved scenes. It has to be noted that the Abusir locality is divided into three main parts: Abusir Centre with the royal monuments and mastabas of the members of the royal family, predominantly dated to the Fifth Dynasty; Western field with the large shaft tombs from the Saite-Persian period; and Abusir South with various tombs of the Old Kingdom officials (cf., e.g., Verner 2017).⁸⁹ As for Abusir Centre, local non-royal tombs offer insights into the tomb scenes: for instance, Ptahshepses (AC 8; Verner 1977 and 1992; Vachala 2004; Krejčí 2008), structures at the so-called Djedkare's family cemetery (Khekeretnebtu [AC 15; Verner – Callender 2002: 13–53], Neserkauhor [AC 10; Verner – Callender 2002: 55–61], Faaf Idu and Khenit [AC 10; Verner – Callender 2002: 63–69], Mernefu [AC 10; Verner – Callender 2002: 71–76], Hedjetnebu [AC 19; Verner – Callender 2002: 85–98]). If the attention is turned to Abusir South, the mastaba of Hetepi at Abusir South (AS 20; Bárta – Arias Kytmarová – Dvořák 2010) can provide us with evidence of the late Third Dynasty. Since there are not many structures at Abusir that can be dated to the

⁸⁷ For the pyramid complex of Djedkare, see Verner (2002: 324–329); Verner (2014: 178–180); Megahed (2016: 70–87).

⁸⁸ For the previous excavations in the complex of King Djedkare, see Megahed (2016: 66–70); Megahed (2019a: 70–72).

⁸⁹ Besides the dignitaries, Princess Sheretnebtu, the daughter of King Nyuserre, was buried in a rock-cut tomb AS 68c) at Abusir South as well (Vymazalová – Dulíková 2012, 2013 and 2014; Vymazalová 2015a; Vymazalová – Arias Kytmarová 2017).

Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2543–2436⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490),⁹⁰ no decorated tomb can be included into this research. Moreover, the mastabas of Kaaper (AS 1; Bárta 2001: 143–191), Fetekty and adjacent structures (AS 5; Bárta 2001: 55–191), Ankhires (AS 98; Dulíková *et al.* 2018a and 2018b), Qar (AS 16; Bárta 2009b), Inti (AS 22; Bárta – Vachala *et al.*, *forthcoming*) represent examples of structures with the Fifth- and Sixth-Dynasty dating.

From all the other Old Kingdom decorated tomb, it is the Fifth Dynasty limestone lintel, coming from an unspecified tomb, that might be significant for the god Weneg (see **fig. 24**). The piece can be found in the collection of Egyptian antiquities at the Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven (YAG 1937.188; Scott 1986: 50). However, originally, it was a part of a collection of Egyptian antiquities in the possession of a Swiss merchant and collector, André Bircher (Grdseloff 1944: 288, footnote 2). In the mind of Bernard Grdseloff (1944: 288) this architrave recorded the personal name *Wn-Wng*, which should be the reference to the god Weneg (see below, Chapter 5.2).

From the assemblages of the Old Kingdom burial equipment, it is the writing board from Giza (G 1011; JE 37734; see **fig. 26**) that represents an intriguing find for religious studies (Reisner 1911), since this piece contains a list of deities and toponyms (see Chapter 5.2). The object originally was a wooden tablet with a layer of plaster, but only the cover survived. It was found by George A. Reisner in mastaba G 1011 at Giza, in the fill of the so-called pit C in the year 1904 (Reisner 1911: 113). Nowadays, it is kept in the Grand Egyptian Museum and was examined by Edward Brovarski (1987) and Valeria Turriziani (2018). As far as the dating is concerned, it does not seem to be earlier than the Fifth Dynasty, based on the mastaba type and on the fact that it mentions the name of King Neferirkare (Reisner 1911: 114). The board presents at least eight columns void inscriptions (x + 1–8), a list of the names of six kings in cartouches (columns 1–4),⁹¹ furthermore a list of deities (columns 5–

⁹⁰ At the very beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, during the reign of King Snofru (2543–2510⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490), mastaba of Nyankhshesat (AS 104) was built at Abusir South (see Odler – Peterková Hlouchová *et al.* 2019a: 21, 39–40; Odler – Peterková Hlouchová *et al.* 2019b: 51, 77–78).

⁹¹ Empty columns and those with records are divided by three vertical lines, hence creating a new section.

16) and toponyms (columns 17–37+), and several depictions of birds and fish in two columns (Reisner 1911: 113–114, fig. 1–3; Brovarski 1987: Pl. I). The list of deities recording theonyms of variable significance is of particular interest, creating thus a captivating summary which is, however, according to Turriziani (2018) random since the board seems to be a school exercise.

Besides the fact that the relief decoration in general will be analysed in this thesis, the names of funerary domains, which can be recognised among the tomb (predominantly relief) scenes, are tackled and special attention is also devoted to offering formulae.

3.1.2.1 Funerary domains

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is essential to pay attention to the corpus of the funerary domains' names since they sometimes refer to a variety of deities as well. The so-called funerary domains or estates were meant to supply not only funerary cults of the kings and of non-royal persons, but also royal building projects during lifetime of each king. For this reason, they became significant parts of the ancient Egyptian economy, as well as internal colonisation, since many unoccupied areas were inhabited in both, Lower and Upper Egypt.

Regarding the scholarly attention devoted to the funerary domains,⁹² it was Maspero (1900) who was first concerned with them as a significant part of the economy of the Old Kingdom. Furthermore, Hermann Junker (1938: 77–98) touched upon this topic, analysing the references in several tombs which he had excavated at Giza.



A fundamental study on the topic was prepared by Helen K. Jacquet-Gordon (1962) who assembled the majority of the at that time available names of these institutions, from the time of King Snofru to the Eighth Dynasty. Conjointly, she investigated the domains theoretically, in the terms of their purpose and development, focusing also on personifications and onomastics.

⁹² For a detailed overview of the research on the topic of funerary domains, see Khaled (2008b: 27 and 28, footnote 25).

The installations were studied by Juan Carlos Moreno García (1999) who focused on gathering relevant sources and on their economic and administrative significance, analysing also lexicography of the two main terms: *ḥw.t* and *njw.t* (see below).

There are also other studies focusing on this phenomenon, offering updated data. For instance, Mohamed Ismail Khaled (2008b) concentrated on analysing the blocks with funerary domains from the causeway of King Sahure at Abusir. As a part of his Ph.D. thesis, he included a study of the economic significance of the domains and an overview of pieces of evidence for them. Khaled (2008a) was also concerned with artistic features and chronological development of such scenes from the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasty. The topic of funerary domains was commented by Verner (2014: 128–136) in his treatise on the Fifth Dynasty period.

Besides these studies, there are analyses of funerary domains of individuals (royal and non-royal), for instance, Senedjemib Inti at Giza (Málek 1974), or Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi (Fitzenreiter 2013) or individual domains, for instance, *mn^c.t* (Khaled – Vymazalová 2011; also Khaled 2016; Vymazalová 2015b).

Two major categories of domains can be indentified: , *ḥw.t* (O6), and , *njw.t* (O49) (Maspero 1900; Junker 1938: 77; Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 3–7; Moreno García 1999). However, the opinions on their meaning slightly differ. For Maspero, *ḥw.t* represented a “château” (Maspero 1900: 367) and *njw.t* a “domaine rural” (Maspero 1900: 352). Following this idea, Junker (1938: 77) understood the former as “ursprünglich ein umschlossenes Gehöft”, and the latter as “aus mehreren Anlagenbestehende Siedlung”. In the mind of Jacquet-Gordon, *ḥw.t* was a royal district, delimited by an enclosure wall (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 4), whereas *njw.t* should be perceived as a designation of a settlement having a character of a village (“caractère villageois”, Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 6). However, according to Moreno García (1999: 24), *ḥw.t* was a building or a group of buildings. Khaled added that *ḥw.t* was an estate or a centre, being larger than *njw.t* and bearing also an administrative role (Khaled 2008b: 196; Khaled 2016: 169). Regarding *njw.t*, it should represent the elementary

component of the then economy, a village (Arabic *ezbah*) (Khaled 2008b: 196; Khaled 2016: 169).

The names of funerary domains with a king's appellation as a component, are attested as early as the First Dynasty (ca. 2900–2730⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490), during the reign of King Djer (Engel 2013: 37).⁹³ In the funerary contexts, the domains were often personified as a female or male figure with vessels of various types on their heads, loaded with various goods. These representations were usually accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription, which announced the domain's name. These toponyms evince similar patterns as every other ancient Egyptian name (Jaquet-Gordon 1962: 40), and they are particularly interesting since, among other things, a number of theonyms can be recognised in there (see below, Chapter 5.2.1). Interestingly, no deity is attested in non-royal contexts (Jaquet-Gordon 1962: 80). The domains' names mentioning a deity were studied by Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981). Although her treatise is very important, nowadays is fairly outdated since excavations in Egypt has brought to light new material. The research in this thesis aims to further develop the work of Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981) in the terms of the studied deities, which were not after all taken into consideration by her. The thesis works with the available secondary sources: various lists of funerary domains (primarily Jaquet-Gordon 1962; Khaled 2008b).

3.1.2.2 Offering formulae

In the mortuary contexts, offerings were of primary importance since they enabled the individuals to stay alive even after death. They were brought by bereaved persons to the necropolis at the occasions of burials and significant feasts. Substitute supplies were also present in the burial equipment as well as in tomb decoration in the form of depictions of the so-called offering formulae. Tombs endowed with these necessities ensured protection

⁹³ Djer's reign is being dated to the period 2870–2823⁺²⁵ BC (Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490).

and perpetual supplies for the tomb owners and other persons (for instance, members of their families).

It was at the turn of the Third and Fourth Dynasty when the first offering formulae appeared, in the tomb of Rahetep at Meidum (Barta 1968: 3). There, the god Anubis was invoked: *ḥtp-[dj]-Jnp.w* (Petrie 1892: 132, pl. XIII; Barta 1968: 6). In general, the formulae contain references to the king (*ḥtp-dj-nswt*) and to some deities, besides Anubis it was often Osiris, sometimes also Khentyimentyu, *ntr ʿ3*, Geb, Thoth, Horus of Hebenu, Wepwawet, Bastet, Hathor, Satet, Matit (Barta 1968: 15, 25).

The phrase mentioning the king (*ḥtp-dj-nswt*) led Hans Goedicke (1970: 37) to suggest that it reflected the idea of the king, as the owner of the necropolis, being the provider of the offerings for the eternal life of the deceased. However, Allen (2006a: 15, 17) demonstrated that the offering formulae referring to the king and to the gods expressed “royal and divine approval” for their transition into the afterlife. He built this conclusion on the basis of the analysis of some particular formulae and on the fact that the then officials possessed their own funerary estates (Allen 2006a).

A number of deities referred in the offering formulae were connected to the necropoleis, but it was Anubis and Osiris who were the most important of this kind of divinities. Both were linked to the necropoleis, but also to funerary rites, death, netherworld and resurrection. Regarding Anubis, according to some pieces of evidence, he might be attested as early as the First Dynasty (Wilkinson 1999: 280–281).⁹⁴ This suggestion, however, was challenged by Smith (2017: 69) who pointed out that phonetically the divine name *Jnp.w* is not referred before the Fifth Dynasty. On the other hand, he also admitted that the offering formulae of the Fourth Dynasty referred to this deity in his canine form (Smith 2017: 69; cf.

⁹⁴ For general information about Anubis, see, for instance, B. Altenmüller (1975a); Doxey (2001a); DuQuense (2005). The Old Kingdom titles, epithets, personal names and names of funerary domains connected to Anubis were collected by Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981: 19–31).

also Barta 1968: 5–8). Anubis was depicted as an African golden wolf or as a canine-headed male figure.⁹⁵ He was the divine embalmer.

Osiris was one of the most significant deities of the Egyptian pantheon.⁹⁶ He was connected to a number of phenomena, being related to the netherworld, victory over the death, resurrection, regeneration, harvest, Nile floods, etc. His major cultic place was located in Abydos (O'Connor 2009) where, among others, the so-called Osireion was built by King Sety I (1290–1279 BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 493).⁹⁷ Moreover, the tomb of the First Dynasty King Den (2814–2772⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490) at Abydos (Petrie 1901: 9–11, Pls. LVI, LXII) was considered the Osiris's tomb. Besides Abydos, there were many cultic places of Osiris across Egypt. Interestingly enough, he is not attested prior the Fifth Dynasty and it is his origin and emergence in the sources which has been debated among scholars (Griffiths 1966; Bolshakov 1992 and 2002; Shalomi-Hen 2007 and 2015; Dulíková 2016c: 135–160, Smith 2017: 1–165).⁹⁸ He is first attested in the elite non-royal sphere in the offering formulae of the mid-Fifth Dynasty, which is the fact that has been emphasised by some scholars (e.g. Dulíková 2016c: 135–160). In the opinion of Smith (2017: 123) this particular topic is not of a paramount importance, though.

There are two essential studies being concerned with the offering formulae in the period under survey. Barta (1968) focused on their structure from the beginning to the Greco-Roman Period. First, he collected the attestations for individual dynasties, and in the second part he offered an analysis of the material. Another publication was prepared by Günter Lapp (1986) who analysed the formulae of the Old Kingdom period, considering also later examples, as needed. He did not list them in the chronological order. Instead, he structured the publication with regard to the topic of the formula, following thus tripartite structure of the offering formulae: “Königs- und Götterformel/Bitte/Empfänger” (Lapp

⁹⁵ Traditionally, it has been believed that Anubis was connected to jackal. However, new research has proved that the Egyptian (African) canids are in fact African golden wolf (see Koepfli *et al.* 2015). For this reference the present author is grateful to her colleague Jiří Honzl.

⁹⁶ Generally, about Osiris, see, for instance, Griffiths (1982 and 2001); lately also Smith (2017).

⁹⁷ For the Osireion, see, e.g., Murray (1904); O'Connor (2009: 50–51); Lieven (2007).

⁹⁸ For the occurrences in titles and anthroponymy of the Old Kingdom, see Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981: 121–125).

1986: IX). Even though these two monographs may seem relatively old and modern excavations have brought to light many new examples of the offering formulae, the publications are still worth consulting. In addition, it has to be noted that a selective list of the Old Kingdom offering formulae was provided by Nigel Strudwick (2005: 209–216).

Clearly, the offering formulae were used in mortuary contexts. In this regard, they can be partly compared to the Pyramid Texts. In general, in Old Kingdom tombs of a non-royal person there were not many inscriptions where a reference to a deity can be found. Such a study may contribute to the knowledge about the belief system of the Old Kingdom elite, in the way they were allowed/wanted to present it.

3.1.3 Royal names and epithets

Sun deities were significant in the royal ideology of ancient Egypt, which was expressed, among other things, in royal titulary. From the Middle Kingdom the royal titulary was composed of five epithets (Scheele-Schweitzer 2007: 91). Even though each part of it existed in the Old Kingdom, the rulers of that period had a full fivefold titulary fairly exceptionally (cf. Beckerath 1984b: 176–189; Leprohon 2013: 31–48; Scheele-Schweitzer 2007: 91). From these five epithets, the so-called Horus name (*rn n Hr*) is attested as the first one, at least at the end of the Predynastic Period. Later, in the reign of King Den the Golden Horus name (*rn n nbw*) appeared.⁹⁹ In the reigns of King Adjib and Semerkhet, the *nswt-bjtj* (Throne) and *nb.tj* (Two Ladies, i.e. Nekhbet and Wadjet)¹⁰⁰ names were first used. The last part of the titulary, the so-called Birth name, was given to the crown prince at the moment of his birth. Later, from the time the time of King Radjedef in the Fourth Dynasty, the epithet *z3-R* occurred. From the time of Horus Sanakht (Third Dynasty), the cartouche encircled royal names (Wilkinson 1999: 208; Leprohon 2013: 8; see also Spieser 2010). The titulary expressed

⁹⁹ As *jr.t nbw*, “the golden uraeus” (see Leprohon 2013: 26).

¹⁰⁰ The first piece of evidence of the *Nb.tj* title might have come from the Narmer Palette (Barguet 1951) but this is reasonably questionable. The depiction of a vulture and cobra on baskets, which is the writing of the *Nb.tj* title, is attested in the reign of King Aha from the First Dynasty (Beckerath 1984b: 16 and 20, footnote 2). But it was without a connection to a royal name.

king's attributes and his links to his country, people, and to the deities in shorter or longer proclamations.

Egyptological bibliography contains several publications collecting the ancient Egyptian royal names. The first list was prepared by Henri Gauthier (1907–1917), yet it is not very relevant today. Another collection was published by Jürgen von Beckerath (1984b). In the first part, he studied the history and meaning of royal names, and in the second one, he presented their list in alphabetical order (Latin) and in hieroglyphs from the Predynastic times to Roman Period. Although his publication is rather old, it is still worth consulting, albeit some interpretations are outdated. Later, the lists were updated by Peter A. Clayton (2001) and Stephen Quirke (2010: 64–105). Even though Clayton (2001) produced a chronological list of the Egyptian kings from the beginnings to the Ptolemaic Dynasty (305–30 BC), he did not prepare a list of the individual titularies. Moreover, he was concerned more with the ancient Egyptian history, rather than with the royal names themselves. On the other hand, Quirke (2010) dealt with royal names in more details, but he neither presented comprehensive royal titularies. Lately the topic was touched by Ronald J. Leprohon (2013) who summarised the trends in interpreting the epithets and prepared a list of royal names in transliteration with translation the names. However, he did not present hieroglyphic writings.

There are also many studies dealing with individual topics connected to royal names. For the Old Kingdom period, for instance, the studies of Katrin Scheele-Schweitzer (2007), who considered the names of King Neferirkare, being of the opinion that Neferirkare was the Birth name whereas Kakai served as hypokoristikon used for everyday purposes, or of Verner (1985 and 2006a), who was interested in the right form of Raneferef's name.

As regards the topic under survey, it is also interesting to mention that according to some scholars, cartouches seem to reflect solar symbolism.¹⁰¹ They may be seen as a means to express the idea that the king is the ruler of the created world that is encircled by the sun

¹⁰¹ For cartouche, see Beckerath (1984b: 34–37).

(Gardiner 1927: 74). On the other hand, Barta (1970) was of the opinion that the cartouche represented the symbol for cyclic rejuvenation/return of life demonstrated in the solar cycle.

3.1.4 Personal names

The study of ancient Egyptian anthroponyms is salient, among other things, from the religious point of view what was after all observed by John Baines (1987).¹⁰² The name (*rn*) was of paramount significance since it was deemed one of the seven material and immaterial integral parts and manifestations of each human being, together with the body, hearth, shadow, *k3*, *b3* and *3h* (cf. Ranke 1952: 2; Vernus 1982a; Baines 1991: 176–178; Doxey 2001b; Taylor 2001: 23–24; Vittmann 2013a; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 13; Janák 2012: 66–154).¹⁰³ The appellation was given to new-borns at the moment of their birth by their parents (e.g. Ranke 1926; Ranke 1952: 2–3; Posener 1977; Vernus 1982b), often bearing a meaning. They appear in various forms: basilophoric, theophoric, one word, phrase or even a whole sentence (for more details, see Ranke 1952: 20–227; Vernus 1982c; Vittmann 2013b; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 53–83). The names were used not only for persons, but also for animals, cosmic bodies, buildings or to divinities.

It was believed that the personal name participated in the existence of an individual. In the words of Jan Assmann (2008: 10): “*Name’ refers not only to proper names such as Osiris and Amun but denotes everything that may be said and told about a deity in epithets, titles, pedigrees, genealogies, myths-in short, its entire linguistic representation.*” So that the deceased could have lived for ever and ever, their appellations had to be remembered. Moreover, the name played a significant role in the ancient Egyptian magic: the knowledge of one’s name was an effective magical instrument. Such a concept is reflected in the Egyptian story of the true or secret name of Re which is a magical healing incantation in fact attested in Ramesside papyri and ostraca: for instance, p. Turin 1993 (Pleyte – Rossi 1869–1876: 170–191, Pls. CXXXI–CXXXVIII), p. Chester Beaty XI = BM 10961 (Gardiner 1935: 116–119),

¹⁰² See also Peterková Hloučová (2016a).

¹⁰³ For *b3* and *3h*, see also Janák (2013 and 2016).

o. Petrie 7 [UC 39610] (Černý – Gardiner 1957: 1, Pls. III–IIIA). The goddess Isis forced Re, the ruler of the gods, with the help of a snake bite to reveal his secret appellation to her. She thus gained enormous power for her son Horus. Likewise, knowing Re’s secret name was needed for his saving before dying (e.g. Janák 2005: 55).¹⁰⁴ A similar notion is present in the Book of the Dead: BD 142 is called the “Book (...) of knowing the names of Osiris in all his places where he wishes to be” (Quirke 2013: 319–320). To be familiar with one hundred appellations of the god of the afterworld was one of the preconditions for reaching eternal life.

A number of researchers have been studying this phenomenon from different perspectives for several decades. There are more or less extensive lists of names (Murray 1908; Hoffmann 1915), added to by studies on various aspects of the onomastic (Ranke 1935, 1952 and 1976; Gourdon 2007 a AGÉA;¹⁰⁵ Scheele-Schweitzer 2014), and the phenomenon of theophoric names was in the interest of several scholars (Ranke 1936: 305–318; Helck 1954b; Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981; Fischer 1996).

Recently, (not only) theophoric names were also in the attention of Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 33–44). She presented a more comprehensive list of deities in the anthroponyms, than the one registered by Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981). Furthermore, local affiliations were studied by her, which provided grounds for establishing five categories of divinities (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 42–43), demonstrating thus some trends in anthroponomy. The information for the solar notions that can be gathered from the basis of theophoric anthroponyms were analysed by the present author (Peterková Hlouchová 2016a).

In this thesis, the modern collections of anthroponyms were used for the analysis (Ranke 1935, 1952 and 1976; Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981, Gourdon 2007 a AGÉA; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014), observing if one of the deities composed an element in non-royal appellations.

¹⁰⁴ For the role of magic in the ancient Egyptian medicine, see, for instance, Nunn (1996: 96–112).

¹⁰⁵ Gourdon’s database is partially published online: *Anthroponymes et Généalogies de l’Égypte Ancienne* (AGÉA).

3.1.5 Royal annals

The Old Kingdom royal annals are investigated in a view of references to the deities under study. Two major documents from this period are preserved: the so-called Palermo Stone and the South Saqqara List. The term Palermo Stone is a modern Egyptological designation for seven fragments of a black basalt slab which bears significant records regarding regnal years of individual rulers of Egypt, from the First to the early Fifth Dynasty, mentioning also prehistorical mythical kings. It was inscribed on both sides. The pieces are stored in museums in Palermo (Museo Archeologico Regionale Antonio Salinas), London (Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology) and Cairo (Egyptian Museum in Cairo)¹⁰⁶ (Wilkinson 2000: 17). It is supposed that the stone with annals was carved in the Fifth Dynasty (e.g. Helck 1956: 2; Hsu 2010: 78).¹⁰⁷ What regards its provenance, however, it remains unknown. There are some fragments allegedly coming from Minya (Porter – Moss 1934: 133). Nevertheless, on the basis of the find of the fourth Cairo fragment (JE 44860) in Memphis, it is supposed that the piece could have been erected at this locality (Wilkinson 2000: 21–22). Besides notes about height of the Nile floods and other types of evidence, the Palermo Stone bears witnesses about some important royal and religious events, offering thus a possibility to study which festivals were celebrated and also which cults were supported by the kings.

The scholarly interest in the Palermo Stone goes back to the end of the Nineteenth Century (Pellegrini 1895). The research until the year 2000 was summarised by Toby A. H. Wilkinson (2000: 28–60). An updated translation was published by Strudwick (2005: 65–74). Furthermore, the Palermo Stone as the first royal inscription was examined by Shih-Wei Hsu (2010). Lately, the team of Nuzzolo has applied modern technology (RTI: Reflectance Transformation Imaging) to document and study the piece. The method enables to make the reading of the Palermo Stone records, especially on the verso, more precise (Nuzzolo 2018a; Piquette – Osman 2018). The topic of evidence for the god Re was briefly touched by Michel

¹⁰⁶ The Egyptian Museum in Cairo possesses four fragments: CF1 (JE 44859), CF2 (JE 39735), CF3 (JE 39734), CF4 (JE 44860).

¹⁰⁷ See also Wilkinson (2000: 23–24) for the summary of discussion concerning the dating of the Palermo Stone.

Baud (2010: 37–38). References to Re, *b3.w Jwn.w* and *Psd.t* were investigated by the present author (Hlouchová 2012b: 40–43; also Peterková Hlouchová 2017).

The South Saqqara List/Stone is preserved on the basalt lid of sarcophagus of Queen Ankhnespepy I and represents another remarkable piece of evidence for the topic of this thesis.¹⁰⁸ The object was found by Jéquier at South Saqqara close to the pyramid complex of Pepy II during the excavation season 1931–1932 (Jéquier 1933: 50–54). Nowadays, it is exhibited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 65 908). It bears remains of inscriptions on both sides and in the mind of Vassil Dobrev (2000: 381) it was reused as the Ankhnespepy's sarcophagus lid. What is thought-provoking is the fact that the texts were identified as being royal annals, recording the names of the Sixth Dynasty kings (Teti, Weserkare, Pepy I, Merenre, Pepy II). The document was analysed by Michel Baud and Vassil Dobrev (1995 and 1997). Regarding its dating, it was Dobrev (2000: 382–385) who offered the suggestion that the object might have recorded even Fifth Dynasty events and that the Sixth Dynasty entries were written down during the reign of king Merenre. A translation into English was prepared by Strudwick (2005: 75–77). As a source of the Old Kingdom religion, focusing on the deities with solar aspects, it was preliminarily examined by the present author (Hlouchová 2013: 47; Peterková Hlouchová 2017: 351).

3.1.6 Administrative sources

Even though administrative documents were, by their nature, created for purposes other than religious, they can offer some insights into the belief system of the Old Kingdom. In particular, these sources may provide us with evidence of possible cultic activities devoted to the deities. It is the reason why sealings and papyrus archives are analysed in this thesis, by observing attestations of the deities under study.

¹⁰⁸ According to Jéquier (1933: 52–54), the possessor of the sarcophagus was Ankhesenpepy IV, the wife of Pepy II and mother of Neferkare II. On the other hand, Dobrev (2000: 387) suggested that it belonged to Ankhesenpepy I, the spouse of Pepy I and mother of Merenre.

3.1.6.1 Seals and sealings

It was a common praxis in the Egyptian administration to seal various objects (bags, jars, wooden boxes, doors, significant documents, etc.) so that they were kept under control.¹⁰⁹ The seals were mainly impressed into conical mud stoppers which were attached to a number of containers (cf. Pätznick 2005: 13–62; also Jeřábek 2018: 25–28). Remains of sealings have been found in necropoleis and settlements, often bearing the Horus name of the ruling king, and titles of the seal holder. It was Peter Kaplony (1977, 1981a and 1981b) who published the sealings from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasty, with two pieces from the Second Dynasty (ca. 2730–2590⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490). However, nowadays his monographs are reasonably out of date, taken into consideration many new field, museum and archive excavations. Regarding the Third Dynasty (ca. 2592–2544⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490), the sealings were published, with other inscribed artefacts, by Jochem Kahl, Nicole Kloth and Ursula Zimmermann (1995). The Giza material of modern-day excavations was analysed by John S. Nolan (2010). Additionally, the finds from the settlement in Heit el-Ghurab have been studied (Witsell 2014). Other settlement sealings are represented, for instance, by those from Elephantine (Pätznick 2005).

The excavations at Abusir conducted by the Czech (former Czechoslovak) Institute of Egyptology have also brought to light many examples of sealings, e.g. in the pyramid complex of King Raneferef in Abusir Centre. The corpus was studied by Verner (2006b) who published a selection of these finds.¹¹⁰ Another assemblage of sealings was collected in the pyramid complex of Queen Khentkaus II (Verner 2001: 97–32). Pieces of sealings were also detected at Abusir South in funerary contexts. For instance, in the burial chamber of the sun

¹⁰⁹ To significance and function of the sealing praxis, see Pätznick (2005: 5–8).

¹¹⁰ Nowadays, it is David Jeřábek (2018 and *in preparation*) who continues in the work of Verner.

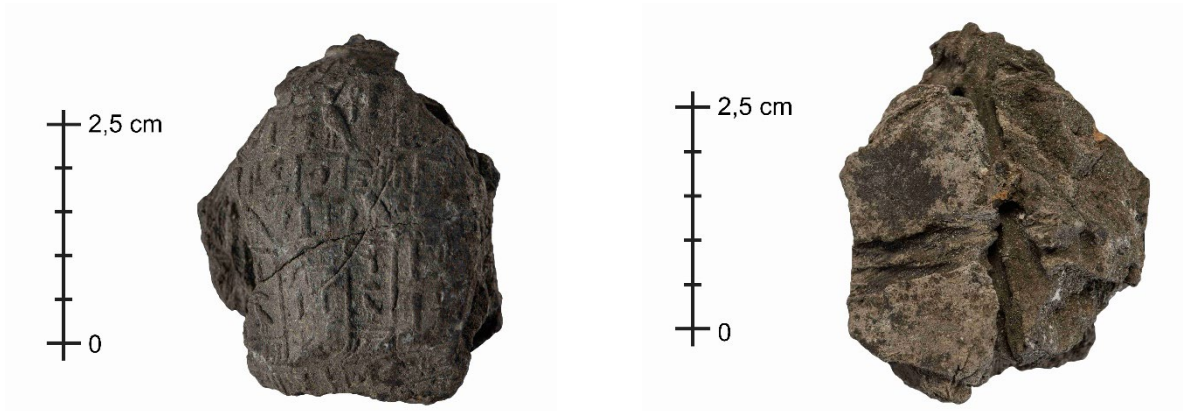


Fig. 8 Mud sealing (recto and verso) mentioning Hathor and Anubis as part of a title, and the Horus name of King Neferirkare (*Wsr-h^c.w*), found in the burial chamber of Shaft 3 of the tomb of Nyankhseshat at Abusir South (photo Petr Košárek; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

priest Neferinpu (AS 37, Bárta 2014a: 96–99) two clay sealings appeared. In the tomb of Nyankhseshat (AS 104), in the burial chamber of Shaft 3 a clay sealing (35/AS104/2018) was excavated (Odler – Peterková Hlouchová *et al.* 2019a: 31, 35; Odler – Peterková Hlouchová *et al.* 2019b: 64) as well (**fig. 8**). Interestingly, several titles connected to some deities (Hathor, Anubis), are mentioned in the piece. The finds from the tomb of Neferinpu were interpreted as sealing the wooden canopic box. However, various scenes in Old Kingdom mastabas provide us with evidence for boxes with various items of mortuary equipment being sealed by a sealing, for instance, in the tomb of Fetekty and Mety (AS 5) at Abusir South (Bárta 2001: Pl. LXXXII).¹¹¹

3.1.6.2 Papyri

Administrative records on papyri from the Old Kingdom period are represented by examples from Wadi el-Jarf, Abusir and Gebelein. In the campaigns of 2011, 2012 and especially 2013, the French mission uncovered a collection of papyri at the locality Wadi el-Jarf, on the Red

¹¹¹ The present author is grateful to her colleagues Martin Odler and Lucie Vendelová Jirásková for their remarks to the sealings in burial contexts.

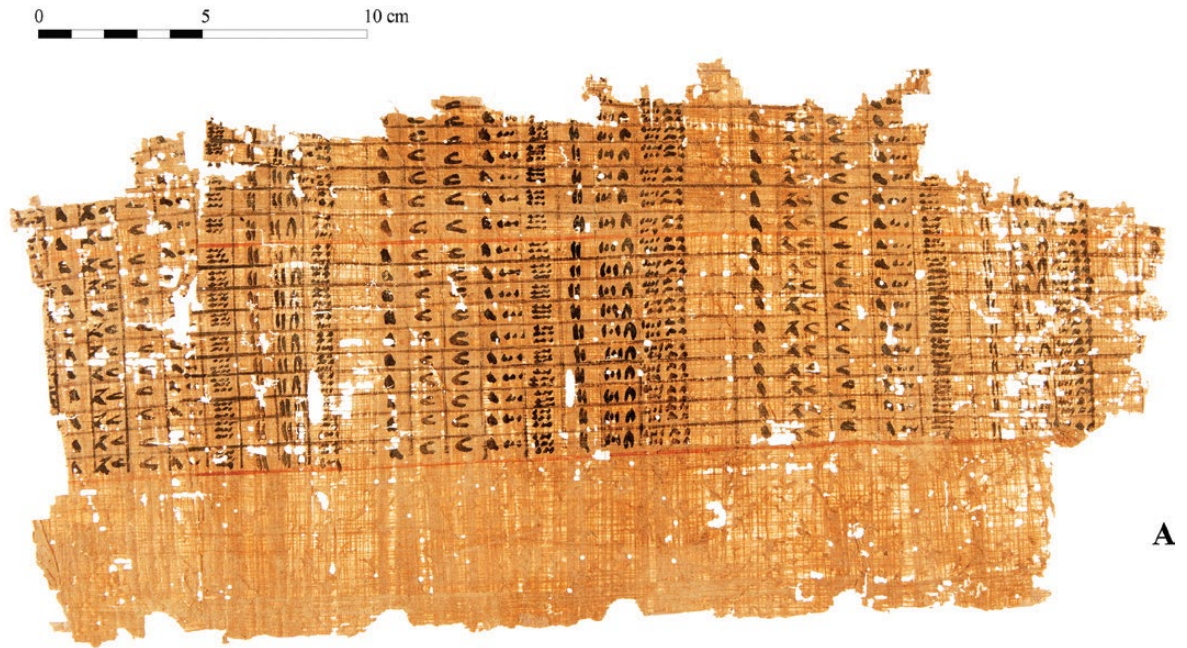


Fig. 9 Register of supplies for the members of the expedition on one of the Wadi el-Jarf papyri (after Tallet 2014: fig. 18)

Sea coast (Tallet 2017: 3).¹¹² Wadi el-Jarf was used as a harbour as early as the first half of the Fourth Dynasty (Tallet – Marouard 2012: 41; Tallet – Marouard – Laisney 2012), representing thus the oldest surviving settlement of this type in Egypt itself (Tallet – Marouard 2012: 40). The archaeologists detected six zones with several types of structures (rock galleries, camps, harbour with 21 anchors, and other amenities; Tallet – Marouard – Laisney 2012). The papyri were stored in the rock galleries (G1 and G2; Tallet 2014: 39). Some of the finds from this locality bring attestation for King Khufu (2509–2483⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 491), the second ruler of the Fourth Dynasty. His name appeared not only in graffiti (Tallet – Marouard – Laisney 2012: 415, Marque 1) but also in the records on papyri. With their dating and provenance these documents are exceptional since as such they represent the earliest inscribed papyri from ancient Egypt (Tallet 2017: 5–12).¹¹³ Regarding their content, they recorded supplies for members of

¹¹² For the excavations of Wadi el-Jarf, see Tallet – Marouard (2012); Tallet – Marouard – Laisney (2012).

¹¹³ The praxis of using papyrus scrolls is slightly older, though. An unscribed piece of papyrus, placed in a wooden box was found in the tomb of Hemaka at North Saqqara, in Magazine Z, dated to the First Dynasty (Emery 1938: 14, 41; Wilkinson 1999: 9).

expeditions (Tallet 2014; see **fig. 9**). In addition, a three-month diary of a certain Merer survived, providing unique insights into the everyday life of the people on an expedition (Tallet 2017).

The papyri from Gebelein were found by the Italian mission lead with Giulio Farina in the year 1936 (Posener-Kriéger 1986: 25). From antiquity, they were stored inside a wooden box in a tomb on the necropolis of Gebelein. It has been supposed that the tomb belonged to a scribe (Posener-Kriéger 1986: 25). Altogether five papyri were preserved complete and there were also a number of fragments. Their content is administrative and presents accounts (cereal, estate) and a list of people. Regarding their dating, they seem to be written at the end of the Fourth Dynasty, or maybe earlier (Posener-Kriéger 1986: 27). They were analysed and edited by Paule Posener-Kriéger (1975, 1977, 1986 and 2004) it was she who observed a number of similarities with the papyri from Abusir (Posener-Kriéger 1986: 25–26). In the mind of Strudwick (2005: 50, also 185–186, 433–434) they represented private administrative sources. This corpus has often been considered when studying Old Kingdom administrative, economical, and social system (for instance, Vymazalová 2005: *passim*; Moreno García 2013b).

Three papyrus archives were uncovered in the pyramid field of Abusir. The first one comes from the pyramid complex of King Neferirkare.¹¹⁴ The oldest examples of this documents were collected by local villagers at the end of the Nineteenth Century. It was Borchardt (1909: 1) who searched for another examples on the site itself. The papyri of Neferirkare were edited and analysed by Paule Posener-Kriéger (Posener-Kriéger – Cenival 1968; Posener-Kriéger 1976). The second corpus of papyri was excavated in the mortuary temple of Queen Khentkaus II by the Czech (former Czechoslovak) Institute of Egyptology,

¹¹⁴ To King Neferirkare, see lately Verner (2014: 47–55).

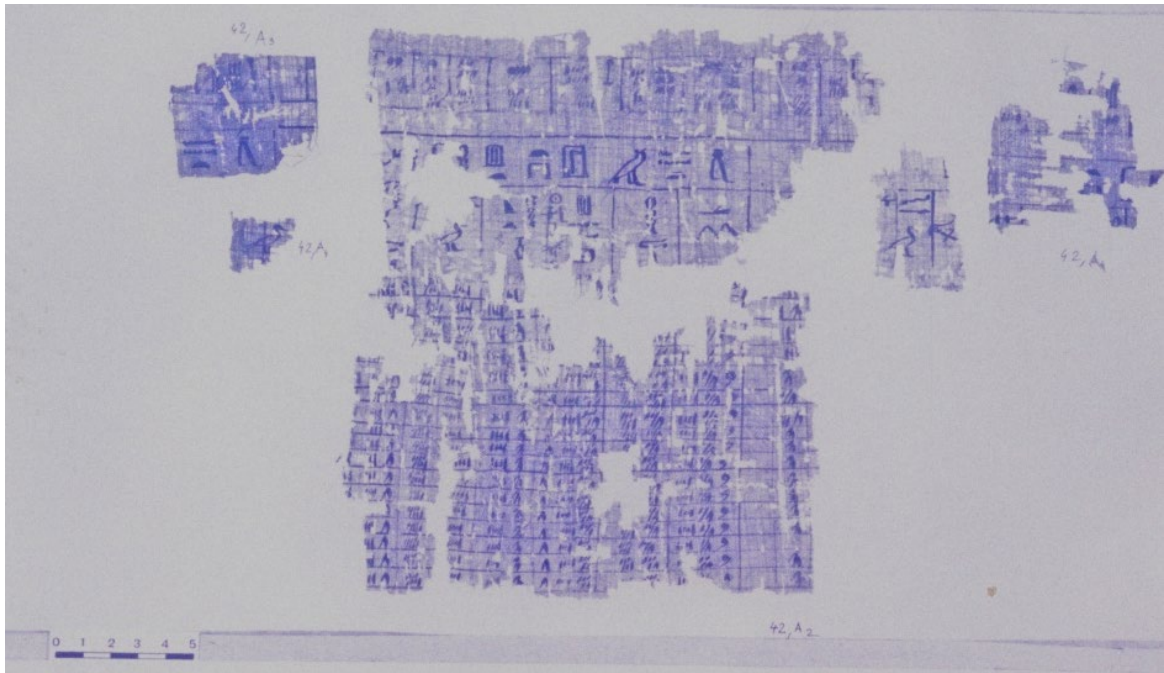


Fig. 10 Fragments of an account document from the papyrus archive found in the mortuary temple of King Raneferef at Abusir Centre (fragment 47; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

and, similarly, they were studied by Posener-Kriéger (2001). With regards to the third Abusir papyrus archive, it was unearthed in the pyramid complex of King Raneferef (Posener-Kriéger – Verner – Vymazalová 2006; see **fig. 10**). The Abusir archives represent several categories of documents (royal decrees, accounts, list of staff, etc.), hence providing insights into the organisation of royal mortuary temples, into their staff, economy, service, etc. (for instance, Vymazalová 2005 and 2011; Verner 2014: 99–136).

Furthermore, other papyrus fragments were excavated at Abusir: in the so-called Lepsius 25/1 tomb, bearing also accounting records (Vymazalová 2008). Based on her research, Hana Vymazalová (2008: 215) presented the opinion that these pieces did not belong to the tomb itself, but they represent intrusive remains from a different structure.

Despite its different purpose, the above-listed material offers some information for the study of the then religious beliefs. Evidence of this kind provides theophoric personal names, various titles relating to some deities, references to a number of feasts, etc.

3.1.6.3 Titles

The administration and especially titles of the Old Kingdom have been attracting attention of a number of scholars for many decades. This is a multi-structured and multi-layered phenomenon, and it was the complexity of the ancient Egyptian administration that led to the conclusion that Egypt was a well-organised bureaucratic early state. Nonetheless, the work of Moreno García (2013a) have demonstrated that there must have been also some invisible elements which were not parts of the official administrative system, but which were significant for local communities.

As far as the research in this topic is concerned, it is focused on the structure of state administration, many aspects of the bureaucratic praxis (e.g. Helck 1954a; Martin-Pardey 1976 and 2001; Piacentini 2002; Moreno García 2013a), on various institutions (e.g. Desplancques 2006) or on vezirate, the most significant office in the then state (Strudwick 1985; Dulíková 2008). There are also treatises on title rows (Baer 1960) or with individual titles (e.g. Martin-Pardey 1984; Bárta 1999; Altenmüller 2013; Dulíková 2011; Nováková 2018). Lists of the Old Kingdom titles were collected as well (Murray 1908; Jones 2000). At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, Margaret A. Murray (1908) prepared a list of priestly and administrative titles.

Among the titles, references to several deities can be detected, mainly in priestly titles. However, as demonstrated by Altenmüller (2013) in the case of the “priest of Heqet” and “follower of Ha”, some titles mentioning a deity were of a more practical use, rather than a religious one. These titles were used for the people who were in charge of registration of products from the marshes area in the former, and from the desert in the latter case (Altenmüller 2013: 11). It was Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981) who studied primarily the Fifth Dynasty titles mentioning one of 17 gods: Anubis, Apis, Bastet, Khnum, Khentymentyu, Hathor, Horus, Maat, Min, Neith, Osiris, Ptah, Re, Seshat, Seth, Sokar and Thoth. It might be interesting to analyse this corpus from the perspective of the divinities under the present survey.

3.2 Methodological approach

Methodologically, the study is based on analyses of the above-listed sources, whether the deities under survey are referred there or not. It is also significant to observe, what can be discerned about their roles and functions from this information. Generally, methodological approaches on how to study the ancient Egyptian religion can be found in several articles (Assmann 2011a; Fitzenreiter 2011). In a past few decades, there has been a tendency to challenge the traditional methods in studying ancient Egyptian religion which primarily focused on textual sources, mainly on the texts for reaching the afterlife.¹¹⁵ For instance, it was Martin Fitzenreiter (2011) who emphasised the idea that besides the textual corpora, even archaeological evidence should be taken into account in investigating the ancient Egyptian religion. Similar attitudes can be detected in the treatises of John Baines (1987) and Geraldine Pinch (1993), pointing out the fact that for the ancient Egyptian religion, it was the religious practice rather than texts that was fundamental.¹¹⁶

Different types of evidence were selected for this investigation, which was based on several factors. First, it was essential to take into consideration a broad spectrum of the Old Kingdom documents. Also geographical aspect of the sources (centre versus province) represented another criterion for the selection. The thesis concentrates mainly on the material from the Memphite area (especially Abusir), the then capital, covering thus royal and elite spheres. Additionally, some provincial sources (Gebelein papyri, seals and sealings, personal names, etc.) are taken into consideration, primarily for comparative reasons. Similar material and potential informational value was considered as well. Moreover, the present research investigates not only royal, but also non-royal sources. In some instances, it is difficult to distinguish between the two categories, though. For instance, papyri and many sealings from the Memphite necropolis, and also from Wadi el-Jarf, were found in the mortuary temples of the royal pyramid complexes and were linked with the official state

¹¹⁵ For methods and limits of studying ancient Egyptian religion, see, for instance, Assmann (2011a); Fitzenreiter (2011); Mohn (2011); Roeder (2011).

¹¹⁶ See also above, footnote 24.

administration. On the contrary, these objects were utilised by non-royal persons. From the theoretical point of view, it is difficult to decide whether it is origin or usage that is more important. Even the Pyramid Texts may be problematic in this context. On the one hand, they are attested in royal monuments, even creating a significant unit for the king, but some of the texts built upon the notions documented earlier in non-royal contexts (see above, Chapter 3.1.1).

Although the scrutiny based on textual sources has been criticised (see above), the Pyramid Texts still represent the primary document in a study of understanding of the Old Kingdom religious thinking. The Pyramid Text spells are analysed with a search for occurrences of the individual deities under study. These mentions are grouped together, creating a list of Pyramid Text spells for individual gods. What is observed are their roles, functions, significance and links to other divinities, together with the occurrences of the spells in the pyramids and the spatial distribution. Likewise, the style of writing of the theonyms was investigated. In analysing the Pyramid Texts, the accessible hieroglyph editions of the texts (Sethe 1908–1922; Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001; Allen 2013), and also various translations (Sethe 1935–1962; Mercer 1952; Faulkner 1969; Carrier 2009 and 2010; Allen 2005 and 2015; Mathieu 2018) constitute the foundations for this investigation. The spells with mentions of the studied deities are presented in a numerical order, according to Sethe (1908–1922), rather than in chronological sequences. Some spells of the Pyramid Texts can be analysed in more details than others. Likewise, a number of spells bring attestations for more gods covered in this thesis. That is why the texts are repeated in every relevant chapter, with appropriate bibliographical references, so that the complete list can be offered for each deity. The overviews of the relevant spells are supplemented by tables summarising the numerical codes, occurrences, categories of Hays' typology (Hays 2012), subtitles given by Allen (2015), writing of the god's name, and their epithets or roles.

Tomb decoration is a huge topic to be dealt with. As aforementioned, this analysis works mainly with the Abusir material. For the pyramid complexes of King Sahure (Borchardt 1913; Hawass – Verner 1996; El Awady 2009; Khaled 2008b and 2017), Neferirkare (Borchardt 1909) and Nyuserre (Borchardt 1907), it uses the available published

material. Moreover, the faience inlays from the mortuary temple of King Raneferef and Queen Khentkaus II were investigated, using the publications (Landgráfová 2006b, 2000 and 2004) and the database of the Czech Institute of Egyptology. The material from other parts of the Memphite necropolis has to be considered, thus using various treatises focusing on the decoration of royal pyramid complexes (Ćwiek 2003; Stockfisch 2003; Megahed 2016; Megahed – Jánosi – Vymazalová 2017, 2018 and 2019). The decoration of the sun temples of the Fifth Dynasty is also analysed, working with the published material (Borchardt 1905; Kees 1923 and 1928; Edel 1961 and 1963; Ricke 1965; Seyfried 2019). If necessary, provincial and non-royal sources were also included. In this case, however, the list of the used sources is not comprehensive, but is selective, when some particularities appeared. Solely the published material was taken into account in this case. In the scenes and inscriptions, the possible references to the deities under study are sought.

The study of tomb decoration and equipment is supplemented by an analysis of the names of funerary domains (Jacquet-Gordon 1962) and offering formulae (Barta 1968; Lapp (1986). Because it has been several decades since these treatises were published, the study has to be supplemented by some of the lately excavated offering formulae (published or unpublished).

Royal names and epithets, and also personal names are studied in the available lists of these appellations (Beckerath 1984b; Leprohon 2013; Ranke 1935, 1952 and 1976; Begelsbacher-Fischer 1981; Gourdon 2007 and AGÉA; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014).

The analysis of two royal annals of the Old Kingdom period is based on the latest available editions of both documents. For the Palermo Stone, it is the one of Wilkinson (2000) and the South Saqqara List was extensively published by Baud and Dobrev (1995).

Regarding the administrative sources, the research in explicit (or possible implicit) references to the deities works mostly with the published and edited material, such as the corpus of seals and sealings (Kaplony 1977, 1981a and 1981b; Pätznick 2005; Nolan 2010), and the preserved papyrus archives from Wadi el-Jarf (Tallet 2014 and 2017), Gebelein (Posener-Kriéger 1975, 2001 and 2004) and Abusir (Posener-Kriéger – Cenival 1968;

Posener-Kriéger 1976; Posener-Kriéger – Verner – Vymazalová 2006). Likewise, the available modern lists are used for titles and epithets (Jones 2000).

The author of the thesis is aware of the fact that the analysed sources are reasonably selective which might lead to incomplete results. However, taken into consideration the huge amount of the Old Kingdom documents, any attempt to study them completely is beyond the scope of this thesis. The analysis of the selected evidence can demonstrate some interesting trends, at the least. Despite their quantity and diversity, the sources can be fairly limited because many of them are either lost, preserved very fragmentary, are unpublished or published very insufficiently.

4 Characteristics of the deities

Before the attestations for the selected deities with solar aspects will be listed and evaluated, it is essential to present general characteristics of these gods, i.e. attributes obtained by them during the course of more than the three-thousand-year history of ancient Egypt. It has to be admitted that this chapter is more or less of an encyclopaedic nature. However, it might be useful to bear in mind other roles which the deities had, and that might improve understanding of some problematic notions.

4.1 Atum

The god Atum was the primeval deity and the creator of the world, gods and humans, mainly (but not only) in Heliopolis, the centre of the sun cult. He represented both male and female principals, and produced the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut, from himself (see below). Being attested from the Old Kingdom onwards,¹¹⁷ he gradually gained new roles and functions, acquired more attributes, and a number of sacred animals was connected with him (see Myśliwiec 1978 and 1979b). On the basis of his creative aspect, he was designated as the father and ruler of gods and as the predecessor and father of the Egyptian king, being thus closely connected to the Egyptian concept of kingship. Moreover, these associations gave him the epithet “lord of all”.

In his role of the creator, he was the first god of the Ennead from Heliopolis. The Heliopolitan Ennead (*Psd.t*), sometimes called the Big Ennead (*Psd.t ʿ3.t*), is a group of nine

¹¹⁷ His Old Kingdom characteristics were studied by the present author (Hlouchová 2014).

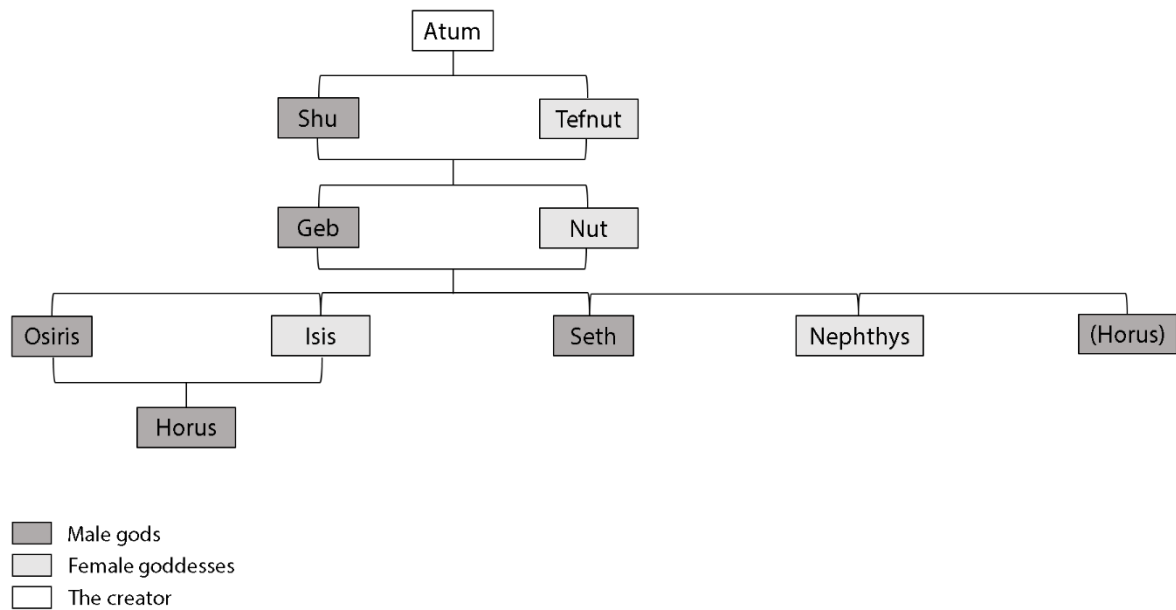


Chart 1 Graphic representation of the Heliopolitan Ennead

(sometimes ten) gods and goddesses representing cosmic spheres, natural abstract phenomena (cf. mainly Barta 1973; Bickel 1994a). It was Atum himself who produced the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut, representing light, air, moisture and *m3^c.t* (see Chapter 4.2, 5.1.1 and 5.1.2). Geb, personification of the earth,¹¹⁸ with Nut,¹¹⁹ personification of the sky, were considered an offspring of the first divine pair. These two deities had their children: Osiris,¹²⁰ Isis,¹²¹ Seth,¹²² Nephthys,¹²³ and sometimes Horus was included in this group as well (**chart 1**).¹²⁴

Besides these, solar aspects are present in Atum's characteristics, too. He was considered the evening, setting, aging and night sun. There is not a commonly accepted opinion on the phenomenon whether Atum was a pure sun god, or whether he only had a solar aspect. According to Westendorf (1983), Atum was a solar deity which was based on his connection to the main solar god Re. On the contrary, Barta (1983: 17) saw him as a sun

¹¹⁸ For general information on the characteristics of Geb, see, e.g., Velde (1977).

¹¹⁹ The characteristics of Nut see, e.g., in Kurth (1982).

¹²⁰ For Osiris, cf., for instance, Griffiths (1982). See also Smith (2017), with further references.

¹²¹ For Isis, see Bergman (1980).

¹²² For Seth, see Velde (1967 and 1984b); Turner (2013), with further bibliography.

¹²³ For information to Nephthys, see Graefe (1982); Hornung (1992).

¹²⁴ For Horus, see Mercer (1942); Griffiths (1960); Schenkel (1980); Meltzer (2001). Horus as a member of the Ennead was also perceived in a concise study of Kákósy (1976).

deity without a need of a syncretic assimilation, and Allen (1988: 10) perceived him as being the sun (as Re-Atum), or as representing separate aspects of the sun in its evening phase. The sun was the major entity in many conceptions of the creation of the world. That is perhaps why Atum as a creator god was connected with it.

In some sources, however, it is also possible to find a notion of the Atum's Eye, referring to the Moon in some cases (Pinch 2002: 112). Apart from it, Atum had chthonic aspects and was considered to belong among protectors of the deceased. Later, he became venerated in personal piety where his hand was a very effective amulet, which very likely reflected one way of the birth of the deities, Shu and Tefnut, by Atum when he took his phallus into his hand and created the first divine pair. This conception is attested in several Egyptian sources of variable date: e.g. PT 527 (see below, Chapter 5.1.1 and 6.1), CT 77 (Buck 1938: 8; Faulkner 1973: 80–81), the Book of Overthrowing Apophis in p. Bremner-Rhind (Faulkner 1933: 42–88). Atum's hand was later divinised as the goddess Iusaas or Nebethetepet (see **fig. 11**).¹²⁵

As for the Atum's name, it was Anthes who was of the opinion that it bore fairly complicated meaning: “der welcher eine Gesamtheit ist”, “der welcher vollzählig ist an denen, die als Einzelwesen vergangen sind und sich ihm eingeordnet haben”, or also “der Vollendete”, “der Erfüllte” (Anthes 1957a: 2). However, it was Ashraf Fathy (2003) who published an idea that this theonym has to be connected with the meaning “motherless”, by reading the Atum's name as *jw.t(j)-mw(.t)* (Fathy 2003: 54). Even though it can be admitted that Atum was parentless (not only motherless), this interpretation has not been generally accepted. The name Atum was derived from the word *tm*, with many meanings, mainly “nicht sein” (Erman – Grapow 1971 V: 302.5–303.11), or “vollständig sein; vollständig machen” (Erman – Grapow 1971 V: 303.12–305.2) and also “All, alles” (Erman – Grapow 1971 V: 305.3–305.6). These meanings reflected the nature of the god Atum in his role as the demiurge. In the mind of Myśliwiec (2001: 158), he was the one who did not come into being yet, the accomplished one and the source of everything. Most often he was depicted as a male

¹²⁵ For these goddesses, see, e.g., Vandier (1964, 1965 and 1966).



Fig. 11 Atum, accompanied by the goddesses Iusaas and Nebethetepet, gives the regalia to King Ramesse III, in the temple of Medinet Habu (photo Martin Frouz, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

figure (**fig. 11**), referring to his creative aspect. Moreover, in his role of the god of the evening sun, he could have a ram or a falcon head (**fig. 12**).

The main centre of his cult was situated in Heliopolis (*Jwn.w*) and during the following periods, he was worshipped in many places: e.g. *Pr-Jtm.w*, “Maison (of the worshipping) of Atum” (Pithom), situated in the eastern Delta. His cult was practised also in Hebet, Meidum, Heracleopolis, Thebes, or even Dendera. One of the reasons why Dendera was connected to this deity can be observed in the fact that both toponyms (Heliopolis and Dendera) were similar in the Egyptian language (Heliopolis was called *Jwn.w* and Dendera *Jwn.t*). The root *jwn*, “Pfeiler; Säule” (Erman – Grapow 1971 I: 53.10–53.18) can be detected there. *Jwn.t* was perceived as the female counterpart of *Jwn.w*. In the course of time the term *t3-tm*, “Atum’s land”, was even used for Dendera as well (Myśliwiec 1979b: 110).

A number of sacred animals were connected to the Atum’s cult. They referred to his various roles and functions. Myśliwiec (1978: 168–172) distinguished four main roles of



Fig. 12 Atum as a falcon-headed male figure (drawing Jolana Malátková, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

Atum and attributed the sacred animals to each of them: primeval deity, god with a solar aspect, the one of Heliopolis and lord of the netherworld. This division, however, is not absolute, because individual beasts can reflect more Atum's roles.

One of his sacred animals was the bird called *bnw* who is better known as the Greek phoenix.¹²⁶ It appears in conjunction with the rebirth, renewal and life concepts. In the Old Kingdom, the bird had the appearance of a wagtail and later was depicted as a light blue or grey heron with two long feathers on his head. Sometimes in the scenes he dwells on the top of the so-called *bnbn*-stone (BD 83; Naville 1886: pl. XCV), the sacred object of Heliopolis symbolising the primeval mound risen from the motionless waters of the primeval ocean Nu (**fig. 13**). Then Atum performed his creator's work on it and the first sun rays fell down onto the

primeval hill. What is also interesting is that sometimes the mound was considered Atum's semen (Bauval 1989: 12), which also played an important role in one of the versions of the Heliopolitan cosmogony (see below, Chapter 5.1.1 and 6.1). It was believed that the sun was born on it every day. The *bnbn*-stone from the temple in Heliopolis has not survived. However, its form can be reconstructed on the basis of some indications. It might have been of conical shape and perhaps made of a meteorite (Bauval 1989: 12). In architecture, it served as the archetype of obelisks, the most important symbol reflecting sun notions (Habachi

¹²⁶ For the *bnw*-bird, see, e.g., Myśliwiec (1978: 78–79); Tolmatcheva (2003).

1988: 5). The tops of obelisks, and pyramids (pyramidia) were called *bnbn.t* in Egyptian (Erman – Grapow 1971 I: 459.13–14). Both words, *bnbn* and *bnbn.t*, were derived from the verb *wbn*, “scheinen, aufgehen, herauskommen” (Erman – Grapow 1971 I: 292.9–294.3). Obelisks were set on pedestals which might have referred to the so-called High Sand in Heliopolis, i.e. the place of the rising of the primeval mound



Fig. 13 *Bnw*-bird depicted in the vignette of BD 83 (after Naville 1886: pl. XCV)

(Ricke 1935: 108). As far as it is known from later periods, obelisks were erected in pairs, referring to the deities Re and Atum according to Bonnet (1952: 540). Karl Martin (1977: 35) agreed with Bonnet’s suggestion, elaborating more on this theory. He thought that the eastern obelisk refers to Re-Harakhty and the western one to Re-Atum, admitting also the possibility that the link to a solar god and the king can be reflected.

4.2 Shu

Regarding the god Shu, he represented a fairly abstract deity with cosmological significance, gaining a number of roles throughout the history of Egypt. As the offspring of the creator god Atum, he was a member of the Heliopolitan Ennead (see **chart 1**) and the ancestor of every other god. Sometimes he appeared with his twin-sister Tefnut as a pair,¹²⁷ representing thus duality in various aspects: male and female, Diurnal and Nocturnal Barques of the sun god Re, east and west, time conceptions *nḥḥ* and *dt*, etc. Moreover, they symbolised male and female aspects of the sun god (Zandee 1992: 170). They can also be connected with the god Ruty, a double lion, personifying the entrance into and exit from the netherworld. Shu and Tefnut were the parents of Geb and Nut (see above).

¹²⁷ For references to Tefnut, see footnote 15.



Fig. 14 Cosmological scene depicting the sky goddess Nut, the air god Shu and Geb, the personification of the earth (drawing Jolana Malátková, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

In many instances, Shu occurred as the supporter of the sky goddess Nut (often standing on the figure of Geb (**fig. 14**). This notion is first attested verbally, already in the Old Kingdom, in the Pyramid Texts (PT 255 and PT 506; see below). Nonetheless, the iconographic scene is not documented in the decoration prior to the New Kingdom, being attested in the so-called Osireion of Sety I in Abydos for the first time (Allen 1988: 1; see also Lieven 2007). In this regard, it must be mentioned that according to Bárta (2010b), an archetype of this representation might be found in the desert rock art in Gilf Kebir as early as the Sixth–Fifth Millennium BC. In one of the depictions in the Cave of Beasts in Wadi Sura, a white headless beast is depicted, seemingly accompanied by two male figures, one with long legs (**figs. 15** and **16**; see also below, *Excursus III.2*). Bárta (2010b: 47) interpreted this scene as being a forerunner of the Geb and Nut motif. His theory was criticised, for instance, by András Zboray (2013: 23), and Frank Förster with Rudolph Kuper (2013: 24–27), who have been working at the site for a longer period of time. They pointed out the fact

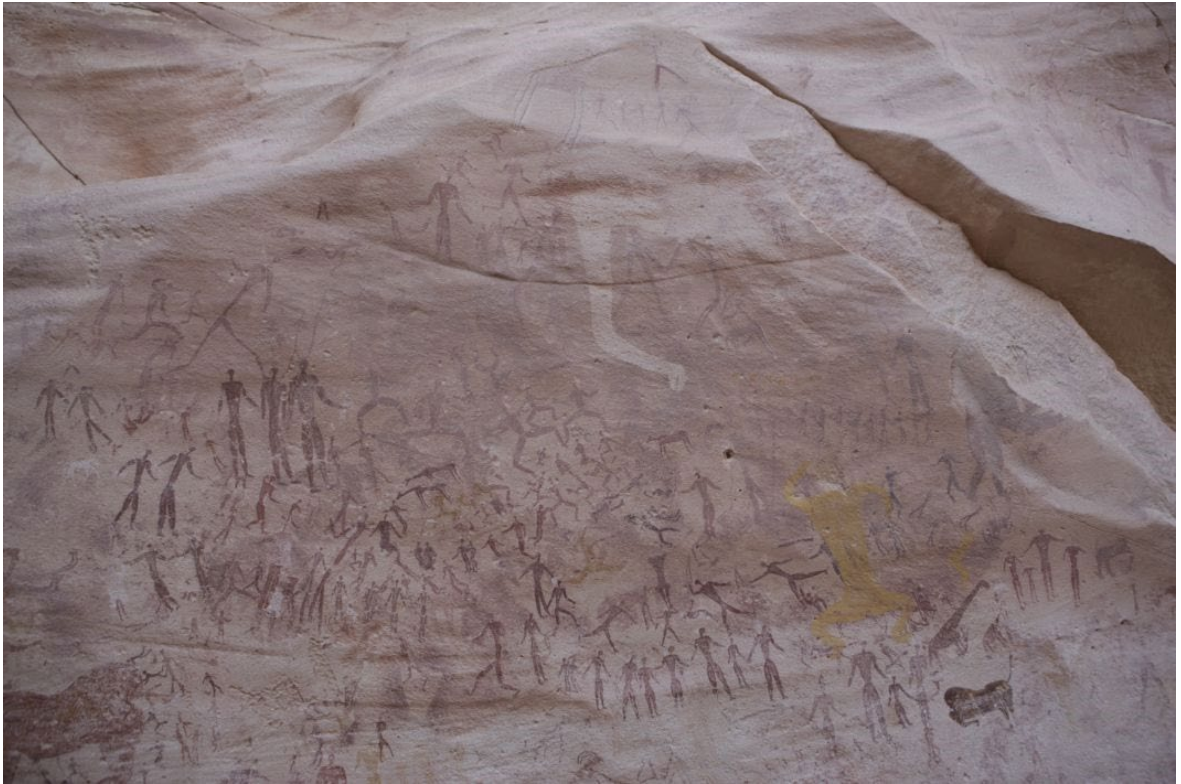


Fig. 15 The supposed predecessor of the cosmological scene in a broader context in the Cave of Beasts in Wadi Sura of Gilf Kebir (photo Martin Frouz, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

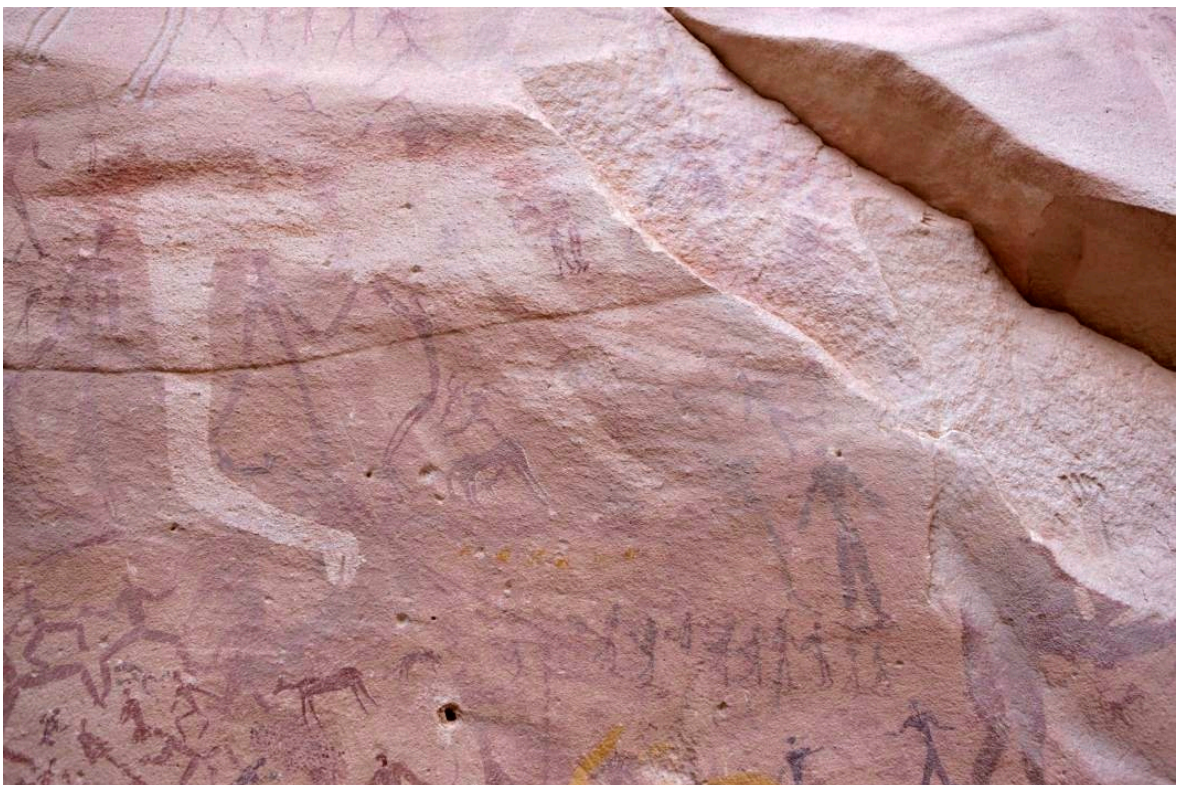


Fig. 16 Detail of the “cosmological” scene in the Cave of Beasts in Wadi Sura of Gilf Kebir (photo Martin Frouz, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

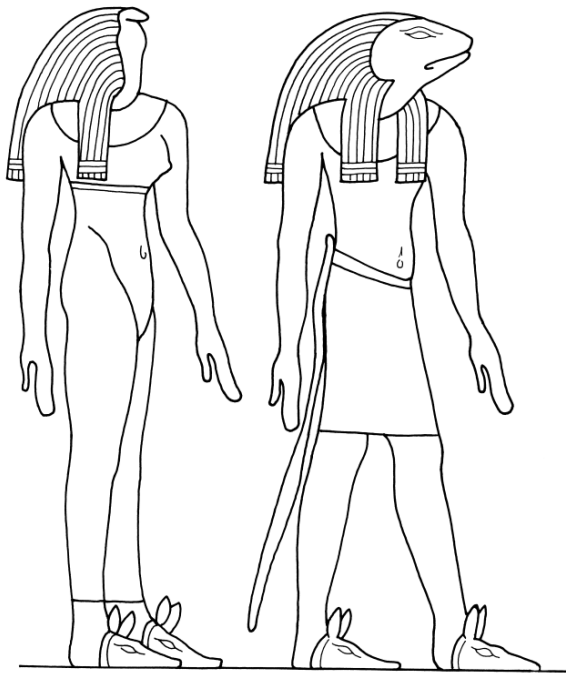


Fig. 17 Heh (frog head) and Hauhet (snake head), one of the pairs of the Ogdoad of Hermopolis (drawing Jolana Malátková, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

that there are significant time and spatial gaps (see also *Excursus III.2*).

Besides being a member of the Heliopolitan group of gods, Shu was also primeval principle and thus a part of the Ogdoad,¹²⁸ the group of eight divinities who were thought to be present in the water of the dark and motionless primeval ocean, before the creation of the world, according to Sabine Köthen-Welpot (2003: 259). These entities were couples of male and female gods (males with frog heads and females were depicted as serpent-headed figures) who caused the creation to happen (**fig. 17**). This cosmogony in all its variants was elaborated by the priests of

the main temple of the god Thoth at Hermopolis (*Hmnw*, modern El-Eshmunen).

It was Shu who filled (and he himself personified) the empty space between his children, Geb and Nut. He was primarily connected with light, but also with dry and warm air, as well as with wind and life. As such, he represented the invisible breath of life (*t3w n ʿnh*) and (creative) force of life. His strong link to the phenomenon of life is expressed, among others, in the so-called Shu-spells (or “Book of Shu”) (Assmann 1990b: passim; Velde 1984a: 735; Houser-Wegner 2001b: 285) that can be found in the Coffin Texts (CT 75–83). These spells indicated a significant role of this god for the deceased (Bickel 1994b; Jürgens 1995; Willems 1996; Fermat 2002). Apart from these, Shu was connected to the sunrise and

¹²⁸ For the Ogdoad, see, for instance, H. Altenmüller (1975); Lesko (1991: 95); Bickel (1994a: 27–28); also Jéquier (1946: 156–171). Significant are also studies of Christiane Zivie-Coche (2009a and 2009b).

sunrays, and as a god of wind, also to various atmospheric phenomena. In some cases, his bones were considered clouds. Yet scholars have different opinions on the solar aspects of Shu. Anthes (1965: 23) suggested that it was a primary role of Shu, while Barta (1973: 86) assumed a later connection to light and the sun god, which, according to him, is first observable in the Coffin Texts.

Shu's important role can likewise be seen in the royal ideology, in the coronation ritual and during the king's ascent to the throne of Shu. In this context, it must be noted that in the Royal Canon of Turin, Shu was mentioned in the first column among gods, semi-gods and spirits, being thus considered as an early divine ruler (Beckerath 1984a: 52, Kol. I; Gardiner 1959: col. 1). Last but not least, Shu was a protector of the deceased.

If the name of Shu is taken into consideration, there are several translations and many interpretations. It has been translated as "the empty one", or "the dry one" ("leer/trocken sein") (Barta 1973: 86). However, as above-mentioned (Chapter 2.2.2), Derchain (1975: 113–114) was against this translation and preferred the meaning "the raised one" ("Celui qui se dresse"). He also questioned the possibility that the Egyptians of the Fourth Millennium BC used such an abstract name to describe a deity (Derchain 1975: 111). Allen stated that Shu's name represented both elements (emptiness and dryness) (Allen 2015: 9). Even though the translation proposed by Derchain is reasonable, the first suggestion seems more likely, assuming that the way Shu was born may reflect the meaning of both his name and functions (Bickel 1994a: 77, 168; Köthen-Welpot 2003: 67–68).

Shu had mostly the appearance of a standing man with raised hands and sometimes with an ostrich feather on his head (**fig. 18**). He may have a lion appearance as well. As far

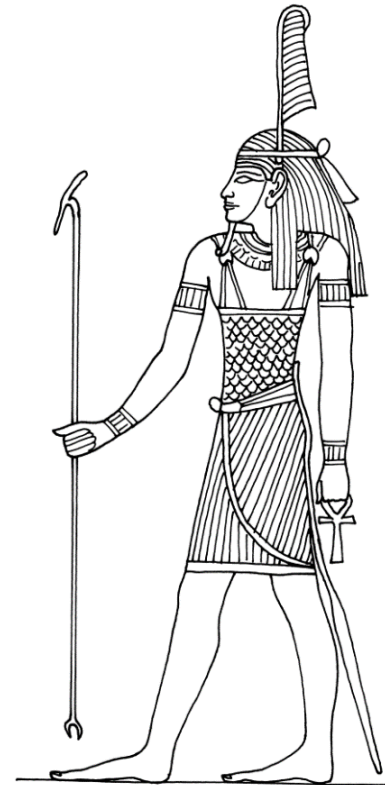


Fig. 18 Depiction of Shu as a male figure with divine attributes (drawing Jolana Malátková, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

as the sacred animals are concerned, it was lion, ram and falcon who could appear as his divine beast. He was venerated, for instance, in Heliopolis or in Leontopolis (*T3-rm*, modern Tell el-Yahudia).

4.3 Kheprer

The diurnal course of the sun was divided into three phases by ancient Egyptians. It was the god Kheprer who represented the first, morning, phase when the sun was reborn after its nocturnal voyage through the netherworld which was full of enemies and dangers, and when it raised on the eastern horizon.¹²⁹ Kheprer was a cosmic deity, connected with autogenesis, cyclic regeneration and becoming into existence. According to Anthes (1959: 211) this deity appeared even earlier than Atum. Based on the preserved sources, he had no mythology and no temple or cultic place was devoted to him.

His name was derived from the verb *hpr*, “werden; entstehen; geschehen; existieren” (Erman – Grapow 1971 III: 260.7–264.15), bearing thus the meaning “the one who came into being”. The same root was used as a designation for scarab beetles: *hpr* (Erman – Grapow 1971 III: 267.5-6). In this context, it is worth mentioning that that several forms of the god’s name appear in Egyptological literature: Kheprer or Khepre (Allen 1988: 11), Kheprerer (Wilkinson 2003: 230), and Khepri (e.g. Minas-Nerpel 2006). According to Allen (1988: 11), Khepre(r) not only was the morning sun, but also the sun in general. Similarly as in the case of Re, Allen also used “Beetle” in his translation (Allen 2015: 351). Albeit it is difficult to distinguish when the scarab and when the god is invoked (to the discussion, see below, Chapter 6.3), the Pyramid Texts refer to this deity primarily as *hpr* (cf. Minas-Nerpel 2006: 14, 19, 22–23, 37, 39–40, 47–48, 464; see also below, Chapter 5.1.3). For this reason, the form Kheprer was chosen for the present thesis.

It was the scarab or dung beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer*) that was closely connected to this deity, which is also reflected in the iconography of the god Kheprer who was depicted as a

¹²⁹ The other phases, midday and evening, were connected to the gods Re and Atum (cf. below, PT 606 in Chapters 5.1.1–5.1.3).



Fig. 19 Kheperer accompanied by other divinities in a barque on the western wall of the tomb of Inherkha (TT 359) at Deir el-Medina (photo Milan Zemina, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

beetle or as a male figure with the beetle at the place of his head (**fig. 19**). This link was based on observations of the behaviour of the animals, because the scarab rolls a ball of dung in front of it which recalled the notion of the sun being pushed up in the morning. Scarab beetles were popular in jewellery and also as an amulet. Not only were the beetles present in ornaments, but also there were some mummified scarabs, as were uncovered by the Egyptian mission at North Saqqara, in the area close to the so-called Bubasteion (Waziri – Youssef 2019).

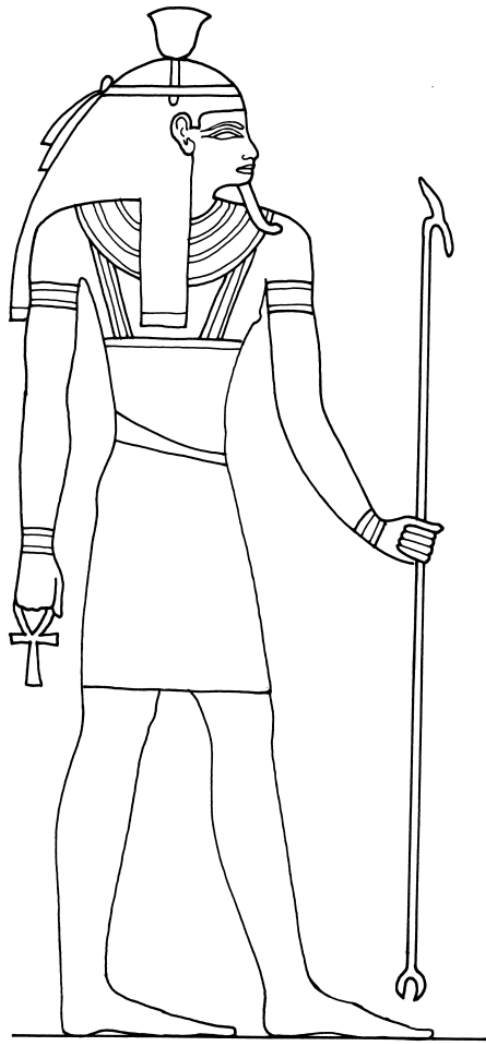


Fig. 20 Depiction of Nefertum as a male figure with the water lily on his head and with divine attributes (drawing Jolana Malátková, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

4.4 Nefertum

The god Nefertum is attested for the whole period of the ancient Egyptian history, until the Roman Period. His original characteristics can be connected with the sun and resurrection of the deceased (Houser-Wegner 2001a: 514). Kees (1941: 288) understood him as the god of royal perfumes. He also became a war god and a divinity with apotropaic functions. In the Coffin Texts he appeared as the son of the goddess Sakhmet who was considered the Daughter of Re and the Eye of Re. Nefertum was likewise the son of the main Memphite god Ptah, creating thus the triad of Memphis: Ptah, Sakhmet and Nefertum. He was venerated in personal piety and theophoric personal names mentioning this god appeared. Except for the fact that he himself had a solar aspect, he was also identified with solar gods Re and Horus. From the New Kingdom, he was in conjunction with Ptah and Sokar (Houser-Wegner 2001a: 514).


Nefertum was a youthful god, representing the young sun. He was associated with the Egyptian lotus, or more precisely the water lily (*Nymphaea lotus*), flower which symbolised resurrection. This flower played an important role not only in the mortuary beliefs, but also in the cosmogonies. One of the cosmological versions refers to the water lily blossom that grew from the primeval waters Nu and afterwards, the sun arose from it (Tobin 2001: 470). In this concept, the influence of the environment can be observed, which was after all present in many ancient Egyptian notions. In fact, the water lily comes up from water

and opens its blossom in the morning and encloses it in the evening and sinks under water. It has been supposed that his association with this flower is observable from the beginnings, being attested in water-lily-shaped cosmetic vessels from the Second Dynasty (Petrie – Brunton – Murray 1923: 22; see below *Excursus III.4*). It is very likely that it was his link to the flower that led to his connection with perfumes and oils.

It was above-mentioned (Chapter 2.2.4) that Nefertum's name was composed of two words: *nfr*, “gut, schön, vollkommen sein, schön machen” (Erman – Grapow 1971 II: 253.1–256.15, 257.7; Hannig 2003: 624), and *tm*, “vollständig sein; aufhören, zu Ende sein, nicht sein; All, Alles, Universum” (Erman – Grapow 1971 V: 302.5–305.6; Hannig 2003: 1430–1431). Since the latter is the designation for the creator, Atum, in fact, it has been supposed that Nefertum can somehow be related to him (Houser-Wegner 2001a: 514). However, it is difficult to decide whether Nefertum's name really referred to Atum. It is also possible that the Egyptians were aware of both meanings.

As for his iconography, he was depicted as a man or a child with water lily on his head (**fig. 20**), or as a child sitting or ascending from the flower. Sometimes also lion was connected to him. His cultic places were recognised in Memphis, Buto and Abydos.

4.5 Weneg

Last but not least, Weneg was a minor deity connected to the sun notions and to the royal mortuary beliefs. What is crucial is his link to a plant or flower, the so-called *wng*-plant:  (cf. *Excursus II*) that is after all reflected in the name of the deity. He is attested only in the Old Kingdom although some scholars are of the opinion that he might have been mentioned as early as the Early Dynastic Period (Kurth 1986: 847; Kahl 2007: 14; see *Excursus III.7*). In general, he is considered the son of Re and identified with the deceased king. He was also connected to the sun course and is supposed to guard the world order *m3^c.t*. Sometimes, he is believed to support the sky (Kahl 2007: 13). However, these suggestions appear to be quite problematic and are discussed below (cf. Chapter 6.5). There does not seem to be preserved

any source which could uncover his appearance. As above-mentioned (Chapter 2.2.5), Richard H. Wilkinson (2003: 92 and 131) classified this god among the male anthropomorphic deities. Nonetheless, so far, there has been no support for this in the sources.

5 Analysis of preserved sources

The analytical part is initiated with the research of the Pyramid Texts, focusing on the spells mentioning the deities under survey. Subsequently, tomb decoration and burial equipment are studied, with special attention devoted to funerary domains and offering formulae. After, royal appellations with epithets, and non-royal personal names are analysed, as well as the royal annals (Palermo Stone, South Saqqara List) and administrative sources (seals and sealings, papyri from Wadi el-Jarf, Gebelein and Abusir, titles and epithets).

5.1 Analysis of the Pyramid Texts

5.1.1 Atum

5.1.1.1 Analysis of the relevant spells

The first one, **PT 208**,¹³⁰ is attested in three pyramids: Teti (eastern gable of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern gable of the burial chamber).¹³¹ A meal is designated to Atum and to the one who is in the boat, which is called *Jr.t-ntr*, and roasted meat and water are ensured.¹³²

In **PT 213** it is stated that the king is alive and his various body parts (lower arms, upper arms, belly, back, rear, legs) are identified with Atum.¹³³ The face is identified with Anubis. Horus' and Seth's mounds are in service to the king. The text can be identified in

¹³⁰ As above-mentioned (Chapter 3.2), this enumeration follows the system of Sethe (1908–1922).

¹³¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 71–72); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Mercer (1952 I: 57); Faulkner (1969: 39); Carrier (2009 I: 220–221; 2010 III: 1332–1333; 2010 IV: 1916–1919); Allen (2015: 79).

¹³² According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group B, list of offerings (Osing 1986: 136). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 348) it is a personal, transitional text of Group H [*Provisioning*].

¹³³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 80–81); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 39–40); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 1); Mercer (1952 I: 58–59); Piankoff (1968: 59); Faulkner (1969: 40–41); Carrier (2009 I: 66–67; 2009 II: 508–509; 2010 III: 1404–1405; 2010 IV: 2478–2479, 2628–2629, 2672–2675); Allen (2015: 34); Mathieu (2018: 162).

seven pyramids: Wenis (southern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber), Iput II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Wedjebten (southern wall of the burial chamber).¹³⁴

Likewise, **PT 215** can be found in seven pyramids: Wenis (southern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber), Iput II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Wedjebten (southern wall of the burial chamber).¹³⁵ Atum is addressed as the father of the king and the one who should take him into his arms. Horus was born to Osiris and Seth to Geb, and the former appears as the one before whom the earth shakes and the sky trembles. Re-Atum will not give the king to Osiris and Horus. The king's ears, eyes and limbs are assimilated to Atum's twins.¹³⁶

Even **PT 216** was carved in seven pyramids: Wenis (southern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber), Iput II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Wedjebten (southern wall of the burial chamber).¹³⁷ The king is in the *d3.t* and he becomes *3h* and cool in the arms of his father Atum.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 349) the spell belongs to sacerdotal texts, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

¹³⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 82–85); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 39–42); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 16–19); Mercer (1952 I: 59–61); Piankoff (1968: 60–61); Faulkner (1969: 42–43); Carrier (2009 I: 68–73, 256–257; 2009 II: 510–513; 2010 III: 1406–1411; 2010 IV: 2480–2485, 2628–2629, 2676–2679); Allen (2015: 34–35); Mathieu (2018: 164–166).

¹³⁶ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group C, with the significant role of Atum (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 349–350) it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

¹³⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 85–86); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 41–42); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 45); Mercer (1952 I: 61); Piankoff (1968: 61–62); Faulkner (1969: 43–44); Carrier (2009 I: 72–73; 2009 II: 512–515; 2010 III: 1410–1413; 2010 IV: 2484–2485, 2678–2681); Allen (2015: 35–36); Mathieu (2018: 166).

¹³⁸ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group C, with the significant role of Atum (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 350) it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

It is **PT 219** that lists all the deities of the Heliopolitan Ennead, with addition of Thoth, the Big and Little Ennead, and many other divine beings.¹³⁹ Regarding its location, it is present in the pyramid of Wenis (southern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Iput II (southern wall of the burial chamber). In fact, same utterances are repeated for every god, dealing with the king's filial role and his life. Therefore, Atum has similar roles as other deities of this spell: The king, identified with Osiris, is addressed as Atum's son and his rebirth and life depends on this deity.¹⁴⁰

PT 222 is attested in five pyramids: Wenis (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber).¹⁴¹ It is a fairly long spell and partially refers to the creation of the world by mentioning the land that came from Atum and a spittle came from Kheprer. Furthermore, Atum appears in connection to the king's cleansing in Heliopolis and in the Bubastite nome and he is also addressed as the father of the king. The deceased rises with Atum as well as Re. The Diurnal and Nocturnal Barques are mentioned. The spell guarantees the preservation of the king's body. It also deals with transmitting the royal *k3* from Atum to the king. Shu is mentioned in connection with passing through Shu's bones and releasing the cleansing in Shu's Lakes.¹⁴² Not only can be the significance of the creation of the world and of the solar notions observed

¹³⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 93–111); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 45–49); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 72–78); Mercer (1952 I: 63–65); Piankoff (1968: 64–68); Faulkner (1969: 46–48); Carrier (2009 I: 52–55, 258–259; 2009 II: 520–533; 2010 III: 1418–1431; 2010 IV: 2492–2503, 2620–2621); Allen (2015: 37–41); Mathieu (2018: 170–176).

¹⁴⁰ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 350) the spell belongs to sacerdotal texts, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

¹⁴¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 115–122); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 51–53); Allen (2013 II). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 I: 114–117); Mercer (1952: 67–68); Faulkner (1969: 49–51); Carrier (2009 I: 56–61, 248–253; 2009 II: 534–541; 2010 III: 1432–1439; 2010 IV: 2504–2511); Allen (2015: 42–44); Mathieu (2018: 178–180). The spell was not translated by Piankoff (1968).

¹⁴² According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group C, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 351) it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

there, but also allusions to mythological coronation of the deceased king might be present as well. These assumptions can be inferred on the basis of the references to the creation of the world since during every morning the creation was repeated with the sunrise. Also numerous ancestors of the king are listed. Even though Re and the others are mentioned in several cases, it is Atum who seems to play the most significant role. Atum is also connected with the sunrise. One can agree with Popielska-Grzybowska (2001: 116) that in this text the solar aspect of Atum can be noticed. What is also important is the fact that the god Seth is mentioned in his positive role here. In this part of his characteristics, he represented the protector of the kingship.

The fairly short spell **PT 229** is attested solely in the pyramid of King Wenis (western gable of the burial chamber).¹⁴³ It is a protective text invoking the fingernail of Atum.¹⁴⁴

The pyramid of Wenis (western gable of the antechamber) contains another spell with a reference to the god Atum: **PT 247**.¹⁴⁵ A fear of the king is expressed. The king is greeted and it is stated that he was produced by Geb and the Ennead. Atum is the one who is satisfied with his years. The text expresses the filial role of Horus who act in the favour of his father, Atum. It is Seth who bears Atum.¹⁴⁶ Some hints to the Opening of the Mouth ritual can be observed, especially in the statements that this king is going to see and hear. It is also stated that he will gain control of Heliopolis.

It is spell **PT 256**, attested in two pyramids: Wenis (western wall of the antechamber) and Teti (western wall of the antechamber), where the deceased king gained his inheritance

¹⁴³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 130–131); Piankoff (1968: Pl. 68); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 188); Mercer (1952 I: 71); Piankoff (1968: 95); Faulkner (1969: 54); Carrier (2009 I: 88–89); Allen (2015: 19).

¹⁴⁴ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group A1, spells against serpents and scorpions (Osing 1986: 132). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 352–353) it is a personal, apotropaic text of Group K [*Apotropaia*].

¹⁴⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 142–143); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 11–12); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 251); Mercer (1952 I: 75); Piankoff (1968: 27–28); Faulkner (1969: 59–60); Carrier (2009 I: 108–109); Allen (2015: 45).

¹⁴⁶ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 355) the spell belongs to sacerdotal texts (personal service), priestly recitation of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

from the gods Geb, Atum, and Horus the Elder.¹⁴⁷ He also proclaimed his force and might.¹⁴⁸ With its main ideas (force, might, fear) the text might resemble the topics of the so-called Cannibal Hymn (PT 273–274; see below, *Excursus I*).

Atum as the possessor of Dual Ennead which should serve the king is referred in **PT 257**.¹⁴⁹ In the spell also the lord of all (*nb tm*) is mentioned, in connection to the seat. Although the link between the epithet and Atum is not explicit in the text, it can be suggested, mainly on the basis of the context and the fact that the epithet is often used with Atum. The god Horus appears in the sunlight. It is Atum's Dual Ennead that serves to the deceased king. Generally, the spell speaks about inheritance and authority of the king. Similarly as in the previous case, PT 257 was carved in two pyramids: Wenis (western wall of the antechamber) and Teti (western wall of the antechamber).¹⁵⁰

PT 269, attested in four pyramids: Wenis (western wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule), Merenre (western wall of the corridor), Wedjebten (northern wall of the burial chamber),¹⁵¹ expresses the importance of incense burning and suckling for new life. Atum, the father of the deceased gives his hand to him and places him among other deities. The king will not starve and feel thirst.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 162–163); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 18–19); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 355); Mercer (1952 I: 81); Piankoff (1968: 34); Faulkner (1969: 66–67); Carrier (2009 I: 122–125, 300–301); Allen (2015: 49).

¹⁴⁸ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 357) it is a personal, transitional text of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

¹⁴⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 163–166); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 16–19); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 360–361); Mercer (1952 I: 81–82); Piankoff (1968: 34–35); Faulkner (1969: 67); Carrier (2009 I: 124–125, 300–303); Allen (2015: 49).

¹⁵⁰ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 357) it is a personal, transitional text of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

¹⁵¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 195–199); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 24–27); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 101–102); Mercer (1952 I: 90–91); Piankoff (1968: 41–42); Faulkner (1969: 77–78); Carrier (2009 I: 138–141; 2010 IV: 2044–2047, 2700–2701); Allen (2015: 53); Mathieu (2018: 504–505).

¹⁵² In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 360) the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and O [*Mixed*].

Another spell with a reference to Atum is **PT 273–274**.¹⁵³ It is the so-called Cannibal Hymn which will be discussed below in more details (see *Excursus I*). It is attested in two pyramids: Wenis (eastern gable of the antechamber) and Teti (eastern wall of the antechamber). The text begins with cataclysmic events when it is described that the sky becomes cloudy, the stars become darken, the sky arches shake, the bones of Aker shudder and the ones who move become silent. The king lives on his fathers and feeds on his mothers. Even his own mother does not know his real name. The king is more powerful than Atum, his father, who bore him. He swallows the deities who come from the Isle of Flames when they filled their bellies with the *hk3*-magic. Among other things, a metaphoric description of slaughter a bull is also present.¹⁵⁴

Five pyramids: Wenis (eastern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (eastern wall of the antechamber), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (eastern wall of the antechamber) and Neith (eastern wall of the burial chamber), contain **PT 284**.¹⁵⁵ It is an apotropaic text addressing Atum who bit a dangerous creature.¹⁵⁶

In **PT 301** Atum appears as a parent, alongside with Ruty, of Shu and Tefnut.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the twins (Shu and Tefnut) are the ones who produced other deities. The spell deals with nourishing, knowledge, cleansing and brightening. It is Horus who is assisting in the rebirth of the sun every day. Also the king ascends in his identity Re. The importance of the spell lies in the fact that it ensures a pair of green falcons (perhaps amulets)¹⁵⁸ for the deceased which is connected to Horus, lord of malachite (*w3d*; cf. Eрман – Grapow 1971 I:

¹⁵³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 205–216); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 28–30); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 136–140); Mercer (1952 I: 92–95); Piankoff (1968: 44–46); Faulkner (1969: 80–84); Carrier (2009 I: 144–151, 340–347); Allen (2015: 54–56).

¹⁵⁴ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 360) the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group K [*Apotropaia*].

¹⁵⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 221); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 31–32); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 191); Mercer (1952 I: 96); Piankoff (1968: 49); Faulkner (1969: 86); Carrier (2009 I: 152–155; 2009 II: 822–825; 2010: III: 1638–1639; 2010 IV: 2558–2559); Allen (2015: 57); Mathieu (2018: 415).

¹⁵⁶ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 362) the spell belongs to personal, apotropaic texts of Group K [*Apotropaia*].

¹⁵⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 231–235); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 35–36); Allen (2013 III). For the translations see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 232–235); Mercer (1952 I: 100–101); Piankoff (1968: 53–54); Faulkner (1969: 90–91); Carrier (2009 I: 160–165; 2009 II: 796–801; 2010 III: 1614–1617); Allen (2015: 59–60); Mathieu (2018: 346–348).

¹⁵⁸ The green colour was connected to renewal of life and regeneration (Pinch 2001: 183).

267.3–267.15; Harris 1961: 102–104; Aufrère 1991 II: 543). With regards to the attestation, the text appears in the pyramids of Wenis (eastern wall of the antechamber), Teti (southern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the antechamber), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the antechamber), but in the tombs of Pepy I and Ankhnespepy II very fragmentarily.¹⁵⁹

Spell **PT 306** can be found in three pyramids: Wenis (northern wall of the antechamber), Merenre (northern wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the vestibule).¹⁶⁰ It deals with the king's ascent to the sky, by going up on the ladder, and Atum proclaimed that the sky and the earth belong to the deceased. Geb, the mounds of Horus and Seth are also referred. The king is the bull and is the foremost of the *3h.w.*¹⁶¹

If something bad happens to the king, it will happen to Atum as well, which is stated in **PT 310**.¹⁶² The king is Horus who is assistant in the resurrection of his father Osiris. The text can be found in six pyramids: Wenis (northern wall of the antechamber), Teti (northern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (western gable of the antechamber), Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber).¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing (1986), this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 365) it is a personal, transitional text of Groups G [*Anointing and Wrapping*], J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and K [*Apotropaia*].

¹⁶⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 246–248); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 5–8); Allen (2013 III). For the translations see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 232–235); Mercer (1952 I: 104); Piankoff (1968: 23–24); Faulkner (1969: 94–95); Carrier (2009 I: 170–173; 2010 III: 1778–1781; 2010 IV: 2084–2087); Allen (2015: 61).

¹⁶¹ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 366) the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Groups L [*Transformation*] and O [*Mixed*].

¹⁶² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 254–256); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 9–10); Allen (2013 III). For the translations see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 329); Mercer (1952 I: 106); Piankoff (1968: 26); Faulkner (1969: 96–97); Carrier (2009 I: 176–177; 2009 II: 780–783; 2010 III: 1588–1591; 2010 IV: 1936–1939); Allen (2015: 62–63); Mathieu (2018: 332–333).

¹⁶³ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 367) the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Groups J [*Aggregation with the gods*] and L [*Transformation*].

The sky and the earth are open for the king who passes by Nut as Atum in **PT 322**.¹⁶⁴ The spell is attested in four pyramids: Teti (western gable of the burial chamber), Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Pepy II (eastern wall of the corridor) and Neith (eastern wall of the corridor).¹⁶⁵ Based on the utterance, it can be presumed that the deceased king appears as the sun and Atum.

The king is identified with Shu who came from Atum in spell **PT 360**, present in two pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the passage) and Pepy II (southern wall of the passage).¹⁶⁶ The text deals with Nut's portal and its opening by Nu.¹⁶⁷

PT 361 focuses also on the opening of the sky's door and ascending the sky.¹⁶⁸ It is the king who has been commended by Nu to Atum and by *Pg3* ("Wide-arms", cf. Allen 2015: 81)¹⁶⁹ to Shu. The spell was engraved in two pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the passage) and Pepy II (southern wall of the passage).¹⁷⁰

One of the texts is attested solely in the pyramid of King Teti (northern wall of the passage): **PT 362**.¹⁷¹ Atum is addressed as the father of the king and as the one in the darkness. It is the king who will provide Atum with light from a lamp and who will guard

¹⁶⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 265); Allen (2013 III). For the translations see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 388); Mercer (1952 I: 110); Faulkner (1969: 102–103); Carrier (2009 I: 202–203; 2009 II: 892–893; 2010 III: 1670–1671; 2010 IV: 2606–2607); Allen (2015: 71); Mathieu (2018: 448).

¹⁶⁵ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 369) the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Groups M [*Ascent to the Sky*] and N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

¹⁶⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 323–324); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 118); Mercer (1952: 122); Faulkner (1969: 117); Carrier (2009 I: 276–277; 2010 III: 1494–1495); Allen (2015: 81).

¹⁶⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 375) the spell belongs personal, transitional texts of Group I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*].

¹⁶⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 324–325); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 120); Mercer (1952: 122); Faulkner (1969: 117); Carrier (2009 I: 276–277; 2010 III: 1494–1495); Allen (2015: 81).

¹⁶⁹ Based on her research, Popielska-Grzybovska (2001: 116) was of the opinion that *Pg3* is an epithet of Atum. However, Leitz (2002 III: 164–165) did not connect this designation with Atum. According to him, *Pg3* means "Der Ausgebretete" and is attested solely in the Pyramid Texts (Leitz 2002 III: 164). In the Middle Kingdom, Late Period and Greco-Roman Period, *Pg3* with some more specific determination (e.g. "Der seine Flügel ausgebreitet") can be recognised in the Egyptian sources, but it is an attestation for some deities: Horus of Behdet, Ptah, Osiris, Anubis and some others, but not for Atum (cf. Leitz 2002 III: 164–165).

¹⁷⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 375) the spell belongs personal, transitional texts of Group I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*].

¹⁷¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 325); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 123); Mercer (1952: 122); Faulkner (1969: 118); Carrier (2009 I: 276–279); Allen (2015: 81).

him.¹⁷² This reference is particularly interesting since it addresses Atum in the darkness of the primeval ocean (Nu), i.e. night or also the state before the world creation. This might likely be an allusion to the Atum as the nocturnal sun.

PT 403 was carved in four pyramids: Teti (eastern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (eastern wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).¹⁷³ The bulls of Atum are addressed so that they can refresh the king and provide him with strength. It is stated that the ruler will live among the gods. Furthermore, the green colour, freshness and trees play a significant role.¹⁷⁴

The king is called to raise himself and stand up in **PT 451**.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, he, together with his *k3* and *b3*, becomes clean and is cleansed by his mother Nut. It is the god Geb who proclaimed that the king's bones were collected. And Atum declared that the bad will be removed from him. The text is attested in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (western wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (western wall of the burial chamber).¹⁷⁶

PT 452 deals with cleansing and Atum, in the king's favour, utters words against wrongdoings.¹⁷⁷ It was carved in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the burial chamber, and eastern wall of the vestibule), Merenre (western wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (western wall of the burial chamber).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² According to Hays (2012 II: 376) the spell belongs personal texts of Group I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*].

¹⁷³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 380–382); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 280); Mercer (1952: 136–137); Faulkner (1969: 131–132); Carrier (2009 I: 348–351; 2009 II: 1122–1123; 2010 III: 1374–1375; 2010 IV: 1920–1923); Allen (2015: 96); Mathieu (2018: 595–596).

¹⁷⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 382) the spell belongs personal, provisioning texts of Group H [*Provisioning*].

¹⁷⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 466–468); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 91–92); Mercer (1952: 156); Faulkner (1969: 150); Carrier (2009 II: 474–477; 2010 III: 1196–1197; 2010 IV: 1854–1855, 2434–2435); Allen (2015: 113–114); Mathieu (2018: 282).

¹⁷⁶ According to Hays (2012 II: 390) the spell belongs sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group E [*Nut protects*].

¹⁷⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 468–470); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 95–96); Mercer (1952: 156); Faulkner (1969: 150); Carrier (2009 II: 476–479; 2010 III: 1206–1207; 2010 IV: 1860–1863, 2444–2445); Allen (2015: 114); Mathieu (2018: 282–283, 553).

¹⁷⁸ According to Hays (2012 II: 390) the spell belongs sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups E [*Nut protects*] and O [*Mixed*].

It is Horus who is addressed as the Atum's son in **PT 461**.¹⁷⁹ Also the king emerges as the morning star and it is stated that those of Nu are afraid of him. Isis and Nephthys act in the favour of the king. Osiris is likewise referred. The king is commended to sit on the metal chair and to rule. Besides that, the doors of the sky and Cool Waters are opened for him. The text also deals with supplies produced in the Field of Reeds and was detected in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern gable of the antechamber), Pepy II (western wall of the antechamber).¹⁸⁰

Horus is designated as the son of Atum in **PT 465**.¹⁸¹ The gods in the *3h.t* desire Atum to live. The spell deals with ointments, closing and repast. Becoming an *3h* is another important element there. The king courses the sky and is the ruler. The text can be found in three pyramids: Teti (southern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (southern wall of the antechamber).¹⁸²

Another text mentioning Atum and demonstrating similar motifs as those in the Cannibal Hymn (see below, *Excursus I*), **PT 474**, was detected in five pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber, western wall of the descending passage), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (western gable of the antechamber), Pepy II (western wall of the antechamber), Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).¹⁸³ The king is identified with Osiris who reaches the sky with the Imperishable Stars. Nut is identified with the ladder. It is proclaimed by Geb that everything is for the king who argued with Atum

¹⁷⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 486–488); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 135–136); Mercer (1952: 160–161); Faulkner (1969: 154); Carrier (2009 II: 608–609; 2009 III: 1558–1559; 2010 IV: 1972–1973); Allen (2015: 124–125); Mathieu (2018: 227).

¹⁸⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 392) the spell belongs sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups C [*Perpetuation of Cult*], G [*Anointing and Wrapping*], and J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

¹⁸¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 491–492); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 145–146); Mercer (1952: 161–162); Faulkner (1969: 155); Carrier (2009 I: 396–397; 2009 II: 728–731), Allen (2015: 128); Mathieu (2018: 305).

¹⁸² According to Hays (2012 II: 392) the spell belongs sacerdotal text, personal service, priestly recitation of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

¹⁸³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 22–27); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 221–222); Mercer (1952: 169–170); Faulkner (1969: 162–163); Carrier (2009 II: 754–757, 1104–1107; 2010 III: 1530–1533; 2010 IV: 1934–1935, 2348–2351); Allen (2015: 133); Mathieu (2018: 317–318, 582).

about it. The ruler is prepared to slaughter his challengers.¹⁸⁴ The king defeating his enemies, and his violent act (the argue with Atum) might resemble some motifs in the Cannibal Hymn (see below, *Excursus I*).

It is **PT 477** that is also partially similar to the Cannibal Hymn, i.e. in the description of the cataclysmic events.¹⁸⁵ Also several hints to the Osirian myth can be observed. Supposedly, Osiris appears here as the lord of the sky.¹⁸⁶ Atum proclaims that Osiris is endowed with the sky and the earth and he mentions that the gods act against Seth in the enclosure in Heliopolis and Seth is defeated. Ensuring water, bread and cleansing is another important aspect there. The text is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Merenre (western wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (western wall of the antechamber).¹⁸⁷

Spell **PT 480** was carved in four pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (western wall of the antechamber).¹⁸⁸ The king ascends the sky as his father Atum. It is Atum who provided him with the rule over towns and cultivated land. The ladder is set for the sovereign and he goes up on the thighs of Isis and Nephthys. Atum grasps the hand of the king and places him at the fore of the imperishable gods.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ In the Hays' typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and M [*Ascent to the Sky*] (Hays 2012 II: 395).

¹⁸⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 33–43); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 241–244); Mercer (1952: 171–173); Faulkner (1969: 171–173); Carrier (2009 II: 758–765; 2010 III: 1534–1541; 2010 IV: 1954–1961); Allen (2015: 134–135); Mathieu (2018: 320–322).

¹⁸⁶ The suggested epithet of Osiris, “lord of the sky”, is particularly interesting. The possibility that the designation belongs to Atum has to be considered. But because the text deals with Osiris, the former is more likely to be true. If Osiris really appears here as the lord of the sky, does it lead to his connections with stars (the Imperishable Stars, Orion) or with the sun? It was the sun that was the ruler of the sky in the majority of sources that is why the second assumption can be more likely. Furthermore, not only was the deceased king identified with Osiris, but also with the sun deities. Based on the characteristics of Osiris, it seems that the epithet may refer to his role of the ruler over the cosmic spheres. The solar aspects of Osiris were observed by Mathieu (2010).

¹⁸⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 396) the spell belongs sacerdotal text, personal service, priestly recitation of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

¹⁸⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 55–60); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 276–277); Mercer (1952: 175–176); Faulkner (1969: 168); Carrier (2009 II: 772–775; 2010 III: 1550–1553); Allen (2015: 276–277); Mathieu (2018: 327–328).

¹⁸⁹ In the Hays' typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and L [*Transformation*] (Hays 2012 II: 397).

PT 491A was detected solely in the pyramid of Pepy I (eastern wall of the antechamber), but it is preserved only fragmentarily.¹⁹⁰ It deals with the eternal life of the deceased king, mentioning the king's *k3* that gained control over the king because Atum placed him into his mouth. Atum commands something (this part is destroyed). The king goes down to the earth on the curls of two snake and goes up to the sky on the falcon wings. The king lives in Heliopolis.¹⁹¹

In **PT 513** the king gains his seat in the boat of Re.¹⁹² He is cleansed, becomes the *3h* and the waterish character of Nut (the sky) is preserved. The gods who follow Atum are referred. The king is at the fore of the Big Ennead in Nu's court. The spell is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (western wall of the corridor).¹⁹³

PT 524 can be found in the pyramid of Pepy I (western wall of the corridor).¹⁹⁴ It deals with the Eye of Horus which is identified with the White Crown, and which is powerful. The king's face is identified with jackal, his arms with falcon and wings with Thoth. There is a hint to the Osirian myth. No god can capture the king. The ruler is also identified with Thoth. It is Atum who invites the king to the sky. Re is called here as the bull of the Ennead. The king sits down on his seat, with his shoulder to Atum.¹⁹⁵

In **PT 527** the creation of the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut, in Heliopolis is reported.¹⁹⁶ It is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the corridor).¹⁹⁷ The creation of the

¹⁹⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 86–87); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 328); Mercer (1952: 183); Faulkner (1969: 174–175; note that Faulkner does not have the version with Atum); Carrier (2009 II: 816–817); Allen (2015: 148); Mathieu (2018: 406–407).

¹⁹¹ In the Hays' typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Group H [*Provisioning*] (Hays 2012 II: 399).

¹⁹² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 153–155); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 65–66); Mercer (1952: 196–197); Faulkner (1969: 189); Carrier (2009 II: 894–897); Allen (2015: 160); Mathieu (2018: 449–450).

¹⁹³ According to Hays (2012 II: 404), it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

¹⁹⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 196–200); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 132–134); Mercer (1952: 204–205); Faulkner (1969: 196–197); Carrier (2009 II: 914–919); Allen (2015: 167–168); Mathieu (2018: 472–473).

¹⁹⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 406–407), it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

¹⁹⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 203–204); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 147); Mercer (1952: 206); Faulkner (1969: 198); Carrier (2009 II: 920–921; 2010 III: 1678–1681; 2010 IV: 2010–2013); Allen (2015: 168–169); Mathieu (2018: 475).

¹⁹⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 407), it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

first divine pair, the twins, is described as the act of the masturbation of Atum-Khep(r)er (see below, Chapter 5.1.3).

Solely in the pyramid of Pepy I (eastern wall of the corridor), spell **PT 534** can be found.¹⁹⁸ It is the recitation pronounced by Horus and several deities are referred: Horus, Seth in his hostile aspect, Osiris, Kherty, Isis, Nephthys, *Mhnt.y-jr.ty* and Thoth. The text is concerned with symbolic protection of the pyramid. Atum is the one who provided the king with the Geb offering.¹⁹⁹

Spell **PT 537** is documented in two pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber and eastern wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber).²⁰⁰ The king is addressed in order to take a place on the chair of Osiris. His flesh is complete as the god Atum. He gives a speech to Re. The king's mother Nut holds him and he appears as Horus of the *d3.t*, he sits on a metal chair and is alive as the *ʿnh*-beetle and stable as the *ḏd*-pillar forever. The end of this text might be associated with phrases *ʿnh ḏt*, appearing in royal inscriptions.²⁰¹

The pyramid of Pepy I (eastern wall of the corridor) is the one where another spell with a reference to Atum can be detected: **PT 538**.²⁰² It is stated that the head of a steer is in the arms of Horus, its tail in that of Isis and fingers of Atum are on its horns. The steer is called on to move back.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 214–219); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 165–168); Mercer (1952: 208–210); Faulkner (1969: 200–204); Carrier (2009 II: 948–953); Allen (2015: 171–172); Mathieu (2018: 481–483).

¹⁹⁹ According to Hays (2012 II: 408), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

²⁰⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 225–226); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 227); Mercer (1952: 212–213); Faulkner (1969: 205–206); Carrier (2009 II: 578–581, 962–963; 2010 III: 1466–1469); Allen (2015: 120–121); Mathieu (2018: 204–205, 487–488).

²⁰¹ According to Hays (2012 II: 409), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups B [*Transfiguration*] and C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

²⁰² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 226–227); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 231); Mercer (1952: 213); Faulkner (1969: 206); Carrier (2009 II: 962); Allen (2015: 173); Mathieu (2018: 488).

²⁰³ According to Hays (2012 II: 408), it is a personal, apotropaic text of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

Similarly, only in the pyramid of Pepy I (southern wall of the vestibule) spell **PT 548** was carved.²⁰⁴ It deals with the opening of the earth and the sky. The king is assimilated to Re and his head is lifted by Atum.²⁰⁵

PT 555 is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the vestibule), Merenre (eastern wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (western wall of the corridor).²⁰⁶ The spell deals with royal insignia. Furthermore, Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Selket protect the king and they are addressed to land the boats for the king who appears as the son of Atum who is hungry and thirsty. The king is sound and he ascend the sky with Montu.²⁰⁷ The last mention can be a reference to the solar aspect of this deity (cf. Werner 1985: 4–5).

Another reference to Atum is in **PT 570A**, attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule and western wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the vestibule), Pepy II (western wall of the vestibule).²⁰⁸ It is a fairly long spell where it is stated that the god was born by the sky which was on the arms of Shu and Tefnut. The king himself is referred to bear Nut as Shu. Kheprer, Nu and Atum are informed that the king is the great one, and the son of the great one, and that he is ordered to ascent in his identity of Re. Atum his father of the king. It is Nekhbet, in the enclosure in Heliopolis, who is appealed to defend the king.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 241–242); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 270–271); Mercer (1952: 218–219); Faulkner (1969: 211–212); Carrier (2009 II: 1038–1041); Allen (2015: 176); Mathieu (2018: 498).

²⁰⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 411), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

²⁰⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 249–252); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 305–306); Mercer (1952: 222); Faulkner (1969: 215); Carrier (2009 II: 1046–1049; 2010 III: 1686–1689; 2010 IV: 2078–2079); Allen (2015: 191); Mathieu (2018: 537).

²⁰⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 412), it is a personal, transitional text of Groups N [*The Celestial Circuit*] and O [*Mixed*].

²⁰⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 285–302); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 376–412); Mercer (1952: 230–233); Faulkner (1969: 223–226); Carrier (2009 II: 982–989, 1088–1097; 2010 III: 1788–1795; 2010 IV: 2068–2077); Allen (2015: 180–182); Mathieu (2018: 510–512, 570–573).

²⁰⁹ In the Hays' typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Group O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012 II: 414–415).

The hints to the state of the cosmos before the creation of the world can be observed in **PT 571**.²¹⁰ It is written that the king was in the belly of his mother in the under-sky and that he was given birth by Atum before the sky, earth, people, gods and death came into being. The king will not die. Re takes him to the sky, protects him and this protection will never be removed. Horus allots the king to Shu who is described as the one with arms under Nut. The spell deals with the king's resurrection and ascent to heaven. He was created by the creator god himself which elevates his status. The text can be found in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule and western wall of the descending corridor) and Pepy II (western wall of the vestibule).²¹¹

Spell **PT 572** was carved in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule) and Merenre (eastern wall of the vestibule).²¹² It deals with sight and ascending the sky. The king is represented by Atum. A ladder is prepared for the ruler by the gods so that he can climb up to the sky. Atum assembled the land and towns of Geb. The deities Rahed, Dedun and Sopdu are mentioned as well. It is stated that the king will not die.²¹³

Atum attributes everything to Horus, i.e. the king in **PT 574**.²¹⁴ An important role is played by the sycamore and Osiris and the spell deals with the eternal life of the deceased king. The text was written down in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the vestibule).²¹⁵

²¹⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 302–304); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 413–414); Mercer (1952: 233–234); Faulkner (1969: 226–227); Carrier (2009 II: 988–991, 1096–1101; 2010 III: 1802–1805); Allen (2015: 182–183); Mathieu (2018: 514–515, 575–576).

²¹¹ Hays (2012 II: 415) categorised it as personal, transitional text of Group O [*Mixed*].

²¹² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 304–308); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 421–422); Mercer (1952: 234); Faulkner (1969: 227–228); Carrier (2009 II: 992–993; 2010 IV: 2076–2079); Allen (2015: 183); Mathieu (2018: 515–516).

²¹³ Hays (2012 II: 415) categorised it as personal, transitional text of Group O [*Mixed*].

²¹⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 314–315); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 439–440); Mercer (1952: 235–236); Faulkner (1969: 229–230); Carrier (2009 II: 1000–1003; 2010 III: 1758–1761); Allen (2015: 184); Mathieu (2018: 520–521).

²¹⁵ In the Hays' typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Group O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012 II: 419).

In **PT 577**, attested in pyramid of Pepy I, on the western wall of the vestibule,²¹⁶ is mentioned that Shu and Tefnut and other gods, mainly of the Heliopolitan Ennead, are content with the speech of Thoth in favour of Osiris the king. Moreover, the king is being welcomed by Atum.²¹⁷

It is **PT 580** that refers to the killing of a wild bull for (and instead of) Osiris the king.²¹⁸ It is stated that the upper part of a foreleg of the animal belongs to Kheprer, the lower foreleg to Atum, the gods' father, and the two rear flanks to Shu and Tefnut. Other gods are also mentioned in this regard. The spell was detected only in the pyramid of Pepy I (the western wall of the vestibule).²¹⁹

PT 585 contains shorter utterances addressing various gods (Geb, Atum, Shu, Osiris, Re, Maat, Ogdoad).²²⁰ The king is reputed to be the son of Atum. Re is informed that the king (?) is the eighth god of the Ogdoad. It is also stated that the ruler shines by day and places Maat behind Re. The spell is attested in four pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber, very fragmentary), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber), Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).²²¹

Great one of Atum and the son of a great one of Atum is addressed in **PT 586A**, where is also stated that the deceased belongs to the sky and is identified with a star.²²² The

²¹⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 323–326); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 471–473); Mercer (1952: 239–240); Faulkner (1969: 232–233); Carrier (2009 II: 1008–1013); Allen (2015: 186–187); Mathieu (2018: 525–527).

²¹⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 416), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

²¹⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 329–331); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 494–495); Mercer (1952: 241–242); Faulkner (1969: 234–235); Carrier (2009 II: 1016–1019); Allen (2015: 188); Mathieu (2018: 529–530).

²¹⁹ According to Hays (2012 II: 417), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

²²⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 342); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 245); Allen (2015: 304–305); Mathieu (2018: 376–379, 578–580). Faulkner (1969: 238) did not translate this spell because it was preserved fragmentary, as was stated by him. Mathieu (2018: 376–379, 578–580) divided this spell into individual utterances (TP 585 A – 585 H).

²²¹ In Hays' typology it is counted among a personal, transitional text, Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*] (Hays 2012 II: 418, 443–444). PT 585 has the same motifs as PT 736, PT 737, PT 738, PT 739 and PT 740 (cf. Hays 2012 II: 418, 443–444).

²²² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 343); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 245); Faulkner (1969: 238); Carrier (2009 II: 842–843, 1102–1105; 2010 IV: 2348–2349); Allen (2015:

spell is attested in three pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber, very fragmentary), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber and western wall of the descending corridor), Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).²²³

It is Atum and Kheprer who are greeted in **PT 587**.²²⁴ Regarding Atum, he is mentioned in the connection with the primeval mound. In general, the spell deals with the Eye of Horus and its healing. The offerings (water, bread, beer) are attributed to Horus, and the doors (of the sky) are open for him. There is also mentioned that bad things were done to Horus by Seth. This spell is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (eastern and western walls of the descending corridor) and Pepy II (southern wall of the passage).²²⁵

In **PT 592** Geb is informed that Osiris the king is Shu's son and he himself is referred to as the eldest son of Shu.²²⁶ It is Atum who gave Geb his inheritance and who is amongst the gods of the Ennead. The spell is attested in four pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (western wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).²²⁷

PT 599 is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).²²⁸ Atum placed Geb, who is identified with the ruler, as the leader of the Dual Ennead and Atum is the one who utters that Geb (the king) represents the mouth that calls

305); Mathieu (2018: 379, 580). In the Carrier's translation this spell is numbered as PT *586B (cf. Carrier 2009 II: 1102–1105).

²²³ In Hays' typology it is an unclassified category, Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*] (Hays 2012 II: 418).

²²⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 344–355); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 246–248); Faulkner (1969: 238–241); Carrier (2009 II: 1106–1113, 1142–1149; 2010 III: 1486–1493); Allen (2015: 269–271); Mathieu (2018: 583–585, 608–610).

²²⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 418), it is a sacerdotal text (personal service), priestly recitation of Groups I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*], M [*Ascent to the Sky*] and O [*Mixed*].

²²⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 358–360); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 249–250); Faulkner (1969: 243); Carrier (2009 II: 630–631; 2010 III: 1400–1403; 2010 IV: 1872–1877, 2424–2429); Allen (2015: 215); Mathieu (2018: 251–252).

²²⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 417), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups D [*Horus Resurrects*] and F [*Isis and Nephthys Lament*].

²²⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 369–372); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 252–253); Faulkner (1969: 245–246); Carrier (2009 II: 1126–1129; 2010 III: 1358–1363; 2010 IV: 1898–1901); Allen (2015: 266–267); Mathieu (2018: 599–600).

the gods. The divinities were assembled for Atum of Heliopolis. Furthermore, the spell deals with the offerings and pyramid.²²⁹

Another reference to the creation of Shu and Tefnut by the god Atum is present in **PT 600**.²³⁰ It is Atum-Kheprer who appears as the high mound (*bnbn*) in the *bnbn*-enclosure in Heliopolis and who sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut. Furthermore, Atum embraces his offspring and also the deceased king. Thus, he transmits the *k3*. Atum also protects the king, Shu and Tefnut. The whole Big Ennead of Heliopolis is listed and every member is dubbed to be a child of Atum. This spell can be found in two pyramids: Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).²³¹

Text **PT 601** is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).²³² It is one of the spells for endurance of the king's name, pyramid and temple and that is caused by the fact that various gods will endure:²³³ Shu whose epithet is the lord of Upper Menset in Heliopolis, Tefnut with the epithet lady of Lower Menset in Heliopolis, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Osiris as Khentyimentyu, Seth, Horus, Re, Khentyirty,²³⁴ Wadjet.²³⁵ There is a wish to be firm as the name of Atum forever and ever.

PT 606 combines the solar and Osirian motifs and deals with the resurrection of Re, and Osiris the king. It was carved in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the middle corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the corridor), and

²²⁹ According to Hays (2012 II: 420), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

²³⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 372–377); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 253–254); Faulkner (1969: 246–247); Carrier (2010 III: 1352–1355; 2010 IV: 1902–1905); Allen (2015: 265).

²³¹ According to Hays (2012 II: 420–421), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

²³² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 377–384); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 254–256); Faulkner (1969: 247–248); Carrier (2009 II: 1128–1133; 2010 III: 1354–1359; 2010 IV: 1904–1909); Allen (2015: 202–203); Mathieu (2018: 600–601).

²³³ For the topic of protecting the pyramid, see Quack (2011: 42–45).

²³⁴ For Khentyirty, the falcon deity of celestial bodies, mainly the sun and moon, see, e.g., Leitz (2002 III: 394–396); Borghouts (1971: 205–206).

²³⁵ Hays (2012: 421) categorise it as a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

Wedjebten (western wall of the burial chamber).²³⁶ Osiris the king is on the throne of Re-Atum. Re's barque which ascends and goes down is referred. Nut is the mother of Re, gives him birth every day and the king will be born with Re every day. Shu is on the eastern side of Horus' throne, Tefnut is on the western side, Nu is on the southern side and Naunet is on the northern side.²³⁷ The Osirian father and son relationship (i.e. Osiris and Horus) can be clearly observed here.²³⁸ Also, allusions to the tripartite division of solar cycle (Kheprer, Re, Atum) can be found in the spell.

The Eye of Horus is placed on the wing of Seth who is designated as his brother in **PT 615**.²³⁹ Boats are connected for Atum's son, i.e. the king. The text can be found in Merenre's pyramid (eastern wall of the vestibule).²⁴⁰

The king is identified with a big falcon who gains the property of Atum in **PT 627B**.²⁴¹ Some of his body parts are identified with various divine creatures. It is stated that he is at the fore of two *m³.t*-boats of Re. Furthermore, the text deals with the sunrise and sunlight. This text can be found in three pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber, fragmentary), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (northern wall of the burial chamber).²⁴²

PT 634A is a spell for the Opening of the Mouth ritual.²⁴³ It is Shu who is the son of Atum and whose head is lifted by Nut and he is invoked in connection to activity, honour, control and protection of the king. Horus opens the mouth and eyes with a magic adze. This

²³⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 389–397); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 257–259); Faulkner (1969: 250–251); Carrier (2009 II: 876–881; 2010 III: 1716–1723; 2010 IV: 1992–1997, 2660–2665); Allen (2015: 224–225); Mathieu (2018: 438–440).

²³⁷ On the basis of Hays' typology, it is a sacerdotal text (personal service), subdivision priestly recitation, Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*] (Hays 2012: 421–422).

²³⁸ To the father and son relationships in the Pyramid Texts, see Köthen-Welpot (2003: 115–169).

²³⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 417); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 265); Faulkner (1969: 256); Carrier (2010 IV: 2080–2081); Allen (2015: 232).

²⁴⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 417), it is a personal, transitional text of Group O [*Mixed*].

²⁴¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 427–435); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 268–269); Faulkner (1969: 260–261); Carrier (2009 III: 832–837; 2010 III: 1228–1233); Allen (2015: 242); Mathieu (2018: 371–373).

²⁴² According to Hays (2012 II: 425), it is a personal, transitional text of Groups L [*Transformation*] and M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

²⁴³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 V). Translations consult in Carrier (2009 II: 648–649; 2010 III: 1298–1301); Allen (2015: 253).

text was engraved on the walls of three pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the burial chamber),²⁴⁴ Merenre (northern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (northern wall of the burial chamber).²⁴⁵

It is spell **PT 642** that offers another reference to Atum's creative power.²⁴⁶ First, Shu is addressed as the one who encircles everything with his arms and transfers the royal *k3* to the king. Then he is designated as the eldest son of Atum who used his penis to produce Shu. The text is present in the pyramid of Pepy II, on the northern wall of the burial chamber.²⁴⁷

PT 660 is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).²⁴⁸ The spell begins with the statement that it is the recitation of Atum. This god proclaims that Osiris the king is Shu, Atum's eldest son, who was sneezed from the mouth of his father. Shu is also addressed in connection to the revivification and life of the king.²⁴⁹

PT 670 is the spell connected to the resurrection ritual and deals with the opening of the sky's door, libation and completeness of the body.²⁵⁰ It is Atum who gives something unspecified to the king. The ruler goes forth to Atum's hall. Shu and Tefnut, the two great gods in Heliopolis, row him. It is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber).²⁵¹

²⁴⁴ In the mind of Allen (2013 V), the spell is attested in three pyramids. However, Mathieu avoided mentioning Shu, son of Atum, in his translation of the Pyramid Texts of Pepy I (cf. Mathieu 2018: 59).

²⁴⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 420–421), it is a sacerdotal, offering text of Group A [*Offering Ritual*].

²⁴⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 444); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 273); Faulkner (1969: 265); Carrier (2010 III: 1314–1315); Allen (2015: 259).

²⁴⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 427), it is a sacerdotal text of Group A [*Offering Ritual*].

²⁴⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 456); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 279); Faulkner (1969: 271); Carrier (2009 II: 688–689; 2010 III: 1368–1369); Allen (2015: 267); Mathieu (2018: 122–123).

²⁴⁹ According to Hays (2012 II: 430), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups A [*Offering Ritual*] and C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

²⁵⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 475–480); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 294–295); Faulkner (1969: 285–287); Carrier (2009 II: 488–493; 2010 III: 1476–1481); Allen (2015: 263–264); Mathieu (2018: 290–292).

²⁵¹ According to Hays (2012 II: 434), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Groups B [*Transfiguration*] and M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

Spell **PT 676**, attested in two pyramids: Pepy II (northern wall of the passage) and Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber),²⁵² brings references to the harvest aspect of Osiris and the resurrection. The festival of Atum is also mentioned.²⁵³

PT 684 deals with king's ascent to the heaven, and was used in two pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall descending corridor), and Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber).²⁵⁴ It tells of that king's mother Nut, his father Shu and mother Tefnut take him to the sky.²⁵⁵ Atum's children and Nut's children cannot decline and the king is one of them. Re is referred to be perfect every day.²⁵⁶

What regards **PT 685**, it is attested in the pyramid of Pepy II (the northern wall of the antechamber).²⁵⁷ It touches the topic of libation and anointing. It is Atum who is the donor of clean water. Furthermore, he is the one who made Shu's penis and Tefnut's vulva.²⁵⁸

In **PT 688**, the Four Sons of Horus (Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf) are invoked in order to provide the king with a rope ladder, and to elevate him to Kheprer when he comes into being in the east.²⁵⁹ The king is also raised to Atum who prepared a rope ladder for him. It is stated that the king will not eat a *dʒjs*-plant and he will not spend two times of Kheprer unconscious (see Allen 2015: 299, footnote 82). The spell can be found in five pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber and eastern

²⁵² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 485–488); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 298–299); Faulkner (1969: 289–290); Carrier (2009 II: 488–493; 2010 III: 1476–1481); Allen (2015: 272–273).

²⁵³ According to Hays (2012 II: 434), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*].

²⁵⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 497–501); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 302–303); Faulkner (1969: 294–295); Carrier (2009 II: 1132–1137; 2010 III: 1564–1569); Allen (2015: 284–285); Mathieu (2018: 602–603).

²⁵⁵ Faulkner (1969: 294) and Allen (2015: 284) use (grand)father for Shu and (grand)mother for Tefnut.

²⁵⁶ The spell is counted among personal, transitional texts, Groups L [*Transformation*] and O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012: 437).

²⁵⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 501–503); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 303–304); Faulkner (1969: 295); Carrier (2010 III: 1572–1575); Allen (2015: 285).

²⁵⁸ According to Hays (2012 II: 437), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group L [*Transformation*].

²⁵⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 505–508); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 305–306); Faulkner (1969: 296–297); Carrier (2009 II: 850–855, 1140–1143; 2010 III: 1576–1581; 2010 IV: 2350–2353); Allen (2015: 268); Mathieu (2018: 388–390, 607–608).

wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (northern wall of the antechamber),²⁶⁰ Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).²⁶¹

Atum also appears in **PT 690**, attested in five pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber), and Wedjebten (northern wall of the burial chamber).²⁶² This is a fairly long spell. Faulkner (1969: 298) was of that opinion that this text is composed of several shorter miscellaneous utterances. However, it seems more likely that it presents more complex notions. It deals with the resurrection of the king and with his setting among the gods. It might be an attestation for the morning ritual, too: waking up, clothing; and, maybe, mummification. It lists various parts of body (bones, heart, face, flash, soul, power). The king is referred to as Osiris, and comes peacefully to Re. The king's flesh is that of Atum. Shu and Tefnut are the ones who guide the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis. The deceased is alive as Kheprer and stable as the *dd*-pillar.²⁶³

Text **PT 694A** is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (eastern gable of the antechamber).²⁶⁴ It is Osiris who is invited to raise himself by Isis, Nephthys and Geb. Atum, his father, gives him the crown. Also there is a reference to the command of Atum, the father of gods.²⁶⁵

PT 696A was identified in two pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (eastern gable of the antechamber).²⁶⁶ Various divine creatures are addressed

²⁶⁰ Merenre's version was not listed by Allen (2013 VI). However, in Allen's translation, the spell is mentioned (Allen 2015: 223).

²⁶¹ Hays (2012: 437) consider it as a personal, transitional text of Groups L [*Transformation*] and O [*Mixed*].

²⁶² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 510–516); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 307–309); Faulkner (1969: 298–300); Carrier (2009 II: 580–589; 2010 III: 1582–1589; 2010 IV: 2512–2519, 2704–2705); Allen (2015: 287–289); Mathieu (2018: 205–208).

²⁶³ In Hays' typology, it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation, Groups B [*Transfiguration*], G [*Anointing and Wrapping*], L [*Transformation*] (Hays 2012: 438).

²⁶⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 520–524); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 314–315); Faulkner (1969: 303); Carrier (2009 II: 1070–1073; 2010 III: 1602–1607); Allen (2015: 197); Mathieu (2018: 558–559).

²⁶⁵ In Hays' typology, it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation, Groups G [*Anointing and Wrapping*] and O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012: 439).

²⁶⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 525–526); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 315); Faulkner (1969: 304); Carrier (2009 II: 854–855; 2010 III: 1608–1611); Allen (2015: 197).

and the messenger of Atum is referred. The spell also mentions the sovereign's linen that is identified with the Eye of Horus.²⁶⁷

Atum is the guide of the living in the *3h.t* and the king is identified with Thoth in **PT 698D**.²⁶⁸ This text was observed in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the descending corridor),²⁶⁹ Merenre (eastern wall of the vestibule ?) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the vestibule).²⁷⁰

A hint to the healing of the Eye of Horus can be found in **PT *708**. Atum calls the king to the sky and the ruler is on the shoulders of Atum. The text can be detected in two pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (southern wall of the antechamber).²⁷¹

A symbolic description of the sunrise and a reference to the rebirth can be found in **PT *716** which is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Iput II (western wall of the burial chamber).²⁷² The text begins with cataclysmic events, similarly as in the so-called Cannibal Hymn (see above and below, *Excursus I*). The sun, i.e. the king, ascends the heaven and the doors of the sky are opened. He is also provided with the offerings. Seth acts here as the one in the (sun) boat sailing in the Winding Canal. However, the part where Atum is mentioned is destroyed and his activity is, thus, unknown.²⁷³

²⁶⁷ In Hays' typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Groups G [*Anointing and Wrapping*] and L [*Transformation*] (Hays 2012: 439).

²⁶⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 529); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 315); Faulkner (1969: 305); Carrier (2009 II: 1124–1125; 2010 III: 1764–1767, 1780–1781); Allen (2015: 293).

²⁶⁹ According to Allen (2013 VI) this spell is attested in three pyramids, but Mathieu (2018) did not list it.

²⁷⁰ In Hays' typology, it is a text of Groups H [*Provisioning*] and O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012: 439).

²⁷¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Allen (2015: 143). According to Carrier (2009 II: 806–807) and Mathieu (2018: 356–357) it is PT 710B.

²⁷² For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Allen (2015: 245). According to Carrier (2009 II: 626–629; 2010 III: 1386–13897) and Mathieu (2018: 250) it is PT *719.

²⁷³ According to Hays (2012 II: 441), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group F [*Isis and Nephthys Lament*].

PT *719 can be found in the pyramid of Pepy I (northern wall of the burial chamber).²⁷⁴ The king is identified with Osiris and it is stated that he is the eldest son of Tefnut, Atum's daughter. This goddess should revive him.²⁷⁵

PT *737 (TP 1025 B)²⁷⁶ was carved on the southern wall of the antechamber in the pyramid of Pepy I.²⁷⁷ Relatively strong solar notions are preserved. It deals with cleansing in the *sh.t j3r.w*, and various aspects of the god Horus are mentioned (*Hr j3b.ty*, *Hr šzm.ty*, *Hr šꜥt*). Someone's arms are received by Re and the king might sit on Re's shoulder. Shu is referred to be the king's father who gives his arm to the king. Moreover, linen for the king comes from two shrines of Atum and from the precincts of Atum. Nocturnal Barque is also referred. The spell is mostly destroyed. Atum-Kheperer is mentioned in a connection to opening of the starry sky.²⁷⁸

On the eastern wall of the antechamber of the pyramid of Pepy II, **PT *790** was carved. This spell deals with the Eye of Horus and it is identified with the Raw Crown. The king's arms are connected to a falcon and the tips of his wings to Thoth. Atum is the one who invites Thoth to the sky and the sovereign sits on the great seat of the gods with his shoulders turned to Atum.²⁷⁹

In the pyramid of Pepy I, on the northern wall of the burial chamber, a spell which was originally listed as **P 206** by Allen (2005: 113).²⁸⁰ Only fragments are preserved and there, Atum's son is referred.

5.1.1.2 Summary

²⁷⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Allen (2015: 118).

²⁷⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 441), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group F [*Isis and Nephthys Lament*].

²⁷⁶ In the numbering of MafS, it is TP (Textes des pyramides) 1025 B (see Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001: 132; Mathieu 2018: 345).

²⁷⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see, e.g., Pierre-Croisiau (2001: Pl. VIII); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Carrier (2009 II: 840–841); Berger-el Naggar *et al.* Croisiau (2001: 132); Allen (2015: 140–141); Mathieu (2018: 345).




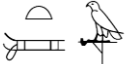
²⁷⁸ According to Hays (2012: 443), it belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*].





²⁷⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Allen (2015: 280–281).

²⁸⁰ In the second edition of his publication of the Pyramid Texts, Allen (2015: 117) did not give a precise number of the spell; instead he used a question mark.




To sum up this section, it can be mentioned that Atum is attested in 71 spells (**tab. 1**), which is not much, taken into consideration the number of all spells (over 800). The references to Atum can be found in every pyramid, albeit in different numbers and locations. Atum appears in several functions in the Pyramid Texts where his relationship to the deceased king is paramount. His role of the creator of the world, and also of the producer of his offspring, Shu and Tefnut are significant. There is a number of other interesting aspects in Atum's characteristics referred in this textual corpus: e.g. father of the king, connection to the rule, transmission of the royal *k3*, evening and night sun, sunrise and solar aspects, importance for rebirth and life, apotropaic acts, nourishing, purification, chthonic aspect. The attributes are discussed below, together with the analysis of the other sources under the present survey (Chapter 6.1).

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
208	Teti	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Transition	H	Spells against hunger and thirst		Meal for Atum
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	H	Spells for the power of sustenance	?	Meal for Atum
	Pepy II	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Transition	H	The spirit's response		Meal for Atum
213	Wenis	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Invocation to new life		Body parts identified with Atum
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Body parts identified with Atum
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	Body parts identified with Atum
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Body parts identified with Atum
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	Body parts identified with Atum
	Iput II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-	?	Body parts identified with Atum

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Wedjebten	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-		Body parts identified with Atum
215	Wenis	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Release from the Duat and from the earth		Atum is father of the king, him with his arms; Re-Atum; Atum's twins
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	Atum is father of the king, him with his arms; Re-Atum; Atum's twins
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Atum is father of the king, him with his arms; Re-Atum; Atum's twins
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Atum is father of the king, him with his arms; Re-Atum; Atum's twins
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	Atum is father of the king, him with his arms; Re-Atum; Atum's twins

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Iput II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-		Atum is father of the king, him with his arms; Re-Atum; Atum's twins
	Wedjebten	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-	?	Atum is father of the king, him with his arms; Re-Atum; Atum's twins
216	Wenis	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Commendation to the Nightboat at dusk		3h and cool in the arms of the king's father Atum
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	3h and cool in the arms of the king's father Atum
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	3h and cool in the arms of the king's father Atum
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		3h and cool in the arms of the king's father Atum
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		3h and cool in the arms of the king's father Atum






PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Iput II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-	?	3h and cool in the arms of the king's father Atum
	Wedjebten	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-	?	3h and cool in the arms of the king's father Atum
219	Wenis	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Litany of identification with Osiris		The king is Atum's son; rebirth, life
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	The king is Atum's son; rebirth, life
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		The king is Atum's son; rebirth, life
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		The king is Atum's son; rebirth, life
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		The king is Atum's son; rebirth, life
	Iput II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-		The king is Atum's son; rebirth, life






PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
222	Wenis	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Commendation to the sun	?	Land from Atum, cleansing, Atum is father of the king; the king rises with Atum and Re, royal <i>k3</i> from Atum
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Land from Atum, cleansing, Atum is father of the king; the king rises with Atum and Re, royal <i>k3</i> from Atum
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	Land from Atum, cleansing, Atum is father of the king; the king rises with Atum and Re, royal <i>k3</i> from Atum
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Land from Atum, cleansing, Atum is father of the king; the king rises with Atum and Re, royal <i>k3</i> from Atum
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Land from Atum, cleansing, Atum is father of the king; the








PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
								king rises with Atum and Re, royal <i>k3</i> from Atum
229	Wenis	BCH, W gable	Personal text	Apotropaic	K	Spells for protection of the mummy		Fingernail of Atum
247	Wenis	A, W gable	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	J	Address to the spirit as it leaves the burial chamber		Atum is satisfied with his years. Seth bears Atum.
256	Wenis	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Inheritance from Atum
	Teti	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Inheritance from Atum
257	Wenis	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Possessor of Dual Ennead, lord of all
	Teti	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Possessor of Dual Ennead, lord of all
269	Wenis	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J	Crossing the Akhet		Atum is father of the king, gives him his hand and places him among the gods









PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Invoking the gods		Atum is father of the king, gives him his hand and places him among the gods
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Invoking the gods		Atum is father of the king, gives him his hand and places him among the gods
	Wedjebten	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J	-	?	Atum is father of the king, gives him his hand and places him among the gods
273– 274	Wenis	A, E gable	Personal text	Transition	K	Entering the eastern limit of the Akhet		The king is more powerful than his father Atum who bore him.
	Teti	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	K	Taking control in the Akhet		The king is more powerful than his father Atum who bore him.
284	Wenis	A, E wall	Personal text	Apotropaic	K	Spells against inimical beings		Atum bit a creature.



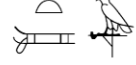

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy I	A, E wall	Personal text	Apotropaic	K	Calling the spirit to the meal		Atum bit a creature.
	Ankhnespepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Apotropaic	K	-	?	Atum bit a creature.
	Pepy II	A, E wall	Personal text	Apotropaic	K	Spells against inimical beings		Atum bit a creature.
	Neith	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Apotropaic	K	Spells against inimical beings		Atum bit a creature.
301	Wenis	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Bringing the sun		Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut).
	Teti	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Greeting the sun and the gods	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut).
	Pepy I	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	-		Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut).
	Ankhnespepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	-		Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut).
	Merenre	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Invoking the sun	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut).







PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Claiming access to the sun	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut).
306	Wenis	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L	Ascending toward the sky		Atum proclaimed that sky and earth belong to the king.
	Merenre	V, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L	Address to the spirit at dawn		Atum proclaimed that sky and earth belong to the king.
	Pepy II	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	L	Sending the spirit to the sky	?	Atum proclaimed that sky and earth belong to the king.
310	Wenis	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J, L	Ascending toward the sky		If something bad happens to the king, it will happen to Atum.
	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J, L	Ascending toward the sky		If something bad happens to the king, it will happen to Atum.
	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J, L	Going forth to the sky		If something bad happens to the king, it will happen to Atum.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Ankhnespepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J, L	-		If something bad happens to the king, it will happen to Atum.
	Merenre	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J, L	Boarding the sun-boat		If something bad happens to the king, it will happen to Atum.
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J, L	Crossing toward the sky		If something bad happens to the king, it will happen to Atum.
322	Teti	BCH, W gable	Personal text	Transition	M, N	Spells for ascending to Nut		The king passes by Nut as Atum.
	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M, N	Going toward the sky		The king passes by Nut as Atum.
	Pepy II	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	M, N	Approaching the sky	?	The king passes by Nut as Atum.
	Neith	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	M, N	Opening the door of the sky	?	The king passes by Nut as Atum.






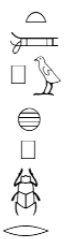
PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
360	Teti	P, N wall	Personal text	Transition	I	At the gate to the Akhet		Shu who came from Atum
	Pepy II	P, S wall	Personal text	Transition	I	Preparing to leave the Duat		Shu who came from Atum
361	Teti	P, N wall	Personal text	Transition	I	At the gate to the Akhet		The king was commended to Atum.
	Pepy II	P, S wall	Personal text	Transition	I	Preparing to leave the Duat		The king was commended to Atum.
362	Teti	P, N wall	Personal text	-	I	At the gate to the Akhet		Atum is father of the king, Atum in the darkness, he will be provided with light from the king.
403	Teti	A, E wall	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Taking control in the Akhet		Bulls of Atum
	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Spells for sustenance	?	Bulls of Atum
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Spells for the power of sustenance		Bulls of Atum







PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provisioning	H	The spirit's response		Bulls of Atum
451	Pepy I	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Tending the newborn spirit		Atum proclaimed that the bad will be removed from the king.
	Merenre	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Cleansing and clothing the newborn spirit		Atum proclaimed that the bad will be removed from the king.
	Pepy II	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Commending the spirit to Nut and Thoth		Atum proclaimed that the bad will be removed from the king.
	Neith	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Directing the spirit to Nut		Atum proclaimed that the bad will be removed from the king.
452	Pepy I	BCH, W wall + V, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Tending the newborn spirit		Atum against wrongdoing
	Merenre	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Tending the spirit as Osiris		Atum against wrongdoing
	Pepy II	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Cleansing and crowning the newborn spirit		Atum against wrongdoing







PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Neith	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Cleansing, crowning, and tending the spirit as Osiris		Atum against wrongdoing
461	Pepy I	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C, G, J	Supplying the spirit for the journey	-	Horus is the son of Atum
	Merenre	A, E gable	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C, G, J	Cleansing the spirit		Horus is the son of Atum
	Pepy II	A, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C, G, J	Address to the spirit at the entrance to the Akhet		Horus is the son of Atum
465	Teti	A, S wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	J	Greeting the sun and the gods	?	Horus is the son of Atum; The gods in the <i>3h.t</i> desire Atum to live.
	Pepy I	A, W wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	J	Requesting entrance to the Akhet		Horus is the son of Atum; The gods in the <i>3h.t</i> desire Atum to live.






PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, S wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	J	Invoking the gods	?	Horus is the son of Atum; The gods in the <i>3h.t</i> desire Atum to live.
474	Pepy I	A, W wall + DP, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J, M	Securing the spirit's ascent		Argue with Atum
	Merenre	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J, M	Boarding the sun-boat		Argue with Atum
	Ankhespepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J, M	-		Argue with Atum
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J, M	Securing the spirit's ascent		Argue with Atum
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J, M	Being welcomed by the gods		Argue with Atum
477	Pepy I	A, W wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	J	Invoking Osiris		Atum proclaims that sky and earth belongs to Osiris and that Seth was defeated.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	A, W wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	J	Libation and Offering		Atum proclaims that sky and earth belongs to Osiris and that Seth was defeated.
	Pepy II	A, W wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	J	Invoking Osiris		Atum proclaims that sky and earth belongs to Osiris and that Seth was defeated.
480	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Ascending toward the sky	?	Atum is father of the king, gives him rule, gives his hand to him and places him at the fore of the gods.
	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Ascending by ferry and ladder		Atum is father of the king, gives him rule, gives his hand to him and places him at the fore of the gods.
	Ankhnespepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J	-	?	Atum is father of the king, gives him rule, gives his hand to him and places him at the fore of the gods.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Ascending by ferry and ladder		Atum is father of the king, gives him rule, gives his hand to him and places him at the fore of the gods.
491A	Pepy I	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	H	Taking control of nourishment		Atum placed the king into his mouth, Atum's command
513	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Address to the departing spirit		Gods who follow Atum
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the spirit		Gods who follow Atum
524	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Joining the sun		Atum invites the king to the sky. The king sits with his shoulder to Atum.
527	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum-Khep(r)er (masturbation)





PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods for passage		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum-Khep(r)er (masturbation)
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods and the spirit		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum-Khep(r)er (masturbation)
534	Pepy I	C, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the mortuary temple		Atum provided the king with the Geb offering.
537	Pepy I	BCH, S wall + C, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, C	Sending the spirit to the sky; Address to the awakened spirit		The king's flesh is complete as Atum.
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, C	Equipping the resurrected spirit		The king's flesh is complete as Atum.
538	Pepy I	C, E wall	Personal text	Apotropaic	C	Address to the guardian of the corridor door		Horus' fingers are identified with Atum

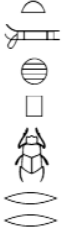


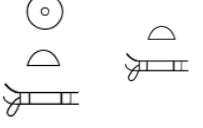
PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
548	Pepy I	V, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	Opening the sky's door		The king's head is lifted by Atum.
555	Pepy I	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Entering the tomb at night	?	The king is the son of Atum.
	Merenre	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods at dawn		The king is the son of Atum.
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Summoning the ferry		The king is the son of Atum.
570A	Pepy I	V, W wall + DC, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the sun at dawn		Atum is informed.
	Merenre	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the gods at dawn		Atum is informed.
	Pepy II	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Appearing at dawn		Atum is informed.
571	Pepy I	V, W wall + DC, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the sun at dawn	?	Atum gave birth to the king





PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Meeting the gods		Atum gave birth to the king
572	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the sun at dawn	?	The king is represented by Atum; Atum assembled land and towns
	Merenre	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the gods at dawn		The king is represented by Atum; Atum assembled land and towns
574	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the sun at dawn		Atum attributed everything to Horus (king).
	Pepy II	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	O	?	?	Atum attributed everything to Horus (king).
577	Pepy I	V, W wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	O	Becoming Osiris at dusk		The king is welcomed by Atum.
580	Pepy I	V, W wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	O	Address to the spirit as Osiris at dusk		Lower foreleg is for Atum, the gods' father.





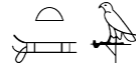


PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
585	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	At the sky's door	?	The king is son of Atum
	Pepy I	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods	?	The king is son of Atum
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods	?	The king is son of Atum
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods		The king is son of Atum
586A	Teti	A, N wall	-	-	M	At the sky's door	?	Great one of Atum and the son of a great one of Atum
	Pepy I	A, N wall + DC, W wall	-	-	M	Invoking the gods		Great one of Atum and the son of a great one of Atum
	Neith	BCH, N wall	-	-	M	Invoking the gods		Great one of Atum and the son of a great one of Atum






PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
587	Pepy I	DC, E and W walls	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	I, M, O	Ascending to the sky	?	Atum is greeted; primeval mound of Atum
	Pepy II	P, S wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	I, M, O	Address to the sun at the door of the Duat		Atum is greeted; primeval mound of Atum
592	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Concluding spells	?	Atum gave the inheritance to Geb and is amongst the gods of the Ennead.
	Merenre	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Dressing the spirit		Atum gave the inheritance to Geb and is amongst the gods of the Ennead.
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Invocation of Geb	?	Atum gave the inheritance to Geb and is amongst the gods of the Ennead.
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Address to Geb		Atum gave the inheritance to Geb and is amongst the gods of the Ennead.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
599	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum placed Geb; Atum utters that Geb/king is mouth. Atum of Heliopolis.
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum placed Geb; Atum utters that Geb/king is mouth. Atum of Heliopolis.
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum placed Geb; Atum utters that Geb/king is mouth. Atum of Heliopolis.
600	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum-Kheprer appears as <i>bnbn</i> and sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut. Atum embraces and protects his offspring and the king. Gods of Ennead are children of Atum.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum-Kheprer appears as <i>bmbn</i> and sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut. Atum embraces and protects his offspring and the king. Gods of Ennead are children of Atum.
601	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid	?	To be firm as the name of Atum
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid	?	To be firm as the name of Atum
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		To be firm as the name of Atum
606	Pepy I	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Address to the spirit		Throne of Re-Atum; Atum evening sun.
	Merenre	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Invoking the spirit		Throne of Re-Atum; Atum evening sun.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Invoking the spirit		Throne of Re-Atum; Atum evening sun.
	Wedjebten	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	-		Throne of Re-Atum; Atum evening sun.
615	Merenre	V, E wall	Personal	Transition	O	Invoking the gods at dawn		Atum's son
627B	Teti	A, N wall	Personal	Transition	L, M	Ascending toward the sky	?	The king is falcon who gains the property of Atum.
	Pepy I	A, N wall	Personal	Transition	L, M	Ascending as a falcon	?	The king is falcon who gains the property of Atum.
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal	Transition	L, M	Ascending to Nut		The king is falcon who gains the property of Atum.
634A	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Offering	A	Presenting the statue to the gods	?	Shu is son of Atum.
	Merenre	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Offering	A	Presenting the statue to the gods	?	Shu is son of Atum.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Offering	A	Opening the mouth of the deceased's statue		Shu is son of Atum.
642	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	-	A	Procession with the statue		Shu is the eldest son of Atum (creation with penis).
660	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	A, C	Presenting the statue to the gods	?	Shu is the eldest son of Atum (creation with sneezing).
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	A, C	Presenting the spirit to the gods		Shu is the eldest son of Atum (creation with sneezing).
670	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, M	Tending the newborn spirit	?	Atum gives something to the king; Atum's hall
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, M	Commending the spirit to Isis and Nephthys		Atum gives something to the king; Atum's hall
676	Pepy II	P, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	I	Address to the spirit		Festival of Atum
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	I	Sending the spirit through the Akhet		Festival of Atum
684	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Joining the gods		Atum's children (Shu and Tefnut)

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Appearing as Horus and Osirirs		Atum's children (Shu and Tefnut)
685	Pepy II	A, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	L	Libation and anointing at dawn		Atum gives clean water and made Shu's penis and Tefnut's vulva.
688	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	At the sky's door	?	The king is elevated to Atum who prepared a ladder for him.
	Pepy I	A, N wall; DC, E wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Crossing the sky; Emerging at dawn		The king is elevated to Atum who prepared a ladder for him.
	Merenre	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Ascending toward the sky	?	The king is elevated to Atum who prepared a ladder for him.
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Libation and anointing at dawn		The king is elevated to Atum who prepared a ladder for him.
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Being welcomed by the gods		The king is elevated to Atum who prepared a ladder for him.
690	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to the sky	?	The king's flesh is that of Atum

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	A, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to join the gods		The king's flesh is that of Atum
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to the sky		The king's flesh is that of Atum
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit through the Akhet		The king's flesh is that of Atum
	Wedjebten	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	-	?	The king's flesh is that of Atum
694A	Pepy I	V, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	G, O	Invocation of the spirit as Osiris	?	Atum, father of Osiris/king, gives him crown. Atum, father of the gods
	Pepy II	A, E gable	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	G, O	Awakening the spirit		Atum, father of Osiris/king, gives him crown. Atum, father of the gods
696A	Pepy I	A, N wall	Personal	Transition	G, L	Crossing to the sky	?	Messenger of Atum
	Pepy II	A, E gable	Personal	Transition	G, L	Claiming access to the sun		Messenger of Atum

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
698D	Pepy I	DC, E wall	-	-	H, O	Spells for protection	?	Atum guides the living.
	Merenre	V, E wall (?)	-	-	H, O	?	?	Atum guides the living.
	Pepy II	V, E wall	-	-	H, O	Greeting the sun		Atum guides the living.
*708	Pepy I	A, S wall	-	-	-	Address to the spirit as the moon		Atum calls king to thy sky. The king is on Atum's shoulder.
	Pepy II	A, S wall	-	-	-	Address to the spirit	?	Atum calls king to thy sky. The king is on Atum's shoulder.
*716	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	F	-	?	?
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	F	Address to the spirit as Osiris in the Duat	?	?
	Iput II	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	F	-	?	?
*719	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	F	Presenting the statue to the gods		Tefnut, Atum's daughter

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
*737 = 1025 B	Pepy I	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Sailing in the Akhet		Linen from two shrines of Atum and from the precincts of Atum; Atum-Kheprer in a connection to opening of the starry sky
*790	Pepy II	A, E wall	-	-	-	Meeting the sun		Atum invites Thoth/king to the sky. The king sits with his shoulder to Atum.
P 206	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	-	-	-	Presentation of bows and arrows	?	Atum's son

Tab. 1 Spells with references to Atum, listing the spells, occurrences, groupings of Hays (2012), subtitles in Allen (2015), writing the name, and epithets and roles

5.1.2 Shu


5.1.2.1 Analysis of the relevant spells

The first spell invoking Shu is **PT 7**, attested in the pyramid of King Teti (burial chamber on the sarcophagus).²⁸¹ The utterance is pronounced by the sky goddess Nut who declares that Teti is her son to whom she gave the *d3.t*. Moreover, the statement that Nut is an offspring of Shu and Tefnut: “your father (*jt=t*), your mother (*mw.t=t*)”,²⁸² is proclaimed by all the gods.

Spells with Shu were applied also in the pyramid of King Wenis, for instance, **PT 209**, present on the eastern gable of the burial chamber.²⁸³ It is a part of an offering ritual, dealing with bread provisioning. It is stated that Shu is flourishing or prosperous (*w3d*) because the king has his meal. This also works vice versa.²⁸⁴

It is **PT 219** that lists all the deities of the Heliopolitan Ennead, with addition of Thoth, Big and Little Ennead, and many other divine beings.²⁸⁵ As for its location, it is present in the pyramid of Wenis (southern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Iput II (southern wall of the burial chamber). In fact, same utterances are repeated for every god, dealing with the king’s filial role and his life. Shu has similar roles as other deities of this spell: the king

²⁸¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 3); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Mercer (1952 I: 21), Faulkner (1969: 2); Carrier (2009 I: 200–201); Allen (2015: 71). This spell is not listed in the grouping of Hays (2012).

²⁸² Allen (2015: 71) translated  as “his father”. However, considering the suffix =*t*, it seems more likely that the translation “your (i.e. Nut’s) father” is more appropriate here.

²⁸³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 72); Piankoff (1968: Pl. 56); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Mercer (1952 I: 57); Piankoff (1968: 74); Faulkner (1969: 39); Carrier (2009 I: 46–47); Allen (2015: 33).

²⁸⁴ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing (1986), this spell belongs to group B (offering list). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 348) it is the personal, provisioning spell of Group H [*Provisioning*].

²⁸⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 93–111); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 45–49); Allen (2013 II). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 72–78); Mercer (1952 I: 63–65); Piankoff (1968: 64–68); Faulkner (1969: 46–48); Carrier (2009 I: 52–55, 258–259; 2009 II: 520–533; 2010 III: 1418–1431; 2010 IV: 2492–2503, 2620–2621); Allen (2015: 37–41); Mathieu (2018: 170–176).

identified with Osiris is addressed as Shu's son and his rebirth and life is dependent on this deity.²⁸⁶

PT 222 is attested in five pyramids: Wenis (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber).²⁸⁷ It partially refers to the creation of the world by mentioning the land that came from Atum and a spittle came from Kheprer. Atum appears in other actions (see above, Chapter 5.1.1). The Diurnal and Nocturnal Barques are mentioned as well. The spell guarantees the preservation of the king's body. As for Shu, he is mentioned in connection to passing through Shu's bones and releasing the cleansing in Shu's Lakes.²⁸⁸ The former might represent the air or light on which the deceased can be raised to the sky.

PT 253 can be found in two pyramids: Wenis (western gable of the antechamber) and Teti (western gable of the antechamber).²⁸⁹ The text deals with the cleansing of Re and the king in the *šh.t j3r.w*, and it affirms that the king's title comes from Re. Shu is the one who should raise the title up: *šw sš.w/y sw*. The independent pronoun *sw* more likely refers to the "title", as Allen (2015: 46) suggested. Similar consonants in the sentence are worth noticing: not only is there a specific meaning but also a pun/word play, which is a particularly common feature of the ancient Egyptian religion. Re and Shu appear as supporters of the king and his royal claim. Also, the sky goddess Nut is referred to as the one who receives the title of the king.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 350) the spell belongs to sacerdotal texts, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

²⁸⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 115–122); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 51–53); Allen (2013 II). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 I: 114–117); Mercer (1952: 67–68); Faulkner (1969: 49–51); Carrier (2009 I: 56–61, 248–253; 2009 II: 534–541; 2010 III: 1432–1439; 2010 IV: 2504–2511); Allen (2015: 42–49); Mathieu (2018: 178–180). The spell was not translated by Piankoff (1968).

²⁸⁸ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this Spell belongs to the so-called group C, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 351) the spell belongs to sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

²⁸⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 147–148); Piankoff (1968: Pl. 13); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 290–297); Mercer (1952 I: 78); Piankoff (1968: 30); Faulkner (1969: 62–63) Carrier (2009 I: 112–115, 306–307); Allen (2015: 46).

²⁹⁰ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing (1986), this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god

PT 254 belongs to longer spells as well. It is attested in the pyramid of Wenis (western wall of the antechamber) and Teti (western wall of the antechamber).²⁹¹ The spell deals with obtaining a proper place and seat for the king by applying fear and thread. According to Allen (2015: 66, footnote 49), the text begins with a metaphor for the sunrise. Shu is mentioned in the connection with Tefnut who supports him. Furthermore, he is referred as the one who provided the king with his (proper) seat beside the god Seth.²⁹²

PT 255 evinces a similar content to the previous spell and focuses on the seat and insignia. Shu is the one who has his arms under Nut.²⁹³ The spell is attested in two pyramids, Wenis (western wall of the antechamber) and Teti (western wall of the antechamber).²⁹⁴

Relatively strong solar influences (but not overshadowing the Osirian notions)²⁹⁵ are evinced in **PT 259**,²⁹⁶ which is engraved on a wall of the sole pyramid, of Teti (western wall of the antechamber). The phrase where the king is asserted to be bound to the sky as Shu with Re seems to be crucial for its understanding. It is stated that the king will be going and

Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the typology of Hays (2012 II: 356), it is a personal, transitional spell, Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

²⁹¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 148–158); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 14–17); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 297–301); Mercer (1952 I: 78–80); Piankoff (1968: 30–33); Faulkner (1969: 63–66); Carrier (2009 I: 116–121, 292–299); Allen (2015: 47–48).

²⁹² According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing (1986), this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 356) it is a personal, transitional spell, Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

²⁹³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 159–161); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 16–18); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 346–347); Mercer (1952 I: 80–81); Piankoff (1968: 33–34); Faulkner (1969: 66); Carrier (2009 I: 120–123, 298–299); Allen (2015: 48–49).

²⁹⁴ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing (1986), this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 357) it is a personal, transitional spell, Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

²⁹⁵ Mercer (1952: 29) distinguished between opposite conceptions in the Pyramid Texts, mainly solar and Osirian, even though he admitted that both groups of texts had mingled. Yet he did not define what a solar and an Osirian text was. For these conceptions, see also Mathieu (2010); Allen (2015: 8).

²⁹⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922: 169–171); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 373–390); Mercer (1952: 82–83); Faulkner (1969: 68–69); Carrier (2009 I: 304–307); Allen (2015: 335).

coming with Re. The king is also identified with Osiris, and lamentations for Osiris are expressed.²⁹⁷

It is the topic of restoration of powers of the king that is expressed in **PT 260**, carved in the pyramid of Wenis (western and partly on southern wall of the antechamber).²⁹⁸ Shu appears as a witness of judgement.²⁹⁹

In spell **PT 261**, attested in two pyramids: Wenis (southern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber),³⁰⁰ where the deceased king is proclaimed to be the son of Shu's heart.³⁰¹ Furthermore, it is stated that the king traverses Shu. In the spell motifs of wind, lightening, hail and Red Crown appear, hence demonstrating king's power and might.³⁰²

Shu is referred to in spell **PT 301** where he appears as the offspring of the primeval gods Atum and Ruty.³⁰³ Moreover, the twins (Shu and Tefnut) are the ones who produced other deities. The spell deals with nourishing, knowledge, cleansing and brightening. Horus assists in the rebirth of the sun every day. Also the king ascends in his identity Re. The importance of the spell lies in the fact that it ensures a pair of green falcons (perhaps amulets) for the deceased which is connected to Horus, lord of malachite (*w3d*; cf. Erman – Grapow 1971 I: 267.3–267.15; Harris 1961: 102–104; Aufrère 1991 II: 543). What regards the

²⁹⁷ Hays (2012 II: 357) understood this spell as being a personal, transitional text belonging to Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

²⁹⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 171–174); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 18–21); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 391–392); Mercer (1952 I: 83–84); Piankoff (1968: 36–37); Faulkner (1969: 69–70); Carrier (2009 I: 126–131); Allen (2015: 50).

²⁹⁹ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing (1986), this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 357) it is a personal, transitional spell, Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

³⁰⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 174–175); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 20–23); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 1–2); Mercer (1952 I: 84); Piankoff (1968: 37); Faulkner (1969: 70); Carrier (2009 I: 130–131); Allen (2015: 50); Mathieu (2018: 387).

³⁰¹ Allen (2015: 50) used “mind” instead of “heart” for the translation of word *jb*.

³⁰² According to Hays (2012 II: 358) the spell belongs personal, transitional texts of Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and L [*Transformation*].

³⁰³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 231–235); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 35–36); Allen (2013 III). For the translations see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 232–235); Mercer (1952 I: 100–101); Piankoff (1968: 53–54); Faulkner (1969: 90–91); Carrier (2009 I: 160–165; 2009 II: 796–801; 2010 III: 1614–1617), Allen (2015: 59–60); Mathieu (2018: 346–348).

attestation, the text appears in the pyramids of Wenis (eastern wall of the antechamber), Teti (southern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the antechamber, fragmentarily), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber, fragmentarily), Merenre (eastern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the antechamber).³⁰⁴

In **PT 323**, the king is cleansed with Re (or as (?) Re: *m*) in the *š j3r.w* and Shu lifts him up.³⁰⁵ The fact that Shu raises the king is explicitly stated. In the action of the king's cleansing the gods Horus and Thoth are active. And Nut gives him her arm. As for occurrence of this spell, it is attested in three pyramids: Teti (western gable of the burial chamber), Pepy I (eastern wall of the corridor) and Merenre (western wall of the corridor).³⁰⁶

In **PT 325**, a causative connection between Shu and Re can be observed: Re could give his hand to the king because the king was taken by Shu as the companion of Shu.³⁰⁷ The whole spell deals with opening of heaven's door and entering to and bathing in the *sh.t j3r.w* for the god Horus in his various aspects (*Hr ntr.y*, *Hr 3h.ty*, *Hr j3b.ty*, *Hr szm.ty*) and for the king. The goal of the text is to enable the king to live among other gods. The spell is attested in two pyramids: Teti (on the western gable of the burial chamber), and Pepy I (western wall of the descending corridor).³⁰⁸

PT 338 is present in three pyramids: Teti (eastern gable of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern gable of the burial

³⁰⁴ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing (1986), this Spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the typology of Hays (2012 II: 365) it is a personal, transitional text of Groups G [*Anointing and Wrapping*], J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and K [*Apotropaia*].

³⁰⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 265–266); Allen (2013 III). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 II: 392–394); Mercer (1952: 110); Faulkner (1969: 103); Carrier (2009 I: 202–203; 2009 II: 932–933); Allen (2015: 71); Mathieu (2018: 452).

³⁰⁶ According to Hays (2012 II: 369) it is a sacerdotal text, subdivision personal service, but also transitional text, Groups M [*Ascent to the Sky*] and N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

³⁰⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 268–272); Allen (2013 III). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 II: 407–420); Mercer (1952: 111–112); Faulkner (1969: 104–105); Carrier (2009 I: 204–207; 2009 II: 1084–1089); Allen (2015: 72); Mathieu (2018: 569–570).

³⁰⁸ In the Hays' typology it is a personal, transitional text, Groups M [*Ascent to the Sky*] and O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012 II: 369).

chamber).³⁰⁹ The spell keeps hunger and thirst away from the king. It is Shu who protects the deceased against thirst, and Tefnut against hunger.³¹⁰

Similarly, **PT 339** is attested in three pyramids: Teti (eastern gable of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern gable of the burial chamber).³¹¹ The text also bears a comparable meaning to the previous spell, with a minor difference: Shu is now connected to hunger, whereas Tefnut to thirst. Also here, these deities are guarantors of food provisioning.³¹²

PT 358 is attested in two pyramids: Teti (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber).³¹³ It is a short spell referring to the firstborn offspring of Shu.³¹⁴

In spell **PT 360**, appearing in two pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the passage) and Pepy II (southern wall of the passage), the king is identified with Shu who came from Atum.³¹⁵ The text deals with Nut's portal and opening of it by Nu.³¹⁶

PT 361 deals also with opening of the sky's door and ascending the sky.³¹⁷ It is the king who has been commended by Nu to Atum and by *Pg3* ("Wide-arms", cf. Allen 2015:

³⁰⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 281–283); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 35–36); Mercer (1952: 114–115); Faulkner (1969: 109); Carrier (2009 I: 214–215; 2010 III: 1324–1325); Allen (2015: 78).

³¹⁰ Hays (2012 II: 371) understood this spell as being a personal, provisioning text belonging to Group H [*Provisioning*].

³¹¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 283); Allen (2013 III).

For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 40); Mercer (1952: 115); Faulkner (1969: 109); Carrier (2009 I: 214–215; 2010 III: 1324–1325); Allen (2015: 78).

³¹² Hays (2012 II: 371) understood this spell as being a personal, provisioning text belonging to Group H [*Provisioning*].

³¹³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 316); Allen (2013 III).

For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 103); Mercer (1952: 120); Faulkner (1969: 116); Carrier (2009 I: 240; 2010 III: 1482–1483); Allen (2015: 78).

³¹⁴ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 374–375) the spell belongs to sacerdotal texts, priestly recitation of Groups B [*Transfiguration*] and C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

³¹⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 323–324); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 118); Mercer (1952: 122); Faulkner (1969: 117); Carrier (2009 I: 276–277; 2010 III: 1494–1495); Allen (2015: 81).

³¹⁶ According to Hays (2012 II: 375) the spell belongs personal, transitional texts of Group I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*].

³¹⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922: 324–325); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 120); Mercer (1952: 122); Faulkner (1969: 117); Carrier (2009 I: 276–277; 2010 III: 1494–1495); Allen (2015: 81).

81) to Shu. The spell was engraved in two pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the passage) and Pepy II (southern wall of the passage).³¹⁸

It is **PT 434** that states that Nut is above the land and has the head of his father Shu.³¹⁹ Shu is the one who desired her and placed himself under her. The spell can be found in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (western wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (western wall of the burial chamber).³²⁰

PT 452,³²¹ carved in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the burial chamber, and eastern wall of the vestibule), Merenre (western wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (western wall of the burial chamber) deals with cleansing and it is proclaimed that the king's cleansing is like Shu's cleansing.³²²

The fragmentarily preserved spell **PT 484** evinces the influence of solar notions by referring to Kheprer with a supposed hint to the creation of the world, referring to a hill amidst the Great Green.³²³ It is arms that also play a significant role in this text. Regarding Shu, he appears as the one who is in the earth's limit under his feet.³²⁴ The spell is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber) and Merenre (southern wall of the antechamber).³²⁵

³¹⁸ According to Hays (2012 II: 375) the spell belongs personal, transitional texts of Group I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*].

³¹⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 431–432); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 439–442); Mercer (1952: 148); Faulkner (1969: 143); Carrier (2009 II: 456–457; 2010 III: 1202–1203; 2010 IV: 1856–1859, 2440–2441); Allen (2015: 108); Mathieu (2018: 268–269).

³²⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 387) the spell belongs sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group E [*Nut protects*].

³²¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 468–470); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 95–96); Mercer (1952: 156); Faulkner (1969: 150); Carrier (2009 II: 476–479; 2010 III: 1206–1207; 2010 IV: 1860–1863, 2444–2445); Allen (2015: 114); Mathieu (2018: 282–283, 553).

³²² According to Hays (2012 II: 390) the spell belongs sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups E [*Nut protects*] and O [*Mixed*].

³²³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 73–75); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 301–302); Mercer (1952: 179–180); Faulkner (1969: 171); Carrier (2009 II: 782–785; 2010 IV: 1986–1989); Allen (2015: 137); Mathieu (2018: 333–334).

³²⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 390) the spell belongs personal, transitional text of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and O [*Mixed*].

³²⁵ Carrier (2010 IV: 1986–1989) listed PT 484 among the fragments of the eastern wall of the antechamber.

PT 486, being written down in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (eastern wall of the corridor), addresses Shu as the one who brought waters.³²⁶ It is stated that the king was born in the primeval waters of Nu, before the creation of the world. Re gives his hand to the king so that he can dwell among the gods. The king is proclaimed to be a part of the Heliopolitan group of deities. Fear and terror are other topics presented here.³²⁷

Spell **PT 496** deals with nourishment of the king, who will live on Re's leftovers, and sit on the throne of sunlight.³²⁸ The deceased comes from *Jwn.t* (Dendera) with Shu who is behind him and Tefnut before him.³²⁹ The divine pair cause the king to take control over the *sh.t htp.w* of Re. The text can be found in the pyramid of Pepy I (eastern wall of the antechamber).³³⁰

PT 502P occurs in the pyramid of Pepy I (eastern wall of the antechamber),³³¹ and Shu elevates a black skin.³³²

Shu lifts the king up in spell **PT 505**, identified in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (southern wall of the antechamber), which also refers to the fact that various gods provide the king with garment

³²⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 80–83); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 317–318); Mercer (1952: 181–182); Faulkner (1969: 173); Carrier (2009 II: 788–791; 2010 III: 1710–1711); Allen (2015: 139); Mathieu (2018: 337).

³²⁷ Hays (2012 II: 398) counts it among personal, transitional texts, Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

³²⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 89–90); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 338–341); Mercer (1952: 185); Faulkner (1969: 176); Carrier (2009 II: 818–819); Allen (2015: 149); Mathieu (2018: 410).

³²⁹ Originally, j for the first person of singular was carved on the wall, re-carved later on f (cf. Pierre-Croisiau 2001: Pl. IX; also Hays 2012 II: 399). Allen (2015: 149) have translated it in the original version as “I am the Dendera woman”, meaning Hathor (Allen 2015: 206, footnote 61), without noticing the second edited version.

³³⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 399), it is a personal, provisioning text of Group H [*Provisioning*].

³³¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 152).

³³² In the mind of Allen (2015: 206, footnote 74) the black skin is a hint to the black knife which was used against snakes.

and enable his ascent to the sky.³³³ The king is accompanied by a serpent, uraeus that came out of Re.³³⁴

A number of various divine beings is mentioned in **PT 506**.³³⁵ However, they are fairly obscure. What regards Shu, he is referred as the one with the arms under the sky. The spell can be found in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (western wall of the corridor).³³⁶

Likewise, **PT 509** is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (southern wall of the antechamber).³³⁷ The main topic is the king's ascent to the sky, and the king is the one who overthrows the walls of Shu.³³⁸

Spell **PT 511** can be found in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the corridor) and Neith (western wall of the corridor).³³⁹ Shu is referred in a connection with the king who stands up on him.³⁴⁰

PT 526 deals with king's cleansing in the $\text{š } j\text{ʒr.w}$ in which also Re becomes clean.³⁴¹ Shu takes the king to the sky. Moreover, in the pyramid of Pepy I there is stated that the king's feet are feet of Shu. The spell is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the

³³³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 101–106); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 360–367); Mercer (1952: 188–189); Faulkner (1969: 180–181); Carrier (2009 II: 934–937); Allen (2015: 161–162); Mathieu (2018: 455–456).

³³⁴ In Hays' typology it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*] (Hays 2012 II: 401–402).

³³⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 107–115); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 367–368); Mercer (1952: 188–189), Faulkner (1969: 181–182), Carrier (2009 II: 936–941; 2010 III: 1714–1717; 2010 IV: 1998–2003); Allen (2015: 162); Mathieu (2018: 456–458).

³³⁶ According to Hays (2012 II: 402), it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

³³⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 121–137); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 19–20); Mercer (1952: 191–194); Faulkner (1969: 184–185); Carrier (2009 II: 946–947); Allen (2015: 163); Mathieu (2018: 461–462).

³³⁸ According to Hays (2012 II: 403), it is a personal, transitional text of Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

³³⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 142–149); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 47–48); Mercer (1952: 194–195); Faulkner (1969: 187–188); Carrier (2009 II: 888–893; 2010 IV: 2588–2591); Allen (2015: 158–159); Mathieu (2018: 445–447).

³⁴⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 403), it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

³⁴¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 202–203); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 146); Mercer (1952: 206); Faulkner (1969: 198); Carrier (2009 II: 920–921; 2010 III: 1682–1683; 2010 IV: 2010–2011); Allen (2015: 168); Mathieu (2018: 474–475).

corridor), Merenre (western wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (western wall of the corridor).³⁴²

It is in **PT 527** where the creation of the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut, is reported.³⁴³ The creation of the first divine pair, the twins, is described as the act of the masturbation of Atum-Kheprer. It is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (western wall of the corridor).³⁴⁴

In spell **PT 539** individual facial parts are compared to various gods.³⁴⁵ The king ascends to the sky and his lips are Shu and Tefnut. He is also proclaimed to be Re's son. The spell is only in the pyramid of Pepy I (southern wall of the vestibule).³⁴⁶ According to Harco Willems (1996: 202 and note 36), a Shu-like deity is attested in this text (in § 1322a–1326d), where he ascends the solar barque and climbs the ladder to the heaven. In Willems's opinion a similar vision can be observed in PT 758 (§ 2288–2290).

PT 553 was carved in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the vestibule), Pepy II (eastern wall of the vestibule) and Wedjebten (southern wall of the burial chamber).³⁴⁷ The spell addresses a number of deities (Geb, Osiris, Horus, Nephthys, Isis, Anubis, etc.). It is stated that those who will be against Shu and Tefnut will be swept out. The king as the great bull comes to Re's clean places. There are also references to the Opening of the Mouth ritual, and mummification.³⁴⁸

³⁴² Hays (2012 II: 407) presents this spell as a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

³⁴³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 203–204); Allen (2013 IV). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 147); Mercer (1952: 206); Faulkner (1969: 198); Carrier (2009 II: 920–921; 2010 III: 1678–1681; 2010 IV: 2010–2013); Allen (2015: 168–169); Mathieu (2018: 475).

³⁴⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 407), it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

³⁴⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 227–236); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 232–237); Mercer (1952: 213–216); Faulkner (1969: 206–209); Carrier (2009 II: 1026–1033); Allen (2015: 173–175); Mathieu (2018: 490–493).

³⁴⁶ In Hays' typology it belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012 II: 409).

³⁴⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 244–248); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 281–301); Mercer (1952: 219–221); Faulkner (1969: 213–214); Carrier (2009 II: 1042–1047; 2010 III: 1750–1755; 2010 IV: 2682–2685); Allen (2015: 190–191); Mathieu (2018: 534–536).

³⁴⁸ Hays (2012 II: 411) counts it among sacerdotal texts, subdivision priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

PT 564 is one of the spells referring to cleansing of the gods (Re, Shu) and the king in the *š j3r.w*.³⁴⁹ Shu lifts the king to the sky. The text was detected in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (northern wall of the vestibule).³⁵⁰

Spell **PT 565** was carved in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule), Merenre (western wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the corridor).³⁵¹ The king was cleansed, and he can thus enter the sky. He appears with Re and is raised on the arm of Shu, like Re is raised with the help of Shu's arm. The king was (re)born by Nut with Osiris.³⁵²

PT 567 is similar to PT 564, referring to cleansing of Re, Horus and the king in the *sh.t j3r.w*.³⁵³ Shu lifts the king up to the sky. The spell was carved in the pyramid Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the vestibule).³⁵⁴

Another text with a reference to Shu is **PT 570A**, attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule and western wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the vestibule), Pepy II (western wall of the vestibule).³⁵⁵ It is a relatively long spell that states that the god was born by the sky which was on the arms of Shu and Tefnut. The king himself is also addressed as the one who bears Nut as Shu. Kheprer, Nu and Atum are informed that the king is the great one, and the son of the great one, and that he is ordered to ascent in his identity of Re.³⁵⁶ According to Barta (1973: 139), Shu and Tefnut help with

³⁴⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 270–271); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 339–340); Mercer (1952: 227); Faulkner (1969: 220); Carrier (2009 II: 972–973; 2010 III: 1810–1811); Allen (2015: 178); Mathieu (2018: 504).

³⁵⁰ Hays (2012 II: 413) groups it among personal, transitional texts, Group O [*Mixed*].

³⁵¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 271–275); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 341–353); Mercer (1952: 227); Faulkner (1969: 220–221); Carrier (2009 II: 974–977; 2010 III: 1710–1713; 2010 IV: 2046–2047); Allen (2015: 178–179); Mathieu (2018: 505–506).

³⁵² According to Hays (2012 II: 413) it is a personal, transitional text of Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*], N [*The Celestial Circuit*], O [*Mixed*].

³⁵³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 276–277); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 355–356); Mercer (1952: 228); Faulkner (1969: 221); Carrier (2009 II: 976–977; 2010 III: 1766–1769); Allen (2015: 179); Mathieu (2018: 507).

³⁵⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 414) it is a personal, transitional text of Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*], N [*The Celestial Circuit*], O [*Mixed*].

³⁵⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 285–302); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 376–412); Mercer (1952: 230–233); Faulkner (1969: 223–226); Carrier (2009 II: 982–989, 1088–1097; 2010 III: 1788–1795; 2010 IV: 2068–2077); Allen (2015: 180–182); Mathieu (2018: 510–512, 570–573).

³⁵⁶ In the Hays' typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Group O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012 II: 414–415).

the rebirth of the sun in the morning (the beginning passage: § 1443b), which is partially correct. Even though it is not explicitly stated that they would be somehow assistant in the birth of Re, they are referred to hold the sky at dawn.

PT 571 is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (western wall of vestibule).³⁵⁷ It is stated that the king had been given birth by his father Atum before the sky, earth, gods and death came into being. The king will not die. Re takes him to the sky, protects him and this protection will never be removed. Horus allots the king to Shu who is described as the one with arms under Nut. The spell deals with the king's resurrection and ascent to heaven. He was created by the creator god himself which elevates his status.³⁵⁸

In **PT 577**, carved in the pyramid of Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule),³⁵⁹ is mentioned that Shu and Tefnut and other gods, mainly of the Heliopolitan Ennead, are content with the speech of Thoth in favour of Osiris the king. Moreover, the king is being welcomed by Atum.³⁶⁰

It is **PT 580** that refers to killing a wild bull for (and instead of) Osiris the king.³⁶¹ It is stated that the upper foreleg of the animal belongs to Kheprer, the lower foreleg to Atum, the gods' father, and the two rear flanks to Shu and Tefnut. Other gods are also mentioned in this regard. The spell was detected only in the pyramid of Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule).³⁶²

³⁵⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 302–304); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 413–420); Mercer (1952: 233–234); Faulkner (1969: 226–227); Carrier (2009 II: 990–991; 2010 III: 1802–1805); Allen (2015: 182–183); Mathieu (2018: 514–515, 575–576).

³⁵⁸ Hays (2012 II: 415) categorise it as personal, transitional text of Group O [*Mixed*].

³⁵⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 323–326); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 471–473); Mercer (1952: 239–240); Faulkner (1969: 232–233); Carrier (2009 II: 1008–1013); Allen (2015: 186–187); Mathieu (2018: 525–527).

³⁶⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 416), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

³⁶¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 329–331); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 494–495); Mercer (1952: 241–242); Faulkner (1969: 234–235); Carrier (2009 II: 1016–1019); Allen (2015: 188); Mathieu (2018: 529–530).

³⁶² According to Hays (2012 II: 417), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

PT 581, attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (western wall of the vestibule),³⁶³ deals with cleansing in wine-water. Shu is the one who precedes those divine beings who see the inundation.³⁶⁴

Spell **PT 585** contains shorter utterances addressing various gods (Geb, Atum, Shu, Osiris, Re, Maat, Ogdoad).³⁶⁵ The king is reputed to be the third (offspring) of Shu. Re is informed that the king (?) is the eighth god of the Ogdoad. It is also stated that the king shines by day and places Maat behind Re. The text is attested in four pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber, very fragmentary), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).³⁶⁶

In **PT 592** Geb is informed that Osiris the king is Shu's son and he himself is referred as the eldest son of Shu.³⁶⁷ It is Atum who gave his inheritance to Geb and who is amongst the gods of the Ennead. The spell is attested in four pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (western wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).³⁶⁸

Another reference to the creation of Shu and Tefnut by the god Atum is present in **PT 600**.³⁶⁹ It is Atum-Kheprer who appears as the high mound (*bmbn*) in the *bmbn* enclosure

³⁶³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 331–333); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962: 502–503); Mercer (1952: 242–243); Faulkner (1969: 235–236); Carrier (2009 II: 1018–1021); Allen (2015: 188–189); Mathieu (2018: 530–531).

³⁶⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 417), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

³⁶⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 342); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 245); Allen (2015: 304–305); Mathieu (2018: 376–379, 578–580). Faulkner (1969: 238) did not translate this spell because it was preserved fragmentarily, as was stated by him. Mathieu (2018: 376–379, 578–580) divided this spell into individual utterances (TP 585 A – 585 H).

³⁶⁶ In Hays' typology it is counted as a personal, transitional text, Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*] (Hays 2012 II: 418, 443–444). PT 585 has the same motifs as PT 736, PT 737, PT 738, PT 739 and PT 740 (cf. Hays 2012 II: 418, 443–444).

³⁶⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 358–360); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 249–250); Faulkner (1969: 243); Carrier (2009 II: 630–631; 2010 III: 1400–1403; 2010 IV: 1872–1877, 2424–2429); Allen (2015: 215); Mathieu (2018: 251–252).

³⁶⁸ According to Hays (2012 II: 417), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups D [*Horus Resurrects*] and F [*Isis and Nephthys Lament*].

³⁶⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 377–384); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 254–256); Faulkner (1969: 247–248); Carrier (2009 II: 1128–1133; 2010 III: 1354–1359; 2010 IV: 1904–1909); Allen (2015: 202–203); Mathieu (2018: 600–601).

in Heliopolis and who sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut. Furthermore, Atum embraces his offspring and also the deceased king, transmitting the *k3*. The king, Shu and Tefnut are protected by Atum. The whole Big Ennead of Heliopolis is listed and every member is dubbed to be a child of Atum. This spell can be found in two pyramids: Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).³⁷⁰

Text **PT 601** is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).³⁷¹ It is one of the spells for endurance of the king's name, pyramid and temple and that is caused by the fact that various gods will endure.³⁷² Shu whose epithet is lord of Upper Menset in Heliopolis, Tefnut, lady of Lower Menset in Heliopolis, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Osiris as Khentyimentiu, Seth, Horus, Re, Khentyirty, Wadjet.³⁷³

PT 606 combines Osirian and solar motifs and deals with the resurrection of Re, and Osiris the king.³⁷⁴ It was carved in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the middle corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the corridor) and Wedjebten (western wall of the burial chamber). Osiris the king is on the throne of Re-Atum. Re's boat which ascends and goes down is referred. Nut is the mother of Re, gives him birth every day, and the king will be born with Re every day. Shu is on the eastern side of Horus' throne, Tefnut is on the western side, Nu is on the southern side and Naunet is on the northern side.³⁷⁵ The Osirian father and son relationship (i.e. Osiris and Horus) can be

³⁷⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 420–421), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

³⁷¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 377–384); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 254–256); Faulkner (1969: 247–248); Carrier (2009 II: 1128–1133; 2010 III: 1354–1359; 2010 IV: 1904–1909); Allen (2015: 202–203); Mathieu (2018: 600–601).

³⁷² To the topic of protecting the pyramid, see Quack (2011: 42–45).

³⁷³ Hays (2012: 421) categorise it as a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

³⁷⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 389–397); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 257–259); Faulkner (1969: 250–251); Carrier (2009 II: 876–881; 2010 III: 1716–1723; 2010 IV: 1992–1997, 2660–2665); Allen (2015: 224–225); Mathieu (2018: 438–440).

³⁷⁵ On the basis of Hays' typology, it is a sacerdotal text (personal service), subdivision priestly recitation, Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*] (Hays 2012: 421–422).

clearly observed.³⁷⁶ Also, allusions to the tripartite division of solar cycle (Kheprer, Re, Atum) can be found here.

PT 613, detected in three pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the vestibule), Merenre (eastern wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (western wall of the vestibule),³⁷⁷ refers to two boats of Re which are in the west, and to the fact that Re cannot shine from the *3h.t*. At its beginning, the spell is fragmentary.³⁷⁸ An important role is played by *Hd-hd*, the ferryman of the Winding Canal. If he fails, Shu will grasp him and Tefnut will grip him. The result of his failure will also be that Re will not rise in the *3h.t*. Shu and Tefnut appear as protectors of the sunrise/Re's morning appearance.³⁷⁹

PT 624 was detected in four pyramids: Teti (eastern wall of the corridor), Pepy I (western wall of the descending corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (western wall of the burial chamber).³⁸⁰ The king raises himself on Shu and on the wing of Kheprer.³⁸¹ Two falcons in the prow of the Re's boat, who sail Re to the east, are greeted. The text deals with the king's ascend to the sky.³⁸²

It is **PT 634A** that belongs among the spells for the Opening of the Mouth ritual.³⁸³ The head of Shu, son of Atum, is lifted by Nut and who is invoked in connection to activity, honour, control and protection of the king. Horus opens the mouth and eyes with a magic adze. This text was engraved on the walls of three pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the

³⁷⁶ For the father and son relationships in the Pyramid Texts, see Köthen-Welpot (2003: 115–169).

³⁷⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 415–416); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 264); Faulkner (1969: 255–256); Carrier (2009 II: 1068–1071; 2010 III: 1800–1801; 2010 IV: 2064–2065); Allen (2015: 196–197); Mathieu (2018: 557–558).

³⁷⁸ Faulkner begins the translation with its second part (cf. Faulkner 1969: 255); and Mercer has many lacunas in his translation (Mercer 1952: 264).

³⁷⁹ The spell belongs to personal, transitional text of Group O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012: 423).

³⁸⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 423–424); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 266–267); Faulkner (1969: 258–259); Carrier (2009 II: 1116–1117; 2010 III: 1224–1225; 2010 IV: 2344–2345); Allen (2015: 241); Mathieu (2018: 559).

³⁸¹ Mercer (1952: 266) did not mention Shu.

³⁸² Hays (2012: 424) consider it as a personal, transitional text, Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

³⁸³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 V). Translations consult in Carrier (2009 II: 648–649; 2010 III: 1298–1301); Allen (2015: 253).

burial chamber),³⁸⁴ Merenre (northern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (northern wall of the burial chamber).³⁸⁵

In spell **PT 642**, another reference to Shu's origin is documented.³⁸⁶ First, Shu is addressed as the one who encircles everything with his arms and transfers the royal *k3* to the king. Then he is designated as the eldest son of Atum, and it is stated that Atum used his penis to produce Shu. The text is present in the pyramid of Pepy II (northern wall of the burial chamber).³⁸⁷

Similarly, the birth of Shu (but the other way of his creation, i.e. sneezing) is mentioned in the text **PT 660**. It is the recitation uttered by Atum.³⁸⁸ The king is identified with Shu, Atum's eldest son. Shu is also addressed in connection with revivification and life of the king. The spell was carved in two pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).³⁸⁹

Another reference to Shu is fairly confusing, mainly in terms of modern numbering of the spell: In the Allen's translation it is **PT 667B** (Allen 2013 V; Allen 2015: 317–318). However, the original number of the Utterance is PT 667C (Mercer 1952: 291; Faulkner 1969: 282), and Carrier used PT 667D, or PT 667B and PT 667C (Carrier 2009 II: 578–579; 2582–2585).³⁹⁰ For the first editions and translations of the Pyramid Texts, this spell was preserved too fragmentarily, and, hence, the previous publications interpreted this text differently. With regards to the occurrence, it can be found in the pyramids of three kings and one queen of the Sixth Dynasty: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre

³⁸⁴ In the mind of Allen (2013 V), the spell is attested in three pyramids. However, Mathieu (2018: 59) avoided mentioning Shu, son of Atum, in his translation.

³⁸⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 420–421), it is a sacerdotal, offering text of Group A [*Offering Ritual*].

³⁸⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 444); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 273); Faulkner (1969: 265); Carrier (2010 III: 1314–1315); or Allen (2015: 259).

³⁸⁷ According to Hays (2012 II: 427), it is a sacerdotal text of Group A [*Offering Ritual*].

³⁸⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 456); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 279); Faulkner (1969: 271); Carrier (2009 II: 688–689; 2010 III: 1368–1369); Allen (2015: 267); Mathieu (2018: 122–123).

³⁸⁹ According to Hays (2012 II: 430), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Groups A [*Offering Ritual*] and C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

³⁹⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 291); Faulkner (1969: 282); Carrier (2009 II: 578–579; 2010 III: 1466–1467; 2010 IV: 2582–2585); Allen (2015: 317–318); Mathieu (2018: 201–202).

(eastern end of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (eastern wall of the burial chamber).³⁹¹ It deals with purification in the Cool Waters, everlasting provisioning of various kinds. Allusions to the importance of the body (and perhaps mummification) can be found there as well, so that the continuous life is ensured. Shu is the one who ascends, removes and dispel walls of the limit.³⁹²

PT 670 is the spell connected with the resurrection ritual and deals with the opening of the sky's door, libation and completeness of the body.³⁹³ It is Atum who gives something unspecified to the king. The ruler goes forth to Atum's hall. Shu and Tefnut, the two great gods in Heliopolis, row him. It is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber).³⁹⁴

PT 684 deals with king's ascent to the heaven, and was used in two pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall descending corridor) and Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber).³⁹⁵ It tells of the king's mother Nut, his father Shu and mother Tefnut taking him to the sky.³⁹⁶ Atum's children and Nut's children cannot decline, and the king is one of them. Re is referred to be perfect every day.³⁹⁷

³⁹¹ In the concordance, Allen (2013 V) listed only three attestations of the spell (Pepy I, Pepy II, Neith). However, in his translation, he referred to it also in the pyramid of Merenre (Allen 2005: 217, M 200; also Allen 2015: 218).

³⁹² Hays (2012 II: 432–433) understood this spell as being a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation belonging to Group B [*Transfiguration*].

³⁹³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 475–480); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 294–295); Faulkner (1969: 285–287); Carrier (2009 II: 488–493; 2010 III: 1476–1481); Allen (2015: 263–264); Mathieu (2018: 290–292).

³⁹⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 434), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Groups B [*Transfiguration*] and M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

³⁹⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 497–501); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 302–303); Faulkner (1969: 294–295); Carrier (2009 II: 1132–1137; 2010 III: 1564–1569); Allen (2015: 284–285); Mathieu (2018: 602–603).

³⁹⁶ Faulkner (1969: 294) and Allen (2015: 284) use (grand)father for Shu and (grand)mother for Tefnut.

³⁹⁷ The spell is counted among personal, transitional texts, Groups L [*Transformation*] and O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012: 437).

As for **PT 685**, it is attested in the pyramid of Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber).³⁹⁸ It touches the topic of libation and anointing. It is Atum who is the donor of clean water. Furthermore, he is the one who made Shu's penis and Tefnut's vulva.³⁹⁹

Text **PT 689** deals with the Eye of Horus which is said to be frontal on the brow of Re.⁴⁰⁰ Shu is referred as the supporter of Nut and the one who raises the Eye of Horus to the sky. The spell can be found in two pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber).⁴⁰¹

Shu also appears in **PT 690**, attested in five pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Wedjebten (northern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁰² It is a fairly long spell. Faulkner (1969: 298) was of the opinion that this text is composed of several shorter miscellaneous utterances. However, it seems more likely that it presents more complex notions. The spell deals with the resurrection of the king and with his setting among the gods. It might be an attestation for the morning ritual, too: waking up, clothing; and maybe mummification. Various parts of body (bones, heart, face, flash, soul, power) are listed and the king's flesh is dubbed to be that of Atum. Osiris the king comes peacefully to Re. Shu and Tefnut are the ones who guide the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis. The deceased is alive as Kheprer and stable as the *dd*-pillar.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 501–503); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 303–304); Faulkner (1969: 295); Carrier (2010 III: 1572–1575); or Allen (2015: 285).

³⁹⁹ According to Hays (2012 II: 437), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group L [*Transformation*].

⁴⁰⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 508–510); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 306); Faulkner (1969: 297–298); Carrier (2009 II: 842–845; 2010 III: 1580–1583); Allen (2015: 287); Mathieu (2018: 380–381).

⁴⁰¹ According to Hays (2012: 437), it is a personal, transitional text, Group L [*Transformation*].

⁴⁰² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 510–516); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 307–309); Faulkner (1969: 298–300); Carrier (2009 II: 580–589; 2010 III: 1582–1589; 2010 IV: 2512–2519, 2704–2705); Allen (2015: 287–289); Mathieu (2018: 205–208).

⁴⁰³ In Hays' typology, it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation, Groups B [*Transfiguration*], G [*Anointing and Wrapping*] and L [*Transformation*] (Hays 2012: 438).

In **PT 698C**, hints to separating Nut from Geb by Shu can be observed.⁴⁰⁴ It is stated that the king has emerged on the thigh of Shu. The text is present in two pyramids: Pepy I (eastern wall of the vestibule) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the vestibule).⁴⁰⁵

PT *709 (= CT 66) refers to Shu who is completed in his limits.⁴⁰⁶ The spell was recorded in two pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (southern wall of the antechamber).

Spell **PT *711** (= CT 516) ensures that the king will be provided with figs and wine.⁴⁰⁷ It also deals with accession to the heaven, and the king is the one who climbs behind Shu. It was engraved in the pyramid of Pepy II (eastern wall of the antechamber).

It is **PT *729** where Shu's thrones are mentioned.⁴⁰⁸ The spell was recorded in the pyramid of Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁰⁹

PT *737 (TP 1025 B) was carved in the pyramid of Pepy I (southern wall of the antechamber).⁴¹⁰ Strong solar notions are present. It deals with cleansing in the *sh.t j3r.w*, and various aspects of the god Horus are mentioned (*Hr j3b.ty*, *Hr szm.ty*, *Hr šct*). Someone's arms are received by Re, and the king might sit on Re's shoulder. Shu is referred to be the king's father who gives his arm to the king. Moreover, Atum, Atum-Kheprer and the Nocturnal Barque are also referred.⁴¹¹

In **PT *762** Shu's ladder and government with Kheper is mentioned.⁴¹² The spell is fragmentary, though. It was carved in the pyramid of Pepy I (eastern wall of the vestibule).

PT *773, from the pyramid of Pepy I (western wall of the descending corridor), is also preserved fragmentarily and refers to the god Osiris, and sailing boats in Nu.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Carrier (2010 III: 1764–1767); Allen (2015: 196); Mathieu (2018: 597–598).

⁴⁰⁵ Hays (2012: 439) presented only the groups: H [*Provisioning*] and O [*Mixed*].

⁴⁰⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 122).

⁴⁰⁷ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 280).

⁴⁰⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 121).

⁴⁰⁹ Hays (2012: 443) presented only the Group K [*Apotropaia*].

⁴¹⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see, e.g., Pierre-Croisau (2001: Pl. VIII); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Carrier (2009 II: 840–841); Berger-el Naggar *et al.* (2001: 132); Allen (2015: 140–141); Mathieu (2018: 345).

⁴¹¹ According to Hays (2012: 443), it belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

⁴¹² For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 193).

⁴¹³ For the hieroglyphic text, see, e.g., Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 201).




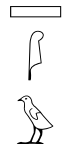

Something (perhaps a body part) is identified with Shu. It refers to the Nocturnal Barque as well. Generally, the Nocturnal Barque was traditionally connected to the god Re.



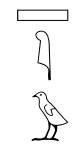


PT *799 is attested in the pyramid of Pepy II (western wall of the vestibule).⁴¹⁴ It says that the king came to Re who appears with a crown as a messenger of Shu.


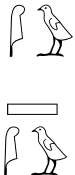


5.1.2.2 Summary






To summarise this chapter, it can be mentioned that 64 Pyramid Text spells refer to Shu (see **tab. 2**). The utterances are present in all pyramids, albeit in different groupings. Shu occurs in a number of roles and relations to other deities. As far as his functions are concerned, Shu's connection to the deceased king is meaningful since he provides the ruler with protection, power and provisions. What is likewise paramount is his role of the supporter of the sky and the god of air and light. He often appears with his twin-sister Tefnut. His characteristics are discussed below in more details, together with the information obtained from another pieces of evidence (Chapter 6.2).

⁴¹⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 295–296).

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
7	Teti	BCH, sarcophagus	-	-	-	Spells on the sarcophagus		Father of Nut
209	Wenis	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Spells for the power of nourishment		Shu is flourishing
219	Wenis	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Litany of identification with Osiris		The king is Shu's son; rebirth, life
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	The king is Shu's son; rebirth, life
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	The king is Shu's son; rebirth, life
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		The king is Shu's son; rebirth, life
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		The king (resp. queen) is Shu's son; rebirth, life







PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Iput II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-	?	The king (resp. queen) is Shu's son; rebirth, life
222	Wenis	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Commendation to the sun		Shu's bones, Shu's Lakes
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The Basic ritual	?	Shu's bones, Shu's Lakes
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The Basic ritual		Shu's bones, Shu's Lakes
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The Basic ritual		Shu's bones, Shu's Lakes
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The Basic ritual		Shu's bones, Shu's Lakes
253	Wenis	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J	Cleansing in the Field of Reeds		Shu raises the title up

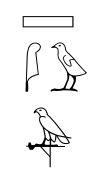





PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Teti	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Shu raises the title up
254	Wenis	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Tefnut supports Shu; Shu is father of the king who gave him a seat besides Seth
	Teti	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Tefnut supports Shu; Shu is father of the king who gave him a seat besides Seth
255	Wenis	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet	?	Shu's arms under Nut
	Teti	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Shu's arms under Nut








PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
259	Teti	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	-		The king is bound to sky as Shu
260	Wenis	A, W + S wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Shu was a witness
261	Wenis	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	J, L	Emerging into the Akhet		The king is son of Shu's heart and traverses Shu.
	Pepy I	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J, L	Crossing to the sky		The king is son of Shu's heart and traverses Shu.
301	Wenis	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Bringing the sun	 ⁴¹⁵	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut); Shu produced the gods.





⁴¹⁵ Non-standard writing of Shu's name (cf. Allen 2013 III).









PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Teti	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Greeting the sun and the gods	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut); Shu produced the gods.
	Pepy I	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	-	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut); Shu produced the gods.
	Merenre	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Invoking the sun	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut); Shu produced the gods.
	Pepy II	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	Claiming access to the sun	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and Tefnut); Shu produced the gods.
	Ankhespepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, J, K	-	?	Atum and Ruty made their two gods (Shu and






PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
								Tefnut); Shu produced the gods.
323	Teti	BCH, W gable	Sacerdotal text	Personal service, Transition	M, N	Spells for ascending to Nut		Shu lifts the king up
	Pepy I	C, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Personal service, Transition	M, N	At dawn		Shu lifts the king up
	Merenre	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Personal service, Transition	M, N	Summoning the ferry		Shu lifts the king up
325	Teti	BCH, W gable	Personal text	Transition	M, O	Spells for ascending to Nut		Shu takes the king; the king is Shu's companion
	Pepy I	DC, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M, O	Appearing at dawn	?	Shu takes the king; the king is Shu's companion
338	Teti	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Spells against hunger and thirst		Shu acts against thirst.
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Spells for the power of sustenance		Shu acts against thirst.







PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provisioning	H	The spirit's response		Shu acts against thirst.
339	Teti	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Spells against hunger and thirst		Shu acts against hunger.
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Spells for the power of sustenance		Shu acts against hunger.
	Pepy II	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provisioning	H	The spirit's response		Shu acts against hunger.
358	Teti	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, C	Establishing the spirit as Osiris		Shu's firstborn
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, C	Commending the spirit to Isis and Nephthys		Shu's firstborn








PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
360	Teti	P, N wall	Personal text	Transition	I	At the gate to the Akhet		Shu who came from Atum
	Pepy II	P, S wall	Personal text	Transition	I	At the gate to the Akhet		Shu who came from Atum
361	Teti	P, N wall	Personal text	Transition	I	At the gate to the Akhet		<i>Pg3</i> has commended the king to Shu.
	Pepy II	P, S wall	Personal text	Transition	I	At the gate to the Akhet		<i>Pg3</i> has commended the king to Shu.
434	Pepy I	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Invoking the spirit and Nut		Nut has head of his father Shu. Shu desired her and placed himself under her.
	Merenre	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Invoking Nut		Nut has head of his father Shu. Shu desired her and placed himself under her.
	Pepy II	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Invoking the spirit and Nut		Nut has head of his father Shu. Shu desired her and placed himself under her.







PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Neith	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Invoking the spirit and Nut		Nut has head of his father Shu. Shu desired her and placed himself under her.
452	Pepy I	BCH, W wall + V, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Tending the newborn spirit		Shu's cleansing
	Merenre	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Tending the spirit as Osiris		Shu's cleansing
	Pepy II	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Cleansing and crowning the newborn spirit		Shu's cleansing
	Neith	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	E	Cleansing, crowning, and tending the spirit as Osiris	-	Shu's cleansing







PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
484	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J, O	Going forth to the sky		Shu is in earth's limit.
	Merenre	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	J, O	Crossing the Akhet		Shu is in earth's limit.
486	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N	Going forth to the sky		Shu brings waters.
	Pepy II	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N	Summoning the ferry		Shu brings waters.
496	Pepy I	A, E wall	Personal text	Provisioning	H	Taking control of nourishment		Shu behind the king
502P	Pepy I	A, E wall	-	-	-	Spell against inimical beings		Shu elevates black skin.
505	Pepy I	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	N	At dawn		Shu lifts the king up.
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Summoning the ferry		Shu lifts the king up.



PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Ferrying	?	Shu lifts the king up.
506	Pepy I	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	N	At dawn		Shu with arms under sky
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the spirit		Shu with arms under sky
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	The spirit's response		Shu with arms under sky
509	Pepy I	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N	At dawn		Shu's walls are overthrown by king.
	Pepy II	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N	-	?	Shu's walls are overthrown by king.
511	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Going toward the sky		The king stands up on Shu.
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Leaving the Akhet	?	The king stands up on Shu.






PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Approaching the sky		The king stands up on Shu.
	Neith	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Going toward the sky		The king stands up on Shu.
526	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods		Shu takes the king to sky.
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods for passage		Shu takes the king to sky.
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods and the spirit		Shu takes the king to sky.
527	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum- Khep(r)er (masturbation)





PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods for passage		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum- Khep(r)er (masturbation)
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods and the spirit		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum- Khep(r)er (masturbation)
539	Pepy I	V, S wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Emerging into the vestibule		The king's lips are Shu and Tefnut
553	Pepy I	V, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	Entering the tomb at night		Who is against Shu will be swept out.
	Pepy II	V, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	Addressing the spirit		Who is against Shu will be swept out.
	Wedjebten	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	-		Who is against Shu will be swept out.
564	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the gods		Shu lifts the king to sky.



PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	V, N wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Joining the gods		Shu lifts the king to sky.
565	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N, O	Joining the gods		The king is raised on the arm of Shu.
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N, O	Invoking the gods		The king is raised on the arm of Shu.
	Pepy II	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N, O	Summoning the ferry		The king is raised on the arm of Shu.
567	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N, O	Invoking the gods		Shu lifts the king to sky.
	Pepy II	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J, N, O	Greeting the sun	?	Shu lifts the king to sky.
570A	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the sun at dawn		Sky is on the arms of Shu. The king bears Nut as Shu.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the gods at dawn		The king is on the arms of Shu. King bears Nut as Shu.
	Pepy II	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Appearing at dawn		Sky is on the arms of Shu. The king bears Nut as Shu.
571	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the sun at dawn		Shu with arms under Nut.
	Pepy II	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Meeting the gods	?	Shu with arms under Nut.
577	Pepy I	V, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	Becoming Osiris at dusk		Shu is content with speech of Thoth
580	Pepy I	V, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	Address to the spirit as Osiris at dusk		Two rear flanks for Shu
581	Pepy I	V, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	Address to the spirit as Osiris at dusk		Shu precedes those who see inundation





PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	V, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	O	Commending the spirit to the gods	?	Shu precedes those who see inundation
585	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	At the sky's door	?	The king is third offspring of Shu.
	Pepy I	A, N wall + DC, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods	?	The king is third offspring of Shu.
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods	?	The king is third offspring of Shu.
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods		The king is third offspring of Shu.
592	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Concluding spells	?	The king and Geb are Shu's sons.
	Merenre	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Dressing the spirit		The king and Geb are Shu's sons.
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Invocation of Geb	?	The king and Geb are Shu's sons.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	D, F	Address to Geb		The king and Geb are Shu's sons.
600	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum-Kheprer sneezed Shu.
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum-Kheprer sneezed Shu.
601	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid	?	Shu, lord of Upper Menset in Heliopolis
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Shu, lord of Upper Menset in Heliopolis
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Shu, lord of Upper Menset in Heliopolis
606	Pepy I	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Address to the spirit	?	Shu is on east side of Horus' throne.


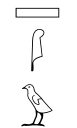




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Invoking the spirit		Shu is on east side of Horus' throne.
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Invoking the spirit	?	Shu is on east side of Horus' throne.
	Wedjebten	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	-	?	Shu is on east side of Horus' throne.
613	Pepy I	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Appearing at dawn		Shu will grasp <i>Hq-hq</i> .
	Merenre	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Joining the gods		Shu will grasp <i>Hq-hq</i> .
	Pepy II	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Meeting the gods	?	Shu will grasp <i>Hq-hq</i> .
624	Teti	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-		The king raises himself on Shu.
	Pepy I	DC, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Ascending to the sky	?	The king raises himself on Shu





PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Boarding the sun- boat	?	The king raises himself on Shu
	Neith	BCH, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Ascending to the sky		The king raises himself on Shu
634A	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Offering	A	Presenting the statue to the gods	?	Shu is son of Atum. Shu's head is lifted by Nut. The king's activity, honour, control, protection
	Merenre	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Offering	A	Presenting the statue to the gods	?	Shu is son of Atum. Shu's head is lifted by Nut. The king's activity, honour, control, protection
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Offering	A	Opening the mouth of the deceased's statue		Shu is son of Atum. Shu's head is lifted by Nut. The king's activity, honour, control, protection

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
642	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	-	A	Procession with the statue		Shu encircles everything. Shu is the eldest son of Atum.
660	Pepy I	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	A, C	Presenting the statue to the gods	?	Shu was sneezed by Atum. The king is Shu, Atum's eldest son. The king's revivification, life
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	A, C	Presenting the spirit to the gods		Shu was sneezed by Atum. The king is Shu, Atum's eldest son. The king's revivification, life
667B	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Provisioning the resurrected spirit		Shu ascends and removes and dispels the walls
	Merenre	BCH, E end	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Provisioning the resurrected spirit	?	Shu ascends and removes and dispels the walls

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Provisioning the resurrected spirit		Shu ascends and removes and dispels the walls
	Neith	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Provisioning the resurrected spirit		Shu ascends and removes and dispels the walls
670	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, M	Tending the newborn spirit	?	Shu and Tefnut, two great gods of Heliopolis, rows the king.
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, M	Commending the spirit to Isis and Nephthys		Shu and Tefnut, two great gods of Heliopolis, rows the king.
684	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Joining the gods	?	Shu is the king's father.
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Appearing as Horus and Osiris		Shu is the king's father.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
685	Pepy II	A, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	L	Libation and anointing at dawn		Atum made Shu's penis.
689	Pepy I	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L	Invoking the gods	?	Shu supports Nut and raises Eye of Horus to sky.
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L	Invoking the gods of the sky		Shu supports Nut and raises Eye of Horus to sky.
690	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to the sky		Shu guides the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis.
	Merenre	A, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to join the gods	?	Shu guides the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to the sky		Shu guides the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis.
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit through the Akhet		Shu guides the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis.
	Wedjebten	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	-	?	Shu guides the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis.
698C	Pepy I	V, E wall	-	-	H, O	Appearing at dawn		Shu separates Nut from Geb. The king emerged on thigh of Shu.
	Pepy II	V, E wall	-	-	H, O	Greeting the sun		Shu separates Nut from Geb. The king emerged on thigh of Shu.
*709	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	-	-	-	Sending the spirit to the sky		Shu is completed in his limits.
*711	Pepy II	A, E wall	-	-	-	Sending the spirit to the Sun		The king climbs behind Shu.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
*729	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	-	-	K	Sending the spirit to the sky	?	Shu's thrones
*737	Pepy I	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Sailing in the Akhet		Shu is the king's father.
*762	Pepy I	V, E wall	-	-	-	Awaking at dawn		Shu's ladder
*773	Pepy I	DC, W wall	-	-	-	Ascending to the sky		A body part (?) is identified with Shu.
*799	Pepy II	V, W wall	-	-	-	Meeting the gods		Messenger of Shu

Tab. 2 Spells with references to Shu, listing the spells, occurrences, groupings of Hays (2012), subtitles in Allen (2015), writing the name, and epithets and roles

5.1.3 Kheprer

5.1.3.1 Analysis of the relevant spells

It was Minas-Nerpel (2006) who analysed the utterances mentioning the god Kheprer in the Pyramid Texts. She investigated the references in individual pyramids, focusing on the location of the spells, their occurrences, modern groupings, as well as on Kheprer's roles and styles of writing his name. She also presented translations of the parts relevant for her subject. There is not much to be added to her research. However, for the purposes of the present thesis it is worth analysing the spells with Kheprer in the terms of the methodology applied in the previous and following chapters, offering thus a slightly updated examination.

The first text where Kheprer appeared is **PT 222**, attested in six pyramids: Wenis (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Teti (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Ankhnespepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber).⁴¹⁶ It is a long spell that partially refers to the creation of the world by mentioning that the land that came from Atum. Other roles of Atum are also attested (see above, Chapter 5.1.1). Furthermore, Re, the Diurnal and Nocturnal Barques, and Shu are mentioned. The spell guarantees the preservation of the king's body. A number of deities is invoked, but it seems that it is Atum who plays a significant role here. It also deals with transmitting the royal *k3* from Atum to the king. Kheprer is addressed in connection to a spittle that came from him.⁴¹⁷ This was rightly interpreted by Minas-Nerpel (2006: 15) as a hint to dung balls of the beetles, and to the creation of the world, being thus an analogy to PT 600.

⁴¹⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 115–122); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 51–53); Allen (2013 II). Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 I: 114–117); Mercer (1952: 67–68); Faulkner (1969: 49–51); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 15); Carrier (2009 I: 56–61, 248–253; 2009 II: 534–541; 2010 III: 1432–1439; 2010 IV: 2504–2511); Allen (2015: 42–44). The spell was not translated by Piankoff (1968).

⁴¹⁷ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group C, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 351) the spell belongs to sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group B [*Transfiguration*].

Khep(r)er in a connection to (his) ways occurs in **PT 257**.⁴¹⁸ In the spell, Atum as the lord of all (*nb tm*) is mentioned as well, in a link to a seat (see above, Chapter 5.1.1). The god Horus appears in the sunlight. It is Atum's Dual Ennead that serves to the deceased king. Generally, the text speaks about inheritance and authority of the king. It was carved in two pyramids: Wenis (western wall of the antechamber) and Teti (western wall of the antechamber).⁴¹⁹ Minas-Nerpel (2006: 17) considers whether the phrase *w3.wt n Hpr* should be translated as “Wege des Chepri” or “zu Chepri”. She is inclined to think that the former is more appropriate. The same opinion shared Allen (2015: 49) and by the present author.

Strong solar notions, mainly with the references to Re, can be detected in **PT 267**, attested in five pyramids: Wenis (southern wall of the antechamber), Teti (southern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (southern wall of the antechamber), Merenre (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (southern wall of the burial chamber).⁴²⁰ The king who has his heart/mind, arms and legs, is addressed as Osiris. The spell deals with the sunrise. It is also stated that the deceased is alight as Kheprer.⁴²¹ It is reasonable that, when referring to the preserved body parts, the king appears as Osiris, since the deity was related to the motifs of the mummification and the triumph over death.

PT 346 is attested in three pyramids: Teti (eastern gable of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern gable of the burial

⁴¹⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 163–166); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 16–19); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 360–361); Mercer (1952 I: 81–82); Piankoff (1968: 34–35); Faulkner (1969: 67); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 16); Carrier (2009 I: 124–125, 300–303); Allen (2015: 49).

⁴¹⁹ According to the classification of Pyramid Texts created by Osing, this spell belongs to the so-called group D, dealing with the existence of the deceased king in the hereafter, and with a significant role of the god Re (Osing 1986: 140). In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 357) the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

⁴²⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 190–192); Piankoff (1968: Pls. 24–25); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 81–82); Mercer (1952 I: 89–90); Piankoff (1968: 40); Faulkner (1969: 76); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 18); Carrier (2009 I: 136–137; 2009 II: 794–795; 2010 III: 1468–1496); Allen (2015: 52).

⁴²¹ In the mind of Hays (2012 II: 351) the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Groups B [*Transfiguration*] and J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

chamber).⁴²² The king's *k3* is in Pe. The red fire is referred and Kheprer appears as the living one.⁴²³ The spell deals with a meal for the deceased.⁴²⁴

Spell **PT 353** represents a shortened version of the previous one (PT 346),⁴²⁵ consisting of the mention that the king comes from Pe, the fire is red and Kheprer lives.⁴²⁶ As for its occurrence, it is attested in four pyramids: Teti (eastern gable of the burial chamber), Pepy I (eastern wall of the descending corridor),⁴²⁷ Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).⁴²⁸

Even though **PT 401** occurs in four pyramids: Teti (eastern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (eastern wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber),⁴²⁹ the reference to Kheprer comes from the last three examples (i.e. Pepy I, Merenre, Pepy II), being the same as in the previous example (PT 353). Furthermore, the spell deals with the uraeus and nourishment.⁴³⁰

It is **PT 467** where Kheprer is connected to the west,⁴³¹ not to the east, which is rather unusual (also Minas-Nerpel 2006: 25). Predominantly, solar connotations are preserved in the text: Re and Horus are invoked, and the motif of the king's ascent to the sky is present as

⁴²² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 288–289); Allen (2013 III).

For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 55); Mercer (1952: 116); Faulkner (1969: 111); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 21); Carrier (2009 I: 220–221; 2010 III: 1330–1331; 2010 IV: 1916–1917); Allen (2015: 79).

⁴²³ Allen (2015: 79) refers to the beetle in this case.

⁴²⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 372) the spell belongs among personal, provisioning text of Group H [*Provisioning*].

⁴²⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 294); Allen (2013 III).

For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 55); Mercer (1952: 117); Faulkner (1969: 113); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 20); Carrier (2009 I: 222–223; 2009 II: 1120–1121; 2010 III: 1372–1373; 2010 IV: 1918–1919); Allen (2015: 79).

⁴²⁶ Allen (2015: 79) refers to the beetle in this case.

⁴²⁷ In the pyramid of Pepy I, the comparative form was used (cf., for instance, Allen 2015: 202).

⁴²⁸ According to Hays (2012 II: 373) the spell belongs among personal, provisioning text of Group H [*Provisioning*].

⁴²⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 378–379); Allen (2013 III).

For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 274); Mercer (1952: 136); Faulkner (1969: 131); Carrier (2009 II: 1120–1123; 2010 III: 1372–1375; 2010 IV: 1920–1921); or Allen (2015: 202, cf. also 95).

⁴³⁰ According to Hays (2012 II: 382) the spell belongs among personal, provisioning text of Group H [*Provisioning*].

⁴³¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 494–499); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 151–153); Mercer (1952: 162–163); Faulkner (1969: 156–157); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 24); Carrier (2009 II: 730–733; 2010 IV: 1946–1949); Allen (2015: 128).

well. This spell was engraved in four pyramids: Teti (southern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Merenre (western wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (western gable of the antechamber).⁴³²

Spell **PT 470** brings information about the Field of Kheprer.⁴³³ It is stated that the king is familiar with his mother and the White and Red Crowns are referred in this context. A demand of being suckled by the king's mother is expressed too. Furthermore, *Hd-hd* is addressed in connection with a ferryboat and a great wild bull. Re appears here as the father of the king. The king is cleansed in the Field of Reeds and dressed in the Field of Kheprer. Likewise, the ruler is in the east and in the west and in both places he finds Re. Regarding its occurrence, the text can be found in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (southern wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (western wall of the antechamber).⁴³⁴

The fragmentarily preserved spell **PT 484** evinces the influence of solar notions with a supposed hint to the creation of the world and with referring to Kheprer who comes forth to the Cool Waters.⁴³⁵ The former motif might be hinted in the utterance about the hill amidst the Great Green. It is his arms that also plays a significant role.⁴³⁶ The spell is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Merenre (southern wall of the antechamber).⁴³⁷

PT 519 is a rather long spell, with a mixture of concepts (Osirian, astral, solar), thus offering a large compilation of beliefs. It can be identified in three pyramids: Pepy I (western

⁴³² According to Hays (2012 II: 393) the spell belongs among personal, transitional text of Group J [*Aggregation with the gods*].

⁴³³ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 3–9); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 187–188); Mercer (1952: 165–166); Faulkner (1969: 159–160); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 25); Carrier (2009 II: 742–749; 2010 III: 1552–1555; 2010 IV: 1984–1987); Allen (2015: 131).

⁴³⁴ According to Hays (2012 II: 394) the spell belongs among personal, transitional text of Group J [*Aggregation with the gods*].

⁴³⁵ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 73–75); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 301–302); Mercer (1952: 179–180); Faulkner (1969: 171); Carrier (2009 II: 782–785; 2010 IV: 1986–1989); Allen (2015: 137). This spell is missing in the list of Minas-Nerpel (2006: 22–39).

⁴³⁶ According to Hays (2012 II: 390) the spell belongs among personal, transitional text of Groups J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] and O [*Mixed*].

⁴³⁷ Carrier (2010 IV: 1986–1989) listed PT 484 among the fragments of the eastern wall of the antechamber. This spell was not considered by Minas-Nerpel (2006: 12–48).

wall of the corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of the corridor) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the corridor).⁴³⁸ It addresses *Hr=f-h3=f*, the doorkeeper, who is approached in order to instruct Osiris to bring a boat for the king. The Imperishable Stars should provide him with cool water so that he can be cleansed. The king will cross with a head-band of green (*w3d.t*) and red linen (*(j)dmj*), which can be identified with the Eye of Horus. It should be wrapped around one of the fingers of Osiris, which is wounded.⁴³⁹ The text also deals with the opening of doors for the king, and refers to Re in the *3h.t* and in the east. Horus of the *db.t* is designated as a morning god, the divine falcon, *w3d3d*-bird,⁴⁴⁰ and born of the sky. Two fingers which should be given to the king are also mentioned. Moreover, there is a hint of the myth about the division of Geb and Nut. The king is the son of Kheprer. The day of cutting off the heads of mottled snakes (*hrw pw n(j) zn(j)t tp.w s3b.wt*)⁴⁴¹ is referred to, in connection with the king and the god Khentyirty. Furthermore, the king will receive his favourite harpoon, a staff which binds rivers, whose points are the rays of Re and whose barbs are the claws of Mafdet.⁴⁴² The king is in the Great Green. It is Isis who bounds the headband to her son Horus. The king receives the plant of life in the Field of Rest. The king is proclaimed to be the greatest official of the *3h.w*.⁴⁴³

It is **PT 527** where the creation of the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut, is reported.⁴⁴⁴

It is attested in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall

⁴³⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 171–187); Allen (2013 IV). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 V: 93–97); Mercer (1952: 200–202); Faulkner (1969: 192–194); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 28–29); Carrier (2009 II: 904–913; 2010 III: 1700–1709; 2010 IV: 2024–2033); Allen (2015: 165–166).

⁴³⁹ This extremity is also attested in the Coffin Texts (CT 310) (see Nyord 2009: 270–273).

⁴⁴⁰ Allen (2015: 165) translated it as a “bee-eater”.

⁴⁴¹ It seems that in the Pyramid Texts this action was performed in order to annihilate inimical beings, snakes in this case. Georg Meurer (2002: 33, 295) presented the theory that the weapon is used here in order to defeat the enemies of the sun god (appearing here as *s3b.wt*). Nevertheless, from the later periods a number of texts which refer to serpents with positive connotations are known: they are useful in helping the deceased to achieve resurrection. In the Late Period shaft tomb of Iufaa at Abusir, a so-called snake encyclopaedia can be identified. The creatures were described there by their names, main characteristics, colours, measurements, and relationship to the god Re, and sometimes even in relation to chapels and rituals, etc. However, there is no reference to *s3b.wt* in the tomb of Iufaa (see Landgráfová – Janák 2016 and 2017).

⁴⁴² This text was analysed with regard to the harpoons and spears in the Old Kingdom (cf. Odler – Peterková Hlouchová 2017).

⁴⁴³ According to Hays (2012 II: 405–406) the spell belongs among personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

⁴⁴⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 203–204); Allen (2013 IV).

of the corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the corridor).⁴⁴⁵ The creation of the first divine pair, the twins, is described as the act of the masturbation of Atum-Khep(r)er. Minas-Nerpel (2006: 42–43) considered the three versions of the utterance with Atum-Khep(r)er, since in the case of Teti is *Jtm pw hpr* referred. Based on her research, it should be translated as: “Atum ist es, der (von selbst) entstanden ist” (Minas-Nerpel 2006: 43). Therefore, she was convinced that it was a participle, rather than reference to Kheprer. The Merenre’s version used *Jtm hpr*, without *pw* and Pepy II mentioned *Jtm hprrr* (see **tab. 3**).

PT 570A represents one of the spells carved in three pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of vestibule and western wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (eastern wall of vestibule) and Pepy II (western wall of vestibule).⁴⁴⁶ It is stated that the god was born by the sky which was on the arms of Shu and Tefnut. Later in the spell the king himself is referred to bear Nut as Shu. Kheprer, Nu and Atum are informed that the king is the great one, and the son of the great one, and that he is ordered to ascent in his identity of Re.⁴⁴⁷

It is **PT 580** that refers to the killing of a wild bull for (and instead of) Osiris the king.⁴⁴⁸ It is stated that the upper foreleg of the animal belongs to Kheprer, the lower foreleg to Atum, the gods’ father, and the two rear flanks to Shu and Tefnut. Other gods are also mentioned in this regard. The spell was detected only in the pyramid of Pepy I, on the western wall of the vestibule.⁴⁴⁹

Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 147); Mercer (1952: 206); Faulkner (1969: 198); Carrier (2009 II: 920–921; 2010 III: 1678–1681; 2010 IV: 2010–2013); or Allen (2015: 168–169).

⁴⁴⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 407), it is a personal, transitional text of Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*].

⁴⁴⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 285–302); Allen (2013 V).

Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 376–381); Mercer (1952: 230–233); Faulkner (1969: 223–226); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 30–31); Carrier (2009 II: 982–989, 1088–1097; 2010 III: 1788–1795; 2010 IV: 2068–2077); Allen (2015: 180–182).

⁴⁴⁷ In the Hays’ typology, it is a personal, transitional text, Group O [*Mixed*] (Hays 2012 II: 414–415).

⁴⁴⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 329–331); Allen (2013 V).

Translations consult e.g. in Sethe (1935–1962 V: 494–495); Mercer (1952: 241–242); Faulkner (1969: 234–235); Carrier (2009 II: 1016–1019); or Allen (2015: 188).

⁴⁴⁹ According to Hays (2012 II: 417), it is a sacerdotal text of personal service, priestly recitation of Group O [*Mixed*].

Spell **PT 585** contains shorter utterances addressing various gods (Geb, Atum, Shu, Osiris, Re, Maat, Ogdoad).⁴⁵⁰ It is stated that the Imperishable Stars create the annals of Kheprer. Re is informed that the king (?) is the eighth god of the Ogdoad. It is also mentioned that the king shines by day and places Maat behind Re. This text is attested in four pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber, very fragmentary), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber and western wall of the descending corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁵¹

It is Atum and Kheprer who are greeted in **PT 587**.⁴⁵² Atum is also mentioned in connection to primeval mound. In general, the spell deals with the Eye of Horus and its healing. The offerings (water, bread, beer) are attributed to Horus and the doors are open for him. There is also mentioned that bad things were done to Horus by Seth. This spell is attested in two pyramids: Pepy I (eastern and western walls of the descending corridor) and Pepy II (southern wall of the passage).⁴⁵³

In **PT 600**, Atum-Kheprer appears as the high mound (*bmbn*) in the *bmbn* enclosure in Heliopolis and he sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut.⁴⁵⁴ Furthermore, Atum embraces his offspring and also the deceased king. Thus, he transmits the *k3*. Atum also protects the king, Shu and Tefnut. The whole Big Ennead of Heliopolis is listed and every member is dubbed

⁴⁵⁰ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 342); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 245); Allen (2015: 304–305); Mathieu (2018: 376–379, 578–580). Faulkner (1969: 238) did not translate this spell because it was preserved fragmentary, as was stated by him. Mathieu (2018: 376–379, 578–580) divided this spell into individual utterances (TP 585 A – 585 H). Not referred by Minas-Nerpel (2006: 12–48).

⁴⁵¹ In Hays' typology it is counted as a personal, transitional text, Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*] (Hays 2012 II: 418, 443–444). PT 585 has the same motifs as PT 736, PT 737, PT 738, PT 739 and PT 740 (cf. Hays 2012 II: 418, 443–444).

⁴⁵² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 344–355); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 246–248); Faulkner (1969: 238–241); Carrier (2009 II: 1106–1113, 1142–1149; 2010 III: 1486–1493); Allen (2015: 269–271).

⁴⁵³ According to Hays (2012 II: 418), it is a sacerdotal text (personal service), priestly recitation of Groups I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*], M [*Ascent to the Sky*] and O [*Mixed*].

⁴⁵⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 377–384); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 254–256); Faulkner (1969: 247–248); Carrier (2009 II: 1128–1133; 2010 III: 1354–1359; 2010 IV: 1904–1909); Allen (2015: 202–203); Mathieu (2018: 600–601).

to be a child of Atum. This spell can be found in two pyramids: Merenre (eastern wall of the burial chamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁵⁵

The king is addressed as Osiris, father of Horus, in **PT 606**. In it, he is enthroned on the throne of Re-Atum.⁴⁵⁶ It is also stated that the deceased is with Re in his barques. The deceased king is identified with Re who comes forth from Nut every day. Shu is on the eastern side of Horus' throne, Tefnut is on the western side, Nu is on the southern side and Naunet is on the northern side. Allusions to the tripartite division of solar cycle (Kheprer, Re, Atum) can be found. The spell deals with cleansing and revivification. It is attested in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the corridor), Merenre (western wall of the corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the corridor) and Wedjebten (western wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁵⁷

PT 624 was detected in four pyramids: Teti (eastern wall of the corridor), Pepy I (western wall of the descending corridor), Pepy II (western wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (western wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁵⁸ The king raises himself on Shu and on the wing of Kheprer.⁴⁵⁹ Two falcons in the prow of the Re's boat, who sail Re to the east, are greeted. The spell deals with the king's ascending to the sky.⁴⁶⁰

In **PT 655A = PT *704** is hinted that the king is an offspring of Re, Dual Ennead and Shesemtet. In this context also Sakhmet is referred.⁴⁶¹ The king is placed at the forehead of Kheprer.⁴⁶² The text is attested in four pyramids: Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber),

⁴⁵⁵ According to Hays (2012 II: 420–421), it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation of Group C [*Perpetuation of Cult*].

⁴⁵⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 389–397); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 257–259); Faulkner (1969: 250–251); Carrier (2009 II: 876–881; 2010 III: 1716–1723; 2010 IV: 1992–1997, 2660–2665); Allen (2015: 224–225); Mathieu (2018: 438–440).

⁴⁵⁷ On the basis of Hays' typology, it is a sacerdotal text (personal service), subdivision priestly recitation, Group N [*The Celestial Circuit*] (Hays 2012: 421–422).

⁴⁵⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 423–424); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 266–267); Faulkner (1969: 258–259); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 33); Carrier (2009 II: 1116–1117; 2010 III: 1224–1225; 2010 IV: 2344–2345); Allen (2015: 241).

⁴⁵⁹ Mercer (1952: 266) does not mention Shu.

⁴⁶⁰ Hays (2012: 424) consider it as a personal, transitional text, Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

⁴⁶¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 V). For translations, see Faulkner (1969: 307); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 36); Carrier (2009 II: 838–841); Allen (2015: 239); Mathieu (2018: 375).

⁴⁶² According to Hays (2012: 440), it belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

Merenre (northern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (northern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁶³

The pyramid of Pepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber) brings another reference to Kheprer, in spell **PT 662A**.⁴⁶⁴ Kheprer is invoked in connection to life and meal, together with Re.⁴⁶⁵

In **PT 688**, the Four Sons of Horus (Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuf) are invoked in order to provide the king with a rope ladder and elevate him to Kheprer when he comes into being in the east.⁴⁶⁶ The king is also elevated to Atum who prepared a rope ladder for him. It is stated that the king will not eat a *d3js*-plant and he will not spend two times of Kheprer (cf. Allen 2015: 299, footnote 82) unconscious. The spell can be found in five pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber and eastern wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (northern wall of the antechamber),⁴⁶⁷ Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁶⁸

PT 690 is attested in five pyramids: Pepy I (southern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern wall of the antechamber), Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber), Neith (southern wall of the burial chamber) and Wedjebten (northern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁶⁹ It is a fairly long spell. Faulkner (1969: 298) was of that opinion that this text is composed of several shorter miscellaneous utterances. However, it seems more likely that it

⁴⁶³ This is stated by Faulkner (1969: 307, footnote 2) and Minas-Nerpel (2006: 36). However, in the table summarising “weitere Belege” she noted Pepy II (see Minas-Nerpel 2006: 23). Allen (2013 V) did not mention the version of Merenre. It is Mathieu (2018: 375, footnote 38) who lists four occurrences.

⁴⁶⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 456–459); Allen (2013 V). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 279–280); Faulkner (1969: 272–273); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 44); Carrier (2010 III: 1374–1377); Allen (2015: 268).

⁴⁶⁵ Hays (2012: 424) considered it as a personal text of Group H [*Provisioning*].

⁴⁶⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 505–508); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 305–306); Faulkner (1969: 296–297); Minas-Nerpel (2006: 33–34); Carrier (2009 II: 850–855, 1140–1143; 2010 III: 1576–1581; 2010 IV: 2350–2353); Allen (2015: 268).

⁴⁶⁷ Merenre’s version was not listed by Allen (2013 VI). However, in Allen’s translation, the spell is mentioned (Allen 2015: 223).

⁴⁶⁸ Hays (2012: 437) considered it as a personal, transitional text of Groups L [*Transformation*] and O [*Mixed*].

⁴⁶⁹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 II: 510–516); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 307–309); Faulkner (1969: 298–300); Carrier (2009 II: 580–589; 2010 III: 1582–1589; 2010 IV: 2512–2519, 2704–2705); Allen (2015: 287–289).

presents more complex notions. It deals with the resurrection of the king and with his setting among the gods. It might be an attestation for the morning ritual, too: waking up, clothing; and maybe mummification. It lists various parts of body (bones, heart, face, flesh, soul, power). The king's flesh is that of Atum. The king is referred to as Osiris, and comes peacefully to Re. Shu and Tefnut are the ones who guide the king when he goes forth from Heliopolis. The deceased is alive as Kheprer and stable as the *dd*-pillar.⁴⁷⁰

PT 691E is preserved very fragmentarily and is attested in the pyramid of Pepy II (northern wall of the antechamber).⁴⁷¹ Kheprer occurs in the fragments, thus, without a clear context.

Spell **PT *737** (TP 1025 B) was carved on the southern wall of the antechamber in the pyramid of Pepy I.⁴⁷² Relatively strong solar notions are preserved. It deals with cleansing in the *sh.t j3r.w*, and various aspects of the god Horus are mentioned (*Hr j3b.ty*, *Hr šzm.ty*, *Hr š^ct*). Someone's arms are received by Re and the king might sit on Re's shoulder. Shu is referred to be a king's father who gives his arm to the king. Moreover, Atum, Atum-Kheprer and the Nocturnal Barque are also referred.⁴⁷³

PT *739 is documented in five pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the antechamber ?), Pepy I (northern wall of the antechamber and western wall of the descending corridor), Merenre (northern wall of the burial chamber), Pepy II (northern wall of the burial chamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber) (Mathieu 2018: 378, footnote 59).⁴⁷⁴ It is a shorter utterance, mentioning the Imperishable Stars that create the annals of Kheprer. This is a motif occurring in PT 585.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰ In Hays' typology, it is a sacerdotal text, priestly recitation, Groups B [*Transfiguration*], G [*Anointing and Wrapping*] and L [*Transformation*] (Hays 2012: 438).

⁴⁷¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Mercer (1952: 311–312 [691C]); Carrier (2010 III: 1596–1599 [691C]); Allen (2015: 289). Also according to Minas-Nerpel (2006: 40, 45), it is 691C.

⁴⁷² For the hieroglyphic text, see, e.g., Pierre-Croisiau (2001: Pl. VIII); Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult e.g. in Carrier (2009 II: 840–841); Berger-el Naggar *et al.* (2001: 132); Allen (2015: 140–141); Mathieu (2018: 345).

⁴⁷³ According to Hays (2012: 443), it belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

⁴⁷⁴ For translation, see Faulkner (1969: 315, without Kheprer, though); Mathieu (2018: 378–379, 579–580).

⁴⁷⁵ According to Hays (2012: 444), it belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group M [*Ascent to the Sky*].

In **PT *762** Shu's ladder and government with Kheper is mentioned.⁴⁷⁶ The spell is fragmentary, though. It was carved in the pyramid of Pepy I (eastern wall of the vestibule).

There are two more spells (PT 537 and PT 593) that might be considered as invoking to Kheprer.⁴⁷⁷ Yet, this is rather a reference to the so-called *ḥnh*-beetle. Even though it has been translated as “scarabaeus” (Faulkner 1969: 205–206) or as “the Beetle” (Allen 2015: 120–121, 218–219), it seems that the applied determinative of a beetle differentiate from the *hpr*-beetle in some details, as was observed by Minas-Nerpel (2006: 53–54).





5.1.3.2 Summary

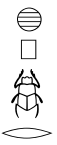



To give a summary of the list of spells with Kheprer, it can be declared that altogether 26 spells with this god were identified in the Pyramid Texts (**tab. 3**),⁴⁷⁸ being present in all pyramids. However, the amount of the relevant spells divers in individual monuments. Strong solar roles of Kheprer are demonstrated in the corpus, but a link to a government can be observed as well. Kheprer's characteristics are analysed below in more detail, taking into consideration other sources (Chapter 6.3).




⁴⁷⁶ For the hieroglyphic text, see Allen (2013 VI). Translations consult in Allen (2015: 193).




⁴⁷⁷ See, e.g., Allen (2013 IV, V; 2015: 120–121, 218–219).

⁴⁷⁸ Minas-Nerpel (2006) counted 21 texts.


PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
222	Wenis	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	Commendation to the sun		Spittle came from Kheprer.
	Teti	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	Spittle came from Kheprer.
	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual	?	Spittle came from Kheprer.
	Ankhnespepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	-		Spittle came from Kheprer.
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Spittle came from Kheprer.
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B	The basic ritual		Spittle came from Kheprer.






PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
257	Wenis	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Ways of Khep(r)er
	Teti	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	At the entrance to the Akhet		Ways of Khep(r)er
267	Wenis	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	B, J	Crossing the Akhet		The king is alight as Kheprer.
	Teti	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	B, J	Ferrying and climbing		The king is alight as Kheprer.

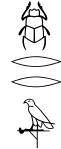



PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy I	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	B, J	Sailing in the Akhet		The king is alight as Kheprer.
	Merenre	BCH, S wall	Personal text	Transition	B, J	Claiming a place with the sun	?	The king is alight as Kheprer.
	Pepy II	BCH, S wall	Personal text	Transition	B, J	The spirit's response: rising as a falcon		The king is alight as Kheprer.
346	Teti	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provision	H	Spells against hunger and thirst	?	Kheprer lives.
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	Spells for the power of sustenance	?	Kheprer lives.
	Pepy II	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provision	H	The spirit's response		Kheprer lives.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
353	Teti	BCH, E gable	Personal text	Provision	H	Spells against hunger and thirst	? ⁴⁷⁹	Kheprer lives.
	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	Spells for sustenance		Kheprer lives.
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	Spells for the power of sustenance		Kheprer lives.
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	The spirit's response		Kheprer lives.
401	Teti	A, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	Taking control in the Akhet	-	-



⁴⁷⁹ Minas-Nerpel (2006: 19) presented writing of Kheprer's name: . However, according to Allen (2013 III) the version of Teti is destroyed.


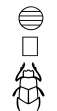
PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy I	DC, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	Spells for sustenance		Kheprer lives.
	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	Spells for the power of sustenance		Kheprer lives.
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Provision	H	The spirit's response		Kheprer lives.
467	Teti	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Greeting the sun and the gods	?	Into the west like Kheprer
	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Requesting entrance to the Akhet		Into the west like Kheprer
	Merenre	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Requesting entrance to the Akhet		Into the west like Kheprer

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J	Requesting entrance to the Akhet		Into the west like Kheprer
470	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Boarding the sun-boat		The king is dressed in the Field of Kheprer.
	Ankhnepespy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	J	-	?	The king is dressed in the Field of Kheprer.
	Merenre	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Crossing the Akhet	?	The king is dressed in the Field of Kheprer.
	Pepy II	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Ascending by ferry and ladder		The king is dressed in the Field of Kheprer.
484	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Going forth to the sky		Kheprer who comes forth to the Cool Waters.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Crossing the Akhet	?	Kheprer who comes forth to the Cool Waters.
519	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Summoning the ferryboat		The king is son of Kheprer.
	Merenre	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Summoning the ferry		The king is son of Kheprer.
	Pepy II	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Summoning the ferry		The king is son of Kheprer.




PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
527	Pepy I	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum-Kheprer (masturbation)
	Merenre	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods for passage		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum-Kheprer (masturbation)
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Personal text	Transition	N	Invoking the gods and the spirit		Creation of Shu and Tefnut by Atum-Kheprer (masturbation)
570A	Pepy I	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the sun at dawn		Kheprer should listen.


PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Merenre	V, E wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Invoking the gods at dawn	☉ □ 𐀀 𐀀	Kheprer should listen.
	Pepy II	V, W wall	Personal text	Transition	O	Appearing at dawn	?	Kheprer should listen.
580	Pepy I	V, W wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	O	Address to the spirit as Osiris at dusk	☉ □ 𐀀 𐀀	Foreleg of wild bull belongs to Kheper.
585	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	At the sky's door	?	Annals of Kheper
	Pepy I	A, N wall; DC, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods	☉ □ 𐀀 𐀀	Annals of Kheper
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods	?	Annals of Kheper
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Invoking the gods	?	Annals of Kheper

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
587	Pepy I	DC, E and W walls	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	I, M, O	Ascending to the sky	 480	Kheprer is greeted.
	Pepy II	P, S wall	Sacerdotal text (personal service)	Priestly recitation	I, M, O	Address to the sun at the door of the Duat		Kheprer is greeted.
600	Merenre	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid	?	Atum-Kheprer appears as <i>bnbn</i> and sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut.




⁴⁸⁰ Slightly different writings of Kheprer's name were published by Minas-Nerpel (2006: 23): .

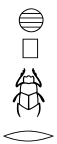


PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	C	Spells for protection of the pyramid		Atum-Kheprer appears as <i>bnbn</i> and sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut.
606	Pepy I	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Address to the spirit	?	Re develops in his identity of Kheprer.
	Merenre	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Invoking the spirit		Re develops in his identity of Kheprer.
	Pepy II	C, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	Invoking the spirit	?	Re develops in his identity of Kheprer.
	Wedjebten	BCH, W wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	N	-	?	Re develops in his identity of Kheprer.
624	Teti	C, E wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-		Wing of Kheprer


PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy I	DC, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Ascending to the sky		Wing of Kheprer
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Boarding the sun-boat		Wing of Kheprer
	Neith	BCH, W wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Ascending to the sky		Wing of Kheprer
655A = *704	Pepy I	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Ascending as a falcon	? ⁴⁸¹	The king is placed at the forehead of Kheprer.
	Merenre	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-	?	The king is placed at the forehead of Kheprer.
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Ascending as a falcon	?	The king is placed at the forehead of Kheprer.

⁴⁸¹ According to Minas-Nerpel (2006: 23) the writing is: .

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	?	☉ □ 𓃀	The king is placed at the forehead of Kheprer.
662A	Pepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	-	H	Invocation of the Sun and the spirit	☉ □ 𓃀 𓃀	Kheprer is related to life.
688	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	At the sky's door	?	The king is elevated to Kheprer. Two times of Kheprer.
	Pepy I	A, N wall; DC, E wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Crossing the sky; Emerging at dawn	?	The king is elevated to Kheprer. Two times of Kheprer.
	Merenre	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Ascending toward the sky	?	The king is elevated to Kheprer. Two times of Kheprer.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Libation and anointing at dawn		The king is elevated to Kheprer. Two times of Kheprer.
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Being welcomed by the gods		The king is elevated to Kheprer. Two times of Kheprer.
690	Pepy I	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to the sky		The king is lives as Kheprer.
	Merenre	A, E wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to join the gods	?	The king is lives as Kheprer.
	Pepy II	A, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit to the sky	?	The king is lives as Kheprer.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Neith	BCH, S wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	Sending the spirit through the Akhet		The king is lives as Kheprer.
	Wedjebten	BCH, N wall	Sacerdotal text	Priestly recitation	B, G, L	-	?	The king is lives as Kheprer.
691E	Pepy II	A, N wall	-	-	-	Sailing in the Dayboat		Kheprer
*737	Pepy I	A, S wall	Personal text	Transition	M	Sailing in the Akhet		Atum-Khepr(er)
*739	Teti	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-	?	Annals of Kheprer
	Pepy I	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-	?	Annals of Kheprer
	Merenre	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-	?	Annals of Kheprer
	Pepy II	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-	?	Annals of Kheprer

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	M	-	?	Annals of Kheprer
*762	Pepy I	V, E wall	-	-	-	Awaking at dawn		Government with Kheper

Tab. 3 Spells with references to Kheprer, listing the spells, occurrences, groupings of Hays (2012), subtitles in Allen (2015), writing the name, and epithets and roles

5.1.4 Nefertum

5.1.4.1 Analysis of the relevant spells

Nefertum is first mentioned in **PT 249**, present in the pyramid of King Wenis (western gable of the antechamber).⁴⁸² The text refers to a water lily rising clean from the earth. The ruler comes out of the Isle of Flame and the linen is awarded to him. He is escorted by uraei on the night when the great flood originates from the great goddess. The deceased appears (*h^c*) as Nefertum, as the water-lily flower (*sššn*), who is present at the nose of the god Re when he ascends from the *3h.t* every day.⁴⁸³

PT 307 is another spell where Nefertum is invoked,⁴⁸⁴ as the one whom no equal exist. The whole text indicates the importance of Heliopolis since there is stated that the mother and father of the king come from Heliopolis and the ruler himself was born in this city. Moreover, he is called the lord of the so-called *rh.yt* people,⁴⁸⁵ is identified with Nefertum and described as a deputy of his father Geb. Divine beings are threatened not to be hostile to the king. In the case of wrongdoings, there will be no provisioning for them and the doors of the Nocturnal and Diurnal Barques will be closed. The text was engraved in two pyramids: Wenis (northern wall of the antechamber) and Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber).⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸² For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922: 143–144); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 I: 262–263); Mercer (1952: 76); Faulkner (1969: 60–61); Carrier (2009 I: 110–111); Allen (2015: 45).

⁴⁸³ Hays (2012 II: 355) understood this spell as being a personal, transitional text belonging to Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].




⁴⁸⁴ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922: 231–235); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 II: 306–308); Mercer (1952: 104–105); Faulkner (1969: 95); Carrier (2009 I: 172–175); Allen (2015: 62).

⁴⁸⁵ Allen (2015: 62) translated the passage *hrj-tp rh.yt* as “above the subjects”.

⁴⁸⁶ Hays (2012 II: 366) understood this spell as being a personal, transitional text belonging to Groups L [*Transformation*] and O [*Mixed*].

5.1.4.2 Summary

Apparently, only two spells of the Pyramid Texts bring attestations for the god Nefertum (**tab. 4**). Both texts appears in the pyramid of King Wenis, and one can be found in the monument of Pepy I, always in the antechamber on the northern or western wall. Nefertum is referred in a close connection to the water-lily flower and to life of the major sun god. Interestingly, in both cases he was identified with the king. Nefertum's characteristics are specified below, allowing for the information from the other documents studied in this thesis (see Chapter 6.4).

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
249	Wenis	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J	Appearing as Nefertem		The king appears as Nefertum as the water lily.
307	Wenis	A, N wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Ascending toward the sky		The king is identified with Nefertum who has no equal
	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	L, O	Invoking the sun at dawn		The king is identified with Nefertum who has no equal

Tab. 4 Spells with references to Nefertum, listing the spells, occurrences, groupings of Hays (2012), subtitles in Allen (2015), writing the name, and epithets and roles

5.1.5 Weneg⁴⁸⁷

5.1.5.1 Analysis of the relevant spells

The first text with a reference to Weneg is the spell **PT 363**.⁴⁸⁸ It occurs in five pyramids: Teti (northern wall of the passage), Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Ankhnespepy II (eastern wall of the burial chamber), Merenre (eastern gable and wall of the antechamber) and Pepy II (eastern wall of the antechamber).⁴⁸⁹ Weneg is the follower of Re and the one who is ferried by Re to the other side. He is also designated as *mrrw=k*, “whom you (i.e. Re) love”. Besides that, the god Horus is mentioned, in the statement about the Ways of Horus, as well as Benty, the alleged senior son of Re.⁴⁹⁰

It is **PT 476** where Weneg is likewise mentioned. The text can be found in four pyramids: Pepy I (western wall of the antechamber), Merenre (western gable of the antechamber), Pepy II (western wall of the antechamber) and Neith (northern wall of the burial chamber).⁴⁹¹ Weneg is associated with the deceased king who is, and therefore even Weneg, called the son of Re. Weneg is said to support the sky and to guide the earth and the gods. It is also mentioned that the sky and the earth are clean and pure for Re and Horus, and that the king is among stars of the *d3.t* and he is compared to Wepwawet and Min. A scribe is addressed to destroy his scribal utensil and to free his place for the king. It is worth noticing that the first part of the characteristic of Weneg is the same in all pyramids.

⁴⁸⁷ The spells referring to Weneg were analysed by the present author (cf. Peterková Hlouchová 2018).



⁴⁸⁸ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 326–327); Allen (2013 III). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 III: 125–127); Mercer (1952 I: 122–123); Faulkner (1969: 118); Carrier (2009 I: 278–279; 2009 II: 728–729; 2010 III: 1628–1629); Allen (2015: 81).

⁴⁸⁹ According to the typology of Hays (2012 II: 376), this is a personal, transitional text, belonging to Groups G [*Anointing and Wrapping*], I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*] and J [*Aggregation with the Gods*].

⁴⁹⁰ Benty was a baboon deity (see, e.g., Leitz 2002 II: 807).

⁴⁹¹ For the hieroglyphic text, see Sethe (1908–1922 I: 30–33); Allen (2013). For the translations, see Sethe (1935–1962 IV: 235–241); Mercer (1952 I: 170–171); Faulkner (1969: 163–164); Carrier (2009 II: 758–759; 2010 III: 1534–1535); Allen (2015: 134).

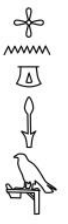

However, there is also a variant: in the pyramids of Merenre, Pepy II and Neith, Weneg is said to guide the earth and to judge the gods.⁴⁹²


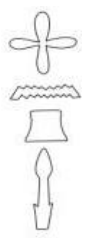

According to the Allen's translation, there is another spell mentioning Weneg, or more precisely the four Wenegs: PT 667B (Allen 2015: 317–318) (see also above, Chapter 5.1.2). For the first editions and translations of the Pyramid Texts, this spell was preserved too fragmentary, and therefore the previous translations of the Pyramid Texts do not mention the four Wenegs. Carrier (2009 II: 578–579) then translated this text in a completely different way. In most of the pyramids, it is impossible to reconstruct the writing of the name because of the fragmentary state of preservation. Only in the pyramid of Pepy I the spell is attested more complete. The three hieroglyphs, which according to Allen represent the *wng*-plants (see also Allen 2013), Carrier (2009 II: 578–579) interpreted as *hkr*:  (Aa30). However, even this assumption does not seem to reflect the reality since the signs appear to be thinner than the *hkr*-signs. It also has to be admitted that the carving differs from the *wng*-sign in details, mainly in the shape of the stem (Berger-el Naggar *et al.* 2001: Fig. 12 and Pl. II B). It was Jean Daniel Degreeef (personal communication) who suggested the *w3d*-sign:  (M13) for the identification of these particular hieroglyphs. This explanation seems to be the most appropriate. That is why PT 667B could not be perceived as referring to the god Weneg.


5.1.5.2 Summary

Similarly as in the case of Nefertum, only two spells in the Pyramid Texts refer to Weneg (**tab. 5**). These texts can be found in the corpora of the kings and some queens of the Sixth Dynasty. Weneg appears in a close relationship to Re, course of the sun and resurrection. He was identified with the deceased king. What is meaningful is his link to rule, judgement and the world order *m3̄.t*. He was also called the supporter of the sky. His characteristics are studied below (Chapter 6.5), together with the possible further attestations.

⁴⁹² According to Hays' study, the spell belongs to personal, transitional texts of Group J [*Aggregation with the Gods*] (Hays 2012 II: 395–396).

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
363	Teti	P, N wall	Personal text	Transition	G, I, J	At the gate to the Akhet		Follower of Re; the one who is ferried by Re to the other side; beloved by Re
	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	G, I, J	Requesting entrance to the Akhet		Follower of Re; the one who is ferried by Re to the other side; beloved by Re
	Ankhnespepy II	BCH, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, I, J		?	Follower of Re; the one who is ferried by Re to the other side; beloved by Re
	Merenre	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, I, J	Joining the sun	?	Follower of Re; the one who is ferried by Re to the other side; beloved by Re
	Pepy II	A, E wall	Personal text	Transition	G, I, J	Meeting the Sun	?	Follower of Re; the one who is ferried by Re to the other side; beloved by Re


PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
476	Pepy I	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Invoking the ferryman and doorkeeper		The king is Weneg. Weneg supports sky, guide earth and gods.
	Merenre	A, W gable	Personal text	Transition	J	Boarding the sun-boat		The king is Weneg. Weneg supports sky, guide earth and judge gods.
	Pepy II	A, W wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Invoking the ferryman and doorkeeper		The king is Weneg. Weneg supports sky, guide earth and judge gods.

PT no.	Pyramid	Location	Division (Hays 2012)	Subdivision (Hays 2012)	Group (Hays 2012)	Subtitle (Allen 2015)	Writing of name	Epithet / role
	Neith	BCH, N wall	Personal text	Transition	J	Being welcomed by the gods		The king is Weneg. Weneg supports sky, guide earth and judge gods.

Tab. 5 Spells with references to Weneg, listing the spells, occurrences, groupings of Hays (2012), subtitles in Allen (2015), writing the name, and epithets and roles

5.2 Tomb decoration and equipment

As aforementioned (Chapter 3.1.2), the analysis of the tomb decoration and burial equipment focuses on the material mainly from Abusir in the case of the decoration, and on one interesting find from Giza. This selection was influenced by the amount of preserved material from the Old Kingdom burial structures.

First, the tomb decoration was analysed in the royal and non-royal structures. With regards to the pyramid complexes, a number of gods are attested in their decoration. In the case of Sahure (Borchardt 1913; Hawass – Verner 1996; El Awady 2009; Khaled 2008b and 2017), these gods are attested: Sakhmet (Borchardt 1910: 129),⁴⁹³ Seshat (Borchardt 1913: Bl. 1), Seth (Borchardt 1913: Bl. 5), Khnum (Borchardt 1913: Bl. 18), Wadjet (Borchardt 1913: Bl. 64), Nekhbet (Borchardt 1913: Bl. 64, 65, 66), and procession of deities and fragments depicting them (Borchardt 1913: Bl. 20–26). Moreover, a block (Sc – 1) from the causeway reveals a line of male figures pulling a rope *d3m bnbn.t*, “(bringing?) the pyramidion (covered with) fine gold” (Hawass – Verner 1996: 181 and 183, a). The word *bnbn.t* has the determinative of the pyramid:  (O24), and, in general, it has been translated as “pyramidion” (Erman – Grapow 1971 I: 459.13–14). Therefore, it designated a piece with significant solar symbolism, being connected with the primeval hill of Heliopolis (see above, Chapter 4.1). In the context of the solar and royal symbolism, it can also be interesting to mention that several blocks bring images of boats and some of them have prows and sterns in the shape of a falcon (with uraei) or lion (El Awady 2009: Pls. 2, 3, 4).

The pyramid complex of King Neferirkare (Borchardt 1909) was decorated partly with reliefs (Borchardt 1909: 28–30), and partly with faience inlays (Borchardt 1909: 64–65, Bl. 7 and 8). In the fragments of the faience, the name of the goddess Hathor can be found (Borchardt 1909: Bl. 8). Furthermore, an interesting architectonic element was found in the Neferirkare’s pyramid complex: wooden petals of a water-lily flower, which were a part of a

⁴⁹³ For the cult of Sakhmet of Sahure, see Borchardt (1910: 120–135); El Awady (2013).

wooden column in the mind of Borchardt (1909: 22).⁴⁹⁴ Since the fragments represent the water lily in full blossom, i.e. the sacred plant of the god Nefertum, one might think about a reference to this god. However, it seems more likely that this is a reference to the symbolic meaning of the plant itself, rather than to the god. In this instance, the element might reflect the notion that is slightly later attested in the Pyramid Texts (PT 249), where the mention about the water lily rising from the earth can be found (see above, Chapter 5.1.4).

Regarding the fragments of faience and Egyptian-blue inlays, found in the pyramid complexes of King Raneferef (Landgráfová 2006b) and Queen Khentkaus II (Landgráfová (2000 and 2004), several solar motifs were detected (Hlouchová 2012: 47, 49–51). The re-examination of this corpus, taking into account the gods Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg, revealed that no relevant information can be observed.

Among the fragments of the decoration of the pyramid complex of Nyuserre (Borchardt 1907: 37–41) a number of deities are attested, such as, for instance, Anubis (Borchardt 1907: 16, Abb. 6), Sakhmet (Borchardt 1907: 40, Abb. 21, 41, Abb. 23, 94, Abb. 72), Nekhbet (Borchardt 1907: 89, Abb. 67), Sobek (Borchardt 1907: 92, Abb. 70) or the procession of deities (Borchardt 1907: 93, Abb. 71).

Similarly, in remains of decoration from the pyramid complex of Djedkare many gods are attested: Anubis (Megahed 2016: Pl. 71), Sobek (Megahed 2016: Pl. 82), Seth (Megahed 2016: Pls. 113, 118), Horus (Megahed 2016: Pl. 111, 118). Furthermore, a depiction of the water lily can be found in one of the reliefs (Megahed 2016: Pl. 153). It depicts a rounded flower being held by a female figure, one of the personifications of the funerary domains.

Even though the decorative program of the royal monuments of the Fifth Dynasty was rich in solar symbolism, the analysis revealed that no reference to Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum or Shu can be noticed. Admittedly, the water-lily motif is present in several cases, but it seems that it reflects the figurative meaning of the flower.

⁴⁹⁴ For the lotiform columns, see Borchardt (1897: 3–17).



Fig. 21 South doorjamb of the entrance to the tomb of Meresankh III (G 7530-7540) in the Eastern Cemetery at Giza; on the wall, the queen is depicted as a standing woman with the water lily (photo Martin Frouz, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

Considering the non-royal tombs, it becomes obvious that divinities, such as Anubis, Khentymentyu, Sokar, Osiris, etc. are referred.⁴⁹⁵ However, one more topic in this context has to be taken into account: it is the depiction of the tomb owner with the water lily.⁴⁹⁶ This image is attested in a number of tombs, mainly in the Memphite necropolis (see Pieke 2006). They are mostly women who are often depicted with the water-lily flower (for instance, Meresankh III; see **fig. 21**).⁴⁹⁷ Based on her research, Yvonne Harpur (1987: 134) was of the opinion that the female figure with the water lily was a counterpart of the male figure holding the sceptre and staff, but there are also male figures with the water lily (for instance, in the tomb of Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhetep at Saqqara; cf. Moussa – Altenmüller 1977: Abb. 20; see **fig. 22**). What is interesting is the fact that in the tomb of Khufukhaf II (G 7150) at Giza, the tomb owner is depicted holding the flower and seated together with his wife in a kiosk which is supported by two lotiform columns (Simpson 1978: fig. 49; see **fig. 23**). Since the water lily was closely connected with

⁴⁹⁵ The gods of the non-royal tombs were studied by Begelsbacher-Fischer (1981). See also Chapter 5.2.2 here.

⁴⁹⁶ For this motif, see Harpur (1987: 134–136); Pieke (2006).

⁴⁹⁷ For Queen Meresankh III, see, e.g., Callender (2011: 119–129).

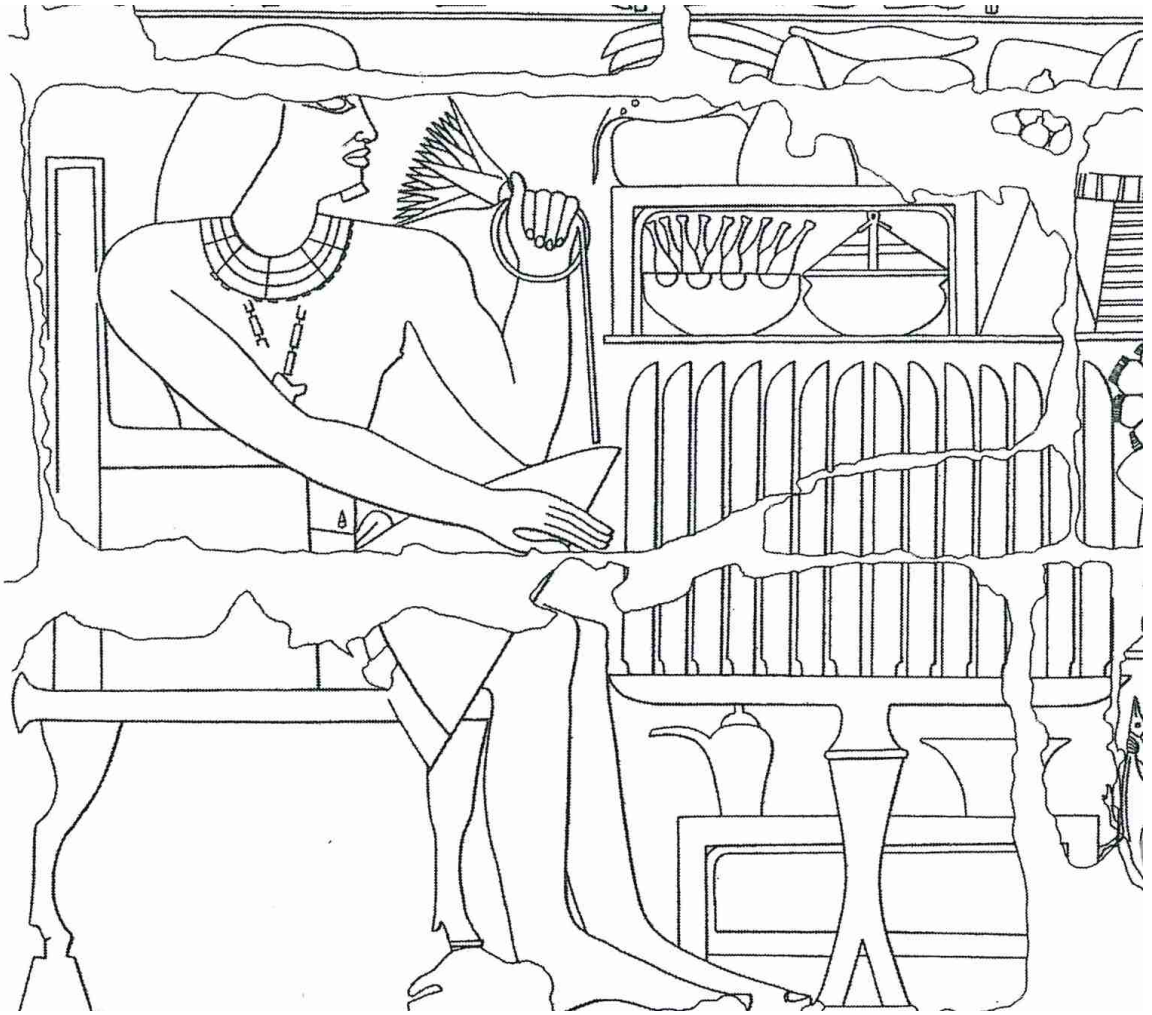


Fig. 22 North wall of the chapel in the tomb of Nyankhkhnum and Khnumhetep at Saqqara with the depiction of Nyankhkhnum smelling the water lily seated at the offering table (after Moussa – Altenmüller 1977: Abb. 20)

the god Nefertum, one might suppose that these types of scenes may refer to him. One might think that that these images express the symbolic meaning of the plant, rather than the importance of the deity. Nonetheless, the phrase: *h^c N m Nfr-tm sššn r šr.t R^c pr=f m 3h.t r^c nb* in PT 249 allows us to assume that the scenes might be indirect references to Nefertum. This deity does not appear explicitly mentioned in the non-royal tombs. Only several personal names, attested in the tombs, evince the element of Nefertum (see Chapter 5.4).

What is also interesting is the fact that, according to Grdseloff (1944: 288–289), there is another reference to the god Weneg. It should be a limestone lintel which, from his point of view, belonged to a man named Wenweneg and was dated to the Fifth Dynasty. At the time when Grdseloff wrote his article, he was not aware with the fact where the piece was

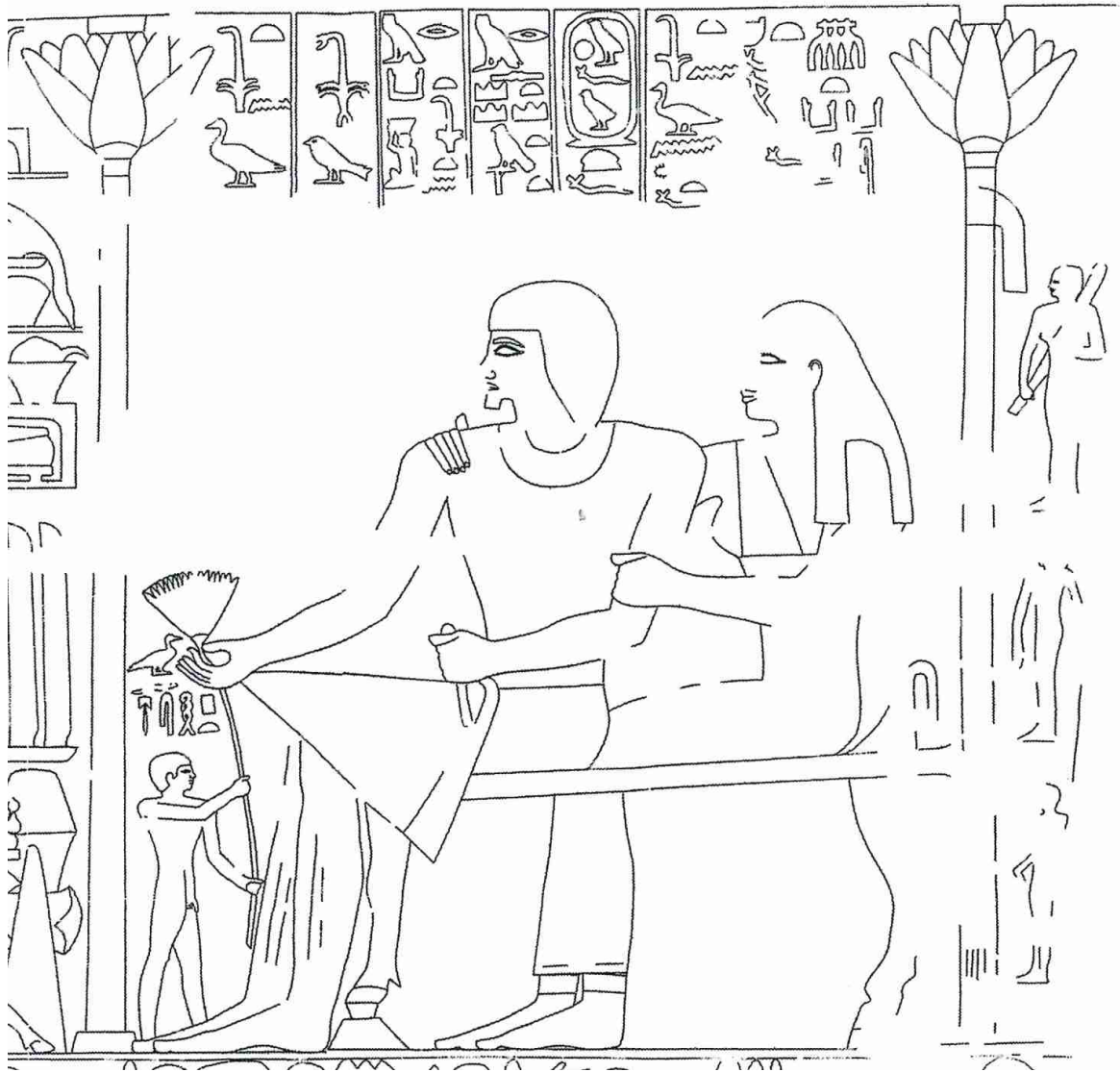







Fig. 23 South wall of the chapel in the tomb of Khufukhaf II (G 7150) at Giza with the depiction of the tomb owner and his wife Khenkaus, receiving the water lily and seated at the offering table in a kiosk which is supported by two lotiform columns (after Simpson 1978: fig. 49)

stored, after the Bircher's collection was split up (Grdseloff 1944: 288, footnote 2). This missing information made it impossible for Grdseloff to verify his assumption. As above-mentioned, today the lintel can be found at the Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven (YAG 1937.188; Scott 1986: 50).

Grdseloff (1944: 288) claimed that the theophoric non-royal anthroponym attested there is to be read as *Wn-wng*, with the meaning "the god Weneg exists". If Grdseloff's reading was correct, this would mean that the theonym Weneg was incorporated into a



Fig.24 Lintel of Senwiwen and his spouse Satmerit
(YAG 1937.188; after Scott 1986: 50)

personal name of a non-royal official. Taking into consideration the absence of attestations for the god name outside of the Pyramid Texts, this would be an exceptional piece of evidence concerning a possible Weneg's cult. The anthroponym would indicate that the god was known in more spheres of the Old Kingdom society. As shown by Henry G. Fischer (1960), however, Grdseloff's reading is misleading. The majority of hieroglyphic signs on the lintel on a photograph published by Grdseloff is well readable, except for the personal name and the hieroglyphs under the offering table (cf. **fig. 24**). From the Grdseloff's image, the tall sign could really imply the *wng*-hieroglyph. But if his reading was correct, two following signs would be in a reversed position, i.e. first comes the hieroglyph for *g*:  (W11) and then for *n*:  (N35). The problem is that the supposed image for *n* is very small, in comparison to the size of other hieroglyphs on the lintel. As Fischer observed, the tall sign is not the *wng*-plant, but the *sn*-hieroglyph:  (T22) and the following signs are *nw*:  (W24) and two vertical double strokes (variant of Z4) (see also Scott 1986: 50). The appellation of the owner of the lintel should be read as *Sn.wy-wn*:  , and therefore, it is not the attestation for the god Weneg at all. It is even not a theophoric appellation.

Dealing with the deities connected to the sun, it is also intriguing to analyse the preserved decoration of the so-called sun temples. In their decoration, no reference to a deity under study was found, though. It has to be admitted that according to some scholars (Anthes 1955: 85; Munro 1968: 38), a hint to the god Nefertum can be detected in the list of feasts from the sun temple of Nyuserre in Abu Ghurab. There a determinative of a barque

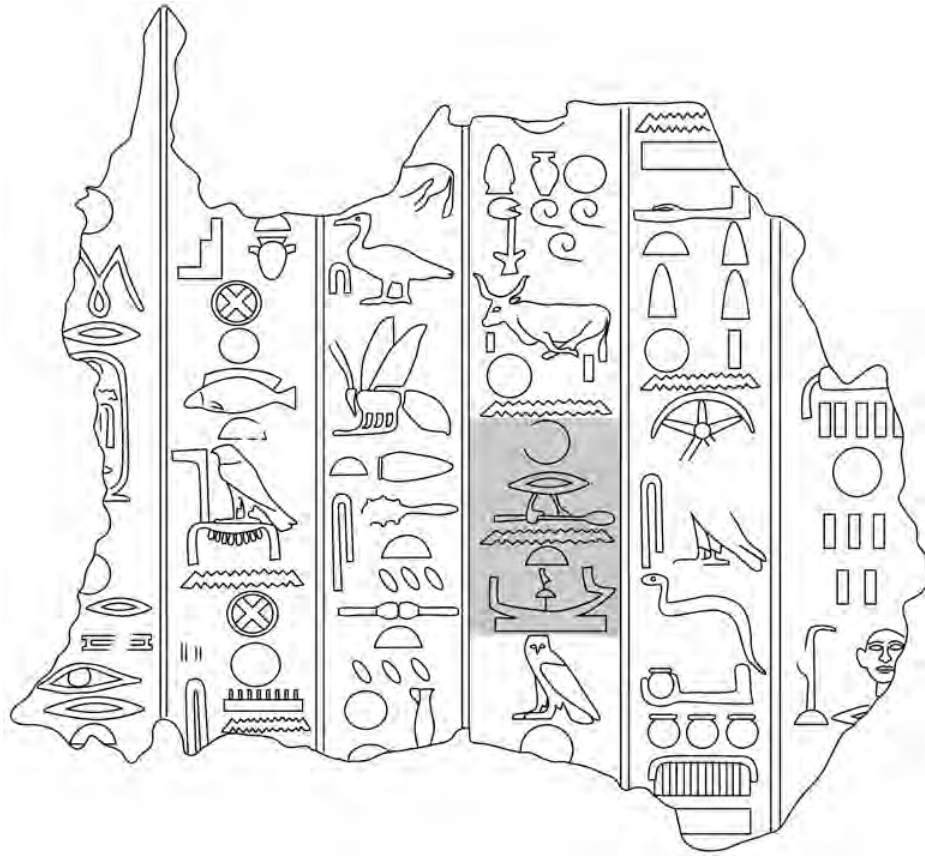


Fig. 25 The feast *hn.t-R^c* mentioned in a fragment of the list of feasts from the sun temple of King Nyuserre at Abu Ghurab (drawing J. Malátková, after el-Sabban 2000: Pl. 2)

with lotus (resp. water-lily) flower was used at the end of the designation of the name of the feast *hn.t-R^c* (el-Sabban 2000: 2–8). In the opinion of Anthes (1955: 85) and Munro (1968: 38), it is the first evidence proving the connection between Nefertum and Re. This statement has not been generally accepted. For instance, Leitz (2002 IV: 221–223) does not mention this in his list of sources for Nefertum. Very problematic is also the identification of the depicted object on the boat as the flower. It seems more likely that a standard is depicted (Hlouchová 2013: 48; see **fig. 25**). Therefore, it is not possible to consider it a source for the god.

In studying the Old Kingdom pantheon, and thus also the deities under survey, the so-called writing board from Giza (G 1011; JE 37734) plays a significant role (Turriziani 2018; see **fig. 26**). Besides a list of the names of six kings in cartouches (columns 1–4), an enumeration of deities (columns 5–16) and toponyms (columns 17–37+), and several

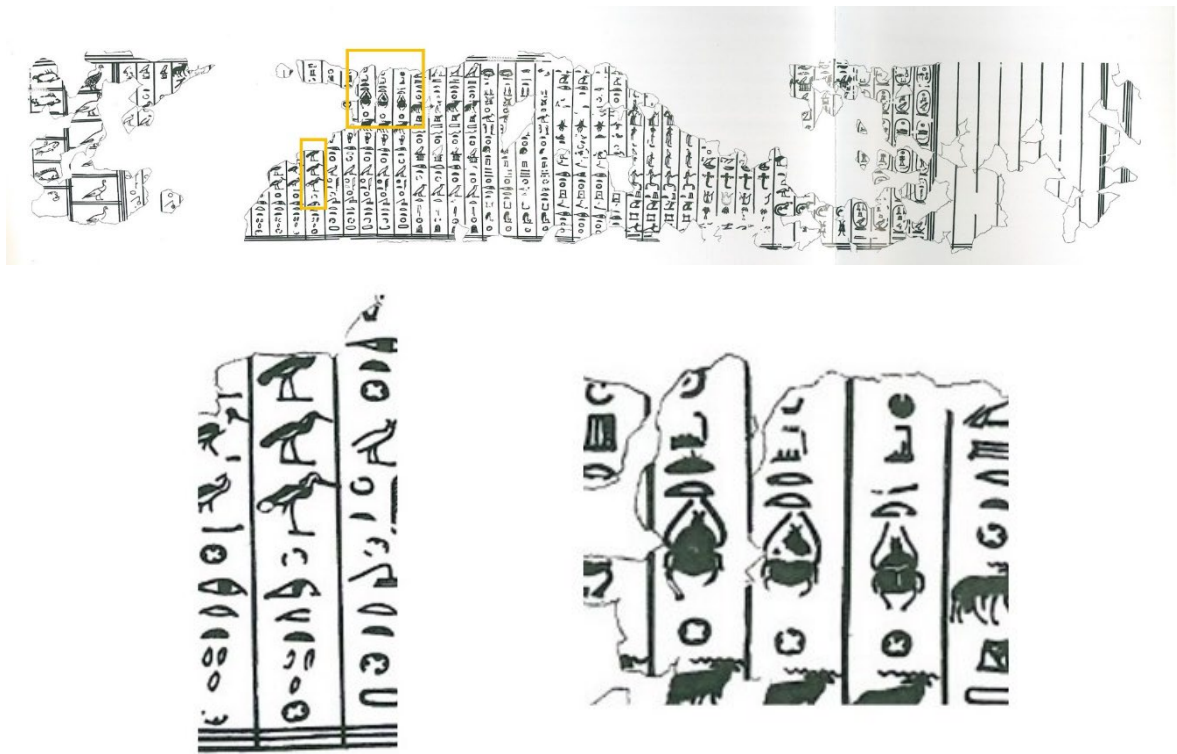


Fig. 26 Giza writing board (G 1011, JE 37734) with an attestation of *hpr* (columns 29–31) and the *bnw*-bird (columns 34–36) (after Brovarski 1987: Pl. I)

depictions of birds and fish in two columns is preserved (Reisner 1911: 113–114, fig. 1–3; Brovarski 1987: Pl. I).

The enumeration of the gods mentions Sokar, Nemty, Sopdu, Horus, Baty, Thoth, Sak, Neith, Nekhbet, Kis, Selket, Sobek, Inheret, Seshat, Khentyimentyu, Meret, Kherty, Shesmu, Anubis and some other names are unreadable (Brovarski 1987: 29–46).

In the records of the toponyms on the board, attestations for *hpr* (columns 29–31) and maybe the *bnw*-bird (columns 34–36) appear, in the names of funerary domains (see below, Chapter 5.2.1).

Should be some interesting pieces of burial equipment from Abusir addressed, it is noteworthy, that in the burial chamber of two tombs at Abusir Centre, of Princess Khekeretnebt (AC 15; Verner – Callender 2002: 13–53) and of Faaf Idu (AC 10; Verner – Callender 2002: 63–69), interesting finds were excavated. In the former inscribed mummy wrappings (169/B/76_a–e) were discovered (Verner – Callender 2002: 47–48). The inscriptions are in columns and mention various titles and some entries related to royal

linen. Moreover, in the burial chamber of Faaf Idu in Central Abusir (AC 10; Verner – Callender 2002: 63–69) an inscription was observed on the sarcophagus (Verner – Callender 2002: 68). A royal date and the titles of Faaf are mentioned. Apparently the administrative records were more important in these cases than magical protection of the corpse. No reference to the studied deities was found.


To summarise the section about the tomb decoration and burial equipment, it can be mentioned that no piece of evidence for Atum, Shu and Weneg was observed. With regards to Kheprer and Nefertum, the former might be attested in the toponym on the Giza writing board (see below, Chapter 5.2.1). The latter is not invoked explicitly, but the scenes representing the tomb owner with the water lily may indicate a notion connected with Nefertum.

5.2.1 Funerary domains


In the corpus of the names of the royal funerary domains, some deities can be recognised, for instance Anubis (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 174, no. 53), Bastet (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 155, no. 16), Hathor (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 146, no. 8), Herishef (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 174, no. 54), Horus (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 156, no. 18; Khaled 2008b: 156), Khetnytjenenet (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 172, no. 25; also Dulíková 2016b: 37 and 41), Khnum (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 174, no. 51), Min (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 191, no. 45), Neith (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 245, no. 3), Nemty (Khaled 2008b: 170–171), Ptah (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 145, nos. 2 and 5; Khaled 2008b: 91), Re (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 158, no. 2; Khaled 2008b: 135), Seshat (Khaled 2008b: 158, 173), Seth (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 175, no. 65), Shesmu (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 191, no. 49), Sokar (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 181, no. 123; Khaled 2008b: 78–79, 122, 168), Thoth (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 160, no. 4) or Wadjet (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 143, no. 15).⁴⁹⁸ Furthermore, in the domains' names, King Neferirkare referred to *Psd.t* (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 151, no. 1) and *b3.w Jwn.w* (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 151, no. 2). The latter are mentioned

⁴⁹⁸ This is a complete list neither of the deities, nor of the references. The aim of this enumeration is to demonstrate which gods can appear.

also in a domain of Wenis (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: no. 34) and Pepy II (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 185, no. 5). What is interesting is also the fact that some of the gods are documented in both, royal and non-royal, names of domains (cf. Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 201–455).

From the deities under study it is only Kheprer who is likely attested in this type of material. The so-called Giza writing board (G 1011) brings the attestation for a domain *fʿr.t hpr*, “Le silo de Kheprer” (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 262, no. 13; Brovarski 1987: 46, Pl. I; see above, Chapter 5.2). Also, it is noteworthy that *bnw*, the sacred bird of Atum, might be referred in domains’ names in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 262, no. 19). The first mention comes from the Giza writing board (G 1011) (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 262; cf. Reisner 1911: 114, fig. 3) and represents a toponym written down with three signs which might resemble the hieroglyph G31:  depicting a

heron, with a determinative of the town (*njw.t*):

 (O49). Moreover, a domain called *mr bnw ʿnh Ttj* (see **fig. 27**) can be found in the tomb of Mehu at Saqqara, built in the Sixth Dynasty (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 422, no. 11; Altenmüller 1998: 126, Nr. 11 and Taf. 28, b).

A number of divinities is invoked in the names of funerary domains. From the deities in the interest of the thesis, however, only Kheprer seems to occur in one instance.

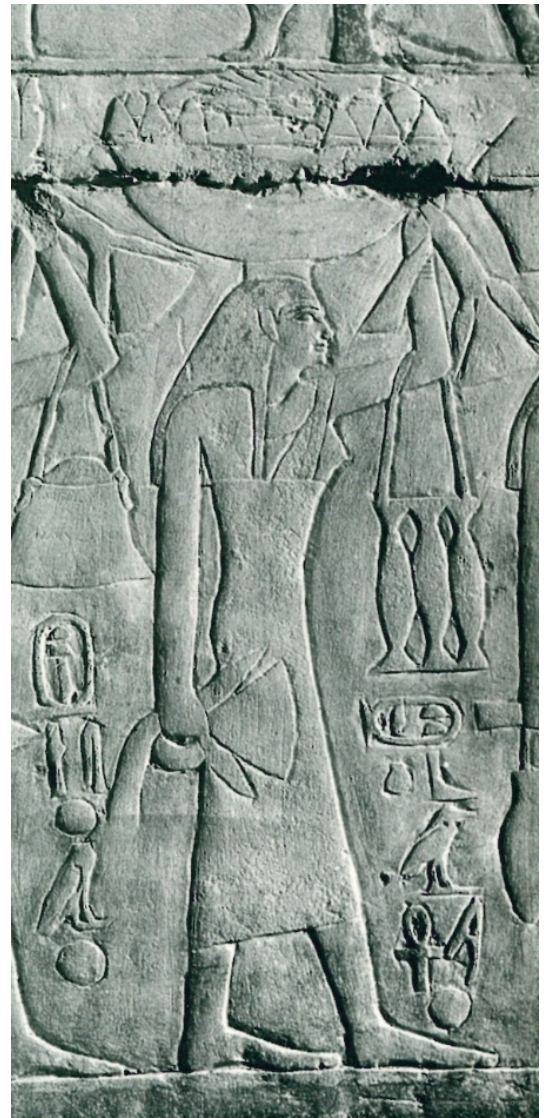


Fig. 27 Personification of the domain *mr bnw ʿnh Ttj* on the southern wall of the corridor of Mehu’s tomb at Saqqara (after Altenmüller 1998: Taf. 28, b)

5.2.2 Offering formulae

The offering formulae mention several deities in connection to ensuring the needs of the deceased. Typically, however, it was the king who provided the supplies: *hṭp-dj-nswt*. This phrase is usually (but not always) followed by a reference to a deity, often Anubis or Osiris with their epithets (see Lapp 1986: passim). Importantly, sometimes *hṭp-dj-nṯr.w* NN, mostly

the gods of Abydos or of the west, can be referred. Moreover, Barta (1968: 227) detected formulae with *nṯr.wt* but these are attested from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards.

In this case one of the latest finds from Abusir South is particularly interesting. In the spring season of 2018, the excavations of the tomb of Nyankhseshat (AS 104), dated to the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, brought to light a limestone stela (1/AS104/2018) combining features of false doors (an offering scene) and naoi with two engaged statues. It was apparent that the tomb was re-used in the first half of the Fifth Dynasty, and the stela belongs to the second phase of the usage. The object belongs to Sekhemka and

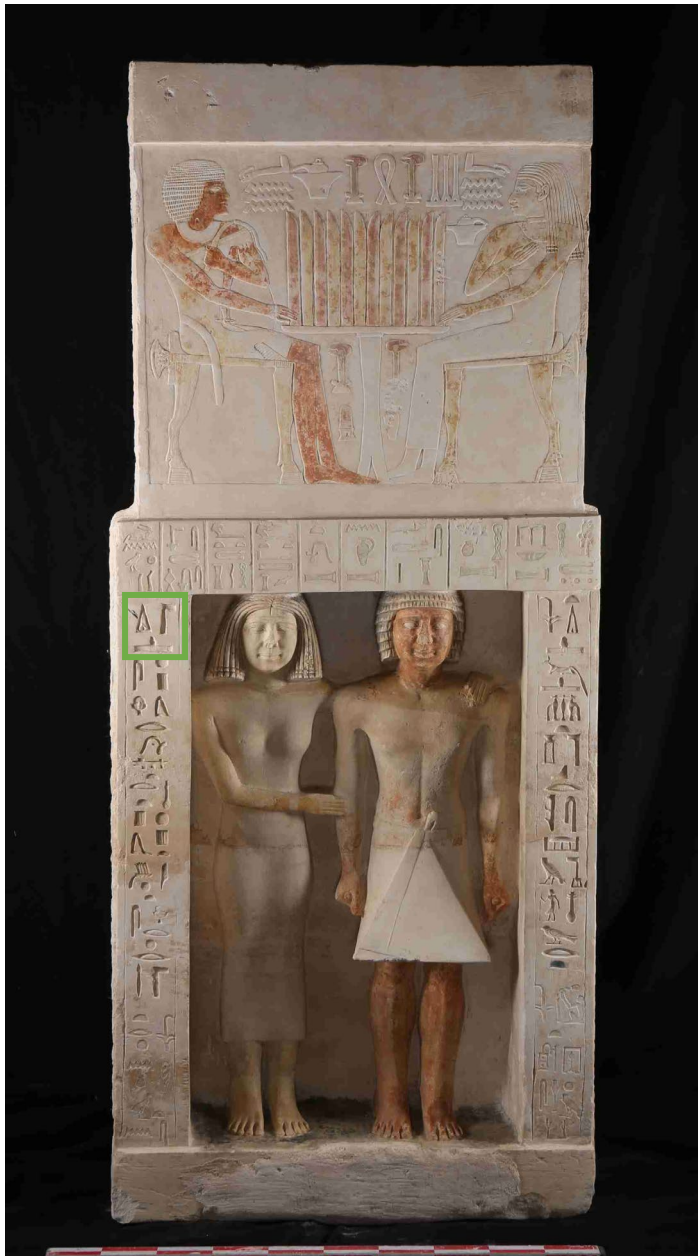


Fig. 28 Limestone stela of Sekhemka and Henutsen from the tomb of Nyankhseshat at Abusir South (AS 104), with the offering formula *hṭp-dj-nṯr* (in the green square) (photo Petr Košárek; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

his wife Henutsen. The piece, among other things, mentions a unique offering formula: *hṯp-dj-ntr* (**fig. 28**) without any name of a god, which is thought-provoking in the context of the offering formulae.⁴⁹⁹

As for the deities under study, they do not seem to be evoked in any offering formula. This is considerably interesting taken into consideration the roles played by them in the royal funerary and mortuary sphere. Even the god Nefertum, albeit connected with the water lily, which appears in the decoration of the Old Kingdom tombs, is not referred in the formulae.

5.3 Royal names and epithets

For the analysis of royal names and epithets, the name of the Second Dynasty has to be examined, since it seems that it reflects the name of the god Weneg. Several stone vessels collected in the subterranean galleries of the Step Pyramid and from tomb S 3014 at Saqqara bear the name *nb.tj Wng* (**fig. 29**) (Lacau – Lauer 1936: 6, 12, 16, Pl. 19.10, 17, Pl. 20.107; Lacau – Lauer 1961: 53; Lacau – Lauer 1965: 26; Kaplony 1973: Taf. 7/27; Kahl 1994: 354–355; also Kahl 2007: 13–15 and figs. 5–8). Sometimes this Weneg has been considered as an individual ruler and, therefore, the fourth king of

that dynasty (Grdseloff 1944: 291; Beckerath 1984b: 48, 173; Leprohon 2013: 28). On the other hand, Kahl (2007: 14) suggested that Weneg was the *nswt-bjtj nb.tj* name of a sovereign whose Horus name was Raneb and who ruled in the Second Dynasty. In Kahl's opinion, King Raneb used two theonyms of the deities with solar aspects in both his attested names. In this way, he wanted to emphasise his close relationship to the sun cult. Such an interpretation brings some problems,

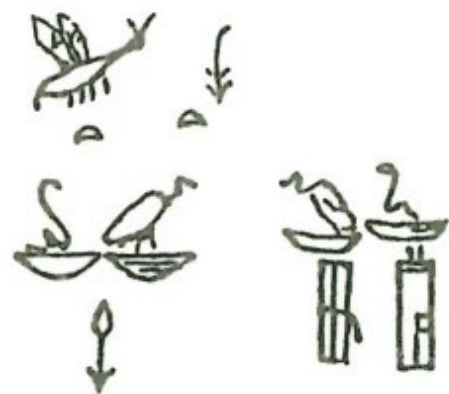


Fig. 29 *Nswt-bjtj nb.tj Wng* as attested on a fragment of a stone vessel from the subterranean galleries of the Step Pyramid (after Lacau – Lauer 1961: 53, fig. 5b)

⁴⁹⁹ For more details on the tomb AS 104 and the stela, see Odler – Peterková Hlouchová *et al.* (2019a and 2019b).




Fig. 30 Fragment of a quartzite seated statue of *Hpr R^c-dd=f*, with a seated figure of Queen Khentetenka (http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?sv=car_not_frame&idNotice=14125. Accessed on 4th December 2019)

though, as even the interpretation of the element *r^c* in the name *Raneb* is disputable (see below, *Excursus III.7*). As for the name of King *Weneg*, Kahl (2007: 10–11, figs. 5–8) identified two different writings of the king's appellation: 1. the *wng*-plant only, and 2. the *wng*-sign with vertical strokes. However, as remarked by Ilona Regulski (2010: 144), the reading of the sign of the plant, and therefore of the name itself, was established on the basis of the Pyramid Texts. Each of the sources bears the writing with the so-called *wng*-plant only, without phonetic complements. Thus, it is speculative whether the name of the king is read correctly. It can be added that in some cases, other signs are present in the available documents, but these hieroglyphs represent different words and seem not to be the phonetic complements of the supposed

triconsonantal sign *wng* (cf. Lacau – Lauer 1936: 16, Pl. 19.10, 17, Pl. 20.107).

It is also important to note, that Beckerath (1984b: 45) transcribed a name of a mythological king as *Wng-bw*.⁵⁰⁰ The name was written with a sign with an open blossom and with leaves similar to those of the *wng*-plant (cf. Beckerath 1984b: 169). According to Pierre Lucien Lacau and Jean-Philipp Lauer the hieroglyph is the *w3d*-sign (variant of M13), though (Lacau – Lauer 1959: 14; cf. also Kahl *et al.* 2002: 103–105). The latter interpretation seems more likely to be true, and, therefore, it is not an attestation for the god *Weneg*.

⁵⁰⁰ Not mentioned by Leprohon (2013).

Another reference to one of the deities under study might be present in the Horus name of King Radjedef: *hpr*, written as the beetle-sign:  (L1) in the serekh surmounted by the falcon of Horus (e.g. Chassinat 1921: fig. 2; see **fig. 30**). However, it appears that the name reflects the meanings of the word *hpr*: “erschaffen, entstehen, werden, geschehen, existieren” (Erman – Grapow 1971 III: 260.7–264.17), “Wesen (eines Gottes)” (Erman – Grapow 1971 III: 265.17–265.19). Leprohon (2013: 35) put forward the translation of the king’s name: “the one who has manifested (himself)”, hence no explicit connection to the deity. It is more likely that it is not the reference to the god Kheprer, since for the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, it is not attested that a king accepted exactly the same name as a deity (see also above). Moreover, *hpr* is also referred in the *nb.tj* name (epithet) of this particular king: *hpr-m-nb.tj*, “Who has manifested (himself) by means of the Two Ladies” (Leprohon 2013: 36; see also Beckerath 1984b: 52, 179).

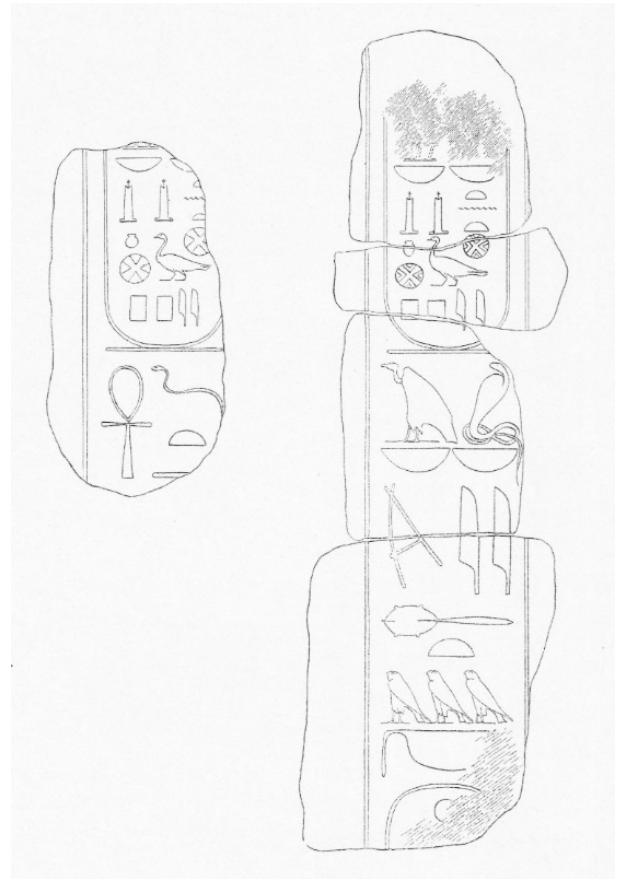


Fig. 31 Part of the titulary of King Pepy I: *z3 [(J)tm] nb Jwn.w z3 [Hwt-Hr] nbt Jwn.t*, preserved on the limestone blocks found in Bubastis (after Naville 1891: pl. XXXII)

It was Pepy I who contained the title *z3 [(J)tm] nb Jwn.w* into his titulary (Beckerath 1984b: 184). This epithet appeared together with another one, *z3 [Hwt-Hr] nbt Jwn.t*, inside a cartouche with his birth name (Naville 1891: 5–6, Pl. XXXII; also Fischer 1968: 37–38; **fig. 31**).⁵⁰¹ Interestingly enough, two red granite pieces of an inscription mentioning the epithet

⁵⁰¹ For the connections between *Jwn.w* and *Jwn.t*, see, for instance, Fischer (1968: 30–36). See also Chapter 4.1 here.

referring to Atum were found in the Nile Delta, more precisely in Bubastis (Tell Basta), the then capital of Eighteenth Lower Egyptian nome.⁵⁰² However, Ludwig D. Morenz (1999) is of the opinion that the blocks with the inscription of Pepy I were brought to Bubastis from Heliopolis at the time of King Nectanebo II (Morenz: 1999: 64). On the contrary, it was proven that the so-called house of the *k3* (*ḥw.t k3*)⁵⁰³ was built by Pepy I at Bubastis (Habachi 1957: 11–43; Lange 2003 and 2006; Tietze 2008; also Busmann 2010: 103).⁵⁰⁴ Therefore, it seems more probable that the blocks may have been a part of this royal installation (see Lange 2006: 124).

The analysis of the kings' names of the Old Kingdom revealed that Weneg and Atum may be reflected in royal names and epithets. However, in the case of Weneg, it is fairly speculative if the god himself was invoked.

5.4 Personal names

For the research of the topic under study, the theophoric names are of crucial importance, providing yet another comparative material to the notions in the Pyramid Texts. This investigation may also clarify the spreading of the cults of the divinities connected to the sun into different spheres of the Egyptian society. The anthroponyms with the element of Re, Horus, Akhty, Nemty, Sokar and Nefertum were analysed by the present author (see Peterková Hlouchová 2016a).

⁵⁰² Fischer (1968: 38) referred to another piece with these epithets. In his mind, it should be a relief fragment perhaps from Saqqara and stored in the British Museum (EA 20795). However, nowadays the mummy labels are registered under this number (cf. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=173132&partId=1&searchText=20795&page=1. Accessed on 20th March 2019).

⁵⁰³ For the term *ḥw.t-k3*, see, for instance, Kaplony (1980); Lange (2006: 121); Khaled (2008b: 206–207).

⁵⁰⁴ See also <http://www.gitta-warnemuende.de/tellbasta/project.htm>. Accessed on 4th March 2019.

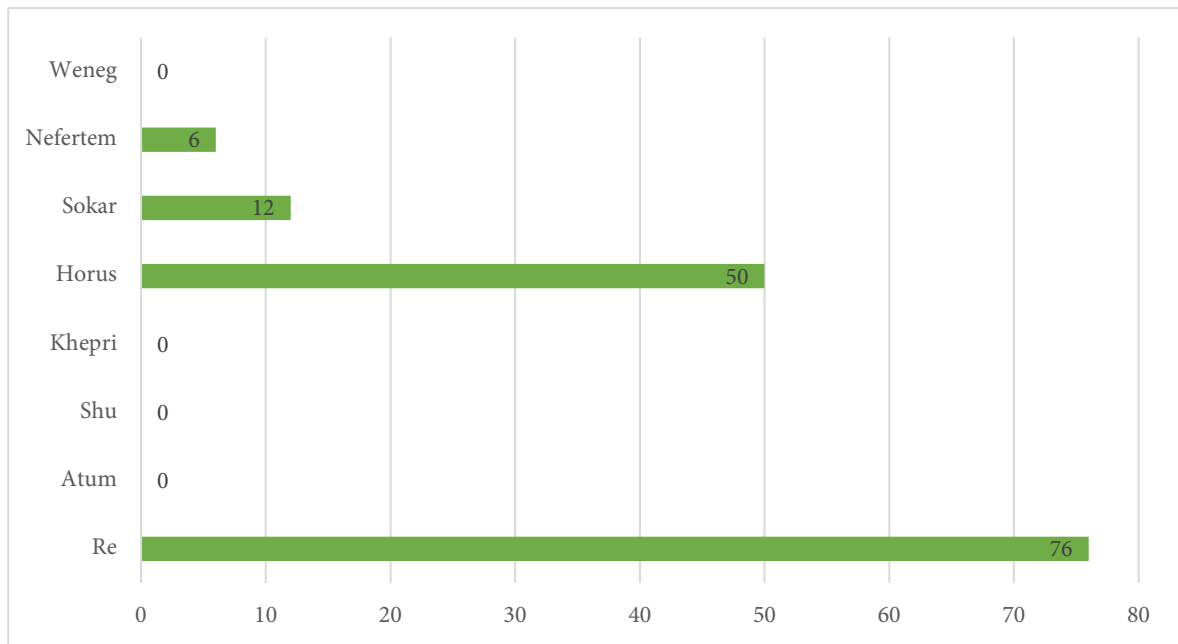





Chart 2 Amounts of the theophoric anthroponyms mentioning one of the studied deities, in comparison with the god Re




On the basis of the collected data, there were up to 144 name types mentioning one of the gods Re, Horus, Sokar and Nefertem attested in the Old Kingdom period (**chart 2**).⁵⁰⁵ Although the reading of some anthroponyms is not certain and that is why the number can slightly change.

As demonstrated in **chart 2** the overwhelming majority is represented by the names with Re component: 76 (cf. Peterková Hlouchová 2016a: 68–68 and tab. 1, with other references).⁵⁰⁶ The names invoke Re’s positive qualities: he is glorious and radiant (?); strong and mighty; great, perfect and noble. Interestingly enough, one appellation refers to Re’s creative power: *Jr(j)-n-R^c*, and a wish for the long life of Re is pronounced in one name as well. Moreover, Re is addressed as the possessor of life, power, protection, nobility and the *k3*. Re, the *k3* of Re, or Re in connection with other gods (Maat, Ptah and Sobek) are referred to in the appellations. It is a relationship of a person to the god which is presented in the names where Re is admired, worshipped and praised. To Re’s close connection to life are


⁵⁰⁵ The appellations with Re, Horus and Sokar (as other deities with a connection to the sun) are examined from comparative reasons here.

⁵⁰⁶ The number slightly differs from 87 appellations in Gourdon (2007: Annexe 1, 2) and 81 in Scheele-Schwietzer (2014: 107). However, they also counted the names with additions such as *nds*.

related the appellations in which the people give their lives into the hands of Re. In addition, they are his servants and acquaintances, and beloved by him. The majority of the names with Re are attested in the cemeteries of Memphis, mainly in Giza, Abusir and Saqqara, less often in Abu Rawash and Dahshur. They also occur in provinces, and even in Byblos. The general trend to use Re's appellation in the anthroponyms is observable from the Third Dynasty. It also has to be stated that the name of the god, Re, was not recorded ideographically, but phonetically in the private personal names: r  (D21) and r  (D36), as was observed by Hermann Ranke (1952: 16) whereas the ideogram:  (N5) was used merely by the kings.


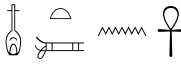
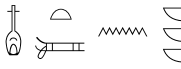



The second position in the frequency is held by Horus: 50 (Peterková Hlouchová 2016a: 73 and tab. 2, with further references).⁵⁰⁷ In the appellations he is described as big, great, perfect, strong, noble and everlasting; and long life is wished to him. He is said to come and appear. His royal role is expressed in the names, too. He also is the protector of his attendants and has their lives in his hand. In one name, the fact that the love of Horus came is expressed as well. The anthroponyms with Horus convey the worshipping of and belonging to this god. Except for the Memphite necropolis, Horus as an element of the theophoric names occurs in provinces rather often. The anthroponyms with Horus are attested at least from the Fourth Dynasty to the end of the Old Kingdom. Similarly as in the case of Re, the appellation Horus is written with consonants in the private anthroponyms: h  (V28), hr  (D2) and r  (D21) (Ranke 1952: 16). Only in several cases was it recorded

with a falcon-sign: nh -Hr:   ; Hn -Hr:   ; $S3.t$ -Hr:    ; $Tjs.t$ -Hr:     .

However, it has to be stressed that the reading is not certain and some problems with the identification of the signs emerge (consult Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 305, notes 95 and 96, 524, 622, note 16). Predominantly, it seems that the falcon sign  (G5) occurred in the royal sphere, be it the king or some members of his family.

⁵⁰⁷ Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 107) found only 45 anthroponyms with Horus.

Solely 12 appellations mention the patron of the Memphite necropolis, Sokar (Peterková Hlouchová 2016a: 73 and tab. 5, with other references).⁵⁰⁸ Similarly, he is described as powerful, satisfied, noble and healthy. Long life is wished to him. Life and the name-bearer belong to him. With one exception from Edfu, he is attested only in the Memphite region from the Third Dynasty onwards.

Name	Name in hieroglyphs	Translation	Locality	Dating (dynasty)	Male / Female
<i>Jr.t-Nfr-tm</i> (?) ⁵⁰⁹		Creation of Nefertum (?)	Saqqara	5	male
<i>N(j)-ꜥnh-Nfr-tm</i> ⁵¹⁰		Life belongs to Nefertum	Saqqara	6	male
<i>N(j)-k3.w-Nfr-tm</i> (?) ⁵¹¹		The <i>k3.w</i> belong to Nefertum	Saqqara	6	male
<i>Nfr-tm-hꜥ(j)=f</i> (?) ⁵¹²		Nefertum appears (?)	Saqqara		male
<i>Nfr-tm(j)</i> ⁵¹³		The one who belongs to Nefertum	Giza, Saqqara	4, 5–6	male
<i>Sꜥm-ꜥnh-Nfr-tm</i> (?) ⁵¹⁴		Mighty is the life of Nefertum (?)	Saqqara	5	male

Tab. 6 Private personal names with the element Nefertum, listing the anthroponyms in transliteration and in hieroglyphs, their translation, spatial and time occurrences, gender and references

As far as the deities in the focus of this thesis are taken into consideration, it is Nefertum who is attested in the anthroponyms, albeit only in six examples and almost entirely from Saqqara with merely one example from Giza (**tab. 6**). They express the close

⁵⁰⁸ Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 108) counted 9 names with Sokar.

⁵⁰⁹ For this name, see Gourdon (2007: [85] 5); AGÉA: [560]; Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 257 [425]).

⁵¹⁰ For *N(j)-ꜥnh-Nfr-tm*, see Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 419 [1545]).

⁵¹¹ See Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 445 [1713]).

⁵¹² See Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 487 [2020]).



⁵¹³ See Ranke (1935: 200, 24); Gourdon (2007: [392] 3); Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 487 [2021]).

⁵¹⁴ See Gourdon (2007: [633] 2); Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 660 [3205]).

relationship of Nefertum to life; the name-bearer is designated as belonging to this god. The time-span is the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty.

As can be observed in **chart 2**, the gods Atum, Shu, Kheprer, and Weneg do not seem to be attested in the Old Kingdom personal names at all. At this stage it is worth reminding that according to Grdseloff (1944: 288), the god Weneg occurs in one name: *Wn-wng* (see also above, Chapter 5.2). However, Fischer (1960) refuted this theory, being it a completely different name: *Sn.wy-wn*.

From the deities of the solar cycle, the name of Kheprer was not recognised in the studied material, albeit the lists present two names with the stem *hpr*: *hpr.n* (Ranke 1935: 268, 22; Gourdon 2007: [547] 3; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 597 [2753]) and *hpr.w* (Ranke 1935: 269, 5; Gourdon 2007: [547] 4; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 597 [2754]), recorded in Saqqara and Wadi Hilal for the Sixth Dynasty. It does not seem, though, that they refer to the deity. Atum, Weneg and Shu, are not attested at all. It might be speculated that these divinities had no practical role in their characteristics, since they did not provide the Old Kingdom Egyptians with protection, good harvest and suchlike. Astonishing then is when

the appellation *Wr-nw.w*:  is listed in Gourdon's index (Gourdon 2007: [180] 4) and translated as "Grand est le Noun", i.e. with reference to the primeval dark motionless waters. The name is documented in the mastaba of Wernu at Saqqara, dated to the Sixth Dynasty (see Davies – el-Khouli – Lloyd – Spencer 1984: 21–29). However, the reading of the whole anthroponym is problematic (e.g. Junker 1949b; Fisher 1961: 24). Scheele-Schweitzer (2014: 328 [911]) stated that perhaps it was a non-Egyptian name. Her opinion seems to be the most reasonable because it was uncommon to record Nun's name with the sign  (D135) (consult Leitz 2002 III: 519, 534–535, 543–547), and to mention such an abstract deity in the anthroponyms of that period.

In several past seasons, the excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology revealed two tombs of two significant dignitaries with similar structure of their names: Ankhires (AS 98; Dulíková *et al.* 2018a and 2018b) and Kaires (AC 33; unpublished). Inspector of hairdressers of the Great House, Ankhires, built his limestone tomb at Abusir South, to the west of the large Third Dynasty mastaba AS 54 of an unknown owner (see Dulíková *et al.* 2018b: fig. 3).⁵¹⁵ The excavations of his tomb, dated to the reign of King Nyuserre and/or Djedkare, in the years 2016 and 2017 revealed remains of original relief decoration and interesting architecture. For the topic of the thesis, it is the name of the tomb owner, Ankhires, that is significant:



Fig. 32 Remains of the central panel of the false door mentioning the name Ankhires, found in his tomb at Abusir South (AS 98) (photo Martin Frouz; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)



(see **fig. 32**). Besides Abusir,

this particular name is attested seven times at Giza and Saqqara (see Dulíková *et al.* 2018b: 21). Modern lists of names bring slightly different transliteration of the name: *ʿnh-ir.s* (Ranke 1935: 63, no. 1), *ʿnh-ir(w)-sj* (Gourdon 2007: [131] 5; AGÉA: [796]) and *ʿnh-jr(j)=s* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 293 [676]). The translation of the name is not consistent, either: “Es lebe der, den sie (eine Göttin) gemacht hat (d.h. der König ?)!” (Ranke 1952: 346), “möge ihr Erschaffener leben” (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 293 [676]), similarly “May live her (i.e. a goddess) creator” (Dulíková *et al.* 2018b: 21), “Vive celui qui a fait cela !” (AGÉA: [796]).

⁵¹⁵ For tomb AS 54, see Bárta (2010a).


Priest Kaires built his tomb at Abusir Centre, to the north of the pyramid of King Neferirkare. The excavations of this structure in 2018 brought to light a number of fragments of the original decoration, also a granite statue of the tomb owner and many other finds of the burial equipment, etc. The name Kaires was recorded in one of the graffiti (Gr11/AC33/2018) and also on the seated statue (79/AC33/2018_a,b; **fig. 33**). Holders of this name: *K3-jr(j)-s(j)/s(w)*: , “der Ka ist einer, der ihn/sie erschuf” were at least three men and a woman, attested from Abusir, Giza and Saqqara (Ranke 1935: 338, no. 22; Ranke 1952: 321, no. 1; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 694 [3428]).



Fig. 33 Granite state of priest Kaires, with the detail of his name on the pedestal (79/AC33/2018), found in his tomb at Abusir Centre (AC 33) (photo Petr Košárek; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

The word *jr* in these contexts might indicate references to a creator god. In a connection to the creation, this word was used for instance in the so-called Myth of the Heavenly Cow, firstly attested on the outermost gilded shrine of Tutankhamun (cf. Piankoff 1955: 26–37, fig. 47) from his tomb (KV 62) from the New Kingdom (reign of Tutankhamun: ?–1327 BC; cf. Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 493). It is the god Re who is addressed as the one who is bigger than the ones who produced him (Hornung 1997: 4, 38). Hence, the name Ankhires truly implies creation or production of something, of a female being (a goddess?). If it was a goddess, it would lead to the interpretation that only a creator, regardless his name (or the king identified with the creator; see below, *Excursus I*), is the one who could have brought her to life. However, the possibility that the suffix =*s* refers to “it” rather than “her”, as suggested by Gourdon (AGÉA: [796]) should be taken into consideration as well. In this case, the meaning would be connected more with practical life, someone who created/produced something, or who did an important action. In the opinion of the present author, based on the nature of the Old Kingdom names, the Gourdon’s opinion (AGÉA: [796]) is more appropriate and the name more likely refers to an impersonal act, i.e. excluding a reference to the creator.

In the case of Kaires, it was the *k3*, the life force, that created him/her (the holder of the name).⁵¹⁶ However, the possible indirect connection with the creator god might be observed, since, for instance, Atum was the one who transmitted the (royal) *k3* in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. PT 222).

Concerning the sources from provinces, Richard Bussmann (2010: XCII, 448–450) in his analysis of corpora from provincial temples at Elephantine, El-Qab, Hierakonpolis, Naqada and Abydos proved that in this material theophoric names are exceptional. If there is a deity mentioned in the personal names, they are Neith and Khnum. Moreover, no local god is mentioned.

⁵¹⁶ For the conception of the *k3*, see Schweitzer (1956); Janák (2012: 108–122). Especially for the Old Kingdom, see Greven (1952).

5.5 Royal annals

5.5.1 Palermo Stone

The Palermo Stone brings, besides other things, attestations for significant actions connected to the religious life of the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. Several deities are referred: Horus, Anubis, *b3.w Jwn.w*, Hathor, Herishef, Min, Nekhbet, Ptah, Re, Seshat, Seth, Wadjet, to name just a few.⁵¹⁷ However, the studied deities were not recognised.

5.5.2 South Saqqara List

The records of the South Saqqara List provide us with mentions of the main solar god Re, especially in the royal names and epithets, and *Psḏ.t* (Zone D3, D6, E2, F2, F6; Baud – Dobrev 1995: 37, 39 and 41). What regards the other deities under survey, only one is referred: Nefertum (Zone F6, col. X + 8; Baud – Dobrev 1995: 41, Fig. 16 and Pl. VIII; see also **fig. 34**). The entry commemorates the reign of King Merenre and the occasion when he endowed the god Nefertum with cattle and fowl. In the same zone, the gods Herishef, Khentykheti and also Khentymentyu can be recognised. It is particularly interesting that the minor deities were provided with the food stuff, which implies the existence of their cults.

⁵¹⁷ For a complete list of the attested deities, see Wilkinson (2000: 276–277). However, one has to beware when working with this list since references to some deities are problematic, if not speculative (for instance, Osiris and Sokar).

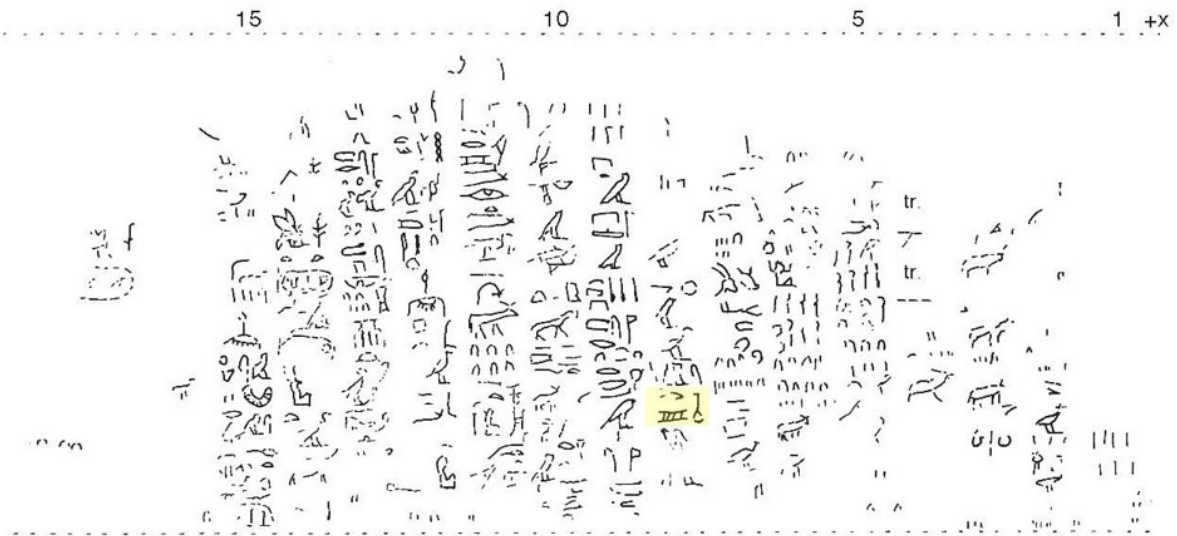
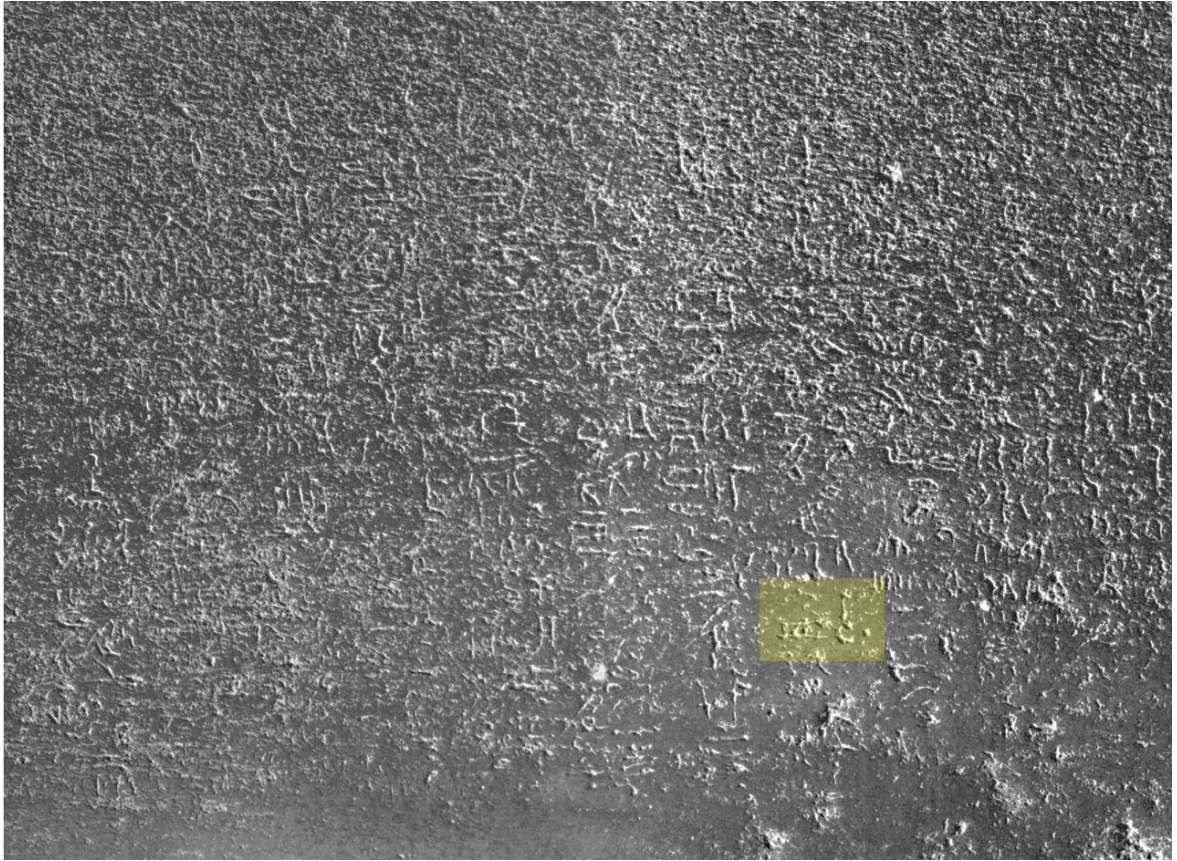


Fig. 34 Reference to the god Nefertum in the records of the South Saqqara List
(after Baud – Dobrev 1995: Pl. VIII)

5.6 Administrative sources

5.6.1 Seals and sealings

Seals and seal impressions can provide us with significant information concerning many aspects of the administration, society, but also a possible religious practice. In connection with the religion, mentions of some deities, in personal names or in titles, can be detected in these documents. It is the major sun god Re who was referred several times (e.g. *ḥm-nṯr R^c*, *ḥm-nṯr R^c S.t-jb-R^c*; e.g. sealings 316/A/78-x, 316/A/78-bb, 99/A/80-f from the pyramid complex of Khentkaus II at Abusir; cf. Verner 2001: 107, 119). In some cases, Re appeared together with Hathor (e.g. *ḥm-nṯr R^c Ḥw.t-Ḥr m S.t-jb-R^c*; e.g. sealings 924j/I/84, 1013a/I/84, 108t/I/85 from the mortuary temple of King Raneferef; cf. Verner *et al.* 2006: 237, 245, 266). What is noteworthy is the fact that some sealings from the temple of the goddess Satet at Elephantine bring the attestations for anthroponyms with the element *R^c*: *R^c-n-ḥ[...]mʒ^c* (Second/Third Dynasty; Pätznick 2005: 280, Kat. 018), *R^c-ḥ-ḥf-jr.ty* (beginning of Third Dynasty; Pätznick 2005: 282, Kat. 022); *R^c-rn-ḥ(w).wy* (Third Dynasty; Pätznick 2005: 531, Kat. 507), *R^c-s(n)b [...]* (early Third Dynasty; Pätznick 2005: 533, Kat. 509), *R^c-ḥrj-ḥnḥ* (early Third Dynasty; Pätznick 2005: 563, Kat. 554), bearing thus evidence for Re in the southern province of such an early date. In the mind of Jean-Pierre Pätznick (2005: 280, Kat. 018, 282, Kat. 022, 531, Kat. 507, 533, Kat. 509, 563, Kat. 554), these names are not attested elsewhere, though.

If the gods Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg are taken into consideration, no piece of evidence for them was detected in this corpus, not even Nefertum who was provided with some incomes by King Merenre. One should still remember that this could be caused by the discrepancies in the preserved sources.

5.6.2 Papyri

5.6.2.1 Papyri from Wadi el-Jarf

The papyri found at Wadi el-Jarf represent a provincial corpus, even though the activities at that site were closely connected with the royal building activities (cf. Tallet 2017). In the documents, no deity is referred, neither in a title or personal name, nor in another record. Only *3h.t-Hwfw* (Tallet 2017: passim) and *Jwn.w* (papyrus B, section BII; Tallet 2017: 53–60) are referred, for practical and logistics reasons. Although it has to be kept in mind that the documents are preserved fragmentarily, the absence of any reference to a deity is particularly thought-provoking.

5.6.2.2 Gebelein papyri

The unique set of papyri which can be dated to the end of the Fourth Dynasty, or even to earlier period (Posener-Kriéger 1986: 27), represents a source informing about local, provincial administration, bearing various types of texts: list of people, cereals, linen etc. (Posener-Kriéger 1975, 1977, 1986 and 2004). Several theophoric personal names with the element Sobek are attested in this corpus. Even though the papyri give evidence for royal serfs (Moreno García 2013b: 98–99), none of the gods with solar aspects is mentioned there, neither in names, nor in titles, but it has to be noticed that the papyri are incomplete.

5.6.2.3 Abusir papyri⁵¹⁸

There is another example of papyri of the Old Kingdom date: Abusir archives from the mortuary temples of King Neferirkare (Posener-Kriéger – Cenival 1968; Posener-Kriéger 1976), Raneferef (Posener-Kriéger – Verner – Vymazalová 2006), and Queen Khentkaus II

⁵¹⁸ The analysis of the Abusir papyri was already published by the present author (Peterková Hlouchová 2017).

(Posener-Kriéger 2001). Despite the fact that they inform us about administration, temple rituals, etc. (see, e.g., Vymazalová – Coppens 2011), theophoric non-royal personal names referring to various gods can be observed. Altogether 66 theophoric non-royal appellations were found in this corpus (**chart 3**). The Memphite god Ptah is documented in most of the cases, in 31 examples, whereas Re occurs in 19 names. Both Horus and Khnum appear four times, Thoth and Hapi cover two names, and Hathor, Sakhmet, Sobek and Anubis only one instance. There are no titles related to any of the studied deities. Moreover, references to some god's festivals can be found, for instance the Sokar (Posener-Kriéger – Cenival 1968: pl. 13; Posener-Kriéger 1976: 549–552). As far as the studied deities are concerned, no reference to them was found in the corpus.

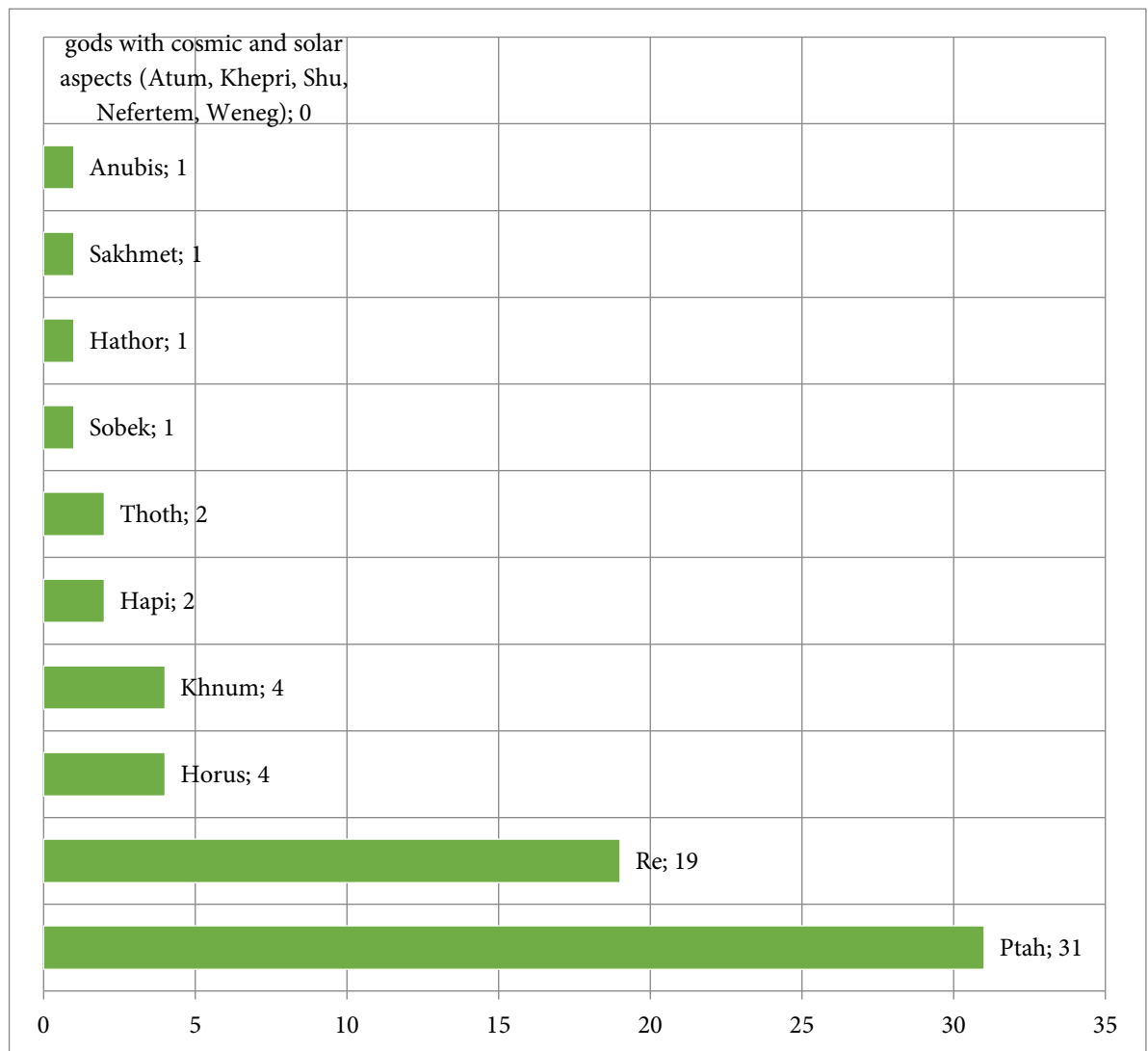


Chart 3 Gods attested in the Abusir papyrus archives with the number of the references

5.6.3 Titles and epithets

The analyses of different Old Kingdom documents brought to light an excessive amount of titles and epithets. Several of them refer to a deity, sometimes even to two gods. Some of them appears in a number of cases, whereas others only rarely. The following gods are attested in a number of titles: Anubis (see Jones 2000: 552, no. 2049, 553, no. 2050, 659, no. 2403, and many others), Hathor who is attested in a number of titles (see, for instance Jones 2000: 540, no. 2012, 541, nos. 2013, 2014, 2015, 542, nos. 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 543, nos. 2020, 2021, 2022, and many others), Horus (Jones 2000: 551, no. 2045, 552, nos. 2048, 2049, 553, no. 2050, 554, nos. 2052, 2055, 555, nos. 2056, 2057, and many others), Min (Jones 2000: 596, no. 2184, 620, no. 2273, and many others), Neith (Jones 2000: 636, no. 2329, 764, no. 2778, 887, no. 3247, 930, no. 3427, and many others), Ptah (Jones 2000: 776, no. 2826, 866, no. 3171, and many others), Re (Jones 2000: 537, nos. 2004, 2005, 538, no. 2006, 550, no. 2043, 634, no. 2323, 635, nos. 2324, 2325, and many others).⁵¹⁹

The occurrence of other gods is less frequent:⁵²⁰ Apis (Jones 2000: 588, no. 2153), Bastet (Jones 2000: 932, no. 3441), Bat (Jones 2000: 304, no. 1108), Duamutef (Jones 2000: 586, no. 2144), Duau (Jones 2000: 585, no. 2142, 594, no. 2177), Geb (Jones 2000: 824, no. 3009, 992, no. 3672), Harakhty (Jones 2000: 551, no. 2046), Heka (Jones 2000: 564, no. 2083), Heqet (Jones 2000: 564, no. 2084; see also Altenmüller 2013), Iat (Jones 2000: 885, no. 3242), Inheret (Jones 2000: 642, no. 2352, 650, no. 2380, 932, no. 3439), Isis (Jones 2000: 580, no. 2129), Iunmutef (Jones 2000: 303, no. 1107), Khentykhem (Jones 2000: 568, no. 2094), Khentyjenenet (Jones 2000: 569, no. 2095),⁵²¹ Kherty (Jones 2000: 571, no. 2104), Khnum (Jones 2000: 569, no. 2097, 570, nos. 2099, 2100, 2101, 571, no. 2102, 590, no. 2161), Maat (Jones 2000: 516, no. 1930), Montu (Jones 2000: 28, no. 123), Nekhbet (Jones 2000: 937, no. 3456), Nemty (Jones 2000: 28, nos. 133, 134), Nunet (?) (Jones 2000: 524, no. 1956), Osiris (Jones 2000: 510, no. 1909), Ptah-Sokar (Jones 2000: 24, no. 114, 25, no. 115), Re-Harakhty

⁵¹⁹ The titles with Re were already studied in the Master's thesis of the present author (Hloučová 2012b: 57–65).

⁵²⁰ This is not the complete list of references.

⁵²¹ See also Dulíková (2016b: 37–38).

(Jones 2000: 537, no. 2003), Renenutet (Jones 2000: 540, no. 2009), Repit (Jones 2000: 539, no. 2008), Sakhmet (Jones 2000: 577, nos. 2122, 2123, 2124, 710, no. 2589), Sed (Jones 2000: 581, nos. 2133, 2134), Selket (Jones 2000: 576, no. 2120, 745, no. 2719, 802, no. 2931), Seret (Jones 2000: 576, no. 2121), Seshat (Jones 2000: 577, no. 2125, 578, no. 2126, 579, nos. 2127, 2128, 591, no. 2164, 605, no. 2216, 708, no. 2581), Seth (Jones 2000: 560, nos. 2072, 2073, 580, nos. 2131, 2132, 833, no. 3039), Shesmu (Jones 2000: 586, no. 2137), Shesemtet (Jones 2000: 586, no. 2138), Sobek (Jones 2000: 573, no. 2112, 574, nos. 2113, 2114), Sokar (Jones 2000: 572, nos. 2107, 2108, 2109, 610, no. 2239, 745, no. 2716, 881, no. 3228, 884, no. 3240), Sopdu (Jones 2000: 574, no. 2115), Thoth (Jones 2000: 586, no. 2147, 590, no. 2159, 908, no. 3328, 824, no. 3010), Wadjet (Jones 2000: 780, no. 2847), Wepwawet (Jones 2000: 778, no. 2833, 886, no. 3246).

Although fairly obscure deities are sometimes attested among the titles, no god under survey is explicitly referred. However, in several tombs is the title *hm-ntr nb Jwn.w*, “*hm-ntr*-priest of the lord of Heliopolis” mentioned and according to Dilwyn Jones (2000: 524, no. 1957), it is Atum who is meant with the epithet *nb Jwn.w*. Moreover, among the *jm3h.w* epithets, *jm3h.w hr Psd.t ʕ3.t*, “revered with the Big Ennead” (Jones 2000: 23, no. 111), can be detected. The Big Ennead is a collective term for the deities of Heliopolis (Barta 1973: 53). Also the epithet *Jwn.wy*, “the one of Heliopolis” (Jones 2000: 7, no. 27), can be found in the data. There are some other titles for instance, *jmy-r3 zš(.w) Jwn.w*, “overseer of the scribes of Heliopolis” (Jones 2000: 208, no. 776), that may somehow reflect a significance of this locality, but it is quite obvious that it does not provide us with any information about the gods in the focus of this thesis.

It was also the title *m3 wr Jwn.w* (Jones 2000: 386, nos. 1428 and 1429) that is connected to Heliopolis, as the designation of the high priest of the local temple (Helck 1954a; Mursi 1972). It seems that the title was originally not linked to Heliopolis and the local veneration of the sun. Instead, it is supposed that it was a court title with ideological significance. According to Betina Schmitz (1977: 1249) these people were somehow engaged in the *sd*-feast. However, since it does not explicitly refer to one of the studied deities, it is

not included in this research.⁵²² Based on her investigation, Racheli Shalomi-Hen (2015: 463–464) was concerned that it is an administrative title.

In this context it is worth noticing that, contrary to the Old Kingdom, the titles referring to the gods of *Jwn.w* are documented in the Middle Kingdom (Ward 1982): *w^cb n Jtm* (Ward 1982: 79, no. 644), *ḥm-ntr n Jtm nb Jwn.w* (Ward 1982: 108, no. 901), *ḥm-ntr n Šw Tfn.t* (Ward 1982: 112, no. 933). If this is a result of the First Intermediate Period events or whether it is caused by a discrepancy of the comparable data, only future research may demonstrate.

5.7 Summary of the analytical part

In this chapter, various sources were analysed. First, the Pyramid Text spells with the references to the individual deities were listed, followed by the study of the tomb decoration and burial equipment, royal names and epithets, personal names, royal annals and administrative sources. It becomes apparent that the gods Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg are not attested very often in the selected material. The only exception is represented by the Pyramid Texts, which are, after all, the only sources where the characteristics of the deities can be examined. Admittedly, there are some singular occurrences in other types of the evidence, for instance, Nefertum and Kheprer in the tomb decoration and burial equipment. Nefertum appeared also in the corpus of the personal names and in the records of the South Saqqara List. One more reference to Atum can be found, besides the Pyramid Texts, also in another royal source, i.e. in the titulary of Pepy I. Also one title and one epithet provide us with an indirect evidence for this deity. But these are mostly singular attestations, not providing much further information.

⁵²² For the discussion on the title, see also Hlouchová (2012b: 55–57); Nuzzolo – Krejčí (2017: 366–369).

6 Synthesis of the evidence for individual gods

There is a considerable discrepancy in the attestations of the gods under the present survey in the various sources covered in the thesis (**tab. 7**). Every deity is referred in the Pyramid Texts, albeit in different numbers. With regards to the attestations in the other sources, the numbers are diverse.

	<i>PT</i>	<i>TD</i>	<i>BE</i>	<i>FD</i>	<i>OF</i>	<i>RN</i>	<i>PN</i>	<i>PS</i>	<i>SSL</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>T</i>
<i>Atum</i>	71	-	-	-	-	yes	-	-	-	-	-	?
<i>Shu</i>	64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Kheprer</i>	26	-	yes	yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Nefertum</i>	2	yes (?)	-	-	-	-	6	-	yes	-	-	-
<i>Weneg</i>	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Tab. 7 Overview of the attestations of the gods Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg in several types of sources (*PT* = Pyramid Texts, *TD* = tomb decoration, *BE* = burial equipment, *FD* = funerary domains, *OF* = offering formulae, *RN* = royal names and epithets, *PN* = personal names, *PS* = Palermo Stone, *SSL* = South Saqqara List, *S* = seals and sealings, *P* = papyri, *T* = titles and epithets)

6.1 Atum

The analysis of the Pyramid Texts can give us the impression that Atum must have been a significant royal deity. What is thought-provoking is the fact that he is documented solely in this textual corpus and in one royal epithet from the time of King Pepy I (*z3 [(J)tm] nb Jwn.w*). Other sources connected with the mortuary conceptions (i.e. tomb decoration and equipment, names of funerary domains, offering formulae) do not bring any reference to him, though. Furthermore, neither other documents of royal provenance (the annals) do provide us with any piece of evidence to him, which is also the case for the non-royal anthroponymy. As far as the administrative sources are concerned, there is only the title and

the epithet, of the non-royal provenience, which may refer to this deity: *ḥm-ntr nb Jwn.w*, “*ḥm-ntr*-priest of the lord of Heliopolis” (Jones 2000: 524, no. 1987), and *Jwn.wy*, “the one of Heliopolis” (Jones 2000: 7, no. 27).

After all, the Pyramid Texts represent the essential source for establishing the Old Kingdom characteristics of Atum. The spells mentioning this deity can be found in each pyramid, although the numbers differ: Wenis contained 15 spells, Teti 22, Pepy I 55, Ankhnespepy II 5, Merenre 24, Pepy II 51, Neith 16, Wedjebten 6 and Iput II 5. Regarding the locations of the spells with Atum, generally, they can be found in each room and on every wall.

In the case of the pyramid of Wenis, the texts with a reference to Atum are located on the western, southern and eastern walls of the burial chamber, and on the western, eastern and northern walls of the antechamber. Therefore, these texts are missing on the northern wall of the burial chamber, in the passage between the burial chamber, and on the antechamber and the southern wall of the antechamber.

In Teti’s sepulchre, the spells were recorded on the western, southern and eastern walls of the burial chamber, on the northern wall of the passage, and on the southern, eastern and northern walls of the antechamber. Thus, no reference was detected on the northern wall of the burial chamber, on the southern wall of the passage, and on the western wall of the antechamber.




It was Pepy I who significantly increased the amount of the spells. In his case, the relevant texts can be found on every wall in each room, with the exception of the northern wall of the vestibule.

In the pyramid of Merenre, the texts were on the western and eastern wall of the burial chamber and, contrary to Wenis and Teti, they were extended on the northern wall of the burial chamber. The western, eastern and northern walls of the antechamber, western wall of the corridor, and eastern and northern walls of the vestibule were equipped with the texts mentioning Atum. Any spell with Atum on the southern wall of the burial chamber, in the passage between the burial chamber and the antechamber and on the southern wall of the antechamber is missing.

Pepy II applied the texts with Atum on every wall in each room, with the exception of the southern and northern wall of the vestibule.


As far as the queens' examples are concerned, in the case of Queen Ankhnespepy II the spells with Atum were detected only on the eastern wall of the burial chamber. In the pyramid of Queen Neith, the texts can be found on every wall of the burial chamber and one on the eastern wall of the corridor. The pyramid of Iput II evinced the spells on the southern wall of the burial chamber in four cases, whereas on the western wall of the burial chamber in one instance. Wedjebten have the same locations, with four on the southern wall and two on the western wall of the burial chamber. However, in this case, it has to be remembered that her corpus is preserved very fragmentarily.

When the Hays' categorisation of the Pyramid Texts is taken into consideration (cf. Hays 2012), it can be found out that both personal (transitional and apotropaic) and sacerdotal (priestly recitations) texts and every subdivision can be found in the group of the spells mentioning Atum. This may lead to the assumption that Atum's characteristics allowed him to play a role in a number of conceptions and rituals. In this context, the subtitles of Allen (2015) are more detailed and eloquent. Some of the spells were described in the terms of the basic ritual, protecting the mummy and pyramid, cleansing and clothing, sustenance, presenting a statue, bow and arrows or protecting against inimical beings. The motifs of entering or crossing the *3h.t* or the sky are also present as well as the invocation of the gods, meeting the sun and a connection to Osiris. What is interesting is also the fact that in some cases, Allen used slightly different captions for the same spells in various pyramids (e.g. PT 208, PT 273–274, PT 301, PT 306 or PT 403; cf. **tab. 1**).

As for the writing of Atum's name,⁵²³ it can be stated that in the majority of the cases it was recorded with the sign *t*:  (X1) and biconsonantal sign *tm*:  (U15), and in some instances with *m*:  (G17). In several examples in the corpus of King Wenis, and

⁵²³ The styles of writing of the name of Atum were investigated by Popielska-Grzybowska (2001: 125–126). She took into consideration only the spells in the pyramids of the kings, but she observed the nuances in recordings of the *tm*-sign (different number of strokes, etc.).

also in some spells of Pepy I and Queen Wedjebten, the *t*-sign follows the *tm*-hieroglyph. Predominantly, his name was written down without determinatives, but in several cases the

sign G7:  was used (Pepy I, Pepy II, Neith).

As above-mentioned (Chapter 3.1.1), it was Popielska-Grzybowska (2001: 116–117) who identified several roles of Atum in the Pyramid Texts. She focused on:

- a) Atum's relationship to various deities (Shu, Tefnut, Osiris, Horus, Nun, Re, Geb, Jackal, Kheprer, Ennead);
- b) his sun aspect: identified in five spells, PT 222, PT 362, PT 480, PT 587 and PT 606 (?);
- c) his messenger, bulls, festival, offering, *bmbn*;
- d) Atum being content with his years, goods for the king;
- e) snake spells;
- f) invocation to him;
- g) father of the king and the gods;
- h) obvious links to the king;
- i) taking to the sky;
- j) rule, authority;
- k) purification;
- l) power of life;
- m) inimical acts.

The author of this thesis identified up to 22 recognisable and one unknown categories in the acts of Atum in the corpus of the Pyramid Texts:

1. links to the creation of the world, state before the creation, and paternal relationship to Shu and Tefnut or to deities in general: PT 215, PT 222, PT 247, PT 301, PT 360, PT 361, PT 362, PT 491A, PT 527, PT 577, PT 580, PT 587, PT 600, PT 634A, PT 642, PT 660, PT 684, PT 694A, PT *719;⁵²⁴

⁵²⁴ Popielska-Grzybowska (2001: 116) observed a relationship between Atum and Shu also in PT 452. In this spell, are both deities referred, however, they seem to act independently.

2. paternal relationship to the king: PT 215, PT 216, PT 219, PT 222, PT 269, PT 273–274, PT 360, PT 362, PT 461, PT 465, PT 480, PT 555, PT 570A, PT 571, PT 585, PT 600, PT 615, PT 660, PT 684,⁵²⁵ PT 694A, P 206;
3. rule, kingship, authority, transmission of the royal *k3*, inheritance, power, sitting on Atum's shoulder: PT 216, PT 222, PT 256, PT 257, PT 273–274, PT 306, PT 361, PT 477, PT 480, PT 513, PT 524, PT 572, PT 574, PT 592, PT 599, PT 600, PT 606, PT *708, PT *790;
4. evening and night sun, sunrise and solar aspects: PT 222, PT 322, PT 362, PT 465 (?), PT 480, PT 587, PT 606;
5. actions with arms to elevate the king or his status: PT 215, PT 216, PT 269, PT 548;
6. importance for rebirth and life: PT 219, PT 222, PT 491A, PT 698D;
7. references to various body parts of Atum (identification of the king or the others with them): PT 213, PT 229, PT 538, PT 690;
8. apotropaic acts, against wrongdoing and Re-Atum will not give the king to Osiris and Horus: PT 215, PT 229, PT 284, PT 310, PT 451, PT 452, PT 538;⁵²⁶
9. nourishing (offerings), refreshment, bulls of Atum, property of Atum: PT 208, PT 269, PT 403, PT 491A, PT 534, PT 574, PT 580, PT 599, PT 627B, PT 670, PT *737;⁵²⁷
10. purification: PT 222, PT 451, PT 452;
11. Atum invites, welcomes, greets, etc., the king in the sky: PT 524, PT 572, PT 577, PT 587, PT 688, PT *708;
12. Atum's hall, Atum's shrines and precincts: PT 670, PT *737;
13. festival of Atum: PT 676;
14. great one of Atum, messenger of Atum: PT 586A, PT 696A;
15. reference to the age of Atum and to his completeness: PT 247, PT 537;
16. relationship to the Ennead and Dual Ennead: PT 257, PT 592;

⁵²⁵ The paternal (or more precisely ancestors') relationship between Atum and the king is not mentioned explicitly, but it is referred that Shu and Tefnut are the children of Atum and parents of the king.

⁵²⁶ PT 229, PT 284 and PT 538 belong to the so-called Schlangensprüche (cf. Osing 1986: 132; Leitz 1996; Hussein 2013).

⁵²⁷ In PT 572, Popielska-Grzybovska (2001: 116) detected delivery of goods to the ruler. She did not specify the nature of such goods. However, the donation of land and town might be of major significance here.

17. Heliopolis: PT 527, PT 599, PT 600;
18. Seth bears Atum: PT 247;⁵²⁸
19. ladder to the sky and opening the doors of starry sky (Atum-Kheprer): PT 688, PT *737;
20. Atum's name is firm: PT 601;
21. chthonic aspect: PT 247;
22. argue with the king: PT 474;
23. unknown: PT *716.

The significance of Atum is demonstrated in his role as the creator of the world. In this respect, he became the father of the king and the deities, especially of Shu and Tefnut. In this context, it might be interesting to note that one text (PT 222) refers to the fact that Atum allowed the (primeval) land to come out from him and this act is accompanied by the spittle of Kheprer. These are intriguing perceptions of both deities connected with the sun, pointing also to the significance of the body fluids as the source of creation and new life. Albeit not in many examples, sometimes he acted as the protector against wrongdoing and inimical creatures. This might be deemed more or less practical function in his characteristics. Nevertheless, Atum is not attested as the protective deity outside the Pyramid Texts.

Pure solar aspects of Atum can be recognised in PT 222, PT 322, PT 362, PT 465 (?), PT 480, PT 587, PT 606, with regards to the evening and night sun and sunrise. The role of the sun for the creation of the world and production of the first divine pair is also of big significance. Last but not least solar influenced pervaded the concepts of power and rule over the world and the gods.

In the Pyramid Texts, Atum acts with a number of deities, but he seems to be connected in a syncretic way with two: Re and Kheprer. Shu and Tefnut are referred fairly often in the relation to Atum, especially the way of their creation. Likewise, Horus, with whom the king was identified, the Ennead or the Dual Ennead, and Geb are mentioned with

⁵²⁸ Popielska-Grzybovska (2001: 116) did not list the link to Seth.

Atum several times. What is interesting is also the fact that Seth is addressed several times, even in his positive role.

As far as the epithets are concerned, contrary to Popielska-Grzybowska (2001: 116) who identified only one epithet of Atum in the Pyramid Texts, at least three his designations of such a kind can be observed: lord of all (PT 257), father of the king (e.g. PT 215), possessor of Dual Ennead (PT 257).

It has to be admitted that Atum was sometimes called the lord of Heliopolis (Leitz 2002 VII: 412) and the one of Heliopolis (Leitz 2002 I: 189), but in the Pyramid Texts themselves, three explicit links between Atum and Heliopolis (Atum of Heliopolis) can be observed: PT 527, PT 599 and PT 600. In seven texts (PT 222, PT 247, PT 477, PT 570A, PT 601, PT 670, PT 690), Atum and Heliopolis are mentioned in the same spell, but without a direct link.⁵²⁹ It was the find of two granite pieces from Bubastis that brought the part of the titulary of King Pepy I: *z3 [(J)tm] nb Jwn.w* (Beckerath 1984b: 184; **fig. 31**). This designation could lead to the assumption of a possible Atum's cult at Heliopolis, with its own priesthood, at least in the Sixth Dynasty. Why other references to his cult in the Old Kingdom are missing, is a matter of debate. Furthermore, the fact that Pepy I used the epithet points to several findings. First, it is apparent that Atum played a significant role for this king, not only in the afterlife notions, but also in the royal ideology in the earthly world. Nonetheless, this is not attested in the centre, but in the Delta, even though Morenz (2002: 61–64) was convinced that these blocks originally come from Heliopolis (see above, Chapter 5.3). The presumption of Morenz cannot be excluded, but in one spell of the Pyramid Texts (PT 222; see above, Chapter 5.1.1) Atum is referred in the connection to the king's cleansing in Heliopolis and in the Bubastite region. This text was used already in the pyramid of King Wenis and it was carved likewise in the pyramids of Teti, Pepy I, Pepy II and Neith. It is clear that there must have been a reason why Pepy I used this epithet in the Bubastite region.

This finding might also shed more light on the discussion on the Atum's origin: was he a pure theological speculation, as Sethe (1930: 94–96, 114) suggested? Or was he the

⁵²⁹ Nuzzolo and Krejčí (2017: 370) declared that the link of Atum to Heliopolis is referred several times in the Pyramid Texts.

indigenous deity of Heliopolis (Raue 1999: 81–82; Morenz 2002: 142; also Nuzzolo – Krejčí 2017: 376)? The first explicit and indisputable attestation for Atum comes from the Pyramid Texts, from the time of Wenis. Based on the priestly title, Atum could have had a real cult and must have possessed more natural/practical aspects. Since the sources are very limited, it is difficult to find a definitive answer to these questions.

In this context, it is noteworthy that the fragments of the naos of King Netjerikhet (ca. 2592–2566⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490) found at Heliopolis (see Bussmann 2010: 101–102; see also Nuzzolo – Krejčí 2017: 358, 361–362), likely presents some deities of the Heliopolitan Ennead (Seth, perhaps Geb) (Kees 1961: 155). The stone pieces with relief decoration were excavated at Tell el-Hisn by Ernesto Schiaparelli in 1903. Nowadays, they are in the collections of Museo Egizio in Turin (cat. no. S-2671). They were published by Raymond Weill (1911: 9–26) and it was William Stevenson Smith (1946: 132–137) who tried to reconstruct the naos. In the opinion of Ludwig. D. Morenz (2002: 147–148), *Nb.w*, “the Golden One”, is referred rather than Geb, and he might be connected with Atum or Re. Nuzzolo and Krejčí (2017: 362) were of the opinion that the designation refers to Seth from Ombos (*Nwb.ty*). Even though an explicit reference to Atum himself is missing, the fact that originally he could have been mentioned there cannot be excluded. However, since the scenes are preserved fragmentarily, this could be very hard to prove.

6.2 Shu

What is thought-provoking is the fact that Shu is not reflected in sources of other type, than the Pyramid Texts, from the period under survey. Albeit connected with the offerings in the Pyramid Texts, no reference comes from another funerary material (tomb decoration and burial equipment, names of funerary domains). Likewise, no attestation for him was detected in royal names or epithets, personal names, royal annals or administrative sources. Thus, his Old Kingdom characteristics and supposed cult (if any) can be reconstructed solely on the basis of the Pyramid Texts.

With 64 mentions, Shu belongs to the group of deities that are not attested as often as e.g. to Re, Horus or Osiris there. As was demonstrated above (see Chapter 5.1.2), the references to this deity occurred in every pyramid of kings and in four pyramids of queens. In the case of Wenis, 9 occurrences can be observed, whereas Teti incorporated 17 spells. It is the pyramid of Pepy I, with 47 examples, where the number of texts referring to Shu significantly increases. On the contrary, the pyramid of Merenre provided 22 texts with Shu. More or less similar to Pepy I, Pepy II contained 43 spells. Queen Neith evinces 10 texts, Wedjebten 3, whereas Ankhnespepy II and Iput II solely 1 example, keeping in mind their fragmentary state of preservation.

When the location of the spells is examined, it can be observed that every room and even each wall can bear a text where Shu was mentioned. However, each pyramid has its own spatial distribution. In the case of Wenis, Shu is referred on the eastern and southern wall of the burial chamber and on the western, eastern and southern wall of the antechamber. It is obvious that the western and northern wall of the burial chamber, both walls of the passage connecting the burial chamber with the antechamber, and the northern wall of the antechamber are void any spell mentioning Shu.

Besides the eastern and southern wall of the burial chamber, Teti evinces the spells with Shu on the western wall of that room, and on the sarcophagus. Also the northern wall of the passage contains the texts with Shu as well as the western, northern and southern wall of the antechamber, and the eastern wall of the corridor. What is without a spell referring to Shu is the northern wall of the burial chamber, southern wall of the passage, eastern wall of the antechamber, and the western wall of the corridor.

Albeit the number of the spells with Shu is the highest in the pyramid of Pepy I, not every wall contains such a text. No mention of Shu can be recognised on the eastern wall of the burial chamber, both walls of the passage, and on the northern wall of the vestibule. What is interesting is also the fact that quite a huge number of references to Shu can be detected on the western wall of the corridor (cf. **tab. 2**).




In the pyramid of Merenre, it is the western, northern and eastern wall of the burial chamber, eastern and southern wall of the antechamber, western wall of the corridor, and



eastern of the vestibule that contain a text with Shu. No reference to this deity can thus be found on the southern wall of the burial chamber, on both walls of the passage, on the western and northern wall of the antechamber, eastern wall of the corridor, western, northern and southern wall of the vestibule, and both walls of the descending corridor. Similarly as in the case of Pepy I, it is thought-provoking that Merenre has 8 out of 23 spells with Shu on the western wall of the corridor.

The pyramid of Pepy II contains the spell on each wall of the burial chamber as well as on the southern wall of the passage, on the northern, eastern and southern wall of the antechamber, on both walls of the corridor, and on the western, northern and eastern wall of the vestibule. The spells with Shu are thus missing on the northern wall of the passage, western wall of the antechamber, southern wall of the vestibule, and on both walls of the descending corridor.

As far as the position of the spells with Shu in the pyramids of queens is concerned, it becomes apparent that Neith has them on each wall of her burial chamber as well as on the western wall of the corridor. Other examples are preserved fragmentarily and as a result of that it can be observed that Ankhnespepy II evinces the texts with Shu on the eastern wall of the burial chamber, and Iput II on the southern wall of the burial chamber. As for Wedjebten, there are the spells on the western, northern and southern walls of the burial chamber.

Furthermore, the spells cover all groups of Hays' typology (cf. Hays 2012), being of both, personal (provisioning and transitional) and sacerdotal texts, Groups A–O. Should be the Allen's subtitles taken into consideration, one can recognise that he perceived the spells mentioning (also) Shu in the terms of nourishment, power, the basic ritual, *šh.t*, the sun, rebirth, dawn invoking and joining the gods, ascending to Nut, as well as with connection to Osiris, Isis and Nephthys (cf. **tab. 2**).

With regards to the style of writing Shu's name, it can be noticed that there was a rather fixed writing, with some exceptions, though (see **tab. 2**). Predominantly, the theonym was written with three consonants: *š*:  (N37), *šw*:  (H6), and *w*:  (G43). The versions of Wenis, Teti, Pepy II and very rarely Neith used the determinative of a falcon on

a standard:  (G7). In one instance, Pepy II applied a falcon:  (G5) as the determinative (see PT 685).

Taking into consideration the topics of the spells with Shu, it becomes apparent that in a number of instances, Shu appeared in a link to Re, Tefnut, Atum and Nut.⁵³⁰ Moreover, Osiris (the king), Ruty, *Pg3*, Thoth, Nu and Naunet, Horus and *Hd-hd* act with Shu. The analysis of the religious texts discerned 14 major categories:

1. father/ancestor (of Nut, Geb or the king): PT 7, PT 219, PT 254, PT 261, PT 358, PT 585, PT 592, PT 684, PT *737;
2. Shu being created by Atum: PT 301, PT 360, PT 527, PT 600, PT 642, PT 685;
3. Shu supporting or lifting the sky (Nut): PT 255, PT 259, PT 434, PT 506, PT 570A, PT 571, PT 634A, PT 689, PT 698, PT *711;
4. Shu lifting/taking the king: PT 222, PT 323, PT 325, PT 505, PT 511, PT 526, PT 564, PT 565, PT 567, PT 624;
5. protection of the king, of the sunrise and defeating the enemies: PT 496, PT 502P, PT 553, PT 613, PT 634A, PT 690;
6. provisioning and cleansing: PT 209, PT 338, PT 339, PT 452, PT 486, PT 580, PT 581, PT 689;
7. inheritance and transferring the royal *k3*: PT 253, PT 260, PT 361, PT 577, PT 606, PT *729;
8. rebirth, everlasting life: PT 219, PT 585, PT 660;
9. body parts identified with Shu (lips, a body part): PT 539, PT *773;
10. the king appearing as Shu's companion/messenger: PT 325, PT *799;
11. limits and walls: PT 484, PT 509, PT 667, PT *709;
12. Shu's ladder: PT *762;
13. Tefnut supporting Shu: PT 254;

⁵³⁰ The nature of the relationship of Shu, Tefnut and Re was analysed by the present author (Peterková Hlouchová 2019).

14. Shu and Tefnut rowing the king: PT 670.

Besides the paternal/ancestor's role, salient is likewise his connection to the sky which he lifts. Thus, allusions to the myth of separating the sky and the earth (Nut and Geb) are present. Moreover, in six cases references to the creation of Shu, and often of his twin-sister Tefnut, can be detected. Shu and Tefnut were produced by Atum (and Ruty in one instance), either as a result of masturbation, or of sneezing and spitting. In the latter, a pun is present: *jšš Šw, tf Tfn.t*. In this context it is also interesting that the king might sometimes appear in the role of the creator god. This topic might be present in PT 565 where the king's lips were identified with Shu and Tefnut. This might hint the way of their creation, or it might refer to the provisioning and the ability to eat and drink. Shu's solar aspects can be observed predominantly in categories 2., 4. and 5., also in 1., 3., 7., 8., 9., 13. and 14. As for the king, he is only identified with Shu only once (in PT 570A). In the rest of the cases, he appears as the son of Shu.

Shu was one the deities of the so-called Heliopolitan Ennead. His connection to Heliopolis can be observed in three spells of the Pyramid Texts, at the least: PT 601, PT 670 and PT 690, which is not much. However, it can lead to the assumption that his cult might have existed in this town, in the time of the reign of King Pepy I at the very latest. Since these spells are attested from the time of Pepy I (cf. **tab. 2**).

6.3 Kheprer

As the analyses demonstrated (see above, Chapter 5.1.3 and 5.2), explicitly is Kheprer not attested in another context than in the Pyramid Texts (26 mentions), and likely in one toponym. The spells are present in every pyramid of the kings and in three tombs of the queens. Wenis had 3 spells and Teti 11, Pepy I 21, Merenre 16, Pepy II also 21, Ankhnespepy II 2, Neith 7, Wedjebten 2 examples.

The texts with a mention of Kheprer were distributed in each room and on every wall. In the case of Wenis, one example is preserved on the eastern wall of the burial chamber, and two on the western and southern wall of the antechamber.

If the corpus of Teti is taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that the spells with Kheprer are on the eastern and southern wall of the burial chamber, on each wall of the antechamber, and on the eastern wall of the corridor.

Pepy I incorporated the texts with Kheprer into every room and with the exception of passage. What is thought-provoking is the fact that no spell of this kind was carved on the eastern wall of the antechamber. A number of Kheprer's roles are of solar character. If one takes into consideration the presumed symbolic meaning of the antechamber (cf. Allen 1994), one would expect the texts with strong connection to the *ꜥh.t* and sunrise also on the wall oriented to the east, to the rising sun.


In the case of King Merenre, the text referring to Kheprer are attested on the northern, eastern and southern wall of the burial chamber, on each wall of the antechamber, on both walls of the corridor, but only on the eastern wall of the vestibule.





It is only Pepy II who has one of the spells in the passage connecting the burial chamber with the antechamber (southern wall). Moreover, the relevant texts were carved on the northern, eastern and southern wall of the burial chamber, on the western and northern wall of the antechamber, on both walls of the corridor, and on the western wall of the vestibule.

In the case of the queens, the spells with Kheprer can be found on the eastern and southern wall of the burial chamber in the pyramid of Ankhnespepy II, on the western, northern and southern wall of the burial chamber in the case of Neith, and on the western and northern wall of the burial chamber of Wedjebten.

Regarding the Hays' typology (cf. Hays 2012), the spells are personal (provisioning and transitional) and sacerdotal texts, but not covering all the groups, since Groups A [*Offering Ritual*], D [*Horus Resurrects*], E, [*Nut Protects*], F [*Isis and Nephthys Lament*] and K [*Apotropaia*] are missing. Allen (2015) perceived the spells in connection with the sun, sky, *ꜥh.t*, basic ritual, but also sustenance, protection and boats.

The style of writing of the name differs in some details (see **tab. 3**). What is common,

however, is the fact that the sign *hpr*:  (L1), is present in all instances. The phonetic

complements *h*:  (Aa1), *p*:  (Q3), *r*:  (D21), are or are not recorded. Several different writings can be observed even in one pyramid. Thought-provoking is also that sometimes the supralinear stroke occurred (see **tab. 3**). Furthermore, both versions, with one *r* or with two *r*-signs, are also attested. In both recordings, the determinative of a falcon on a standard:  (G7), can be noticed. One wonders whether in all examples the deity or the beetle is referred. Finding an answer is not without troubles. There are some opinions that *hprrr* refers to the beetle, whereas *hprj* is the god (e.g. Leitz 2002 V: 713–720; see also Chapter 4.3). Minas-Nerpel (2006: 59–65) discussed this phenomenon in detail and admitted the existence of the god Kheprer. Based on her research, she observed that there might not have been such a strict distinction between the god and scarabaeus in the Old Kingdom (Minas-Nerpel 2006: 464). Likewise in the mind of Allen (2015: 351), *hprrr* is the scarabaeus, which is the “name of the Sun at dawn”. Based on the Pyramid Texts, the present author is inclined to use Kheprer as the name of the deity.

When the roles of Kheprer are taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that he was connected with several aspects:

1. light and life: PT 267, PT 346, PT 353, PT 401, PT 662A, PT 690;
2. creation and production of Shu and Tefnut: PT 222, PT 527, PT 600;
3. morning sun, west: PT 606, PT 467;
4. Ways of Khep(r)er: PT 257;
5. Wing of Kheprer: PT 624;
6. kingship (the king is son of Kheprer and is placed at his forehead; Kheprer elevated the ruler, is informed about him, and is greeted): PT 519, PT 655 = PT *704, PT 688, PT 570A, PT 587, PT *762;
7. Fields of Kheprer where the king is dressed: PT 470;
8. Kheprer in the Cool Waters: PT 484;
9. annals of Kheprer: PT 585, PT *739;
10. foreleg of a wild bull belongs to Kheprer: PT 580.

In the Pyramid Texts, relations to other deities can be recognised. It is mainly Atum, even in a syncretic form (PT 527, PT 600, PT *737), as well as Re, Shu and Tefnut. What is also thought-provoking is the fact that, in one instance, Kheprer appears with the Four Sons of Horus (PT 688). Should the geographical aspect be taken into consideration, it becomes apparent that he was linked to Heliopolis, and to one more toponym (cf. below).

Regarding other types of sources, Kheprer is mentioned neither in anthroponyms, royal names and epithets, titles, nor in tomb decoration, offering formulae and royal annals. In the corpus of the sources under study, it is the toponym (*t^r.t Hpr^r*), preserved in the records of the so-called Giza writing board that might evidence the deity (see above Chapter 5.2). In the mind of Jacquet-Gordon (1962: 99) this would mean that the sacred beetle Kheprer as a form of the god Atum is referred to here. However, such a singular occurrence brings a number of questions. First, does the toponym really refer to the god (or scarab)? Taken into consideration its meaning, “granary (of) Kheprer” (Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 262), it might be a piece of evidence for Kheprer. However, this reference is problematic and another point is why there are no other sources for him. Is this a matter of preservation?

It was Minas-Nerpel (2006: 463) who claimed that “*Im AR begegnet er* (i.e. Kheprer – note of the author) *fast ausschließlich in den Pyramidentexten*”. She mentioned the Giza writing board and Old Kingdom amulets in the form of the scarab beetle (Minas-Nerpel 2006: 63–64). On the basis of this she presented the opinion that Kheprer was venerated in popular beliefs. What is likewise undeniable is the fact that beetles (*scarabaeus sacer*, primarily) were closely linked to the afterlife conceptions, and to Kheprer. However, Minas-Nerpel (2006: 64) did not publish or cited any Old Kingdom scarab amulet. It has to be admitted that in the assemblages of faience beads, figures in the shape of beetles appeared. For instance, in the sarcophagus of Neferhathor at Abusir South (AS 68d, Shaft 2)

(198a/AS68d/2012; **fig. 35**) such pieces were collected.⁵³¹ These figurines represent click beetle, rather than dung beetle, though. The former was associated with the goddess Neith (Kreimer 1931: 28; also Hollis 1994: 48–49). Furthermore, it has to be noticed that the presence of any animal does not necessarily and not always leads to a deity. In these cases, the symbolism of the beasts themselves seems to be salient.



Fig. 35 Faience beads (198/AS68d/2012) from the sarcophagus of Neferhathor (AS 68d, Shaft 2) (photo Martin Frouz, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

6.4 Nefertum

In the comparison with a number of other deities, is Nefertum rarely attested in the Old Kingdom. In the context of the gods under study he appears in a wider variety of sources: not only in the Pyramid Texts, but also in anthroponymy, royal annals and likely in the tomb decoration. That is quite startling.

Even though the evidence for him can be detected in more types of sources, in the Pyramid Texts he occurred only twice: PT 249 and PT 307. These spells were carved in the pyramids of Wenis and Pepy I, in both cases in the antechamber, on the northern and western walls. According to Hays (2012 II: 355, 366), they belong to the personal transitional texts of Groups J [*Aggregation with the gods*], L [*Transformation*] and O [*Mixed*]. Allen (2015) highlighted the topic of the appearance as Nefertum, ascend to the sky and invocation of the sun.

As far as Nefertum's roles, as recorded in the Pyramid Texts, are concerned, he appears closely, if not essentially, connected with the god Re. The deceased king is (twice)






⁵³¹ For the faience beads from the tomb of Nefer and his spouse Neferhathor, see Dulíková (2016).

identified with Nefertum and he is the one who gives life to the main solar deity, which is described metaphorically as a water lily at Re's nose. This is a particularly interesting notion that might be projected in the tomb decoration as well (see below). Nefertum also occurs in a link to Heliopolis, albeit indirectly.

Besides the Pyramid Texts, there are six examples of the anthroponyms mentioning the god Nefertum explicitly, expressing the close relationship of the deity to life and creation. They were recognised almost entirely in Saqqara with a sole example at Giza and are dated to the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty. Furthermore, according to some scholars (Ranke 1935: 200), a theophoric personal non-royal name of a lector priest Nefertum is attested in the tomb of Sebu (C 16) in the Saqqara necropolis, dated to the Fourth Dynasty and is designated as C 16 (Mariette 1889: 142–147). In this form, the non-royal personal name is exceptional and has no parallels so far. However, similarly as in the case of Weneg (see above, Chapter 5.1.5, and below, Chapter 6.5), it is quite improbable that any royal and non-royal person might have had a very same appellation as a divinity. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that the name of this deity was an element in the anthroponym, creating thus the appellation *Nfr-tm(.j)*, “the one who belongs to Nefertum” (see **tab. 6**, with the references), has to be taken into consideration. That is more likely.

Furthermore, the god Nefertum is explicitly documented in the South Saqqara List, in the zone F 6, where the records from the reign of the king Merenre are presented. The donation in the form of cattle and fowls for the god Nefertum is mentioned (Baud – Dobrev 1995: 41, Fig. 16, Pl. VIII, column x+8). It is very interesting that the reference to Nefertum appeared together with the text about the Ennead from Heliopolis (cf. Baud – Dobrev 1995: 41). Therefore, it seems that these inscriptions prove the connection between Nefertum and Heliopolis and local divinities, what is after all reflected already in the spell of the Pyramid Texts (PT 307; see Chapter 5.1.4). On the basis of the annals, it is also possible to suggest that the Nefertum's cult could really have been in function and the setting out of the offerings for him was of some kind of importance because this event was recorded in royal annals. One might speculate if his cult was incorporated into another one in Heliopolis, or if it was independent. Working on the fact that Nefertum was linked to the god Ptah and his spouse

Sakhmet in later times, it can be speculated that the place of his worshipping might have been located at Memphis. However, this theory remains unfounded in the preserved sources.

Albeit recorded with three basic signs: *nfr*:  (F35), *tm*:  (U15) and *t*:  (X1), the writing of his name is not uniform. In the pyramid of Wenis, two versions were observed: in the first instance, with the three signs and the *t*-sign is below the *tm*-hieroglyph, and in the second one, the phonetic complements of *nfr*, *f*:  (I9) and *r*:  (D21), were also included. As for the example of King Pepy I, it was written down almost similarly as in the first case of Wenis, but with the *t*-sign above the *tm* (see **tab. 4**), which is also the style of writing his name in the South Saqqara List (cf. **fig. 34**). Similar writing was applied in the anthroponyms (**tab. 6**).





There seems to be another piece of evidence that might refer to the god Nefertum, albeit indirectly. In several tombs, at least from the Fourth Dynasty, the owners are depicted as standing or sitting, and holding a water-lily flower at their noses. Nefertum was not mentioned there explicitly and that is why this subject is open to the discussion. However, based on the clear description of this situation in the Pyramid Texts (PT 249), the present author is inclined to suggest that Nefertum played a role in the elite afterlife as early as in the Fourth Dynasty.


What is thought-provoking is the fact that Nefertum, like Osiris (and a number of other deities), is attested first in the non-royal sphere. Likely, his existence can be traced back in the Fourth Dynasty, i.e. much earlier than the first occurrence of the texts inside the pyramids. It becomes apparent that Nefertum must have had greater importance than it may be revealed from the Pyramid Texts.

6.5 Weneg


On the basis of the preserved evidence it seems that the existence of the god Weneg was limited to the royal sphere in the Old Kingdom.⁵³² The attestations for this deity were found solely in the Pyramid Texts. Although Grdseloff (1944: 288) assumed that the non-royal theophoric personal name Wenweneg was used in the Old Kingdom, this statement was disproved by Fischer (1960; cf. Chapter 5.2).



In the corpus of the Pyramid Texts, Weneg was detected in two spells that occurred in the pyramids of the kings and of the queens of the Sixth Dynasty: Teti has only one of them, Pepy I both, likewise Merenre and Pepy II, Ankhnespepy II one and Neith also one. The position of the text inside the pyramids slightly alternates: in the passage or the antechamber, and in the case of the queens in the burial chamber, on the northern, western or eastern walls. Should be the Hays's categorisation taken into consideration, both spells with the reference to Weneg belong to the personal, transitional texts of Groups G [*Anointing and Wrapping*], I [*Isis and Nephthys Summon*] and J [*Aggregation with the gods*]. For Allen (2015), the topics of the *3h.t*, the sun, and invoking the ferryman and doorkeeper were salient.

What is particularly interesting is the writing of the Weneg's name (cf. **tab. 5**). The example of Teti presents it with the biconsonantal sign *wn*:  (M42), two monoconsonantal signs *n*:  (N35) and *g*:  (W11), and then comes the *wng*-sign, the triconsonantal sign perhaps, and the determinative, a falcon on a standard:  (G7). In the pyramid of Pepy I, there are two different recordings:

a) with the three signs (M42, N 35 and W11) and as the determinative sign  (M2) and the supralinear stroke was used, without the *wng*-sign and the determinative of a falcon on a standard;

⁵³² For the limited occurrence of this deity, see Leitz (2002 II: 418); Peterková Hlouchová (2016b and 2018).

b) with the biconsonantal sing *wn*:  (E34), phonetic complements *n* (N35) and *g* (W11) and the *wng*-plant.

In Merenre, it is recorded in the same way as in the pyramid of Teti, but without the determinative of a falcon on a standard (cf. above). Pepy II has exactly the same version as Teti (see above). Also in the case of Queen Neith the signs correspond. However, an unexpected hieroglyph on the place of the *wng*-plant was used .⁵³³ According to Philipp Collombert (personal communication), it should represent the *ks*-sign:  (T20). Why this hieroglyph was used instead of the *wng*-plant remains unclear. The texts in the pyramid of the queen are not carved as precisely as in other pyramids. Therefore, it can be argued that it may be a mistake of an ancient scribe who copied the text from a hieratic manuscript.⁵³⁴

The Weneg's characteristics can be described on the basis of the Pyramid Texts and it can be summarised in four points:

1. relationship to Re, course of the sun and resurrection: PT 363;
2. identification with the deceased king: PT 476;
3. rule, judgement, world order *m3^c.t*: PT 476;
4. supporting the sky: PT 476.

The assumption of many scholars who considered him to be a manifestation of the god Shu does not appear plausible (see Kees 1941: 252, footnote 1; Grdseloff 1944: 289; Mercer 1952 II: 485; Kurth 1986: 847). The parallel was observed in the fact that both deities were the sons of Re (see Chapter 2.2.5). Following this presumption, the goddess Wenegit, attested in the Middle Kingdom, was deemed Tefnut. However, these suggestions do not seem to reflect the reality since Wenegit is not attested before the Middle Kingdom when Weneg himself no more appeared (cf. Peterková Hlouchová 2016b), but Shu and Tefnut are as a divine pair attested at least in the Pyramid Texts. Why then would be Shu mentioned as Weneg in the Pyramid Texts and Tefnut as Wenegit would not? The only possibility in which

⁵³³ The present author is very grateful to Philippe Collombert who kindly provided her with a photograph of this part of the spell. A new edition of the Pyramid Texts of Neith is being prepared.

⁵³⁴ To this phenomenon, see, e.g., Mathieu (1996: 290); Hays (2012: 114); Smith (2017: 116).

the fusion of these two gods could have been observed is in the point that they both supported the sky. However, the analysis of the spells mentioning Shu showed that the Pyramid Texts do not explicitly call him in such a way and in fact he is not attested as the son of Re there (see Chapter 5.1.2 and Chapter 6.2). It seems that Shu was not designated with this epithet until the Greco-Roman Period (Leitz 2002 VII: 34–37). Moreover, no connection of this god with a plant or flower can be observed. Thus, it seems really unlikely that Weneg could be fully identified with Shu.

On the basis of the preserved sources it appears obvious that Weneg was an independent deity and, taken into consideration his relationship to Re and his part in the resurrection of the deceased king, a member of the solar beliefs, even though he was not as significant as other deities. He might have played a role only in the high theology, in the concept of keeping the world order *m³.t*, and in the royal mortuary beliefs. He is not (so far) attested from any non-royal documents.

In this context one has to consider the name of the Second Dynasty king with the *nswt-bjtj nb.tj* name Weneg, appearing on several stone vessels (cf. Lacau – Lauer 1936: 16, Pl. 19.10, 17, Pl. 20.107; also Kahl 2007: 13–15 and figs. 5–8).⁵³⁵ Should be the *nb.tj* names of the other kings of the Second Dynasty (*Htp-nb.tj*, *Nj-ntr-nb.tj*, *Shm-jb-nb.tj Prj-m-m³.t*, *Nb.tj-pr-jb=sn* or *H^cj-shm.wy-nb.tj Htp-ntr.wj-jm=f*) compared, two facts can be observed: First, they are very similar to the Horus names of individual kings, and second, there have never been used a name of a god explicitly. There was also no ruler who had exactly the same name as a deity. Furthermore, it should also be taken into consideration that in the Early Dynastic Period the *wng*-plant itself could not have been deified yet. Why then the king decided to adopt the name of a plant is not clear. Maybe the word *wng* might have had another (symbolic) meaning. The fact that the *wng*-plant was not deified in the Early Dynastic Period would lead to challenging the Kahl's theory that the king of that name wanted to highlight his support to the so-called sun cult (Kahl 2007: 14). Moreover, it is very problematic that the king would have had exactly the same name as a deity. On the contrary

⁵³⁵ Degreef (personal communication) prefers the term “epithets”.

there is the possibility that the name might bear the meaning *Wng(.j)*, “the one who belongs to Weneg (or *wng*-plant ?)”. What is also problematic is the time gap between the Second Dynasty attestation in the royal appellation and the occurrence of the references to the god in the Pyramid Texts, i.e. in the Sixth Dynasty. It has been supposed that the Pyramid Texts collected also much earlier religious ideas and therefore, it cannot be excluded that Weneg might have existed as a divinity already before the late Fifth Dynasty, but until now there is no reference to it.

Excursus I: Cannibal Hymn (PT 273–274)

Paramount solar motifs and the significance of the creator god are present in the so-called Cannibal Hymn (PT 273–274), which has been one of the most debated religious texts from ancient Egypt, being approached as an exceptional composition in the context of the ancient Egyptian religion and civilisation. It describes very peculiar situations: it is stated that the deceased king lives from his fathers, feeds on his mothers, eats body parts of the gods and swallows their hearts. On the basis of these cannibalistic practices, the spell was designated the “Cannibal Hymn” by Faulkner (1924: 102–103). That is why this spell will be analysed in more details in this excursus.

I.1 Occurrences

Albeit immensely debated, this spell can be found only in two corpora of the Pyramid Texts, in their first and second attested examples: Wenis and Teti. In the pyramid of Wenis, the composition was carved on the eastern gable of the antechamber (**fig. I.1**) and in Teti’s pyramid it was also placed on the eastern wall of the same room, above the entrance to the so-called serdab (**fig. I.2**) (see above, Chapter 5.1.1). The position on the eastern side of the antechamber is undoubtedly worth noticing since it can be possibly linked to the symbolic meaning of both, the spell and the subterranean chambers of the pyramids.⁵³⁶

It has to be emphasised that in the pyramid of Wenis the Cannibal Hymn is one whole spell whereas in the Teti’s pyramid it was divided into two spells by a *dd mdw* formula. At this point it also has to be pointed out that according to many scholars the spell should start with a *dd mdw* formula (consult e.g. Goedicke 2011: 364). But neither in the Wenis’ case, nor in the Teti’s is the formula at the very beginning (cf. **fig. I.1**). The Cannibal Hymn started directly, without any opening collocation. Some other differences between the two copies can be observed in the orthography. The texts of the pyramid of Wenis are more concise.

⁵³⁶ For the symbolism of the inner rooms in pyramids, see Chapter 3.1.1. For the summary of the translations and editions, see above (Chapter 5.1.1).

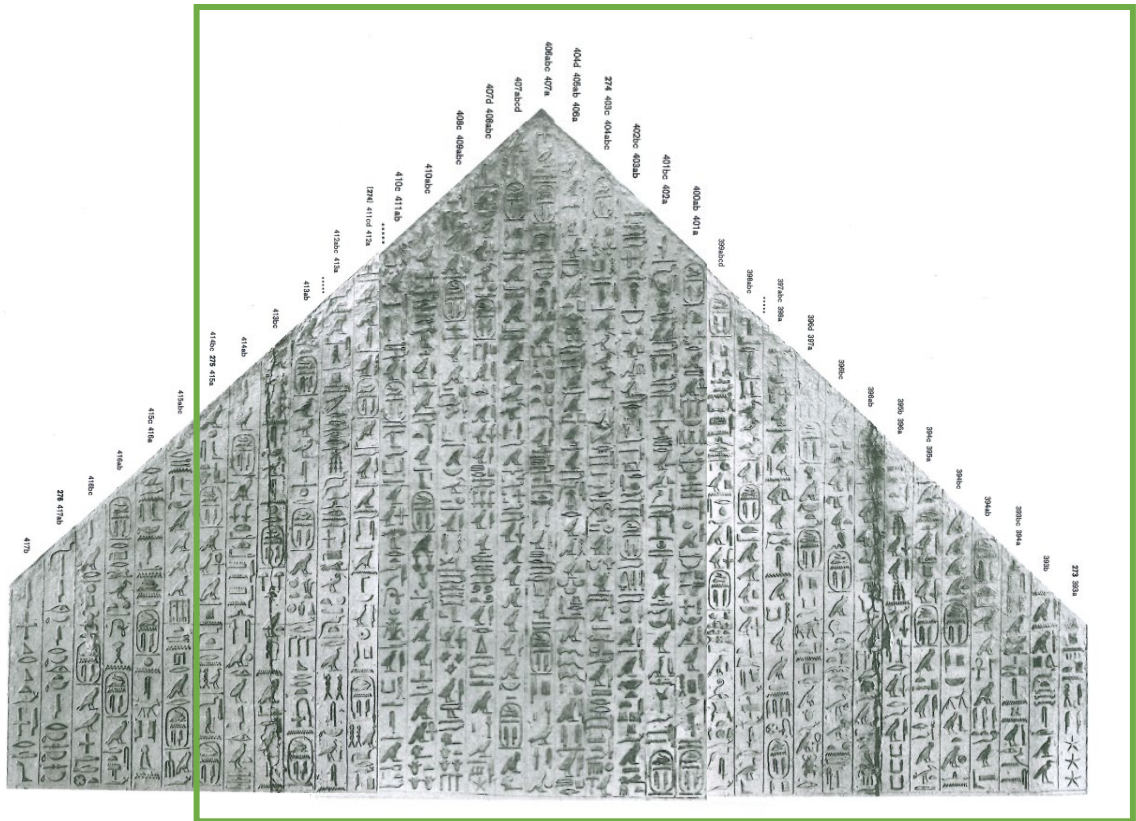


Fig. I.1 Eastern gable of the antechamber of the pyramid of King Wenis with the so-called Cannibal Hymn (after Piankoff 1968: Pls. 28–30)



Fig. I.2 Eastern gable of the antechamber of the pyramid of King Teti with the so-called Cannibal Hymn (photo Marie Peterková Hloučová, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

When referred to the king, the suffix pronouns are mostly used. On the other hand, the Teti's version uses more determinatives, with occurrence of the sing of the falcon on the standard:



(G7) fairly often. Contrary to Wenis, when referring to the, Teti's name in a cartouche is preferred. The Teti's version records endings and phonetic complements and is thus more elaborated. With the nominal sentences, Wenis used *pw* whereas Teti *pw*. Sometimes consonantal changes can be observed as well: e.g. *jšt* (Wenis) and *jht* (Teti).

After these two Old Kingdom occurrences, the Cannibal Hymn did not occur in other Sixth Dynasty pyramids and it was used again during the Middle Kingdom, in two versions: as a copy of the Old Kingdom pattern (e.g. in the Lisht tomb of Senwosretankh; cf. Allen 1994: 22; Gundacker 2010: 137) and as a new revised version in the Coffin Texts (CT 573; see Buck 1956: 177–183). And even later, some excerpts from the Hymn were used during the New Kingdom in other mortuary texts (Goebis 2004: 143).

1.2 Research in the Cannibal Hymn


Scholars devoted close attention to translations (especially into English, German and French; see above, Chapter 5.1.1),⁵³⁷ and to interpretations of this captivating spell.⁵³⁸ Its first translator was Gaston Maspero (1883: 59–62), using the version of Wenis. However, there are several mistakes in his hieroglyphic transcription: changed or omitted signs, incorrect verbs (*nm* instead of original reduplicated form *nmnm*), etc. This is also the reason why his translation is not very reliable. Additionally, he shortly explained the meaning of the spell as a curious magical text: “*un texte magique des plus curieux où le défunt est représenté traitant les dieux comme autant de victimes qu’il prend au lasso, tue, fait cuire et mange pour s’en assimiler les vertus*” (Maspero 1883: 59).

⁵³⁷ The only Czech translation of the Cannibal Hymn was prepared by František Lexa (1921: 166–169).

⁵³⁸ It has to be noted that this is not a comprehensive list of all the translations and interpretations, but rather more an overview of developing approaches to the topic.

After Maspero, the translation of Breasted (1912: 127–129) followed. Describing the text in the terms of “the grotesque cannibalism” (Breasted 1912: 129), he left out some (in his opinion) disputable passages. Even though the deceased king was perceived as a “*savage Pharaoh ferociously preying upon the gods like a blood-thirsty hunter in the jungle*” (Breasted 1912: 127), Breasted understood that the deceased king gained the characteristics of the gods and would never starve with the help of the spell (Breasted 1912: 129).

The 1920’s were rich in translations of the Cannibal Hymn. Adolf Erman (1922: 30–32) added the heading “Der Tote frißt die Götter”, summarising thus the main message of the composition. In some passages, he was not sure of the meaning and that is why he omitted them.

A new French translation, without further comments, was prepared by Louis Speleers (1923: 30–31). He only added a heading: “ au ciel, son festin”,⁵³⁹ and thus understood the text as a reflection of a banquet of the deceased.

It is apparent that the researchers were aware of the cannibalistic notions in the text, but, as was mentioned above, the first scholar who used the name “Cannibal Hymn” for the spell was Faulkner (1924: 102–103). In his article, he published a translation and an interpretation of the text, reading it as a relic of a prehistoric custom of the ritual cannibalism which was incorporated into the Pyramid Texts. He ruled out the possibility of a symbolic meaning because, in his opinion, the Old Kingdom people were not able of such an abstract thinking (Faulkner 1924: 103). The Hymn was published once more by him, with some alternations, in his translation of the Pyramid Texts giving also a heading “The king hunts and eats the gods” (Faulkner 1969: 80–84).

Sethe (1935–1962 I: 136–175) likewise prepared a translation of the spell, with a grammatical analysis and comments. At times, he also observed the differences in the version of the Coffin Texts. Concerning the origin of the text, he believed that it may have been composed at the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period, establishing the theory on the fact that the Cannibal Hymn does not mention the god Osiris. He also perceived the text as

⁵³⁹ The cartouche used in the heading refers to the individual king’s name.

referring to the deceased king as a sun god, as Geb or his star. On the basis of the mentions of the Isle of the Flames and *Jmn-rn=f*, Sethe identified Hermopolitan ideas there (Sethe 1935–1962 I: 141).

Another German version was published by Junker (1949a: 120–122) in his book about the religion of the Old Kingdom, translating the text from the pyramid of Wenis. He stated that the king appeared as “gewalttätiger Gott” (Junker 1949a: 120), procuring meal for himself, killing and eating the gods, and consuming their magic.

As a descriptive text with a set of minor utterances it was understood by Mercer in his work on the Pyramid Texts (Mercer 1952 I: 92–95; Mercer 1952 II: 182–192), listing the main topics of the Hymn: ascend to the heaven, defeating the enemies, reign over the gods and the eternal life of the deceased king. In the issue of dating and the origin, he agreed with Sethe’s opinions (see above). Contrary to Sethe, however, Mercer claimed that the importance of the solar religion could not be observed in the text (Mercer 1952 II: 182), but contradicting himself because of his later statement that the deceased king is compared to the sun in the last paragraph of the spell (Mercer 1952 II: 192). Moreover, he described the nature of the text as follows: “(...) *the Cannibal Hymn in Uts. 273–274, one of the most barbarous and savage poems ever written in any language, ancient or modern.*” (Mercer 1956: 92).

Hellmut Brunner (1966: 26) understood the message of the text in ascending the heaven where the deceased king hunted and ate the gods and deceased, and usurped their forces. He published the translation only of the initial part of the utterance.

A translation together with detail photographs of the eastern gable of the antechamber in the pyramid of Wenis was published by Piankoff (1968: 44–46 and Pls. 28–30).

Incorporating a translation into a study about the resurrection ritual presented according to the texts in the pyramid of Wenis, Spiegel (1971: 439–458) thought that the Cannibal Hymn was very exceptional from the thematic and formal point of view (Spiegel 1971: 429). He realised that the text was positioned on the eastern gable what is actually the

entrance wall into the serdab. He agreed with the theory of the Hermopolitan origin proposed by Sethe (Spiegel 1971: 432).

The so-called Cannibal Hymn was also translated by Altenmüller (1977: 20–22) who compared versions of the Cannibal Hymn in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts (Altenmüller 1977: 23–26). From his point of view, the spell deals with a Heliopolitan god, probably with Re, based on the Coffin Texts (Altenmüller 1977: 33, 35). He thought that the text reflects human sacrifices for the sun god and the importance of Re as the provider of meat offerings (Altenmüller 1977: 36, 38–39). Besides, Altenmüller observed that the Hymn had different functions in both pyramid, noticing that the Wenis' version represents a part of a cluster of ritual spells, probably developed for a cultic use on the royal statues whereas in Teti's pyramid, the spell is attested among the so-called "Zaubersprüche" (Altenmüller 1977: 28–29).

In his translation, J. L. Foster (1979) tried to present it in a modern poetical form and was aware of its importance for the resurrection of the deceased king.

As for Barta's interpretation, he was convinced that the magical-ritual cannibalism was described there (Barta 1979: 94). On the basis of the comparison between the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, it was noticed by him that the former used third person of the singular whereas the latter the first person of singular, and also is longer (Barta 1991). Barta counted up to 80 common points in both corpora. Apart from it, he was interested in the phenomena of omissions, additions or corrections of the initial text. From his point of view, the utterance is a mean for the resurrection of the king, or the private person.

Also Erik Hornung (1999b: 6) expressed his opinion on the Cannibal Hymn, as the violent arrival of the king into the sky.

The Hymn was perceived as a poetic fiction rather than a reflection of religious ideas by Frank Kammerzell (2000) who added a grammatical analysis to a translation of the Wenis' version. He observed that the text is strictly structured.

Similarly as Altenmüller, Michel Baud and Marc Etienne connected the text to the human sacrifice in the Early Dynastic Period (Baud – Etienne 2000).

Linking the spell to the offering ritual, Christopher Eyre (2002), in his cultural and literary study, articulated the opinion that mythologisation of the cattle offerings is expressed there.

Georg Meurer (2002: 43–51) studied the Cannibal Hymn within his research of the enemies of the deceased king in the Pyramid Texts. From his point of view, it was a very exceptional text. He also tried to discover parallels to the cannibalistic figures in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts. However, there are neither hostile actions, nor the king threatening the deities.

It was Katja Goebis who interpreted the meaning of the Hymn in connection to cosmic, astronomical phenomena, relating the obvious cannibalism to overshadowing (swallowing) the stars by the rising sun (Goebis 2003: 42–44). Besides that, she compared the versions in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts (Goebis 2004: 143–173; Goebis 2008: 209–218).

Other translations (but without further comments) come from Lichtheim (1975: 36–38), Allen (2015: 54–56) or Carrier (2009 I: 144–151, 340–346).

Furthermore, Rune Nyord (2009: 381–392) analysed the Hymn in the terms of cognitive linguistics, observing thus that the main theme was a manifestation of the power of the king in the sky who gained the power of the gods by eating.

One of the most controversial translation and interpretation of the text comes from Goedicke (2011) who rejected the theories about cannibalistic practices, being thus convinced that the Hymn is composed of three sections: 1. the king's burial and his rebirth, 2. provisioning with offerings, accepting the interpretation of Eyre (2002) on ritual slaughter meaning, and 3. a mighty afterlife existence of the king.

Allen (2017a) looked at the Hymn from the point of view of literature analysis. He also observed different metric of the Spell's ending in the version of Wenis and Teti (Allen 2017a: 31).

On the basis of the overview, at least five major points can be distinguished in the interpretations:

1. prehistoric cannibalistic practices;
2. gaining/demonstrating power of the king;

3. resurrection of the king;
4. ritual, slaughter;
5. astronomic theory.

These five themes have been diversely combined by various authors.

The Egyptological scholarship have also touched the topic of a time of origins of the so-called Cannibal Hymn. According to some older opinions, it is seen in the prehistory, taking into consideration the prehistoric cannibalistic practices reflected in the spell (e.g. Faulkner 1924: 103). Others have been convinced that it was compiled at the turn of the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period (Sethe 1935–1962 I: 141), between the Third and Fifth Dynasty (Schott 1945: 10), or at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (Altenmüller 1977: 38–39). Nevertheless, Goedicke (2011: 363) believed that it was created for the pyramid of Wenis, even though he confessed that it is difficult to prove this hypothesis. It cannot be excluded that the text might contain earlier conceptions, but, considering the topic and meaning of the text, the Goedicke’s statement might be close to the reality (see below).

1.3 Interpretation

The Cannibal Hymn is initiated with the description of a very special situation, cataclysmic events. These actions were emphasised by using special determinatives, with the verb (*j*)*gp*:



, or reduplications of some verbs (e.g. *nmm*), which signalled the intensification of the action. On the contrary, Goedicke (2011: 364–370) proposed an entirely different translation. He believed that there was a temporal and spatial designation of the burial of King Wenis. However, the reasons presented by him are considerably speculative, without any foundations in the preserved sources. For instance, the temporal designation of the king’s burial is very problematic, taken into consideration, among other things, the fact that the spell also appeared in the second pyramid, of Teti. Is it, therefore, possible to assume that both kings were buried approximately at the same time?

The beginning heralds a spectacular appearance (*h^c*) of the deceased, or more precisely reborn king. Apart from this basic meaning, the Egyptian word *h^c* designates a coronation, and is linked to eastern *3h.t* (cf. Schunck 1985), being thus a reference to the sunrise. Therefore, the action should be understood as an advent of the victorious king who surpassed danger in the netherworld, appearing as a legitimate ruler, and as the sun god. The Hymn describes how the king gains back his (lost) status, might, power, and his divine status as a ruler of the gods. He is greater and more powerful than his predecessors and any other deity, even the creator god Atum, who was addressed as the king's father in the spell. He absorbs divinity in an abstract and physical way, obtains *hk3* (magic) and power *3h.w*. Moreover, a strong solar element pervades the whole text. Bearing in mind that it is referred to the sunrise on one hand, and that every sunrise was believed to be a repetition of the creation of the world on the other, it is demonstrated that the king equals the creator.⁵⁴⁰ He is the absolute ruler of the world and deities.

In the context of a link to the sunrise, it has to be reminded that the spell was carved on the eastern wall of the antechamber which is identified with the *3h.t* by Allen (1994: 24, fig. 5, 26–27). In the interiors of the pyramids, any other suitable place for such a spell could be hardly found. It is also worth evaluating the texts substituting the Cannibal Hymn in later pyramids of kings from the Sixth Dynasty, after Wenis and Teti. There, the eastern wall was filled with spells dealing with nourishment and annihilation of inimical beings (cf. Allen 2005: 142–147, 225, 283–289; Allen 2015: 147–152). Both themes can be at least partially linked to the cardinal ideas of the original composition (the Cannibal Hymn) celebrating the supremacy, protection and accumulation of power of the resurrected and reborn king.

The violent nature of the Cannibal Hymn might be testified by the references to the red colour, as a colour of blood, danger, hostile desert etc. However, John Gwyn Griffiths (1972) described even a positive symbolism of this colour, observing that it symbolised the life giving power, sun, light and fire and was significant in the sympathetic magical practices, mainly in connection with the defeat of the evil. Moreover, it has to be kept in mind that the

⁵⁴⁰ This connection was studied in details by Dana Bělohoubková, Jiří Janák and the present author (Bělohoubková – Janák – Peterková Hlouchová 2019).

Red Crown was one of the symbols of the Lower Egypt. Likewise, Geraldine Pinch (2001: 183–184) compared negative and positive connotations, highlighting the opinion that Sothian and solar reds had similar symbolic meaning. Rightly did she pointed out that not only had the red fire life-giving potency, but it was also destructive.

Besides all these topics present in the Hymn, there is another level of interpretation, as was hinted above: a ritual text of cultic purposes.⁵⁴¹ It has to be admitted that a description of slaughtering of oxen can be read in the text. But a pun could have been applied there, too, using several meaning of the term “*k3*”: a life force, bull, food offerings, and blessed ancestors (see, for instance, Schweitzer 1956; Janák 2009: 211–224; Bělohoubková – Janák – Peterková Hlouchová 2019). Having all these meanings in mind, another level can be uncovered: the deceased king joint with his life force, bulls were sacrificed and offered for and instead of the king (Roeder 2008). Furthermore, the Cannibal Hymn may refer to the morning statue ritual, in a simplified way. However, needless to say that the ritual aspect was significant, yet subordinate to a general meaning of the text.


In the text above there was an attempt to demonstrate that the so-called Cannibal Hymn has to be concerned as an integral part of the Egyptian religious thinking and royal ideology. As in other texts, there are several levels of meaning (cultic, cosmic and mythical)⁵⁴² in the Cannibal Hymn: references to rituals, mainly cattle slaughtering, as the cultic dimension; description of a cosmic event with cannibalistic figurative language; resurrection of the victorious king at the third level. Even though fairly cruel rhetoric devices were used, the notion has to be perceived more symbolically and figuratively, in the terms of restoring power and might, overshadowing other divine creatures and becoming the greatest of the great ones. Moreover, references to astronomical phenomena, mainly to the rising sun, can be found there as well. Nevertheless, the general message of the text is the resurrected king with his might and power and possessing every food offerings and royal insignia. He can be identified with the sun, and the new creator. His triumphal ascend to the heaven is likewise

⁵⁴¹ Altenmüller (1977: 28) suggested that it was used for a statue ritual whereas Eyre (2002) was convinced that it described the offering ritual of cattle.

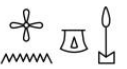

⁵⁴² The three levels were defined by Assmann (1984: 16).


expressed. On the contrary, there is still the question if the text refers to the absolute powerful sovereign, why was it carved only in first two examples of the Pyramid Texts. For instance, it can be suggested that it was influenced by the fact that neither Wenis, nor Teti were rightful successors on the throne, and they needed to support their rights even in the afterlife. Another possibility is that some changes in royal ideology, or in notions of divine, appeared and the Hymn reflects them, in favour of the king. At this stage of the research, it very challenging to find the answer.


*Excursus II: The so-called wng-plant*⁵⁴³

The god Weneg was closely associated with the so-called *wng-plant*:  (m4, Kahl 1994: 586; Kahl 2007: 119–120; Kahl *et al.* 2002: 119–120). The species of this plant is quite obscure. Although there were some attempts to its identification, none of them studied the phenomenon in detail. The recognition of the plant might provide us with the better understanding of the Wenegs characteristics. Furthermore, it might offer an explanation why our sources of him are almost exclusively limited to the Old Kingdom period.


In the context of this research, it is worth noticing that in the publications and dictionaries, the versions of recording Weneg’s name are quite confused. In the *Wörterbuch*

der ägyptischen Sprache, three possibilities were presented: ,  and


 (Erman – Grapow 1971 I: 325.11). It was Kahl who showed the standardised sign:

, and marked the sign as m4 (Kahl 1994: 586; Kahl 2007: 119–120; Kahl *et al.* 2002: 119–120). He stated that it was used as a logogram with the phonetic value *wng* and that the m4 sign was used as the determinative for the words *ḳr*, “rushes”, and *ḳm*, which was a name of a plant with a negative connotation (Kahl 2007: 12, footnote 5). Rainer Hannig in his

dictionaries mentioned two spelling variants of Weneg’s name:  and

 (Hannig 1995: 1199; Hannig 2003: 1588, no. {43459}). He himself thus

included neither the variant with the sign  (E34), nor the variant with the *wng-plant*.

What might be thought-provoking is the fact that the *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* recorded a different writing:  (Leitz 2002 II: 418).



⁵⁴³ This excursus is based on a study published by the present author (cf. Peterková Hlouchová 2018).

However, the determinative is attested neither in the Pyramid Texts, nor anywhere else. It might only resemble the sign used in the Neith's pyramid (see above, Chapter 5.1.5).

As far as the plant identification is concerned, it can be observed that, for instance, Grdseloff (1944: 288) saw an enclosed calyx in the *wng*-plant. In the opinion of Anthes (1957a: 5), it could have been specified as, with some doubts, as a lotus bud.

The occurrence of Weneg and of the hieroglyph of the *wng*-plant is limited in time. On the basis of the sign itself, it is almost impossible to identify the plant precisely because it has no specific features. The hieroglyph shows a long vertical stem; its upper part seems to resemble a bud while the bottom shows possibly two leaves or sprouts. From the botanical point of view, this sign can represent almost anything (Adéla Pokorná, personal communication). At a first sight, it is not even clear if the sign shows a whole plant or only a part of a plant, or whether it depicts a bud or an adult flower. The comparison with other hieroglyphic signs of plants and the religious context could provide us with four possibilities in the identification:⁵⁴⁴

1. *water-lily bud*

The *wng*-sign evinces the same shape of the upper part as lotus, or more precisely water lily, buds depicted on walls of various tombs and temples. The ancient Egyptians had another sign for a water-lily bud:  (M10), but this hieroglyph does not appear before the New Kingdom (Pommerening – Marinova – Handrickx 2010: 26, note 72). In addition, two other words for a water-lily bud exist in the Egyptian language: *nḥb.t*,⁵⁴⁵ and *nḥm.t* (Erman – Grapow 1926 II: 294.2,3 and 10), and thus there is no certainty whether *wng* might be a third expression for the same plant. On the other hand, another sign representing a water lily have a similar feature to the *wng*-hieroglyph, the leaves in its lower part:  (M12). Another piece

⁵⁴⁴ A fifth option for the identification of the *wng*-plant can be suggested: *imperata cylindrica* (also called halfa). This is grass species growing in the North Africa and in tropical Asia. In Egypt, it occurs on the edge between the Nile valley and the desert (Adéla Pokorná, personal communication). At first sight, it may recall the plant in the focus of this excursus. Should be the connection to Weneg considered, it becomes apparent that the only Weneg's role that can lead to this link is when the god is referred as the one who is ferried by Re to the other side in PT 363 (see above, Chapter 5.1.5). The common motif might be the border line between the fertile Nile valley and the dead desert. However, it does not seem that other roles of Weneg can reflect some attributes of the grass, especially when halfa has a fairly thin stem.

⁵⁴⁵ It is also a designation for a water-lily flower.

of evidence can provide more ground to believe that the *wng*-sign depicts a water-lily bud. It is dated to the much later period, to the New Kingdom, and is to be found on the western wall of the vestibule of the so-called Botanical Garden of Thutmose III (Beaux 1990: Pl. XIX–XXI). There are representations of a number of water-lily flowers, shown either as buds, or as blossoms. One of those that are depicted as a flower with an open blossom shows the same leaves at the bottom of their stem as can be found in the *wng*-plant sign.

The symbolic connotations of the water lily might correspond with its relationship to Weneg, as well. Water lily was the symbol of the sun, creation, regeneration and rebirth, and Weneg played a role in the resurrection of the king and was connected with the sun. A problem appears, however, with his designation as the supporter of the sky. There does not seem to be evidence for water lily to occur in such a role.

Should the *wng*-sign depict a water-lily bud, why would then the Egyptians have needed another hieroglyph, and a word, for this? There is the possibility that by choosing different expression they might have wanted to stress a different meaning hidden in the sign, which is beyond our understanding today. Water lily was usually depicted in a bent position, but when it appeared as the symbol of the creation and rebirth, it is in an upright position (Wilkinson 1992: 121). In this case, the reason for why this divinity, and so even a concept connected with him disappeared, could lie in the fact that Weneg might have fused with another god, for instance with Nefertum who was closely associated with the water-lily flower (cf. Chapter 4.4, 5.1.4 and 6.4).

2. papyrus bud

Furthermore, the *wng*-plant might have depicted a papyrus bud. It was quite usual to show the papyrus plant with triangular scales or reduced leaves in its lower part as was depicted, for instance, in the Nebamun's tomb from the New Kingdom (Parkinson 2008: 8), or on columns. In addition, signs depicting papyrus with leaves in its lower part occur in several sources (see below). However, it is important to note that the stem of the papyrus seems to be slightly convex while the stem of the *wng*-plant is straight, and in the Pyramid Texts the papyrus has never been determined by the sign M2, which is the second sign used as the determinative for Weneg.

From the religious point of view, papyrus was believed to be the natural symbol of the life itself, and also the symbol of the primeval marsh. What is more important, it was considered to hold up the sky. This concept is already documented in the Pyramid Texts (PT 217) where the four papyrus columns are mentioned supporting the sky. On the other hand, the papyrus plant was not explicitly identified with the deceased king and had not so strong ties to Re.

3. *an adult flower*

It also has to be taken into consideration that the *wng*-plant might have represent a plant or a flower in its stadium of adulthood. For example, flowers of genus *Kniphofia* have similar shapes of their blossoms as the hieroglyphic sign. Nonetheless, it is questionable if any species of this flower could have grown in ancient Egypt, but some can found in Sudan or in Ethiopia nowadays.⁵⁴⁶ It can be speculated that a similar flower might have occurred in ancient Egypt and with the climatic changes it disappeared. This possibility might also explain the decline of the divinity at the end of the Old Kingdom.

4. *sorghum*

One could argue that if the *wng*-plant hieroglyph can depict a sorghum plant because it looks very similar. Sorghum is a genus of grasses and one of its species, *Sorghum bicolor*, is raised for grain. Nowadays, it is widespread in many countries round the world.⁵⁴⁷ It is proven that domesticated *Sorghum bicolor* had a symbolic importance in Meroitic Nubia (Fuller 2014: 170–172) but it is questionable in the case of ancient Egypt. According to some scholars, sorghum might be depicted on a relief block coming from the mortuary temple of Sahure where the king makes an offering of a vessel to the goddess Bastet (Borchardt 1913: Bl. 35). The scene is accompanied by a text mentioning *mjmj*-grain which might be. The identification of *mjmj* with sorghum is not proven, though (Ćwiek 2003: 166). From Egypt, wild sorghum, *Sorghum arundinaceum*, is attested from the Nabta Playa and Farafra Oasis

⁵⁴⁶ See <http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/cjb/africa/details.php?langue=en&id=191836>. Accessed on 28th December 2014.

⁵⁴⁷ It is also depicted on a logo of the Harrari People Democratic Party of Ethiopia and it very much resembles the *wng*-plant. Cf. <http://www.electionethiopia.org/en/political-parties/parties-symbol-a-logo.html>. Accessed on 28th December 2014.

regions around 8000 BP (Lucarini 2006: 463). Wild sorghum, however, has not so similar shape to the sign, especially in its upper part, as the modern sorghum has.

On the basis of evidence, the fourth possibility can be excluded since it is not very probable, taken into account the occurrence of sorghum in ancient Egypt. The first three options can have their foundations but at this stage it is almost impossible to determine which one reflects the reality. Interestingly enough, the name of the supposed Weneg's female counterpart, Wenegit, was not written with the *wng*-sign (cf. Peterková Hloučová 2016b: 243). Moreover, the fact that the Pyramid Texts of Queen Neith do not use the plant sign at all has to be taken into consideration (see Chapter 5.1.5). It might demonstrate that the scribe who carved the texts in her pyramid did not know the *wng*-sign anymore.

However, three artefacts in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo could shed more light to the plant species. On an unfinished Old Kingdom false door tablet of Tjenti from Giza (JE 72135; Der Manuelian 2002: 777–790), the sarcophagus of the queen Ankhnespepy III and on a plaque of Pepy II the *w3d*-sign, i.e. the opened papyrus plant, with the leaves similar to the *wng*-plant is preserved. The reading of the hieroglyph is indisputable because it was used for the word *w3d* on the tablet and it stands for the name of the goddess Wadjet in the second and third cases. Based on this finding, it is highly probable that the *wng*-plant is, in fact, the papyrus bud and the god Weneg therefore was a youthful god. The question remains, if this is indeed true, why this sign and word had disappeared when the papyrus plant was still presented in ancient Egypt. On the other hand, it still has to be kept in mind that because the deity disappeared, it could have been an extinct plant.

Excursus III: Some reflections on the origins of the sun notions in ancient Egypt

During the preparation of this thesis, it was impossible to miss the issue of the origins of the beliefs connected to the sun in ancient Egypt since this topic has been tackled in several papers used for this work. What has to be admitted is the fact that it might seem quite unusual to deal with beginnings or origins of a phenomenon at the end of a thesis. Nonetheless, it is justifiable considering the fact that the previous text presented and analysed a number of sources for the group of the selected deities, aiming to demonstrate the complexity of the Egyptian solar notions, at least in the Old Kingdom. Moreover, the study might provide us with valuable data, offering thus new insights into the studying the origins.

III.1 Methodological background

The origins of the sun notions have been a topic of a protracted discussion for many decades. There are many suggestions and a number of dubious interpretations. The phenomenon is very complicated, and has often been interpreted on the basis of isolated records. Naturally, there are no written documents which makes the interpretations even more difficult, grounding the analysis on the testimonies of the archaeological material, anthropological and ethnographical observations, when possible. The goal of this excursus is to present some thoughts and reflections which address and challenge a number of hypotheses occurring for this topic. In doing so, it demonstrates methodological problems and limits in investigating prehistoric, Predynastic and Early Dynastic belief system.

The list of the suggested early evidence for the sun conceptions is reasonably long, including rock art in both the Western and Eastern Deserts, the so-called solar calendar in Nabta Playa, orientations of corpses in graves, some pieces of decorated pottery, models and depictions of boats, royal names of the Early Dynastic Period, etc. Some of these sources were examined by Westendorf (1979) and the above-mentioned list was gathered by Ahmed Saied (2005). Moreover, Le Quellec (2005 and 2008) and Bárta (2009a, 2010b, 2014b and 2018)

observed the significance of the images in Wadi Sura for the development of the ancient Egyptian religion and art.

On the contrary, it was Elise J. Baumgartel who remarked that there are limits and problems when connecting the ancient Egyptian beliefs with the prehistoric ones: “*Nothing, for example, can be more misleading than to take a chapter from the Pyramid Texts and project it backwards*” (Baumgartel 1960: xii).⁵⁴⁸ Even though she admitted that some conceptions preserved in the Pyramid Texts can be older, one should be cautious with particular interpretations, which can be, after all, very hardly proven (Baumgartel 1960: xii).

Likewise, Smith (2017: 8–40) analysed the anticipated prehistoric attestations for the afterlife beliefs in his treatise on the god Osiris. The seeming sources were challenged by him, with reasonable objections.

A detailed analysis of the early Predynastic belief system was prepared by Gillian Margaret Woods (2015). She investigated a number of sources with the use of archaeological, anthropological and ethnographical theoretical approaches. She argued with the hypothesis of Le Quellec (2005 and 2008) and Bárta (2010b and 2014b), criticising their inappropriate approaches and misleading projections (Woods 2015: 1, 284, 285). She was convinced that it was impossible to comprehend the early Predynastic beliefs in the same way as the late Predynastic, observing the importance of shamanism for the former group (Woods 2015: 5, 63, 83–97). Furthermore, she was inclined to avoid using the term “religion”, and preferred the term “belief system” (Woods 2015: 72–75). The Woods’s thesis clearly demonstrated the problems connected with the endeavours of retrospective approaches to the both, early Predynastic, and ancient Egyptian beliefs.

Besides that, there is another disputable issue: the term “sun cult” itself that is often used in this context. This designation has often been used, without an explanation what the researchers have meant with it or how they have perceived it (cf. Kees 1941; Westendorf 1979; Saied 2005; Bárta 2009a and 2010b). It has been a generally accepted fact that the ancient Egyptian religion was based on rituals and on cults of individual deities. Bearing in

⁵⁴⁸ For this reference, the present author is grateful to her colleague Martin Odler.

mind this comprehension, could the “sun cult” be connected solely with the cult of Re? Other deities with solar aspects (for instance, Horus) should also be included into such a type of research. But for the Prehistoric and Predynastic Period, how can this phenomenon be approached when there are no written sources? Other problems in exploring the origins of a religious phenomenon lie in the fact that hardly ever there are specification what the researchers are actually looking for.

The discussion below presents some thoughts and remarks challenging the gathered list (see above) of the supposed sources for the beginnings of the sun cult in the Nile valley. It evaluates selected sources of the Prehistoric, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods, merely the problematic ones. The pieces of evidence are listed on the basis of individual categories, rather than their dating. It also has to be noticed that this investigation does not aim at a comprehensive evaluation of all the sources. Instead, it is intended to present several reflections on the topic.

III.2 Desert rock art

According to some theories, the predecessors of several Egyptian notions can be attested deep in the Western Desert, in Wadi Sura of Gilf Kebir (Le Quellec 2005 and 2008; d’Huy 2009; Bárta 2009a, 2010b, 2014b and 2018). Rock shelters with depictions are located there. For this topic, it is the Cave of Beasts that is thought-provoking. It is dated to the period ca. 6500–4400 calBC, based on the evaluation of the archaeological contexts (Riemer 2013: 39). In the cave, there are images of headless creatures, human and other figures (see **figs. 15** and **16**). As aforementioned (Chapter 4.2), there is a white headless creature accompanied by several figures.

This particular scene was interpreted by Bárta (2009a, 2010b, 2014b and 2018) as a cosmological scene, resembling the depiction of the Egyptian sky goddess Nut supported by her father Shu, and standing on a figure of Geb, the god of the earth (see **fig. 14**; Allen 1988: 1; see also Lieven 2007), which was later transferred into the religion and art of the Nile valley (Bárta 2010b: 47). If this theory is accepted, there should be a clear connection with the

dynastic solar beliefs (Nut as the sky goddess, thus mother of Re, Shu). However, as was presented in Chapter 4.2, the hypothesis was criticised by Zboray (2013: 23), Förster and Kuper (2013: 24–27), who have been working in the cave for a longer period of time. Among other objections, they pointed out that it is necessary to interpret the scene in the context of the other illustrations, and there are significant time and spatial gaps. Also Dirk Huyge (2014), Woods (2015: 120–176) and Smith (2017: 24) presented a number of arguments against this theory.

Although it seems that the scene in the Cave of Beasts is a coherent scene, there is not precise certainty that it was created in one event. Also one of the limbs of the white creature is bent and oriented upwards, rather than downwards. Moreover, Woods (2015: 134) referred to the interpretation of Zboray who was of the opinion that the beast is a male, rather than a female. There are also other white creatures in the cave (see **fig. III.1**).

However, in the Cave of Beasts, there might be another hint to solar notions: there is a number of images of giraffes, painted or carved. Sometimes, giraffes (and other beasts, such as rhinoceros) at other localities have been associated with the sun, mainly on the basis of the fact that they were depicted in a boat (Westendorf 1979: 436–437). On the one hand, it has to be admitted that these animals (mainly giraffes) might have been connected to the sun veneration in the desert regions, as was observed by Huyge (2002). They do not seem to have a significance in the religious system of the ancient Egyptian state, though, even if Westendorf (1979: 434) expressed the opinion that the long-necked animals can be preserved in the *dꜣm*-sceptres. That opinion is highly speculative. It also has to be pointed out that there is another suggestion on the symbolism of the giraffes, connecting them with rain (Ikram 2009: 270; Woods 2015: 8, 169).



Fig. III.1 Another white figure in the Cave of Beasts (photo Martin Frouz; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)



Fig. III.2 Giraffes with circles in the Cave of Beasts (photo Martin Frouz; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

One of the images of giraffes in the Cave of Beasts is located above the scene of the supposed “cosmological scene” (figs. 15 and 16). Also some depictions of circles can be found in the cave, sometimes with the giraffes (fig. III.2). Whether this could hint to some conceptions oriented to the sun is very doubtful, since there is at least one other possible interpretation (see above). Even if it might seem that the circles, especially those together with giraffes, might resemble the sun, there is no certainty they do depict the sun(s). It is not clear whether these depictions belong together, or if there is the superimposition of the motifs.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the spatial and time gaps in the evidence does not prove the absence of the ideas, taken into account oral tradition and migrations of the inhabitants of the desert areas into the Nile valley. However, there is no proof in the archaeological material for the contacts of Gilf Kebir and the Nile valley in the Predynastic Period (Woods 2015: 135–138). Woods (2015: 141) was of the opinion that the images in the Cave were created by shamans and that the belief system of the Prehistoric and early Predynastic Periods was not the same as the one in later periods. Moreover, one has to consider the fact that hunter-gatherers need slightly different divinities than are those of sedentary peoples. This statement does not exclude mutual influencing of both groups, though. In this context, an analysis of the reasons why the Nut – Shu – Geb depiction does not appear before the New Kingdom would be instrumental.

Furthermore, on the prehistoric locality called Wadi Menih in the Eastern Desert, a scene depicting two cows is preserved which, according to Saied (2005: 288), might be significant for the sun cult (fig. III.3). In his mind, the cows have sun disks between their horns. However, the depiction is rather a part of a larger pastoral scene and the cow horns were rounded secondarily, hence not representing sun disks (cf. Winkler 1937: 16–18, Taf. 46 and 47).⁵⁴⁹ There is also a large number of similar images in the rock art.

⁵⁴⁹ For this notice, the present author is indebted to her colleague Lenka Varadinová.



Fig. III.3 Depictions of cows with rounded horns from Wadi Menih
(after Winkler 1937: Taf. 47 and 46)

III.3 Solar calendar

The so-called solar calendar (E-92-9) excavated at the locality Nabta Playa (**figs. III.4 and III.5**) has been deemed important for the development of the sun cult in the area of the north-eastern Africa (for instance, Verner 2013b: 509–511; Krejčí 2019). It represented a circle (diameter almost 4 m; Wendorf – Close – Schild 1992–1993: 13) built from blocks of Nubian sandstone, set into a fossil dune in the northern part of the local ceremonial area (Applegate – Zedeño 2001: 463). The blocks were laid more or less horizontally, but in four places they were raised vertically, creating thus a kind of gates from the north, south, northeast and southwest. Inside this structure, the vertically raised blocks in two parallel rows were observed. The dating of this stone circle was determined on the basis of the radiocarbon analysis of charcoal collected in fireplaces around the structure, being thus dated to the period 6000±60 BP (Applegate – Zedeño 2001: 464). It has been supposed that the object itself is even older and that the charcoal bears the attestation for the later usage of this particular area. The paleoastronomic analysis was also applied. It was discovered that the northeast-southwest axis corresponds to the position of the sun during its rise at the



Fig. III.4 Reconstruction of the so-called solar calendar from Nabta Playa in the gardens of the Nubian Museum at Aswan (photo Lenka Varadinová, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

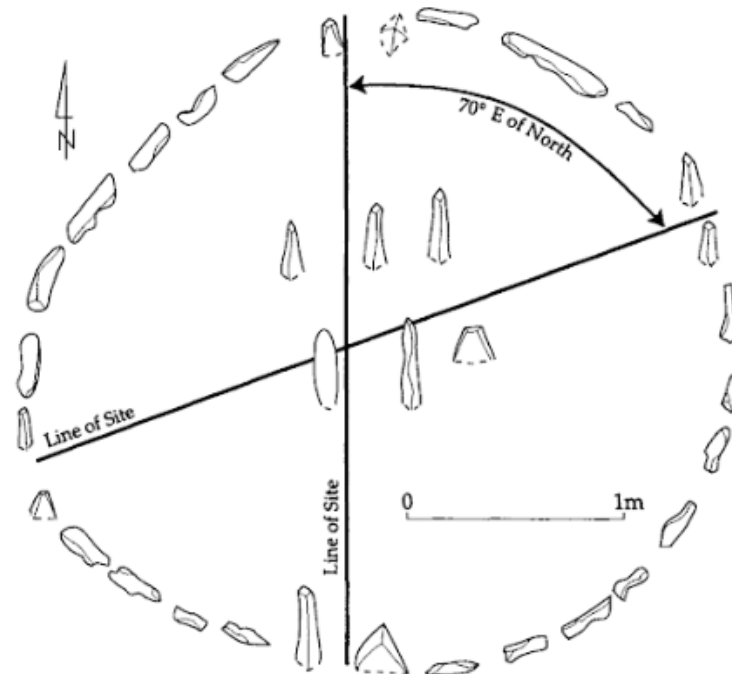


Fig. III.5 Ground plan of the so-called solar calendar from Nabta Playa with two main axes (after Applegate – Zedeño 2001: 468, Fig. 14.3.)

moment of the summer solstice in the period before approximately 6000 years (Applegate – Zedeño 2001: 466). This astronomic phenomenon announced the beginning of the rain season which was essential for the population of this locality. It is supposed that some rain rites were practiced (Suková 2008: 12).

Admittedly, that there are similar megalithic structures scattered around the Sahara, for instance in Mauritania (Milburn – Köbel-Wettlaufer 1973) or in the Gambia (Senegambia) (Parker 1923). However, their dating differs: they were erected later than the circle in Nabta (Third Century BC – Sixteenth Century AD),⁵⁵⁰ and they were oriented according to other celestial bodies (i.e. some night stars and the Moon). In this context, it is apparent that the Nabta calendar, being based on the observation of the sun, represented a unique structure.⁵⁵¹ It is likely that the sun was significant, to a certain extent, to the local community, more than in other African desert cultures. It is questionable, though, whether the sun was deified and the notions connected to it ritualised. It was the rain that was essential for the inhabitants of Nabta (Suková 2008: 12). On the other hand, it has been supposed that there were contacts between the Nabta region and the Nile valley and as a result of that the inhabitants of Nabta might have influence the crystallisation of the solar religion in the Nile valley with the notion about an importance of the sun. However, this still remains a mere speculation, bearing in mind the development and changes of beliefs of the second part of the Predynastic Period, as was pointed out by Woods (2015: 1).

III.4 Burial rites and equipment

Another issue which should be touched is the burial rite. Often it has been repeated that the orientation of human burials, mainly to the west, may indicate beliefs in solar afterlife (e.g. Bárta 2008: 17; Woods 2015: 217). On the contrary, for instance, Mircea Eliade (2008: 25) was of the opinion that the burials oriented to the east may reflect the anticipation of being

⁵⁵⁰ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1226>. Accessed on 28th June 2019.

⁵⁵¹ It is noteworthy that even some scholars have connected Stonehenge in Great Britain with the sun (e.g. Lewis-Williams – Pearce 2018: 231). They were convinced that the stone monument was oriented according to the position of the sun during the summer solstice, similarly as the so-called solar circle in Nabta Playa.

rebirth with the course of the sun. However, the burial rite is not uniform in the prehistoric Nile valley. It is not the purpose of this text to present an exhaustive list of prehistoric and predynastic burials. Instead, the study aims at tracing the main trends in the burial rites and their possible connection to the sun.

The child burial at Taramsa Hill in Upper Egypt, being the earliest modern human burial attested in Egypt (ca. 55,000 years ago), was facing east (Vermeersch *et al.* 1998: 481, 483). i.e. the place traditionally connected to the (re)birth of the sun, and the deceased. Whether the orientation was intentional and if it can be linked to the sun, it is still a matter of debate.

Another burial from the Nile valley, at Nazlet Khater 4, dated to Upper Palaeolithic (ca. 50,000–24,000 BP), was interred with the head to the west (Vermeersch 2002). Furthermore, Late Palaeolithic (ca. 24,000–10,000 BP) burials used the orientation with the head towards the east, facing the south. This was observed, for instance, in the cemeteries in Gebel Sahaba and Toshka (Midant-Reynes 2000: 64–65). In some Neolithic cultures, such as Badari (Brunton – Caton-Thompson 1928: 19), Omari A (Debono – Mortensen 1990: 74) and Naqada I (Petrie – Quibell 1896: 30), the bodies were buried with their heads to the south, but the faces to the west. Sometimes it is supposed that the bodies were placed to the graves respecting the sun course and that the west was connected to the netherworld (Bárta 2008: 17). In this context it is also noteworthy that Woods (2015: 207–218) prepared an analysis of the Badarian burials, observing some after-death expectations. Also Juan José Castillos (2015 and 2018) analysed the predynastic cemeteries in terms of the orientation of the bodies, observing that the local watercourse of the Nile was more significant than the north-south orientation of the burials.

It is not possible to completely reject the suggestions that the sun played a role in the burial rite. However, these theories evince some problems. First, it is not clear if the burial rite reflected religious beliefs, or if it points to other influences, such as, for instance, local topography. What makes the phenomenon even more complicated is the fact that sometimes it is not easy to distinguish between burial and rubbish pits (Smith 2017: 9). Moreover, the



Fig. III.6 Old Kingdom burial with the east-west orientation (head to the east), uncovered in Shaft 2 of structure AS 108 at Abusir South (photo Marie Peterková Hlouchová; © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

existence of a burial does not explicitly indicate a belief in afterlife, and vice versa (Smith 2017: 10–11, with further references).

Likewise, if the orientation of bodies is compared to the one in dynastic Egypt (Old Kingdom in this case), it is revealed that there was a standard placement of bodies into burials: north-south orientation with face to the east. Although this orientation was typical, it was not uniform, albeit it was the time when the sun notions were evidently preserved in the then society. For instance, in structure AS 108 at Abusir South, which is attached to the tomb of Nyankhseshat (AS 104), two shafts with burials were excavated (Odler – Peterková Hlouchová *et al.* 2019a: 31–33; Odler – Peterková Hlouchová *et al.* 2019b: 67–68). There, in Shaft 2 the body was buried with the east-west orientation, face to the south (**fig. III.6**), and in Shaft 3, the deceased was interred with the head to the north, but face to the west. The reason for these interments might have been influenced by practical needs (lack of space), at least in the case of Shaft 2. This observation can lead to the conclusion that the varied position of the dead bodies might reflect other religious preferences of the people (and/or

their families that were in charge of the burial), or that the religious notions were not always primary in the context under study.

Besides the burial rite, burial equipment of the Predynastic Period can provide us with some objects that might point to solar notions. For instance, several burials in Hu (Diospolis Parva), dated to Naqada II (ca. 3,500–3,200 BC), contained beetles in pots (Petrie 1901: 32–35, Grave B 17, B 234, B 328). Also, an object in the

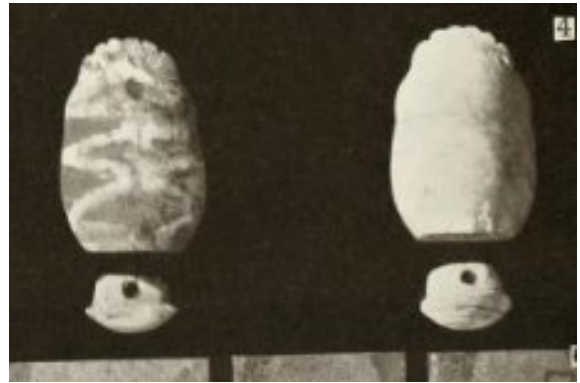



Fig. III.7 Travertine object in the shape of the scarab beetle from Tarkhan (after Petrie 1913: Pl. III)

shape of the scarab beetle (**fig. III.7**), made of travertine, was found in the late Predynastic/Early Dynastic Period necropolis in Tarkhan (Petrie 1913: 9, Grave 27, 22, no. 4., Pls. III, no. 4., and XIV, no. 19). These beetles were interpreted by Minas-Nerpel (2006: 4) as being significant to the deceased already at that period. The finds are not very common, but the reference to their symbolic meaning might be observed there. Even if the finds of beetles, especially of the scarab, can recall the idea that they could have been connected to the god Kheprer. This statement does not seem to be plausible, as the presence of an animal does not necessarily refer to a deity.

When mentioning Kheprer, it has to be remarked that in the mind of Minas-Nerpel (2006: 5) this god might be attested on the so-called Libyan, or Town, Palette (Petrie 1953: 10–11, Pl. G, figs. 19–20) from Naqada III (ca. 3,200–3,000 BC). In the upper row, a carving of an enclosure with an animal and part of the sign *r*:  (D21) can be observed. However, the idea of Minas-Nerpel is fairly disputable since the supposed scarab-figure may represent another creature. It has only four, rather than six, legs (**fig. III.8**). Thus, it seems that the first attestation of the god Kheprer still comes from the Old Kingdom (see above, Chapter 5.1.3, 5.2 and 6.3).

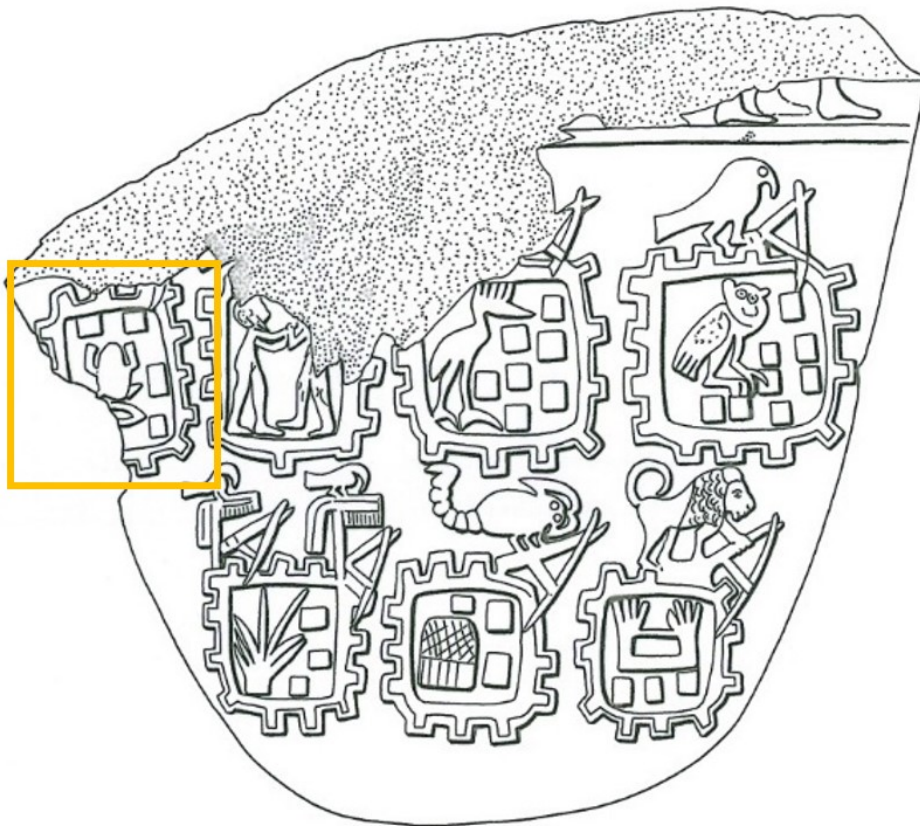


Fig. III.8 Libyan Palette with the presumed reference to Khepre(r) (according to Minas Nerpel 2006: 5) (photo after Spencer 1993: 53; drawing after Kemp 2006: 96)

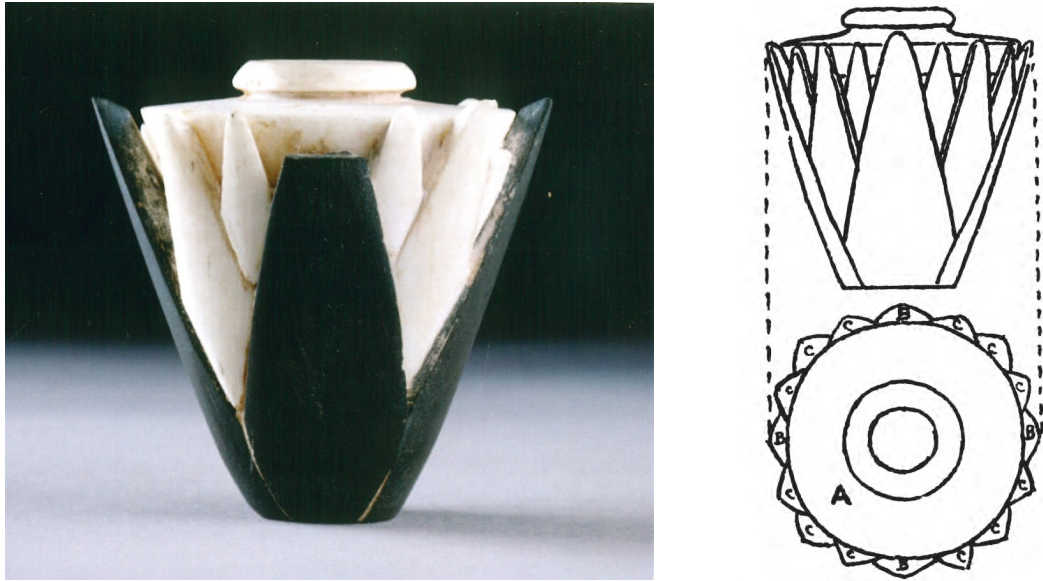


Fig. III.9 Water-lily-shaped vessel from grave no. 743 at Bashkatib (photo after Whitehouse 2009: 45; drawing after Petrie – Brunton – Murray 1923: Pl. LIV)

A grave of a woman (no. 743) from the cemetery at Bashkatib, located to the south-east of the Middle Kingdom pyramid complex of King Senwosret II, brought to light a water-lily-shaped vessel (Petrie – Brunton – Murray 1923: 22). The cemetery is dated to the turn of the First and Second Dynasty. Regarding the object itself (**fig. III.9**), it was made of travertine, slate and white limestone. Nowadays, it is exhibited in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1921.1343; Whitehouse 2009: 44–45). It was the god Nefertum who was connected to the water-lily and this statement may lead to the assumption that the vessel should be interpreted as referring to this deity. However, similarly as in the case of the beetles, the vessel may indicate the symbolic meaning of this flower (i.e. resurrection), rather than the link to Nefertum. Moreover, as was observed by Helen Whitehouse (2009: 45), the containers in the shape of the water lily were used for cosmetic products, reflecting the shape and scent of this particular flower.

III.5 Pottery

In the context of the topic under study, a ceramic bowl (**fig. III.10**) from the collections of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 2074; Morgan 1896: pl. II.4; Graff 2013: 50–51) with a depiction of seemingly two suns has to be considered. The vessel is one of many examples of the so-called white cross-lined ware, dated to Naqada I (ca. 4000–3500 BC, Arkell 1975: 40). There is a scene of two triangles in the middle, several zigzag lines in the upper and lower part, and two circles with short lines which might resemble sunrays. Some scholars attributed cosmological significance to this scene. For instance, Saied (2005: 287) interpreted the zigzag lines as the waters of the primeval ocean, two suns as referring to the sunrise and sunset, and the triangles to the horizon. Likewise, Westendorf (1966: 37), Carles Wolterman (2001–2002), Huyge (2002: 203) perceived the image in similar notions.⁵⁵² It was Gwenola Graff (2013: 51) who was convinced that it was a geographic image of two hills, water and the sun.

Indeed, this depiction might recall the image of the hills, water and suns. However, this is not a typical Egyptian way of portraying the sun; for the ancient Egyptians the sun was a disk, sometimes (in a particular period in the reign of Akhenaten) with rays terminated with hands. In the case of the god Aton, the rays are not all around the whole circle, though. Additionally, the existence of the conceptions of primeval ocean and hill at that time is fairly questionable. Therefore, slightly different interpretation can be presented: the scene on the bowl might be purely inspired by the environment and/or it might depict, for instance, some geometric or floral motifs, rather than two suns.

Moreover, Saied (2005: 287–288) interpreted other motifs on the pottery of this type in the connection to the sun: the inner bottoms were highlighted with white circles,

⁵⁵² The depiction on the bowl is also used as the logo of the Gebelein Archaeological Project (cf. <https://www.facebook.com/gebelein/photos/a.1324000850978121/1324000857644787/?type=1&theater>. Accessed on 27th June 2019).



Fig. III.10 Bowl of the C-ware type with seeming representation of two suns (CG 2074)
(after Bárta 2010b: 35)

sometimes with triangles. In his mind, these are another drawings of the sun. This statement is very problematic, though. According to William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1920: 14) the decoration of the pottery imitated the structure of reed baskets which seems to be more likely.

III.6 Boats

There are also boat scenes and finds of model boats (from the localities Badari, Naqada, Helwan, Minshat Abu Omar) which led some scholars to the opinion that they might somehow refer to the sun barks of the dynastic Egypt (Barta 1973: 137). It is undeniable that the divine barques were important in the ancient Egyptian religion, mainly for the gods with solar aspects. However, interpreting the Predynastic and Early Dynastic boats in connection to the solar conceptions is not without problems. Their practical usage might have been essential as well: in the tomb as a mean of transport for the deceased.

There is a piece of evidence which can be interpreted as a solar barque of a kind: it is the depiction on the comb of King Djnet (ca. 2822–2815⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490; see also Wilkinson 1999: 61–62). Nowadays, the object is located in

the collections of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 47176; see **fig. III.11**). It was found in the Djet's tomb in the necropolis of Umm el-Qaab at Abydos (tomb Z; Petrie 1901: 3; Petrie 1925: 4, Pl. II, no. 6). The comb was made of ivory and it bears the Horus name of King Djet in the serekh which is flanked by two *w3s*-sceptres (or *dʿm*-sceptres). To the right of the serekh, there is a sign resembling the *ʿnh*-sign: 𓆎 (S34). What is significant for the topic in the focus of this thesis is the depiction in the upper part of the piece representing a falcon in a barque with elongated prow. The vessel rests on a pair of wings. It was Westendorf (1966: 24) who interpreted the scene in the terms of solar and terrestrial manifestation of Horus. According to Josep Cervelló-Autuori (2011: 1134), Horus is represented three-times on the comb: on the serekh, in the barque and in the form of the wings.

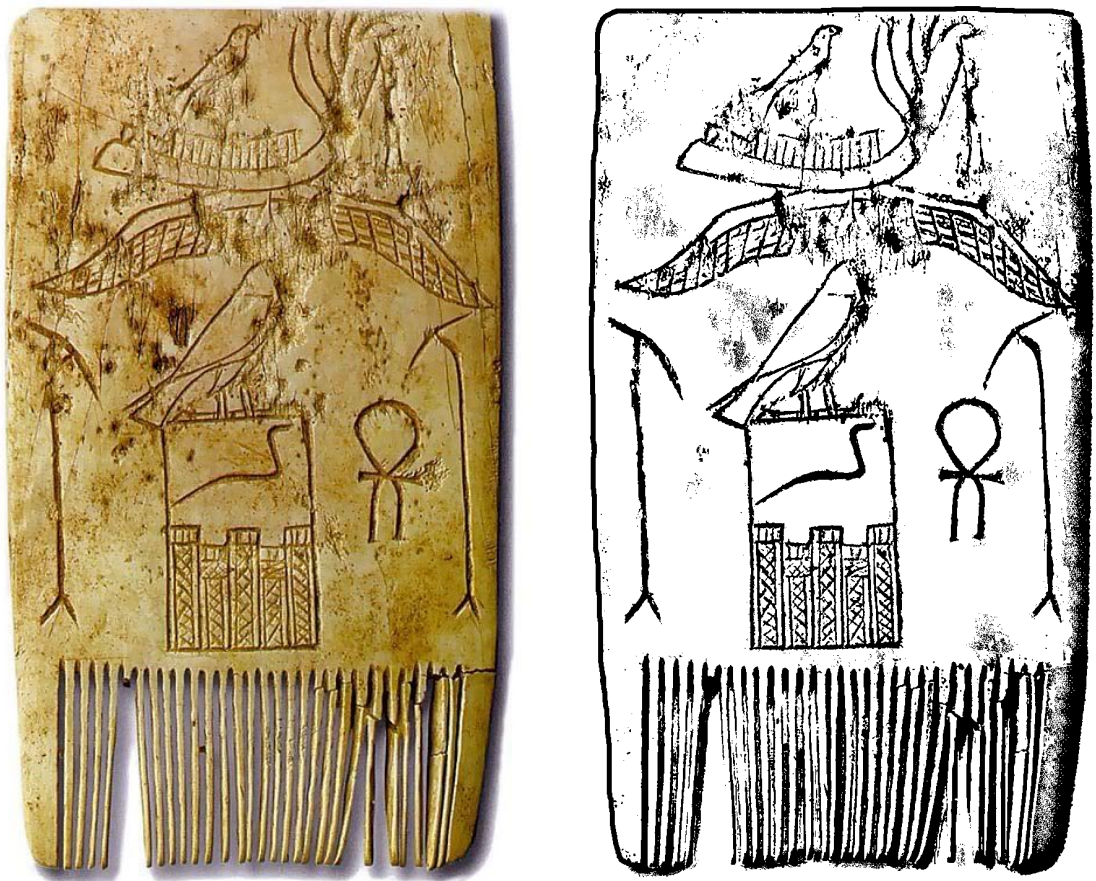


Fig. III.11 Comb of King Djet (CG 2074) (photo: <https://cz.pinterest.com/pin/493073859196397277/>; drawing: <http://www.joanlansberry.com/setfind/earlywas.html>. Accessed on 1st July 2019.)

Since the falcon was closely linked to the solar deities, and because of the fact that the god Horus was one of the solar gods, it can be truly presumed that the falcon in the barque represents Horus as the sun god. If this is a depiction of Re, the main solar god, is difficult to state, because any reference to Re is absent in the First Dynasty sources. However, it has to be admitted that only few of the Early Dynastic sources are preserved. Nonetheless, it also has to be kept in mind that at that time the sun might not have been deified as Re yet.


*III.7 Second Dynasty royal names*⁵⁵³

More transparent evidence for the religious significance of the sun might come from some Second Dynasty royal names. However, neither reading, nor interpretation of the names is without problems. In this respect, the Horus name of the Second Dynasty king Raneb/Nebre (?–2700⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490) has been widely discussed since the reading has influenced the interpretation of the existence or non-existence of the cult of Re in the period under survey. Mainly in the past, there was a preference to read this name as Nebre (e.g. Gauthier 1907–1917 I: 38; see also below). It was Kahl (2007) who studied this phenomenon in details trying to prove the version Raneb. The appellation is attested on several stone vessels, sealings, a stela and a rock inscription from Armant (Kahl 2007: 16–28, 48). Likewise, it was incised on the statue of Hetepdief, a dignitary from the turn of the First and Second Dynasty (Wilkinson 1999: 86). The tomb of Raneb/Nebre has not been uncovered yet. It has been supposed that it must have been located in Saqqara, perhaps under the mortuary temple of King Wenis (Dodson 1996: 22).

⁵⁵³ The present author would like to express her gratitude to her colleague Dana Bělohoubková who discussed with her the topic of the royal names.

As for the writing of the name, it was recorded with the hieroglyphic signs r^c : ☉



(N5) and nb : ☽ (V30) in a serekh surmounted by the Horus falcon:  . As was indicated, such a writing offers at least two possible readings and interpretations:


1. Nebre

The version $Nb-r^c$, “Lord of the sun” (Gauthier 1907–1917 I: 38; Barta 1984: 157; Beckerath 1984b: 48, 173; Helck 1987: 74; Quirke 1992: 22; Wilkinson 1999: 84), builds upon the assumption that the honorific transposition was applied in the hieroglyphic record and that the sun, not the deity, was meant. As was assumed by Quirke (1992: 23–24), the sun was possibly not (yet) deified at that time. Lately, Leprohon (2013: 28) expressed a preference for this version, although he connected it with the sun god. He also admitted that the other reading is possible (Leprohon 2013: 28, footnote 64). However, there appears an objection: when the sun was not yet deified at that time, why the honorific transposition should be applied in the name.

2. Raneb

The second possible reading: $R^c-nb(=j)$, “Re is my lord” (Ranke 1952: 229; Kahl 2007; also Cervelló-Autuori 2011: 1131–1132), reflects the suggestion that the sun was deified and that the main solar god Re was already worshipped during the reign of this king.



However, there are other possible readings of the name  . Saied (2005: 289) pointed out that S. Abd el-Aziz translated the name as “Lord is the sun”.⁵⁵⁴ There might be other possible interpretations: $r^c-(n-)nb(w)$, “the sun of all” (Jiří Janák, personal communication).

⁵⁵⁴ S. Abd el-Aziz expressed this assumption in his article in Arabic (see Saied 2005: 289). This paper, though, was inaccessible to the present author.

Should it be compared with other royal names of the period under study, it becomes apparent that a name of a deity was never used in the Horus names, with an exception of the term *ntr* in the name of King Ninetjer (2700–2660⁺²⁵ BC; Hornung – Krauss – Warburton 2006: 490). In this view, Raneb as referring to the god, would be very unusual. Furthermore, it was not common in the Egyptian royal names to highlight the king's subordinate status. If the signs in the serekh are connected with serekh on the top, other readings could be taken into consideration: *Hr nb-r*, “Horus (is) the lord of the sun”, *Hr r^c/hrw nb*, “Horus (is appearing) every day”. There are not phonetic complements recorded, which makes the reading and the interpretation very difficult.

There are some other suggestions that the sun notions and the god Re were significant in the Early Dynastic Period, at least for the then sovereigns. A king with the *nswt-bjtj nb.tj* name/epithet Weneg is attested in some sources of the Second Dynasty. As was demonstrated above (see Chapter 5.1.5 and 6.5), Weneg was connected to Re in the Pyramid Texts and it was this fact that led Kahl to the conclusion that Weneg was the *nswt-bjtj nb.tj* name/epithet of King Raneb who thus only strengthen his support of the sun cult (Kahl 2007: 14; also Cervelló-Autuori 2011: 1131–1132). However, it is very unlikely that a king would have had the exactly same name as a deity. That is why Kahl's interpretation does not seem possible (see Chapter 6.5).

III.8 Summary

It was not the goal of this text to present a complete list of sources that might refer to the so-called sun cult. There are some other presumed pieces of evidence, especially from the Early Dynastic Period, which could contribute to better understanding of this phenomenon. However, this topic deserves a detailed future analysis, which should complement the study of Kahl (2007). Instead, the focus was on challenging several theories which endeavoured to seek the origins of the sun conceptions in the dynastic Egypt early in the Prehistory and in the Predynastic Period. The sources were studied and other possibilities of their interpretation were offered.

It is very problematic to compare the societies of distant periods. The cultures of the Prehistoric, Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt were comparatively different societies. It has to be remembered that the religious life is usually influenced by the environment, allowing us to suppose that hunter-gatherers in the Western Desert region had different experience and demands than the more or less sedentary people in the Nile valley, even though mutual contacts and influences cannot be excluded. It is particularly difficult to comprehend the previously mentioned evidence as pointing to the origins of the sun belief which later crystallised in the Nile valley. The sources which are traditionally perceived in this way are not so transparent and they offer other possibilities of interpretations.

It has to be emphasised that although the religious notions of dynastic Egypt can be somehow influenced by the Predynastic ones, it is not possible to approach them in the same way. It can be assumed that the sun was somehow deified even in prehistory, but there does not seem to be any piece of evidence that could refer to the nature of such a divinity and/or to a possible cult. Another issue is if and to what extent the presumed symbolic ideas were adopted by or comprised into the religious notions of the civilisation in the Nile valley. However, the above-discussed sources themselves, with the exception of the Djet's comb and possibly the name Raneb, do not testify for a sun deity.

7 Conclusions

It was the group of five deities with a link to the sun (Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg), as they appear in the Old Kingdom, that was in the focus of the present thesis. The selection of these gods was influenced by their relation to the sun cycle, light, some plants, and also to Heliopolis. First, the theoretical part (Chapters 1–4) presented the previous research, the sources and applied methodology, and introduced general characteristics of the deities. In the second part of the thesis (Chapters 5–6), were the possible sources addressed in which a mention of, at least, one of the deities, can be recognised. In this respect, several documents were examined. The Pyramid Texts as the most important corpus for the study of a religious phenomenon in the period of the Old Kingdom were approached, separately for each individual god. Furthermore, tomb decoration and burial equipment with a special point of interest in the names of funerary domains and offering formulae were comprised, since they represent another mortuary material, to a certain extent comparable to the Pyramid Texts. Because of the fact that the gods were attested in the royal mortuary context, the analysis of other royal documents (royal names and epithets, and royal annals) offered some interesting information regarding the attestations of these divinities. The non-royal anthroponyms and administrative documents provided sufficient comparable material and insights into several spheres of the Old Kingdom society.

Besides the frequency of the evidence for the individual gods, the attention was also devoted to the actions and roles of these particular divinities which can be salutary for the comprehension of their characteristics in the Third Millennium BC.

The evidence for the creator god **Atum** can be found in the Pyramid Texts, in one royal epithet of King Pepy I in the Sixth Dynasty (*z3 [(J)tm] nb Jwn.w*), and likely in one title and one epithet (*hm-ntr nb Jwn.w, Jwn.wy*), referring to Atum indirectly. This implies that Atum was explicitly mentioned in the sources at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, having significance in the royal afterlife notions. The Pyramid Texts provide us with the information about his characteristics. In them, 22 (and one unidentified) categories of his roles were identified. His solar connotations can be observed mainly in the links to the creation of the


world, to the rule and power, to the rebirth and afterlife existence of the king, to the nourishment, and also to the individual phases of the solar cycle. The epithet of Pepy I was acquired from a limestone block with remains of the titulary of this ruler. The piece was uncovered at Bubastis. Not only does it demonstrate the Atum's importance for the royal ideology of the Sixth Dynasty, at the least, but also the connection of this divinity with Heliopolis, as the main centre of solar conceptions, which is directly expressed there.

The first explicit testimony for Atum comes from the Pyramid Texts. Nonetheless, Lehner (1991: 91–99) expressed the assumption that this deity, in his chthonic aspect, might be recognised in the Sphinx at Giza. It is very difficult to verify this theory, especially because of the fact that there are not many links of Atum to lions/sphinxes, albeit at least one was observed, in PT 301, where Atum and Ruty are mentioned. In this context, the symbolic significance of the sphinxes is worth studying.

Another deity studied in this thesis was **Shu**. He was not detected outside the corpus of the Pyramid Texts. Should be the time span considered, Shu appears explicitly in the sources from the end of the Fifth Dynasty and in the Sixth Dynasty. Thus, his characteristics can be described only on the basis of this textual source and it comprised the topics of the king's father and predecessor, protection, provisions and cleansing, inheritance and defeating the enemies. Salient is also the description of his creation and his connection with the sunrise. The question why Shu did not appear in other material is extremely thought-provoking. On the one hand, the fact that he is not referred in the non-royal evidence might not be surprising, taken into account his fairly abstract nature. But on the other, why he was not mentioned in other royal documents (especially in the relief scenes from the mortuary complexes) is quite startling. Where his origins can be sought still remains, with the present state of the preserved evidence, unclear. One may agree with the opinion of Barta (1973: 85), that Shu was the abstract conception of the priest from Heliopolis, which might have been influenced by the need to describe the world and the environment that resulted in the so-called Heliopolitan cosmology. What is undeniable is the fact that Shu belonged to the gods of Heliopolis.

As for **Kheprer**, the Pyramid Texts represent the primary source for perceiving his roles and functions. The analysis uncovered that he was connected with light, life, the creation and production (in his syncretic form as Atum-Kheprer) of the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut. Explicitly, he appeared as the morning sun, but in one instance, in a link to the west as well. Besides the Pyramid Texts, there might be another piece of evidence for this deity: it is the toponym (*t^r.t Hpr^r*), identified in the records of the Giza writing board. However, it remains unclear why this particular locality was given the name with this fairly abstract deity. As the analysis of the Pyramid Texts demonstrated, Kheprer was not very important for food provisioning of the deceased. Nevertheless, what needs to be considered is also the object where this reference was recognised. It is a non-royal source, perhaps a school exercise, which implies that the deity might have been somehow significant in school training, or that students/scribes were aware of this divinity, at the least. Albeit there are some opinions that Kheprer was present in popular beliefs (Minas-Nerpel 2006: 463), this was not confirmed by the present analysis.

Even though the god **Nefertum** is attested only twice in the Pyramid Texts, he appeared in six non-royal appellations. In the religious texts, he is identified with the deceased king and with the water-lily flower. Likewise, he is the one who is assistant in the rebirth of Re. In the personal names, he is invoked in the terms of his close relationship to life and creation, and one name expressed the idea that the name-bearer belongs to him. Moreover, King Merenre endowed him with some donations, which indicates the existence of his cult. No document brings any piece of information where his cult was settled, though. Working on the fact that Nefertum was linked to the god Ptah and his spouse Sakhmet in later times, it can be speculated that the place of his worshipping might have been located at Memphis. However, according to the Pyramid Texts (PT 307), he might have been venerated in Heliopolis as well. Additionally, it seems that Nefertum could be attested elsewhere, albeit indirectly: in the tomb decoration of predominantly non-royal persons, the tomb owners are depicted with a water-lily flower at their noses. This is an idea present in one of the spells of the Pyramid Texts (PT 249).

The god **Weneg** belongs to fairly obscure deities with few references in the Egyptian sources. His existence seems to be limited to the Old Kingdom period, more precisely to the Sixth Dynasty, being attested in two Pyramid Text spells (PT 363 and PT 476). He appears there in the relationship to Re, course of the sun and resurrection, also rule, judgement and world order *mꜣ.t*. Moreover, he was the supporter of the sky and the deceased king was identified with him. Weneg was closely connected with the so-called *wng*-plant:  (m4). The species of this plant is unknown and the attempt to its identification was incorporated into the present thesis. The fact that this divinity appeared in the name of the Second Dynasty king is very speculative since the ruler would have had the completely same name as the deity. On the other hand, it must be admitted that it might be read as *Wng(.j)*, “the one belonging to Weneg”. However, there is the second possibility that the royal appellation to the plant rather than to the god.

If the solar attributes, as presented in the Introduction (see Chapter 1), are investigated, it becomes apparent that none of the deities had a direct relation to a barque, which was a common quality of sun divinities. Another feature in the characteristics of the gods connected with the sun was the falcon appearance. However, even this aspect is missing. On the other hand, the studied deities were linked to the concept of *mꜣ.t* (Weneg), to rebirth (Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum, Weneg), royal ideology (Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum, Weneg), the *ꜣh.t* (Atum, Shu) and light (Shu).

Should be the relationship of the gods under survey with other divinities of the Old Kingdom pantheon described, it becomes apparent that Atum was connected with Re and Kheprer in a syncretic way. Moreover, he produced Shu and Tefnut, the first divine pair. Horus, the Ennead or the Dual Ennead, Geb and Seth can also appear in a relation to Atum. Shu often interacts with Atum, Re, Tefnut, but also Nut and Ruty. Besides the syncretic connection with Atum, Kheprer was related to Re, Shu and Tefnut, and also to the Four Sons of Horus who elevate the king to him. Regarding Nefertum, he appears to be essential for the life of Re. Also Weneg was closely linked to Re.

As far as the representation of the studied deities in various spheres of the Old Kingdom society is concerned, it becomes apparent that, with one exception, they were noticeably used by the royal sphere. It is Nefertum who is attested also in the non-royal context, in the anthroponyms, but only in male appellations. The social status of these persons is one of the aims of the future research. It seems that the role of this deity for the Old Kingdom should be slightly re-considered, in the terms that he perhaps was more significant for the royal and non-royal spheres with his own cult, at least from the Sixth Dynasty. Likewise, Kheprer, with the mention in the Giza writing board referring to a funerary domain, is likely documented in the non-royal sphere.

What is also intriguing is the fact that none of the researched gods was recognised in the other mortuary contexts, especially in the tomb decoration. Was this feature caused by the fact that the deities were not in the existence before the first recording of the Pyramid Texts on the walls of the inner chambers of the pyramids? Or is this to be related to the issue of the abstract characteristics of the deities? The missing references in any other source leads to the first explanation. However, the absence of evidence does not imply the evidence of absence.

The geographical distribution of the sources allows us to find out that none of the deities in the interest of this thesis was attested in the sources found outside the Memphite area which were selected for this study (i.e. Wadi el-Jarf papyri, Gebelein papyri, sealings from Elephantine). The reference to Atum in a block of Pepy I from Bubastis is very interesting in this context. Albeit the provenance of this piece has still been a matter of debate, it seems that, in the Sixth Dynasty at least, Atum might have been venerated in more localities. What is more intriguing is the fact that in the area of the Memphite necropolis the deities are attested in Saqqara in the majority of the cases. At Abusir, no reference to these gods was registered, which is particularly thought-provoking, taking into consideration the fact that there were the so-called sons of the sun, i.e. four the kings of the Fifth Dynasty (Sahure, Neferirkare, Raneferef, Nyuserre), buried. However, some attestations comes also from Giza: perhaps Kheprer (Giza writing board) and Nefertum (personal name).

As for their cultic places, Atum was documented in a connection with Heliopolis in several instances: in the Pyramid Texts (explicitly in PT 527, PT 599 and PT 600), in the epithet of Pepy I, and likely is one title and one epithet (*hm-ntr nb Jwn.w, Jwn.wy*). He was designated as the lord of Heliopolis. Based on this, it can be supposed that he was venerated in this city. However, the explicit evidence comes from the end of the Fifth Dynasty. With regards to Shu, he was addressed as the Lord of Upper Menset in Heliopolis (PT 601), which indicates that Shu might also have had a cult there. Kheprer was likewise referred in a link to Heliopolis in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. PT 527), which allows us to assume that he might have been worshipped there, if any form of cultic activities was practiced for him. However, this is not present in any other source. The cult of Nefertum can be expected on the basis of the evidence of the South Saqqara List in the entries referring to the reign of King Merenre. Where exactly this place could have been located remains unclear, even though Memphis might be taken into consideration. This does not have any support in the sources of the Old Kingdom period, though. On the basis of the analysis of spell PT 307 and of the records in the South Saqqara List, it can be inferred that his cult might be situated at Heliopolis. Any place connection of Weneg, if any, is missing.

The thesis focused also on three individual topics, dealt in excursi. First, the so-called Cannibal Hymn was studied in detail, observing the immense power of the king who was identified with the creator god. Thus, this spell of the Pyramid Texts demonstrated the close connection between the creation of the world, the sun and the king. The second excursus aimed to identify the so-called *wng*-plant. The attempt was done to identify this flora species. Albeit it seems that it might be connected with papyrus, this remains far from being proven. In the last part, the attention was devoted to the phenomenon of the origins of the sun notions, focusing mainly on the methodological problems in the interpretation of various sources without their contexts.

Taken into account all the analysed documents, it becomes apparent that it was the royal sphere of the very end of the Fifth and mainly the Sixth Dynasty that provided the evidence for the gods Atum, Shu, Kheprer, Nefertum and Weneg. Whether this image was

influenced by the discrepancies in the preservation of the sources, or if it is the result of transformations of the kingship (at the real and symbolic level) is unclear.

The immense number of open questions related to the solar notions of the Old Kingdom still remains unanswered. First, salient would be a study of the relief decoration of the pyramid complexes where the Pyramid Texts appear (i.e. Wenis, Teti, Pepy I, Ankhnespepy II, Merenre, Pepy II, Neith, Iput II, Wedjebten) since it may provide interesting comparable data. This research was not included into the present research since it more focused on the decoration of the monuments of the kings connected with Abusir.

As was indicated above, the social status of the bearers of an anthroponym mentioning Nefertum is likewise worth analysing since it may provide us with the information not only about their position in the society, but also about the possible personal religious beliefs. This might also uncover more details about Nefertum's cult.

Furthermore, it would be important to study the deities selected for this dissertation in the nomoi. Albeit some provincial sources (papyri from Wadi el-Jarf, Gebelein papyri, sealings from Elephantine, the block from Bubastis) were included into this thesis, there is much more material to be studied, to gain knowledge about the spatial distribution of these divinities. Did they appear in the nomoi or not? If not what could it mean that they were connected with the centre of the then Egyptian state and its immediate vicinity? Also to focus more on the non-royal sphere would be salient.

What may also bring interesting information is to investigate the deities in the other periods of the Egyptian history. First, the Coffin Texts should be investigated in this regard. However, one has to remember that this research might be misleading since sources of different kinds are preserved. Thus, it is important to compare the appropriate data only. It was mentioned above that in the Middle Kingdom, priestly titles referring to Atum and Shu are attested: *w^cb n Jtm*, *ḥm-ntr n Jtm nb Jwn.w*, *ḥm-ntr n Šw Tfn.t*. If this was caused by the events in the First Intermediate Period, is not clear. There is also the possibility that slightly different types of sources are preserved from both periods.

Last but not least, there is also the need to concentrate on the other deities connected to the sun, for instance, Horus, Sokar, and the goddesses Hathor, Tefnut or Sakhmet. The

analysis of Mathieu (2010) observing that Osiris had solar aspects as early as the Old Kingdom is also worth elaborating. Some other deities have been considered to have a solar aspect as well (e.g. Montu, Sobek, Khnum) and it would be important to analyse this in detail, in order to gain more complex insights into the solar notions of the Old Kingdom period in Egypt.

List of abbreviations

A: antechamber

AC: Abusir Centre

AS: Abusir South

AGÉA: Anthroponymes et Généalogies de l'Égypte Ancienne

BCH: burial chamber

BD: Book of the Dead

BM: The British Museum, London

CT: Coffin Texts

EA: Egyptian Antiquities (in the British Museum, London)

G: Giza

JE: Journal d'entrée

LÄ: Lexikon der Ägyptologie

LG: Lepsius Giza

LGG: Leitz, Christian (ed.): 2002–2003 *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Bd. I–VIII, Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–116, 129].

MafS: Mission archéologique franco-suisse de Saqqâra

P: passage

PT: Pyramid Texts

TP: Textes des pyramides

V: vestibule

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Fig. 4 Carving of the palace-façade motif, without preserved polychrome, and star ceiling in the burial chamber of King Teti at Saqqara (photo Marie Peterková Hlouchová, © Czech Institute of Egyptology)

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