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Doctoral dissertation

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**Translation, analysis and interpretation of texts of the
inner side of the outer sarcophagus from the tomb of priest
Iufaa at Abusir**

**Překlad, analýza a interpretace textů z vnitřní strany vnějšího
sarkofágu z hrobky kněze Iufay v Abúsíru**

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Prohlášení:

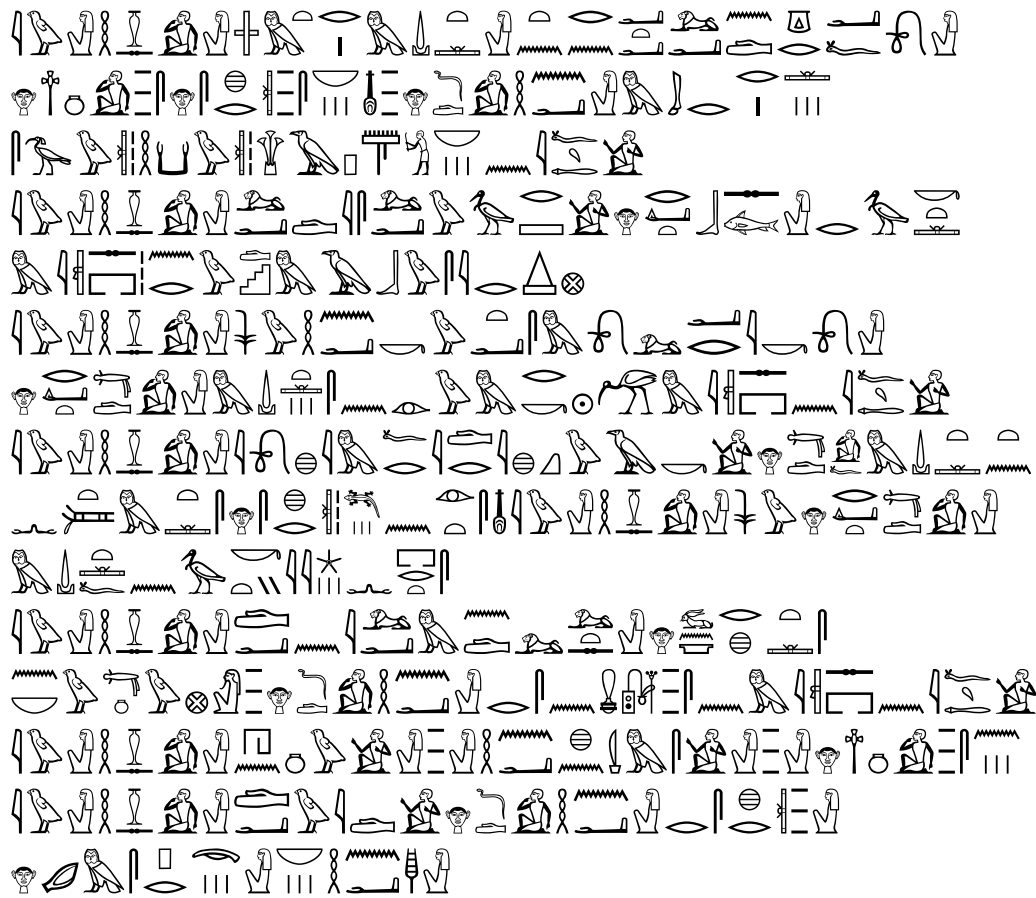
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Abstract:

The dissertation focuses on the texts from the inner side of the outer sarcophagus from the tomb of priest Iufaa at Abusir, dated to the Saite-Persian period. The aim of the thesis is to present transcription, translation and analysis of these so far unpublished texts. The work is based on a primary epigraphical survey *in situ* in the seasons 2015–2019, as well as on the archive documentation made during the excavation of the tomb. A significant part of the decoration, covering the part around the head of the deceased and great parts of the northern and southern walls of the inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus, consists of hitherto completely unknown and untested texts. The rest of the decoration consists of an extended variant of the Pyramid Texts offering ritual and related texts. Each spell is transcribed in hieroglyphs, transliterated, translated and commented. In the case that parallel versions exist, the text is compared with them, and the differences are commented on. The decoration of the sarcophagus is also compared with the contemporary tombs and put in the context of the Saite-Persian necropolis at Abusir, Late Period religious background and specifics surrounding the person of priest Iufaa.

Keywords: Iufaa, Abusir, shaft tombs, Late Period, religious texts, myths, rituals, cosmology, Pyramid Texts

Abstrakt:

Disertační práce se zaměřuje na texty z vnitřní strany vnějšího sarkofágu z hrobky kněze Iufay v Abúsíru, datované do sajsko-perské doby. Cílem práce je předložit přepis, překlad a analýzu těchto doposud nepublikovaných textů. Práce je založena na epigrafickém výzkumu *in situ* v sezónách 2015–2019 a na archivní dokumentaci pořízené během odkrývání hrobky. Velká část výzdoby, zahrnující prostor okolo hlavy zemřelého a značnou část severní a jižní stěny sarkofágu sestává z doposud zcela neznámých a nedoložených textů. Zbytek výzdoby se skládá z rozšířené varianty obětního rituálu z Textů pyramid a doplňujících textů s podobnými motivy. Každý z textů je přepsán v hieroglyfech, transliterován, přeložen a okomentován. V případě, že existují paralelní verze, je s nimi daný text porovnán a rozdílnosti jsou komentovány. Výzdoba sarkofágu je také porovnána s výzdobou soudobých hrobek a dána do kontextu sajsko-perského pohřebiště v Abúsíru, náboženského prostředí Pozdní doby i specifík vztahujících se přímo k osobě kněze Iufay.

Klíčová slova: Iufaa, Abúsír, šachtové hrobky; Pozdní doba; náboženské texty; mýty; rituály; kosmologie; Texty pyramid

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“He had no other occupation on earth except for walking through the Memphite necropolis and reading the inscriptions in the tombs of pharaohs and stelae of the scribes of the House of life.”

- Setna I, 3,9

“Rez. hätte keine Schwierigkeiten damit, dies als eine mögliche Interpretation zu bezeichnen, aber genauso gut kann es sich auch um etwas anderes handeln, z.B. eine Metapher für eine kosmische Katastrophe.”

- C. Leitz, Zu einigen astronomischen Aspekten im sogenannten Nutbuch oder Grundriß des Laufes der Sterne, Enchoria 31, 2008

1. INTRODUCTION

The main aim of the dissertation thesis is to translate, analyse, comment and present the texts from the inner side of the outer sarcophagus from the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir, dated to the Saite-Persian Period. The texts can be generally divided into two groups: the first one consists of quite an extended variant of the Pyramid Texts offering ritual and related texts, covering the lower part of the sarcophagus, i. e. the western side and lower parts of the northern and southern side (the area around the feet of the deceased) and the bottom of the sarcophagus. The rest of the inner side of the sarcophagus is covered by hitherto completely unknown texts, dealing with the different motifs and divided into different sections.

After a short introduction into the context of the translated texts, presenting general information about the tomb of Iufaa and his person, followed by a summary of the content of the texts and specifics of their orthography and grammar, the individual spells are presented. The texts are divided into five main chapters (chapters 6–10), reflecting their content and position on the sarcophagus. Each group makes a single unit, focusing on several main motifs (for detailed commentary, see below).

Each of the presented texts is transcribed, transliterated, translated and analysed. After the short introduction of the spell, the transcription of hieroglyphs follows; if the text has a vignette, the transcription is accompanied by a photograph and/or drawing. The transliteration and translation are always presented in two synoptic columns, making the text's orientation easier. The comments on orthography, grammar, and reading are integrated into the footnotes, and the commentary on the content follows after each spell in the plain text. If the spell has parallel versions, the text is compared with them, and the differences and peculiarities are commented on. Since most of the known texts are Pyramid Texts spells or their excerpts, the most parallels come from the Old Kingdom pyramids or contemporary Late Period tombs; exceptionally, some parts of the spells of the different corpora are integrated into the texts. Since the presented material is quite a considerable amount of texts, often complicated to understand because of the lack of parallels as well as peculiarities of the Late Period orthography and (re)edition of the spells, the commentary on the content is focused on the main motifs and purposes of the individual spells, eventually on interesting parts, peculiarities and exceptions. It is also possible that some parallel text(s) can be found in the future, e. g. in the (contemporary)

tombs, on the papyri or among the texts from Ptolemaic temples: the extent of the dissertation does not allow to comment on each text extensively and go through every text with possible parallel motifs. However, the presented translation and analysis enable put the texts from Iufaa's outer sarcophagus in the context of the entire decoration of his tomb, as well as of the contemporary tombs with preserved inscriptions; it also opens the field for further research and comparison of the presented material with the religious texts of the Late Period in general, as well as in the broader context of the Egyptian history, religion and culture.

The presented work is based on primary research *in situ*: the epigraphical documentation in the tomb of Iufaa during the archaeological seasons 2015–2019, as well as on the archive documentation made during the excavation of the tomb. Unless otherwise specified, L. Bareš and K. Smoláriková drew the presented facsimiles, and M. Frouz took the submitted photographs. For the publication of the corpus, the new version of facsimiles will be prepared together with the complex photographic documentation.

2. THE TOMB OF IUFAA

The tomb of Iufaa, dated to the 26th dynasty, is located in the Saite-Persian cemetery at Abusir, close to the pyramids of the kings of the 5th dynasty. It belongs to three so far-excavated large shaft tombs in the locality; the other two belong to Udjahorresnet (see Bareš 1999) and Menekhibnekau (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2011). The tomb was discovered intact by an expedition of the Czech Institute of Egyptology in 1995; the excavations were concluded in 2005.

The superstructure of the tomb is mostly destroyed, the enclosure wall (probably without an entrance) of mudbricks with niches is partly preserved: in front of (at least some of) them probably stood the limestone stelae, from which the decorated fragments were found. The eastern one was partly reconstructed (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: Pl. 69a–b), and besides the reliefs, it also contains text with similar motifs or even (partly) identified with the decoration of the arch of the eastern wall of Iufaa's burial chamber, focusing on the worship of the rising sun by the deceased in a role of sun-priest (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 38 and no. 35 and 37; Bareš 2011: 31–40; Landgráfová – Janák – Míčková 2021: 347–357).¹ The cultic area was also on the eastern side of the enclosure wall, consisting of several rooms, corridors and a courtyard.

The substructure of the tomb consists of the main shaft, leading to the burial chamber of Iufaa, and two smaller subsidiary shafts. Except for Iufaa himself, other people were buried in his tomb: priests Nekau (also known as Neferibreseneb) and Gemenefhorbak in the western subsidiary shaft (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 116–155; 156–162), and Iufaa's sister or half-sister (see below) Imakhetheretresnet and an elderly man whose name is not known (because of the poor state of preservation caused by humidity in the tomb) in the southern lateral corridor (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 97–115).

Almost the whole burial chamber of Iufaa (6, 7 x 4, 1m), imitating the traditional form of sarcophagus with a vaulted ceiling, is oriented on the east-western axis and filled by the massive box-shaped outer sarcophagus with a flat lid made of white limestone and placed on a platform.

¹ It seems that such decoration of the tomb does not have to be unique in that period: the parts of this text were also found on the porticus of one of the contemporary tombs cut into the eastern cliff of Saqqara (Betrò 1990: 27–50), the other parallels also exist (see Betrò 1990 and also Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: note 37; Bareš 2011: note 4).

The lid of the sarcophagus is not decorated, probably because the work was not finished, but the chest contains religious texts from both sides; from the inner part, polychromy remains.

Inside this outer sarcophagus, the inner anthropoid sarcophagus of basalt was placed. The deceased is depicted there as Osiris, with a beard, *was*-collar and a large scarab on the chest. As well as the outer sarcophagus, the surface of the inner one is entirely covered by hieroglyphic inscriptions from both sides, including even the bottom, and in that case, the lid (from both sides).

Inside the basalt sarcophagus was a wooden coffin of an unusual type: the deceased was depicted here again with an Osirian beard, but in that case, with a tripartite wig. Since the coffin was quite damaged, only traces of the further decoration were found, e. g. a layer of ochre-coloured stucco, lines of black painting and even three columns of inscriptions – at least one of them contained the title and name of the deceased. Still, most of these texts cannot be read because of the poor state of the material. Under the lid of that coffin, a net of faience beads was found, originally covering almost the whole body of Iufaa, except for the head where the remains of gilding were found. The mummy of Iufaa, oriented with its head unusually to the east, was found in a layer of linen wrappings, damaged mainly through humidity. No traces of writing were found on any of them. Several other artefacts were uncovered inside the wrappings, such as different kinds of amulets, golden sheaths protecting the fingers and toe tips, etc. Different parts of the burial equipment were found in the burial chamber, but most were (at least partly) destroyed by humidity. As noted by L. Bareš (Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 60), the body of the deceased was protected by seven “layers”: the wrappings, the net, the wooden coffin, the basalt sarcophagus, the limestone sarcophagus, the burial chamber and the whole tomb. This number could be a coincidence, but on the other hand, it could also serve some magical purpose, especially if we consider the importance of the symbolism of the number seven in some texts written in Iufaa’s tomb (see the seven lords of Shednu on the northern side of the sarcophagus, chapter 7.3.; the seven demons accompanying Tutu on the arch of the eastern wall or the symbolism of the number seven on the decoration of the arch of the western wall, see Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 180–206).

The description of Iufaa’s burial chamber and equipment is only briefly outlined here and not presented in detail since the subject of the thesis is the translation of the texts of the inner side of the limestone sarcophagus and their interpretation. The overview serves just as an idea of what the tomb looks like and for the picture of the situation; for detailed description and commentary on the archaeology of Iufaa’s burial, see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 31–80.

Although Iufaa seems not to have been an important person (see below), holding a significant post in the court or within the priestly hierarchy, his tomb is, from one point of view, the most important and interesting of the so far excavated shaft tombs at Abusir. This particular point of interest is its textual decoration.

Almost every space in the tomb is covered with writing, except for the lid of the outer sarcophagus and the destroyed ceiling of the burial chamber. However, these decoration parts were not finished because of Iufaa's untimely death (see below). That suggestion also supports the state of the decoration of the western wall, where only the texts in the upper part of the wall (the arch) are finished, but on the rest of the wall, there are only traces of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in paint, but not carved.

The large corpus of Iufaa's religious texts contains excerpts from well-known spells, such as parts of the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead; several of them are unusually extensive, and some of the spells are not preserved in any other contemporary tomb (so far known). But except for these, many of Iufaa's texts are so far unattested in any other source, making the tomb a unique textual corpus.

The walls of Iufaa's burial chamber contain the Purification ritual and texts related to it (see Landgráfová – Míčková 2020: 183–207; Landgráfová – Coppens – Janák – Míčková 2017: 613–626) on the northern and part of the eastern wall; texts invoking the rising sun by the deceased in a role of sun-priest in the eastern arch (see Landgráfová – Janák – Míčková 2021: 347–357); the embalming ritual and related texts in the south (see Landgráfová – Míčková 2020: 359–369); *s3h.w* liturgy (*s3h.w* I, Spells 9–12) on the west and so-called Snake Encyclopedia on the arch of the western wall (see Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 180–206; 2017: 54–67). Also, the outer and inner sarcophagi are rich in texts unattested elsewhere. Except for the texts from usual contemporary funerary corpora, they both contain magical and ritual texts focusing on different subjects, from which the most important are the protection of the deceased, his sacred knowledge, his identification with the deities, his joining the daily journey of the sun-god and reaching the blessed and eternal life in the realm of the dead.

This extraordinary textual decoration can thus help to explain and illuminate some points of the Late Period religious thought and practice of the Egyptian “philological work”, but the same fact also makes the translation and interpretation in some cases very difficult, considering the lack of any parallel and some specifics of the Late Period writing (see below).

3. THE PERSON OF IUFAA

The exact interpretation of Iufaa's name remains uncertain – it could be read as $jwf=f$ or $jw=f$ with several possible interpretations (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 91). If the first part of the name is substantive, it could be just “flesh”, but it is interesting to note the fact that jwf can also be a designation of the sun-god, especially in his night form or in the manifestation of Atum (Bareš 2008 – Smoláriková: 91, for general see LGG I: 183–184, Myśliwiec 1978: 24, 43). The name also appears as the epithet of one of the protective *genii*, appearing from the Third Intermediate Period onwards (see e. g. Clère 1986: 99–106); these *genii* also appear on Iufaa's inner sarcophagus. This suggestion is very interesting if we note the importance of the sun motifs in the texts from the sarcophagus and the tomb generally – in most of them, some form of the sun god is mentioned; in some cases, the deceased is even identified with him.² This could also be one of the reasons why the motif of the personified sun's eye, her calming, and her protection is so stressed here, although there are several other suggestions; see below.

The name of Iufaa's father is unknown; in the tomb, only his mother's name, Ankhtisi, is written.³ The name of that woman is also mentioned on the coffin of Imakhetheretresnet, buried in the underground corridor close to the southern side of Iufaa's enclosure; again, she is mentioned as the mother of the deceased: thus, Imakhetheretresnet was Iufaa's sister or at least half-sister, which is supported by the anthropological examination of the mummies. The other people buried in Iufaa's tomb were also his relatives, but except for his sister, the exact relationship is not possible to determine; the anonymous man might be the father of Iufaa and Imakhetheretresnet (see Strouhal – Němečková 2008: 253–273; Strouhal 2007: 1729–1739; Strouhal 2005: 179–183).

² See, e. g. the texts from the part around the head of the deceased or texts praising Hathor on the northern side of the sarcophagus; another interesting example is the spell for protection of the mother goddess, written on the outer side of the sarcophagus, which also occurs on the top of the lid of the outer sarcophagus of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Mičková 2022: 145–155).

³ The reasons for that fact are not clear and suggest several possibilities, less or more probable, such as that his father was of a lower rank, was disgraced by the king/the Persian rulers, was of a foreign origin, was dead during the burial of Iufaa, while his mother was still alive. It was also suggested that the father's name was mentioned in the unpreserved tomb superstructure (for discussion, see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 94 with further literature on the general topic). A similar situation appears in the case of the subsidiary burial of Nekau, but also in the shaft tomb of Padihor at Abusir (for publication of the tomb, see Coppens – Smoláriková 2009) and also in the contemporary tombs of Amunefnakch, Tjannehebu, Psammetik and (another) Psammetik at Saqqara (Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 94). Thus it seems not to be such an unusual practice. It is possible that mentioning parents' names could also depend on the person's preferences.

It also seems probable that Iufaa was somehow related to the other owners of the shaft tombs at Abusir cemetery, among others, because all the tombs were built almost during the same period (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 96). Unfortunately, in tombs of Udjahorresnet no skeletal remains were found (Bareš 1999: 79), in the case of Padihor the anthropological analysis showed that he had not any relation to any person buried in the tomb of Iufaa (Coppens – Smoláriková 2009: 46). In the case of Menekhibnekau the relation is questionable: the father of Menekhibnekau had the same name as the person buried in the tomb of Iufaa (and holding the same title, *hrp-ḥw.wt(-n.t)*, as Iufaa), Gemenefhorbak. It was suggested, considering the fact that the Egyptians usually named their first sons after the parental grandfather and that this specific name is not so often attested in the Late Period, that Menekhibnekau's father (Gemenefhorbak A) might be the grandfather of Gemenefhorbak B, buried in the tomb of Iufaa. Gemenefhorbak B and Iufaa were closely related according to the anthropological analysis (Bareš – Smoláriková 2011: 80, Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 96). If the interpretation is correct and Menekhibnekau is thus uncle of Gemenefhorbak B, Iufaa and Menekhibnekau could be relatively closely related; they might be e. g. half-brothers⁴ or cousins.

The only undoubtedly preserved title of Iufaa is *hrp-ḥw.wt(-n.t)*, the interpretation of which is still under debate. The title appears already from the Old Kingdom, but in the Late Period, it became more attested, and several people who held it are known – that fact is probably connected with the rising prestige and power of the city of Sais. The extent of the authority and precise position of its holders are unclear; it is not even sure if the title has more priestly or administrative character (for the discussion, see e. g. Jelínková 1950, Goyon 1971, el-Sayed 1976 or Wilson 2006: 217). However, in the case of Iufaa, it is his only one and still repeated title, and the question remains if it is an actual function or only an honorific office. On the outer side of the bottom of his inner sarcophagus, he is also called *jm.j-jb-n-nb=f*, *smr-w^c.tj-pr-^Ϝ* and *ḥr.j-sšt3-nswt-sšt3=f-nb*, but all these titles are preserved only in that place and are never repeated in the entire tomb, thus they may be only a kind of epithets (see Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 93).

If the title was Iufaa's actual function or not, it does not seem that he would be much active in his career: according to the state of his remains, he died at about 25–30 years, probably because of a long-lasting chronic disease. The exact character of the disease was not possible to determine, but the symptoms were detected on the body of Iufaa (Strouhal – Němečková

⁴ They cannot be brothers because their mothers' names are known, and they are different women.

2008: 256ff.). Whatever this disease was, it could be one of the main reasons why Iufaa let his tomb be decorated in such an unusual way. Many of the texts, not only from the outer sarcophagus but also from the walls of the burial chamber and the inner sarcophagus, are focused on the spells connected with the dangerous period of the turn of the year, the demons and evil beings spreading the turmoil and plague; the motif of the protection is stressed especially in connection with manifestations of *uraeus* such as Hathor or Sekhmet, who was the goddess connected with the illnesses and also healing. Many spells are also associated with snakes and snake-like beings. It seems that part of the decoration of the western wall of the burial chamber even contains part of the (mythological) handbook for the priests of Selket (*hrp-srq.t*), known as powerful magicians and also doctors and healers (see Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 180–206; 2017: 111–122). Since the border between medicine and magic is very thin in ancient Egyptian culture (and in ancient times generally), it is possible that Iufaa or the person(s) who tried to cure him used similar spells as some of those later carved in his tomb. It also seems probable that Iufaa tried to avoid his disease in the afterlife – in some texts (see, e.g., texts of Praising Hathor or Praising Ra and defeating Apophis on the northern side of the sarcophagus, chapters 7.2. and 7.5.), he explicitly asks the gods to save him from the illnesses or the state of being bedridden.

From the construction and decoration of his tomb, we can suppose that even if he did not or could not hold the position of the *hrp-ḥw.t(-n.t)* in any other way than honorific, he probably came from a significant, wealthy and influential family: not everybody could afford to have such a tomb at such a cemetery. Moreover, if he was related, or at least associated with the other owners of the shaft tombs at Abusir cemetery, which seems most probable, we can be sure that at least two of them, Udjahorresnet and Menekhibnekau, held important positions in the state administration and were part of the Egyptian elite, and thus could have access to the spheres where the ordinary person was not allowed to enter (literally or metaphorically).

Thank to this position and probably to the position of his relatives and/or whoever was close to him, Iufaa could gain access to some temple archive or library, where the texts from his tomb come from. He has probably chosen or authorised someone to choose for him the texts that could magically assure his protection in the afterlife and also of his tomb and remains on earth. However, the character of such archives(s) and access to it remains questionable. As we will see below, the decoration of the tomb was very precisely prepared, which process definitely took some time, and considering Iufaa's untimely death and the fact that only the lid of the outer sarcophagus and the ceiling remained unwritten, it seems evident that there had to be more

people who were involved in the choosing, arranging and editing of the texts, not mentioning the drawing and carving.⁵

⁵ Since the hieroglyphs of Iufaa are of a tiny scale and in some places they were definitely written faster, they are not precisely carved everywhere, so it is not possible to distinguish how many (principal) carvers worked on the decoration based on their “handwriting”, as was possible in the case of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 327–332). Nevertheless, in some cases, the differences between the shape of signs are clearly visible, mainly on the outer side of the outer sarcophagus or on the walls of the burial chamber, where the hieroglyphs are much bigger than on the presented inner side of the limestone sarcophagus. The signs of the inner sarcophagus are also very small and carved into a solid greywacke; thus, distinguishing some specific features is very difficult.

4. THE DECORATION OF THE INNER SIDE OF THE OUTER SARCOPHAGUS⁶

As was already said, the inner part of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus is covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions, some with vignettes. The texts on the walls of the sarcophagus are carved in a sunk relief, and there is a preserved polychromy on the signs and vignettes (mostly black, red and blue). The spells begin at the head of the deceased and go parallelly on each side. Most of the texts are written in vertical columns, and some of them are written in the form of tables.⁷ Most of them are written in a standard direction, except for the texts from the southern side of the sarcophagus (columns 13–49, see below). The signs are of quite a small scale, and especially the ends of the columns, close to the bottom, are barely visible, as well as the parts of the western side of the sarcophagus and some texts around the feet of the deceased. This fact is caused by the original placement of the inner greywacke sarcophagus inside the outer one. On the upper edge of the sarcophagus also occur three pairs of hollows, of which the purpose is unclear. Still, they were made after the sarcophagus's decoration since they corrupt the texts (anyway, the texts in that places are fortunately still readable). It seems most probable that they were determined to support the lid (or a construction bearing it) before the burial (Bareš – Smoláriková 2008: 56). The bottom of the sarcophagus is also covered with inscriptions, but in that case, they are only painted in black and not carved, which, together with the partial destruction caused by the placement of the inner sarcophagus, makes these spells even more challenging to read. However, on the bottom of the sarcophagus, on its western side and around the feet of the deceased were situated spells from the Pyramid Texts and related texts concerning the offering ritual. Thus the destroyed and unpreserved texts, or at least their parts, can be identified and partially reconstructed based on the parallel versions.

This cannot be said about the rest and most of the texts from the sarcophagus: the entire surface around the head of the deceased and most of both sides of the sarcophagus are covered with texts which are hitherto unknown from any other sources (except for one part of the Coffin Texts spell 714, rewritten and integrated into the larger text, see below, chapter 8.1.).

⁶ The preliminary conclusions about the content of the texts of the inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus, with examples of selected parts of the texts, were published in the volume of the conference *Current Research in Egyptology 2017* (Míčková 2018: 116–125).

⁷ This writing is quite a common feature; the primary purpose of it is to spare the space, especially when some part of the spell is repeated.

The texts are arranged very carefully, as we can see from the number of columns in each section. The large individual units of text on the sides always begin and end at the same column (with one exception, see below), which means that the decoration had to be composed specifically for that sarcophagus and planned very carefully long before it was drawn or carved, especially when we consider a number of abbreviations and possibly also changes in the individual texts. It is not possible to determine which side of the sarcophagus should be read first, whether the northern or the southern part: it seems most probable that both sides of the sarcophagus should be read in parallel or should be “activated” at the same time and stress the different motifs and aspects.

The decoration of the inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus is divided into five main parts, covering:

- 1) the texts around the head of the deceased
- 2) the main part of the northern side of the sarcophagus
- 3) the main part of the southern side of the sarcophagus
- 4) the texts around the feet of the deceased
- 5) the bottom of the sarcophagus.

Each of the sections makes a thematically comprehensive unit, but the content of the texts is continuous to a certain level, and the prominent and essential motifs appear throughout the whole decoration of the sarcophagus and correspond with the rest of the decoration of the tomb.

1) The texts around the head of the deceased

The main motif of the spells covering the place around Iufaa’s head is the protection of the deceased, identified with the sun god, by the manifestation of the sun’s eye as a Fiery goddess. An exception is a short text close to the bottom of the sarcophagus, dealing with a group of the protective deities/guardians, saving Iufaa from the malevolent beings; however, even here, the protection of the deceased is the most stressed topic. The other possible exception is a short excerpt from the longer text, whose purpose is to protect the individual body parts of the deceased and identify them with the body parts of the sun god, but since only the part concerning the radiant eyes, *3h.tj*, possibly identified with the fiery goddess(es), appears here, and the deceased is again directly identified with the sun god, the motif of the texts fits well with the other texts of this section.

The section covers columns 1–12, starting from the middle of the sarcophagus (i.e., the forehead of the deceased, the exact place where the *uraeus*, the Fiery goddess, is located) and should be read from the head towards both sides. Columns 1–8 belong together since they repeat themselves or are slightly different versions of one spell or parts of the same ritual, focusing on the protection of Ra/the deceased by the Fiery goddess, describing her various manifestations and defeating the forces of chaos and any beings potentially dangerous to the deceased/the sun god. The motifs strongly connected with the Heliopolitan religious ideas also occur here. The above-mentioned text focusing on the protective guardians occupies a small place under them.

The texts in columns 9–12 differ on each side and could begin a new section of the decoration. However, I decided to point the line behind them, especially considering the decoration of the southern part of the sarcophagus, where from column 13 begin texts written in a retrograde and stressing different motifs and religious ideas. Another reason for dividing the decoration here is the topic of these spells: they still focus on the solar themes and the protection of the deceased/the sun god from his enemies, the sun's eye and her appearing before Ra and defeating his foes; Iufaa still appears here as an active figure, identified with the sun god. Some of these topics also occur on the northern and southern sides of the sarcophagus, but in a slightly different context (on the north, several spells connected with the rituals of appeasing a manifestation of the bellicose goddess during the New Year appear, while on the south the deceased is e. g. associated with the sun god in his form of Atum). Still, it is necessary to point out that any dividing of the texts based on their form or content is artificial, made more for the better orientation in the material since all the texts make together one unit and create a comprehensive decoration of the entire sarcophagus.

2) The main part of the northern side of the sarcophagus

The second section covers most of the northern side of the sarcophagus, columns 13–50. The spatial arrangement of the texts mirrors the southern side, where the third section of texts covers columns 13–49 – the one extra column on the north is caused by the figure of Iufaa, depicted at the end of this section, that breaks the last column into two shorter columns, but the actual space that is covered by text is the same. The texts on both sides of the sarcophagus should probably be read parallelly and have a close connection to each other, as each side represents a slightly different conception of the decoration and religious concepts and stresses different motifs.

The texts on the northern side of the sarcophagus deal again mainly with the protection of the deceased, again by praising the goddess representing the sun's eye, but also with the motif of the rituals and myths connected with the period of the new year; and also with the mythology associated with the protective deities of Shednu. The final part of the northern side is covered with quite a long text celebrating the victory of Ra over Apophis.

The first two texts of this section focus on two forms of the sun's eye goddess. In the first spell (columns 13–16), she is manifested as Sekhmet, connected with royal motifs and the Myth of the distant goddess, as in the previous part of the decoration; Sekhmet is here also calmed down and adorned. In the second text (columns 16–19), we meet her as Hathor, calmed and protecting the sun god from enemies as the *uraeus* under his eyebrows. This text also mentions Iufaa's illness for the first time on the sarcophagus: the goddess is asked to protect him from the disease. The following text from this part (columns 20–28) has a different character: it is an "encyclopedical" spell describing the Lords of Shednu, the protective beings manifested as the celestial phenomena. The next spell (columns 29–34) focuses on the praising Ra on the New Year, but another praised god is also Tatenen – here, the connection with Ptah and the Memphite religious ideas occurs, which is the topic stressed on the opposite side of the sarcophagus; but also allusions to the chthonic aspect – besides the god Tatenen also the tribunal of the underworld is mentioned. On the other hand, this is the first text on that side of the sarcophagus where the mention of the sun's eye goddess is lacking (even in the text connected with the Lords of Shednu, there is a mythical part where this goddess appears). The next spell of that part is Praising Ra's victory over Apophis or, more likely, praising Ra after the victorious battle with his enemy. In this text, similarly as in the spell of praising Hathor, Iufaa asks the gods to protect him, among other evils, from his illness(es). The entire spell, but with several grammatical and orthographical changes, also occurs on the southern outer side of the sarcophagus, i. e. in the diagonal line with the described text. The following text stresses the protection of the deceased and providing him in the afterlife, and is also repeated on the opposite side of the sarcophagus. The last text of this section is a short ritual instruction.

3) The main part of the southern side of the sarcophagus

The third part covers columns 13–49 on the southern side, and most of these texts are written in a retrograde direction. The motifs related to the sun god appear again, here in connection with his role of the creator; the important is also religious background connected with the Memphite region: the significant part of the decoration deals with Ptah, his different

manifestations and rituals and myths related to him; another stressed motif is the creation by means of the sense organs of the sun god, identified with various deities. The myth associated with Thoth also appears, and the entire section ends with the spell for providing the deceased.

The first spell covers columns 13–24, and it is a hymn to Atum, who is associated with the deceased – a motif connected with the Heliopolitan religious ideas. However, the text contains several layers with different allusions, explanations and commentaries; the entire spell is also presented as a speech of Thoth, who is speaking to the Ennead and talking about what Atum had done for them and how the world was created. Then a table covering columns 25–28 follows, mentioning praise of the four manifestations of Ptah on the 25th day of the 2nd month of *akhet*. The following text combines ritual and mythological aspects. Similarly to the previous text, it is related to Ptah but also mentions myths and religious ideas related to the sun god and the creation of the world by him. The text opens with a ritual “scene” describing bringing the *menekhet*-cloth by the *sem* priest, followed by the words which should be recited on that day. An instruction relating to the cloth follows again. After this part, the text continues in a completely different way – the next part of the spell deals with a myth about the creation of the gods by Ra, the origin of greatness and deficiency and an explanation of how fish became *but* in Egypt. The following text (columns 34–42) is written again in a tabular form and contains similar motifs as the famous “Memphite theology” – the first line contains a myth of the creation of Hu and Sia. Then several gods follow, who are identified with the sense organs of the creator. The table continues by mentioning the four manifestations of Thoth, each identified with a different god, in one case accompanied by the mythological explanation of the origin of his name. The following text on the southern side (columns 34–41) is again a table mentioning several manifestations of Ptah: each is identified with some other god, and at the end of the text is said that all of them are manifestations of Ra. At the end of the spell, the *menekhet*-cloth is mentioned again, as well as probably an allusion to the previously described myths and gods, which connects the entire passage in a single unit.

The last two texts from this section are written again in a regular direction, and their primary purpose is to protect Iufaa. The first of them speaks to the “Royal shelter”, which/who assures the protection of Ra and Iufaa against “The angry one” (*3d.w*, i.e. Apophis, but identified with any foe). The last text, covering columns 47–49, assures the deceased's protection and provisions and also appears on the sarcophagus's opposite side.

4) The texts around the feet of the deceased

The fourth part of the decoration of the inner side of the sarcophagus consists of three parts: the end of the northern wall, the western wall and the end of the southern wall of the sarcophagus, but it thematically creates a single unit. Almost all of the texts are written in tabular forms. Most of the texts presented here consist of the part of the offering ritual known from the Pyramid texts spells (or their unattested variants or so far unidentified spells with similar content), where different items are offered, each of them connected with an accompanying spell. Among the rest of the texts, the part of *s3h.w* liturgy A1 occurs, which then continues on the bottom of the sarcophagus; several different spells also occur, identified or not (some of them corrupted or preserved only as excerpts), whose motifs usually stress the protection and purification of the deceased and his entry among the gods.

The second part of the northern side consists of the offering of sceptres and maces (columns 51–60), jewellery (columns 58–61) and two texts stressing the protection of Nut on the lower side of the wall (“text J” covering columns 61–62 and Nut-Spruch C.I.1a, continuing column 62). The western side of the sarcophagus, i. e. the area at the feet of the deceased, continues the offering ritual by presenting weapons (columns 1–7), eye paintings (columns 8–9) and ointments (columns 10–19 below). The following text is the Pyramid texts spell 219, a part of so-called *s3h.w* liturgy A1, a lengthy litany in which the deceased shares his fate with that of Osiris. Then excerpts from two Pyramid Texts spell follow, PT 220 and 222 (columns 13–19 below), focusing on the ascend of the deceased to heaven, defeating his enemies and his protection and purification. The third part of this section, i. e., the second part of the southern wall of the sarcophagus, again continues the offering ritual, in this case by presenting aprons, linen and adornments (columns 50–59) and other kinds of linen (columns 50–59 below); the purification spell in the lowest register of that side follows (again columns 50–59).

5) The bottom of the sarcophagus

The second part, where the Pyramid Texts occur, is the bottom of the sarcophagus, which represents the last unit of the decoration. Unfortunately, the texts are pretty damaged because the inner sarcophagus was placed inside the outer one. Moreover, the signs are not carved here but only written in black ink, which makes the reading even more difficult. However, most of the texts are identified, and lacunas can be restored according to the parallel versions; in some cases, the reading or interpretation remains uncertain, but the main motifs and purpose(s) of the spells are more or less clear.



The decoration of that section is divided into three parts: the first begins at the head of the deceased and continues the offering ritual. The texts are written in tabular forms and present incense and natron (columns 1–5) and the different kinds of incense and unguents (columns 6–16). The second part of the decoration of the bottom contains the Pyramid Texts spell 213–218 (covering columns 1–18 in the middle of the bottom) and thus continues the so-called *s3h.w* liturgy A1, which also appears on the western inner side of the outer sarcophagus. The third part is read from the opposite direction, i. e. from the feet of the deceased towards his head, but continues the previous liturgy and its motifs. It contains a shortened version of PT 219 and an excerpt from PT 222 (columns 1–19).

5. THE ORTHOGRAPHY, GRAMMAR AND CHANGES IN THE TEXTS⁸



The religious texts, written and copied to the tombs of the Late Period, are usually written in classical Egyptian (or so-called Neo-Middle Egyptian) – the aim of the priests and scribes of that period was to follow the long tradition of Egyptian writing and imitate the language and script of the ancient times, which was not already spoken anymore. This led to archaic constructions and often even to the phenomenon of hypercorrection: the ancient forms can appear even in the constructions where they were originally never used. On the other hand, the influences of the younger or contemporary language(s) can also be detected here. Thus it is not unusual to see the grammar of the Pyramid Texts and Demotic even in one sentence. The unique character of the so-called Neo-Middle Egyptian appears not only in the grammatical structure of the texts but also in orthography, changes of content and, of course, mistakes. Below, the individual cases of these changes and specifics are presented, with concrete examples from the discussed textual corpus.






5.1. *The orthography*

General features: archaic and ambivalent writing


As was said above, the main characteristic of the orthography of the religious texts from the Late Period is the aim to imitate the ancient way of writing, i. e. the classical Egyptian or even older orthography of the Pyramid Texts. It is not unusual then to see the different variations of writing, some of them quite uncommon or rare, or appearing later in the Ptolemaic system of writing (Jansen-Winkel 1996: 12–14), which was full of puns and peculiarities (e. g. reading  as *m*,  as *grḥ* “night”, with the determinative of the sky). However, similar puns and “cryptical” writing appears in Egyptian texts, in much fewer numbers, already from the Pyramid Texts, where the orthography is not yet fixed, and continue to the later phases of language and writing, especially in the religious texts, where the sound of the words usually plays an essential role in magic, myths etc.


⁸A similar chapter, focusing on the language changes between the Middle Kingdom and the Late Period, was presented in the author’s MA thesis, dealing with the Coffin Texts from the tomb of Iufaa. The structure of the chapter is taken from there, extended and applied to here presented material, i. e. texts from the inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus.







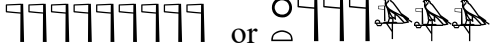
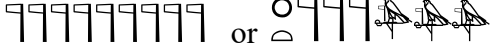
One of the typical features (see also Jansen-Winkel 1996: 26), which can often be seen, is the writing of individual words by mono-consonantal signs (instead of the usual two- or three-consonantal): see, e.g., names of some deities (labels to the four canine-head gods in the first part of the decoration of the sarcophagus), the group written as , (*ptr*).*w dj rsf* or *w dj rsf* (?) without any determinative in the same text, or group  at the end of the text focusing on the myths of creation on the southern side.



Another characteristic feature is the intentional omitting of determinatives (Jansen-Winkel 1996: 21): see, e.g., *rš* in  [...] *rš bs* in the text of the Lords of Shednu, followed after a lacuna; *h̄tm mz*  (the last two signs can possibly be ) and *w dnw*  in the same text; or the text dealing with the festival of Ptah, where the  determinative (or its alternative) is omitted several times.

The two features mentioned above often make reading the texts very difficult and leave several possibilities for interpretation. The reasons for such peculiar writings could be the mentioned imitating of the archaic orthography, indicating the ancient origin of the texts and proving their authority (for the general study of the archaism in writing of the 26th dynasty in a different context, see also Manuelian 1994) as well as the knowledge and education of the author/reader/copyist of the text. Another cause could be an intention to make the text more obscure, complicated and ambivalent: even the words with a wide scale of meanings often lack determinatives, making the interpretation very complex or even impossible without background knowledge. This leads to the idea that such “hiding” of the meaning was an effort of the priests to stress their unique skills and expertise, but also the sacred and secret character of these texts, which should not be read without previous studying and acquaintance with the connected religious and language background (for that topic, also in the context of Ptolemaic writing and its origin, see Assmann 1997: 320–322 or Kurth 2008: 14–15). On the other hand, a more practical cause of omitting determinatives (or other parts of the text) can also be the lack of space, especially considering the number of texts in Iufaa’s tomb.

In some cases, the common determinative could be replaced by the rare one, representing the same or similar category, or vice versa; the entire word could also be changed, reinterpreted or mingled with another one with a different determinative: see e. g. the word *ḥmḥm*, “to slaughter” with the determinative , usually appearing in much more common word

‘*m*, “to swallow/absorb” or “to know”; or *mr*, “to love” or “to desire” with the determinative .

Another feature, imitating the archaic writing of the Pyramid Texts, is the orthography of the plurals of the substantives, where, instead of the plural strokes, the different combinations of the older variants of plurals are used: the plural endings, plural marks or repeating of the sign three times (for archaic variants see Edel 1955: 8, 120–121), see e. g.  *tp.jw j3.wt* “those who are on the mounds”,  *hkr.w* “adornments”,  *jz.w* “the crew”,  *t3.w* “men”,  *hm.wt* “women”, obviously with incorrect determinative,  *hmw.w* “craftsmen”,  or  *psd.t* “the Ennead”.

In some cases, the visual or sound puns appear, or the standard way of writing can be replaced by a different sign with the same or similar phonetic value or with a sign which is more visually connected with the meaning of the word, see e. g. the “cryptic” writing of *jwnw*, “Heliopolis”:  or the verb *ptr*, “look” written with the signs of two eyes:  (could be accompanied by phonetic complement(s)).

Allographs

The special case of the characteristics of the Late Period orthography are allographs. Although all of the presented texts are written in classical (middle) Egyptian, the alternations and mistakes could be seen in the case of phones, which were pronounced similarly or even the same way (some of them probably already in the Late Egyptian of the New Kingdom, where similar changes and mistakes also often appear, see Junge 2005: 35–37). The typical interchange can be seen in consonants *t*, *t*, *d* and *d*; *g*, *k* and *q*; *m* and *n* and other examples (Jansen-Winkel 1996: 32–39). The ending *.t* is often omitted, probably because it was not pronounced anymore (e.g. *b3hy(.t)* under-kilt); typical examples are feminine variants of participles and relative forms (e.g. *mry(.t) pth*, “the beloved (f.) of Ptah”). Similarly, the sign *n* in the construction *nn n* [noun phrase] is almost constantly not written.

However, there is a need to note that some of that changes appear already in the Pyramid Texts (especially the mentioned mingling of *t*, *t*, *d* and *d*, see Edel 1955: 8), which, at least in some cases, leads to the question if these are the traces of the younger phase of language, hypercorrection or copied variants of an older way of writing (von Lieven 2007: 248).

Changes in individual signs

A particular category is made of changes, or, mainly, mistakes caused by the incorrect reading of hieratic. Since the texts were copied to the walls from papyri, the changing of sign for another, which looked similar in hieratic (and not necessary in hieroglyphs), can be easily imagined. Many of these mistakes do not fundamentally change the meaning of the text and are easily recognisable by comparing it with other variants of spells or by their content. Some of them could be more difficult to recognise or unrecognisable, especially when the text has no known parallel version; some could even change the content of the spell. The change or mistake often occurs in the similarly looking category of signs, such as visually similar horizontal signs:

☐ and ☐ or ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐; visually similar

vertical signs: ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐; visually

similar low, narrow signs: ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐; round signs: ☐ and ☐,

☐ can generally stand for any other round sign, such as ☐, ☐ or ☐; human or divine figures in

similar positions: ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐; parts of the human body:

☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐; or different kinds of birds, e. g. ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐, ☐ and ☐

☐, ☐ and ☐; or fishes: ☐ and ☐. Widespread is the change of ☐ and ☐, which

generally occurs in the Late Period and copied texts (Jansen-Winkel 1996: 27); interestingly, these two signs are very similar in hieroglyphs but not so much in hieratic. The pairs of signs


☐ and ☐ can be mistaken as well as the individual signs, e. g. ☐ and ☐.




The mentioned changes are common in the texts copied from hieratic and/or older versions (Jansen-Winkel 1996: 27).




The mistakes and interpretations

As was already said, some mistakes occur too, usually caused again by the incorrect interpretation of the original (hieratic) version of the text, such as copying the part of the text to the place where it does not belong or copying the part of the older version of the spell to the later variant. The typical mistake is confusing pronouns – usually, the pronoun of the wrong person is copied from a different variant and carved on the wall (typically changing 1st and 3rd

person of sg. or copying the pronoun to the sentence where the name of the deceased already appears).

Thus, we can see the sign  after the name of Iufaa, which is probably a relict from the variant in the 1st person singular; copying of pronoun in sentence *h3 mj tw(t)=t sw jw=f-3* (“Ho, come, may you make him, Iufaa, whole”), where *sw* is copied from another sentence or version in 3rd sg., similarly in the sentence *jnk jn n=k h^c r^c dr= {f} <j> n=k ^c<3>pp* (“I am the one who brings you joy, Ra; I have driven Apophis away for you”) the 1st and 3rd ps. sg. is mixed. The mistakes in the pronouns are often seen in the Pyramid Texts spell – they were copied from the older variants and each of them could be written in a different person (see mingling of *hr=f* and *hr=k* in PT 64, *dj n=k sw m ^c=k n sw <n=k> n sw n=k* in PT 68, *ms(.w) {=s} <=f>* in PT 71 6a); sometimes the pronoun can be omitted (*htm<=f>* in PT 68, *tz<=s>* in the Eye of Horus spells) or incorrectly copied to the sentence where it does not make any sense (*z3{=f}* in PT 68).

Except for the individual signs, the entire groups of signs can be mistaken/reinterpreted, which can even change the meaning of the passage: e. g. in one example from the text around the head of the deceased, the phrase preserved in the parallel text on Iufaa’s inner sarcophagus,  *w3d.w fd.w=k n.w thnw* (“your four dazzling papyrus columns”), was changed for  *w3d fd.w=k nw h^c.w-tr pn* (“your four papyrus columns of the divine body”). In PT 71D (57A), the original phrase *m bw hr=sn (jm)* (“from the place on which they have fallen”) was replaced by an obscure  *m <bw> hp rn=sn jm*, which changes the meaning of the sentence to “from the place where their name was hidden” (or possibly the misunderstood *hpr.n=sn jm*, “from the place where they came into being”).

Sometimes, synonyms or words with similar meanings are also used, and the writing is changed. In PT 72, the word  *m^h* seems to be replaced by  *mj*; in PT 651, the original *jt*, “seize”, was replaced by  *mj*; see also the interpretation of the obscure word *p3^r* from PT 219 (note 417).

However, in case of mistakes and reinterpretations, one can be sure only when the texts have parallel version(s). The problematic or peculiar parts of the text without any parallel can be mistakes, but also unusual variants of writing or uncommon interpretation, which is not understandable nowadays without context or parallel.

5.2. *The grammar*

The grammatical changes appearing in the texts from Iufaa's outer sarcophagus generally correspond with the typical features of the Neo-Middle Egyptian or later using of classical Egyptian. The main features already mentioned are intentional archaising, leading in some cases to hypercorrection, and the influence of the younger and (more) contemporary stages of the Egyptian language.

Archaic constructions

The archaic variants of some words are used quite often; the typical example is the occasional use of *wdj* instead of *rdj*. The archaisation also occurs in the verb forms and longer constructions. We can see the writing of the ending *.w* in imperatives (*ptr.w*, "Look!"), or using of prothetic *j*, typical for the archaic form of language, such as *j.sdm.n=f* (for its use in the Pyramid Texts, see Edel 1955: 249–251). The typical example of mixing several phases of the language is also replacing *sdm.n=f* form with (perfective) *sdm=f* (see Jansen-Winkel 1996: 55–57) and vice versa. This phenomenon appears already from the New Kingdom Late Egyptian, and the *sdm.n=f* form occurs then almost exclusively in the religious texts. We can trace this change in some of the Pyramid Texts spell (e.g. *jt n=k r hr=k* instead of original *jt.t.n=f r h3.t=f* or *šd=k [hsf.w=k]* instead of original *šd.n=f hsf=f* in PT 222), but the spells occurring here quite often follow the Old Kingdom variants or differ only slightly, see below. Another typical change is the omitting of reduplicated phones, which seems to be connected with the younger variants of pronunciation (Janssen-Winkel 1996: 50), or mingling of negations *nm* and *n* for a similar reason – this change probably became a standard variant of writing (Jansen-Winkel 1996: 406). However, this and similar changes cannot be traced in spells which have no parallel version – if these texts were copied from the other sources, it is possible that some reedition and changes were made, but without the original text is not possible to find them.

The influences of younger stages of language

Except for the archaic forms, the younger stages of the language can be traced in some texts as well. That could suggest the younger origin of that spells, but also interpretation and/or mistakes in the copying when the phrases were re-written in more contemporary language (this is easily imaginable, especially if these texts were recited, pronounced or read during the rituals).

We can see *iw* used as the Late Egyptian circumstantial converter (Junge 2005: 189ff.) or using the Late Egyptian variant of the pronoun *tw=j* in the sentence *m3 tw=j r^c* (“Ra may see me”). In some cases, one can also observe the influence of Demotic. In some sentences, the 3rd person plural can be translated as passive voice (Johnson 2000: 21). The omitting of classical endings can also appear (typically *.w* or dual *.wj*), or the already mentioned omission of reduplication. Still, as mentioned, one would need parallel texts for a closer study of that phenomenon.

5.3. *The changes in content*

The changes in the content can be studied and shown only on the part of the presented texts because many have no parallel for comparison.

The Pyramid Texts spells and other texts from the known corpora

The first group that can be compared are the spells from the Pyramid Texts and a few texts accompanying them, belonging to the different textual corpora. Several texts are preserved only fragmentary in the Old Kingdom, but on the other hand, some are preserved in the Old Kingdom variants as well as in several versions from the contemporary tombs of the Late Period. Since the content of the used Pyramid Texts spell is mostly the offering ritual and the *s3h.w* A1 liturgy, the spells do not change much. Concerning the offering ritual, the individual spells are pretty short and generally repeat more or less the same content – the eye of Horus, associated with the presented item, is offered to the deceased and helps him to be protected, anointed, adorned etc. On the other hand, most of the spells of *s3h.w* A1 liturgy is quite a long composition, but the significant part(s) of them are usually repeated, and only e. g. the names of deities and places vary. Thus, most of the traces of re-edition of the texts are minor changes of the individual words or signs; changing the order of the spells or adding the “new” or unusual spells into the standard sequence. However, some interesting points can be found.

One of the changes, apparent at first sight, is the fact that the items of the offering ritual are associated with the different spells in each variant (see e. g. PT 62, PT 64, PT 69, PT 71A 2a, PT 106, PT 71D 5a = PT 57 F/G, PT 78 variant, PT 653C, the *swr.t* barrel beads are even associated with the Nephthys text T/ text F, which appears in the contemporary tombs, but never

among the spells of the offering ritual). In some cases, the item is connected with more spells (the *mt3.yt* staff or all three objects associated both with PT 106 and 107 = CT 858, PT 72 variant connected with the *md.t* oil as well as the eye paintings) or, on the contrary, one spell is associated with more items (PT 62, PT 106).

There was a Late Period redaction of those spells that were usually used to decorate the Late Period tombs. This is evident from the fact that in some spells, the Late Period variants (or the offered items) are standardised, while the Old Kingdoms versions vary (PT 62); or, similarly, all preserved Late Period variants keep the same text (or orthography) or item, different from those of the Old Kingdom (missing suffix in *m hnw* in PT 63, *mj n=k 3ms hr.w* in PT 68, PT 70, associated item in PT 71D 3a/ PT 57C variant(?)). Interestingly, in some cases, part of the Late Period variants follow the Old Kingdom versions, while the others differ (PT 66, PT 69; in PT 70, Iufaa follows Neit's associated objects, while other Late Period variants differ; and in PT 74 all versions correspond except for Iufaa, where Seth appears). Another example of that practice are sentences, or their parts, which appear only in the Late Period variants of the spell (PT 62), or the spells where the same mistakes occur (*ms(.w) {=s} <=f>* in PT 71 6a).

Some of the spells seem to be mixed or mingled from two (or more) versions: e.g., PT 71A 3a, which does not correspond with any parallel text but is re-edited to make sense – it is possible that the original text was not wholly preserved or was unintelligible for the priests/scribes, who then changed the wording and content a bit to make it more transparent and functional. Other texts are distinctively abbreviated, usually because of the lack of space on the wall of the sarcophagus (Nut-Spruch C.I.1a, parts of PT 219, including shortening or omitting parts of the epithets). An interesting example is the variant of CT spell 858 (CT VII, 62 e–c), whose parts are mixed up: the original text is written in retrograde and, when read in the wrong direction, gives precisely the sequence found in Iufaa and also Menekhibnekau. Some texts seem to be composed only of excerpts from the Pyramid Texts spells, PT 220 and PT 222 (twice). These spells are always written close to the bottom of the sarcophagus or/and are damaged and fragmentary. Thus it is evident that there was not enough space for the entire spell. However, the sentences do not always follow one another very well, which raises questions about the cause: one can speculate about the corrupted text from which it was copied, more or less random choosing of the sentences etc.

There is also an example of another specific content change in the Late Period texts, where Seth is omitted or replaced by another deity, usually Thoth.⁹ In PT 219, where different deities are named, Thoth appears twice: once standing for the Old Kingdom Seth.

Last but not least, it is necessary to mention Iufaa's choice of spells. It seems that except for some sequences (and even these were not fixed completely, see, e.g., dividing of the *s3h.w* liturgy A1 between the western side and the bottom of the sarcophagus), the order of the individual spells was not fixed – the arrangement of the spells and their associated items can differ tomb to tomb. Some of the spells are preserved in other Late Period tombs but are not identified with any known Pyramid Texts (or spells from the different textual corpora). However, they are written among the spells of the offering ritual and correspond with them. The examples can be an unidentified Eye of Horus spell, repeated twice and associated with different kinds of jewellery, which is not preserved elsewhere, except for the example from the tomb of Menekhibnekau; or another Eye of Horus spell, associated with the *mnw*-mace, appearing only in tombs of Iufaa, Menekhibnekau and Pediniese, as well as the variant of PT 71D 3a/ PT 57C. Interestingly, in the case of Iufaa, some spells are often also added, preserved neither in the contemporary tomb nor in the preserved Old Kingdom variants. Two extra spells, not preserved elsewhere and associated with oils and unguents (*jbr* and *b3q*), are added to the standard offering of the seven sacred oils – it is possible that Iufaa used the different textual tradition, or just wanted these two unguents to be added to the list for some reason; interestingly, these two unguents appear together with the seven sacred oils in the Ritual of the opening of the mouth. Similarly, at the end of the table containing the offering of linen, an unidentified spell connected with *hkr.w* adornments is added. Then the entire table follows, presenting the different kinds of linen and aprons – any of the accompanied spells is not attested in the Old Kingdom or contemporary tombs. Another example could be the purification spell from the end of the southern side of the sarcophagus. Still, the text is highly damaged and may correspond with a known spell, but it cannot be identified because of the bad preservation.

⁹ The omitting of the name of Seth appears already in the Pyramid Texts and continues throughout the Egyptian history. The deity could be omitted entirely; his name could also be replaced by an epithet, pronoun or words such as “enemy” or “rebel”, or it could be replaced by another deity (Kahl 2004: 221–241). This phenomenon became a common practice in the Late Period; Seth is demonised and identified even with Apophis and generally chaos (Altmann 2010: 143). Thus, in the text where Seth was originally mentioned, the god is omitted or is typically replaced by Thoth (Soukiassian 1981).

The parallel texts within the tomb of Iufaa

There are also a few cases where the parallel text appears within the tomb of Iufaa but anywhere else. The long spell, focusing on praising Ra's victory over Apophis, is repeated twice: once on the inner northern side of the outer sarcophagus, presented here (chapter 7.5.), and for the second time on the sarcophagus's southern outer side. The text which directly follows also occurs twice on the inner side of the outer sarcophagus (chapters 7.6. and 8.6.), and also for the third time on the outer side. Interestingly, any of these parallels are not the same: they differ, mostly in orthography, however, not only in details but generally: some of the versions usually have more determinatives, different variants of plurals of substantives or variants of negation, which suggests that they were not copied from the same source.

Another particular case is the text dealing with the radiant eyes of Ra, appearing in the section around the head of the deceased (see chapter 6.4.). The spell is part of a longer ritual text dealing with the divinisation of the body parts of Ra. There are two versions of the entire text: one occurs on the lid of the inner sarcophagus of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 11–26) and the other on the inside of the lid of the inner sarcophagus of Iufaa. On the outer sarcophagus, only a part concerning the eyes is repeated – the reason seems to be the motif, which fits well with the decoration of the section, and the lack of space. Similarly, as in the previous case, the individual variants of the texts differ.

6. THE TEXTS AROUND THE HEAD

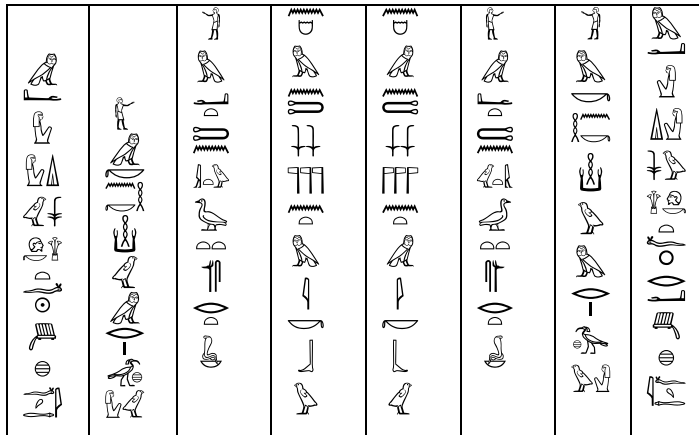
The first section of texts, covering columns 1–12 on both sides, begins at the head of the deceased and should be read parallelly on both sides – the short opening texts are mirror images of each other (except for two short texts close to the bottom of the sarcophagus); then two variants of the same spell on each side follow. The texts differ on each side from the ninth column on, but they still thematically belong to the first part of the decoration, covering the area around the head of Iufaa.

6.1. *The dialogue between Ra and the Fiery goddess, columns 1–4 on both sides*

The first part of the decoration begins at the head of the deceased, and the individual spells are supposed to be read in parallel on both sides. Columns 1–4 are formed with short spells in columns or a tabular form that are mirror images of each other. The motif of these spells is connected with the sun god, the Heliopolitan cosmogony, and especially the protective power of the *uraei* of the sun god – which fits very well with the position of the texts around the head of the deceased. The spells are written as a dialogue between Ra, identified with Iufaa, and his daughter(s), the protective serpent goddess(es), who provide him with might and protection. There are allusions to some mythical events connected with the Heliopolitan region (see below).

A vignette belonging to these texts appears twice, similar to the spells. It shows Ra with the head of a falcon, with a sun disk on his head and with a *uraeus* above it; the god is seated on his throne. He holds the *was* sceptre in one hand and the *ankh* sign in the other. Traces of red colour are preserved on the sun disk, *uraeus*, the body of the god, and parts of his throne, see Fig. 1.

The text is presented here in a tabular form, as carved on the sarcophagus, and then individual spells follow with hieroglyphs transcribed in horizontal lines. The individual speeches of Ra and his daughter are marked with quotation marks for clarity.



The southern side, columns 1–4



(3S) *dd-mdw gr n=j psd.t j3d n=j psd.t grh pf*
n wd tjms m jwnw

To be recited: “The Ennead kept silence for me, the Ennead suffered for me¹⁰ on that night of happening of the massacre in Heliopolis,

(4S) *m rhs h'p m 'hm jrt.t n(.t) sh3.t-hrw*
hrw pf n 'h3 wr m jwnw

of slaughtering of the Apis bull, of quenching (thirst by) the milk of the *sehkat-heru*-cow,¹¹ on that day of the great fight in Heliopolis.”



(1S) *rdj m dd.t*

To be given in speech:

¹⁰ Alternative translation: “Be silent for me, Ennead, suffer for me, Ennead”, but considering the fact that the text refers to a mythical event, the translation above makes better sense.

¹¹ For *sh3.t-hrw*, see LGG VI: 500ff., she could be Isis, Hathor, as well as several other goddesses.

mj n(=j) zp sn z3.t(=j) pr(.t) jm(=j) tp.t
h3.t(j)t qm3^(2S) jwf(=j)

“Come to me, come to me, my daughter,¹²
 who came out of me, The First One¹³, The
 Foremost one, whom my flesh created!

wtz=t n(=j) nfr.w=t n wn zj m hm z3.t=f

May you raise your beauty for me¹⁴ so that
 there is no man ignorant of his daughter!”

The northern side, columns 1–4

3N 



^(3N) *dd-mdw gr n=j psd.t j3d n=j psd.t grh pf*
n wd tjms m jwnw

To be recited: “The Ennead kept silence for
 me, the Ennead suffered for me in that night
 of happening of the massacre in Heliopolis,

^(4N) *m rhs h^cp m hm jrt.t n(.t) sh3.t-hrw hrw*
pf n h3 wr m jwnw

of slaughtering the Apis bull, of quenching
 (thirst by) the milk of the *sehkat-heru*-cow,
 on that day of the great fight in Heliopolis.”

2N 


^(2N) *rdj m dd.t*

To be given in speech:

¹² Writing with two *t* is common in Ptolemaic (see Wilson 1997: 794), or *z3.tj* could be a phonetic writing of *z3.t=j*. It could also be read as *z3.tj*, “two daughters”, but it does not change the meaning in any significant way – whether they are written in the dual form or not, the daughters are mentioned twice in the texts, and they are two protective goddesses in the form of snakes, two *uraei* on the forehead of the sun god (see the following text, where these goddesses answer to the sun god, who appeals to them here).

¹³ For *tp.t* as a cobra, the *uraeus*, and further goddesses with similar aspects, see LGG VII: 396.

¹⁴ There are some other options of translation: *wtz=t n(=j) nfr.wt*, without the suffix pronoun: the use of different signs for =t so closely to each other seems confusing, but the phrase usually occurs in religious texts in a similar way as translated above. Another possibility is also *wtz=tn nfr.w=t<n>*, which suggests that “daughters” would be dual. Considering writing with two *t* this option is possible, but on the other hand, this orthography is relatively standard, and the duality is already expressed by the exact text on both sides (see note 12).

mj n(=j) zp sn z3.t(=j) pr(.t)jm(=j) tp.t h3.t(j)t “Come to me, come to me, my daughter, who
qm3 (1N)jwf(=j) came out of me, The First One, the Foremost one, whom my flesh created!

wtz=t n(=j) nfr.w=t n wn zj m hm z3.t[=f] May you raise your beauty for me so that
there is no man ignorant of [his] daughter!”¹⁵

Vertical tables¹⁶

This short text is written horizontally and is the same again on both sides. It continues the previous spell as an answer, or speech of the goddess/uraeus/sun’s-eye to the god Ra, identified with Iufaa.

The southern side



⁽¹⁾*m s[nd] mk <w>j¹⁷ jj.kwj* “Do not be af[raid], look, I have come,
⁽²⁾*smn=j m tp=k* I am firm on your forehead
jn.n=j nsr.t ⁽³⁾*m ε=j dj=j sw h3=k jt.j(=j) rε* and I have brought the flame with me¹⁸ so
that I can put it around you, (my) father Ra!”




The northern side



⁽¹⁾*m [s]nd mk [<w>j jj.kwj]* “Do not be [af]raid, look, [I have come,]

¹⁵ See notes 12 and 14.

¹⁶ Columns 1–4 on both sides.

¹⁷ It is possible that the sign  is, in fact,  – these two signs are often confused, and the hieroglyphs on the inner side of the outer sarcophagus are of a tiny scale and often poorly visible in detail. However, in this text, I leave  considering that the goddess is speaking.

¹⁸ Lit. “in my hand”.

(2) *smn=j m tp=k*

I am firm on your forehead

jn.n=j [ns]r.t (3)m ^{ε=j} dj=j sw h3=k jt.j(=j) r^ε

and I have brought the [fla]me with me so that I can put it around you, (my) father Ra!”

Under the tables

These spells are still connected to the previous texts. They are identical on both sides: one of them is a speech of the goddess personifying the sun’s eye, speaking to her father Ra, identified with the deceased, and the other is a speech of Ra/the deceased to the goddess. The interesting point is the arranging of the texts in columns, where the speeches of Ra and his daughter are written in both cases in opposite directions, thus they also make a visual impression of two speakers standing face to face and talking to each other – this practice is well known also later e. g. in the ritual scenes from temples of the Ptolemaic era.

The southern side


2S  1S 

(2S) *j mtn jj.tw z3.t(=j) wsr.tj*

“Oh, see, you have come, (my) powerful daughter,

(1S) *nhm.n=t nn <n> ntr.w n.t(jw) m jkb.w*

after you have saved these gods who were in mourning!”¹⁹

3S  4S 

(3S) *j mk <wj> hn^ε=k hk3.w(=j) m r3(=j)*
3h.w=j²⁰ (4S) m ^{ε=j}

“Oh, see, <I am> with you, my magic is in my mouth, and my *akhu*-power is in my hand.

¹⁹ Or: “from mourning”. Meant is probably the suffering Ennead, mentioned in the previous texts – since they were already in mourning, the above-written translation variant seems better.

²⁰ See note 17.

(IV, 4–V, 4), connected with Heliopolis, they were punished on the night when the *ished* tree was cut, after they had rebelled against their lord. They also appear in the local myth of Saff el-Henna (eastern Delta), according to which these beings attacked the temple of Shu, Shu assembled his followers and those of Harakhte, and they built “a great wall of Egypt” (*jnb wr n km.t*) against the forces of chaos (Goyon 1985: 152–153). According to the interpretation of Parker, Leclant, and Goyon (1979: 61–62), the *ms.w-bdš* could also be the enemies depicted on the edifice of Taharqa (on the door lintel in the eastern wall of room E), where they are slaughtered and sacrificed by the shooting of arrows, which the authors interpret as an ancient protective solar ritual, similar to the Ritual of four balls (p. New York 35.9.21, Goyon 1975). The mentions of the fight and state of the cosmos before the beginning of the world are interesting in connection with other texts from Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus, where, e.g., the protective gods of Shednu appear, who, according to the local mythology, assisted Ra in the fight with Apophis before the world was created.

Except for the massacre in Heliopolis, another moment of terror is mentioned in the text – the slaughtering of Apis bull, the interpretation of which is a bit problematic. According to Vos (1993: 33–34), “the slaughtering room” was one of the places where the embalming of the Apis bull took place. It is the room with alabaster tables for removing entrails, called *ᶚ.t nmᶚj.t* (in Demotic), where the body of the dead bull stayed for 52 days. The “surgical treatment” of the bull here was called “slaughtering”, thus, the passage of the text could refer to the embalming of the sacred bull, the manifestation of (the dead) Osiris (and therefore also the deceased), and the mourning for him.

The *sh3.t-hr.w* cow often appears in royal ritual scenes and funerary texts in connection with milk, symbolising the might and strength of the king/the deceased (she e.g. suckles the king or brings milk in the offering scenes, see LGG VI: 500ff.). The milk itself nourished and protected Horus as a child and also had the power to help the regeneration of Osiris: these mythical functions were then transformed for the sake of the king/the deceased (Altmann 2010: 52). Here, the motif of protection already begins, which is the main topic of the following part of this section of texts.






After mentioning the massacre in Heliopolis and the slaughtering of the Apis bull, i.e., moments of endangering *maat* by the forces of chaos, Ra calls his daughter, a manifestation of the sun’s eye, to come to him. The answer of the goddess follows: she assures him that she is coming and there is no need to fear, and she places her protective power around him. Based on that sequence, it seems probable that in the mentioned myth, the goddess helped her father fight

against the forces of chaos in “the night of massacre in Heliopolis” and established the sun god's protection after the battle. A connection of protective and apotropaic power of the manifestation(s) of the sun’s eye and the previously mentioned Heliopolitan myth of “the great fight” is possible: according to Naville (1886: 60, BD par. S1, 17b), a variant of BD 17 writes: *jr grḥ pf ḥsb ʿw33.yt grḥ pw n nsr.t n ḥry.t*, so the myth is connected with “The Flame, who slaughters” (probably not “fire” as such, considering the cobra-determinative). The flame or fire, which the daughter of Ra brings, is the heat of the sun’s eye in its/her aggressive aspect, which destroys all evil forces and enemies of Ra/the deceased – the following speech of Ra mentions that his daughter is the one who saved the gods who were in mourning. The connection of the sun’s eye with the mythology related to *ms.w-bdš* is also known from the other sources: again, in the Legends of the Nile Delta (10, X, 4–V, 4), she occurs in that context in her manifestation of Hathor.

In the final speech of the Fiery goddess, she proclaims herself as mighty with *ḥk3.w* and *3ḥ.w* powers, which she places around her father Ra, who is here explicitly identified with the deceased. The motif of protection of the *uraeus* firmly set in the sun god’s forehead and its/her power set around him is one of the reasons why these texts are written around the head of Iufaa – this position makes them more “literal”: the protective *uraei* and their might is established on the forehead and around the head of the deceased. The mythological massacre can be equivalent to dangers in the afterlife, as is clearly shown in the titles of the Book of the Dead Spell 42, dealing with the Heracleopolitan massacre (see Tarasenko 2013: 325), whose usual title is in the Late Period version 1 replaced by *r3 n ḥsf sdb nb ḥsf sʿd jr.w m ḥr.t-ntr* – “*Spell for driving off any evil opposition and driving off the massacre done in the realm of the dead*” (Mosher 2016, III: 239). The deceased is found in a dangerous and liminal phase, as well as the sun god during the mentioned situation, and needs the protection of the gods to acquire the divine power and become a mighty, protected, and blessed spirit, equal with the gods.

6.2. *The four texts with manifestations of the Fiery goddess, columns 5–8 on both sides*

Columns 5–8 contain on both sides spells, written as speeches of four different goddesses, the manifestations of the sun's eye and its power – Wadjet, Sekhmet, Bastet, and Shesemtet (Seshemtet, Smithis).²¹ All four texts are probably variants of the same spell or part of the same ritual: the texts belonging to the individual goddesses are not the same, but only parts differ. Each of the goddesses speaks to a foe, who could be dangerous to Iufaa or could harm him, and she drives that enemy away.

Above each of the spells, the mentioned goddess is depicted in a human form with a great *w3d* sign in her hand, close to each of them is the same label: , a cryptographic writing of *jwnw* – “Heliopolis”.²² Each of them has her name written above the head – on the southern side, there is Wadjet () and Shesemtet () , and on the northern side Sekhmet () and Bastet (). Each couple of goddesses is depicted once more on a smaller scale above – on the southern side, there are two standing female figures with heads of lions, each with her name written above her head. On the northern side, the image is almost the same, but here each of the goddesses has a *uraeus* on her forehead and also holds an *ankh*; see Fig. 2 and 3.

²¹ One of the goddesses in the form of a lioness, often appearing as the mother of the king or/and the deceased and also as a deity connected with Punt and the Red Sea. But in the context of this text and the conception of the decoration of Iufaa's tomb, another of her aspects is important: as well as the other three goddesses mentioned here, she was praised during the last days of the year and summoned to protect from the demons connected with the epagomenal days and “the new year's plague” (Lesko 1999: 274, LGG VII: 123–125). She is also quite an important goddess in the area of El Kab, in the text of the Ptolemaic underground chapel, she appears as the *uraeus* (Derchain 1971: 57–58). For the attestations of this goddess in different contexts, see Derchain 1971: 15ff.

²² For this writing of Heliopolis (and Dendera), see Wb I: 54. Considering the importance of Heliopolis and Heliopolitan religious background in the presented texts and also generally in the tomb of Iufaa (see e. g. Míčková 2018: 117 or Landráfová – Janák 2021: 180–206), I translate it here as “Heliopolis” and not “Dendera”.

The southern side



Fig. 2: Wadjet and Shesemtet, the eastern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus

Text accompanying Wadjet



⁽⁵⁾*dd-mdw jn w3d.t*

To be recited by Wadjet:

j hft.j pf dd hm.t(j)=f(j) jw=f-ʿ3

Oh, you foe, who says that he will destroy
Iufaa!

m znj ngg jbh.w=k hm n(=j)

Do not come near, you who click²³ your teeth,
turn away from me!

jnk sm3.t št3²⁴ hpr.n=j pw n sm3.t št3

I am She who slaughters turtle,²⁵ it means that
I have transformed into Her who slaughters
turtle.

²³ The word *ngg* means “screech” or “cackle” (Wb II: 350,9–12) and thus can probably stand for any loud sound, in connection with teeth probably clicking.

²⁴ The determinative of a cow is related to the epithet of the goddess and not to the turtle.

²⁵ The sign of turtle can also be read as *hd* or *š* (Kurth 2010: 276) and thus can be associated with the verb *hdb/htb*, which means “to kill” or “to overthrow”. “Killing of a turtle” sometimes appears in that context because of alliteration and puns with the words (because of the possibility of substituting *h* and *š*; see Wilson 1997: 778). The

(6) *htht htht=k jm=k qq=k m jwf=k*

Turn back! May you turn back and eat your own flesh!

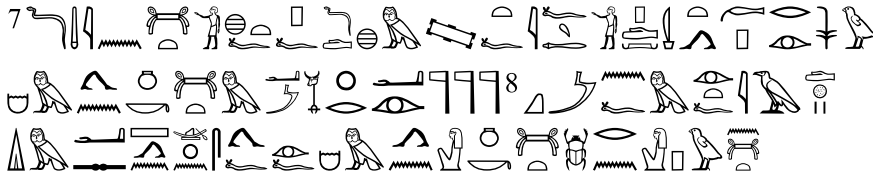
hft.j hft.t hm n=j

Male-foe, female-foe, turn away from me!

jnk w3d.t hpr.n=j pw n w3d.t

I am Wadjet, this is my²⁶ transformation into Wadjet.

Text accompanying Shesemtet



(7) *dd-mdw jn šsmt.t*

To be recited by Shesemtet:

j hft.j pf dd hm.t(j)=f(j) jw=f-ʿ3

Oh, you foe, who says that he will destroy Iufaa!

j pd nmt.t k3p r jr sw hm n(=j)

Oh, you with broad steps,²⁷ hidden from the one who made him, turn away from me!

jnk šsmt.t mʿm3(.t)²⁸ rʿ jr ntr.w

I am Shesemtet, The Slaughteress of Ra, who created the gods,

(8) *qm3(.t).n=f m jr.t=f j3d(.t) zp sn*

the one whom he created as his eye of pestilence, as his eye of pestilence,

dj(.t) m-ʿ zš n wj3 hns=f jr(.t)=f

who was given to the passing of the barque when he traverses that which he had created.

turtle stands as *pars pro toto* for the Sethian animal(s) and foe(s) of the sun god (see Sauneron 1966: 1 or Wilson 1997: 1034): driving away of turtle appears in execration rituals in the Graeco-Roman temples (Wilson 1997: 1076–1077; see e. g. Edfu II: 74, 6; III: 5, 1; V: 244, 11; VII: 159, 5; D IV: 209, 6; Philae I: 66, 14). Some nice examples come from the Edfu temple, where “spell for killing a turtle” (*sm3 št3*) is written with many alliterations and word-plays (Edfou VII: 159, 3–7 or 311, 17–312, 4).

²⁶ Lit. “this is how I transformed into”.

²⁷ For the epithet, see LGG III: 181–182, it usually appears in a positive context. It might indicate just the description of the demon/enemy here.

²⁸ The reduplicated word *mʿmʿ*, meaning “to kill”, usually appears with the determinative of a knife and occurs in the texts of slaying Apophis (see Wilson 1997: 415). This meaning fits well into the text above, the determinative

✠ was probably taken by mistake from the common writing of *ʿm3*, “to swallow” or “to know”.

ḥm n=j jnk šsmt.t ḥpr.n=j pw n šsmt.t

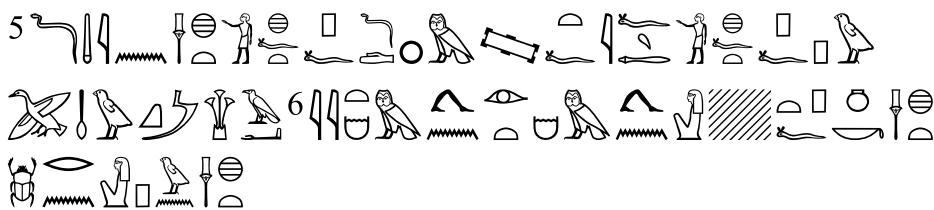
Turn away from me! I am Shesemtet, this is my transformation into Shesemtet.

The northern side



Fig. 3: Sekhmet and Bastet, the eastern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus

Text accompanying Sekhmet



⁽⁵⁾*dd-mdw jn šhm.t*

To be recited by Sekhmet:

j ḥft.j pf dd ḥm.t(j)=f(j) jw=f-^{c3}

Oh, you foe, who says that he will destroy Iufaa!

j ḥft.j pf p{w}3 ḥrw qm3 ḥ3^{c6}y.t²⁹

Oh, you foe, loud of voice, who makes turmoil!

ḥm n jr.t ḥm n=j [ḥf]t.j pf

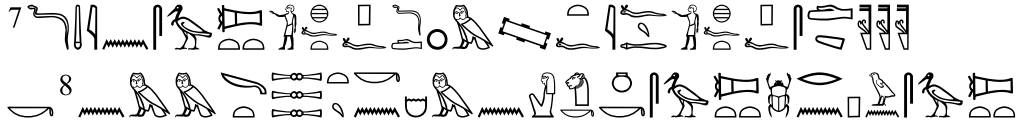
Turn away from the eye, turn away from me, (you) [fo]e!

²⁹ The phrase *qm3-ḥ3^{c6}y.t* appears as an epithet of Seth (see LGG VII: 198).

jnk shm.t hpr.n=j pw n shm.t

I am Sekhmet, this is my transformation into
Sekhmet.

Text accompanying Bastet



⁽⁷⁾*dd-mdw jn b3st.t*

To be recited by Bastet:

j hft.j pf dd hm.t(j)=f(j) jw=f-ʿ3

Oh, you foe, who says that he will destroy
Iufaa!

j hft.j pf sd qs.w=k ⁽⁸⁾nmm.t(w) tz.wt=k

Oh, you foe, your bones are cut, your
vertebrae are hacked,

{n} hm n=j ph.tj=k

so turn your strength from me!

jnk b3st.t hpr.n=j pw n b3st.t

I am Bastet, this is my transformation into
Bastet.

The main function of these four spells is the protection of Iufaa. Each of the texts is recited by one of the manifestations of the goddess, representing the power of the eye of the sun god and an aggressive aspect of solar heat: Wadjet and Shesemtet on the southern side and Sekhmet and Bastet on the northern side (these two spells are slightly shorter). Each goddess appeals to an enemy of Iufaa, who could harm him or be dangerous to him. Each of these foes is named or described by his epithets, then he is turned away by the power of the individual goddesses. Each spell ends with a proclamation “I am [name of the goddess], this is my transformation into [name of the goddess]” – it is not clear if Iufaa himself turns into the goddesses or if each spell is recited by the sun’s eye goddess, who each time turns into one of her manifestations. Compared to the previous texts, the motif of defeating enemies is more stressed here and more explicitly expressed – each of the manifestations of the Fiery goddess speaks to and drives away the individual foe.

The description of the bellicose aspects of the goddesses who are manifestations of the sun’s eye appear throughout Egyptian mythology and also the ritual praxis: for mythology, see,

e.g., the Myth of the return of the goddess/Myth of the sun's eye (p. Leiden I 384, Spiegelberg 1917, Cenival 1988) or the Legend of the destruction of mankind (The Book of the Heavenly cow, Hornung 1982a). All these goddesses have an aggressive and bellicose aspect, which can be destructive and dangerous, but which can also serve the deceased/the priest/whoever uses the proper rituals and spells as a powerful protection because warrior goddesses can destroy evil and enemies by their power, as well as they protect the sun god and destroy the forces of chaos. During some rituals, this dangerous and aggressive power is driven away, but it is also very often turned against the enemies or calmed down and changed into the benevolent and protective power, see e. g. rituals of *sh̄tp sh̄m.t* (Goyon 2006), Rituals for renewal of power during the New year (p. Brooklyn 47.218.50, Goyon 1974) or the Book of the last days of the year (p. Leiden I 346, Bommas 1999).

The multiplication of the goddess into the four manifestations is not an unknown phenomenon, especially in later periods of Egyptian history. The most known example is Hathor Quadrifrons, the manifestation(s) of the sun's eye goddess(es), appearing as the four *uraei* and four protective goddesses of the sun barque, turned to the four cardinal points (Ritner 1990: 37–38; Goyon 1975: 386–390; Derchain 1971: 58–59, 1972). There are also four Meskhenets (Spieser 2011: 71–73) or four Shepsets (Quaegebeur 1975: 158–159), an interesting example from Edfu and Dendera are the four manifestations of Renenutet in the forms of snakes, each one with the different epithets and aspects (see Mougnot 2015: 55–71). The multiplication of deities into four is, especially in the case of beings with strong protective power, connected with the symbolism of this number, associated with the four cardinal points, four directions, and also four corners (of a room, temple, or tomb), which then represent the whole universe.

The four goddesses (or their manifestations) mentioned here appear together also in a hymn documented on two *mammisis* of Dendera and one from Edfu (see Daumas 1951: 39ff; in Dendera, the goddess Neith appears instead of Shesemtet) – the goddesses are addressed together with Ptah, Hathor, and Thoth(-Khonsu); all of these deities are important and also stressed in the other parts of the decoration of Iufaa's sarcophagus, see below. They also appear as four protective *uraei* on p. Salt 825 (see Derchain 1964: 84–86), who also appear in the Royal book of protection from the Saite Period (p. Brooklyn 47.218.49; O'Rourke 2015, for that particular example, see p. 152) as the protectors of the barque of Ra, similarly as here in the speech of Shesemtet. Another example is from the hemispeos of El-Kab (Derchain 1971: 58–59), where the group is made of lion-goddesses Shesemtet, Bastet, Sekhmet, and Wadjet, who are manifestations of the four-faced goddess, appearing as a mistress of the new year's plague.

The goddesses with solar aspects generally occur in many protective rituals. In the Ritual of four balls (p. New York 35.9.21, Goyon 1975), the balls could also be connected or can even represent the four fiery leonine goddesses, who spit fire into the four cardinal points (see Ziegler 1979);³⁰ according to von Bomhard (2008), some of the summoned gods in that ritual are connected to the decans or are their representations – these stars were also very closely associated with the goddess(es) representing the sun’s eye, see below. On the Metternich stela, four *šps.wt* hold vigil over the deceased and protect him (Berlandini 1995: 18–19); in the so-called Ritual of four torches, the deceased is protected by the four sons of Horus, holding torches, identified with the Eyes of Horus and the sun’s heat (Koenig 2004: 305–306; Bomhard 2008: 51; Ilieva 2015: 98–125). The protection focused on four cardinal points is often connected also with the description of enemies, appearing in the groups of four, especially in the texts related to the sun, including the four manifestations of Apophis on the papyrus of Nedjemet (32–37, see Parker – Leclant – Goyon 1979: 61–61 and note 9).

As was said above, it is not clear if the spells on the sarcophagus of Iufaa are just proclamations of these goddesses or if the deceased himself is also transformed into them. The transformation of the ritualist/the deceased into the manifestation of the goddess with the protective and also aggressive power of the sun’s eye is a motif known already from the Coffin Texts (see Buchberger 1993:103ff.): In the discussed context, see, e.g., spell 316, CT IV, 98a–109, which has a title *hpr m jr.t hr.w htt* – “*how to become a fiery eye of Horus*”, which, in this case, means the apotropaic aspect of the (sun’s) eye goddesses. In this spell, the same sentence as in the case of Iufaa at the end of each spell occurs many times. Another example is CT IV, 99g–h, reading: *hpr.n=j m jr.t hr.w tz-phr jnk pw st.t pw* – “*I have transformed (myself) into the eye of Horus and vice versa, it is me, it is the one who shoots*”. The protective amulets connected with these goddesses are preserved, too (see Darnell 1997: 35–48).

Interestingly, a *w3d*-amulet of green feldspar was found on the mummy of Iufaa (among others) – these amulets were used during the rites of appeasing Sekhmet and ensured protection³¹ – both motifs play a significant role in the decoration of Iufaa’s tomb.

³⁰ In the edifice of Taharqa, where the ball-throwing ritual with an accompanying text is also mentioned, the ritual has more solar connections but is related to the rituals performed to protect the cenotaph of Djeme. At the same place, a ritual also occurs, where the arrows are thrown to the four targets, representing the four cardinal points (Parker–Leclant–Goyon 1979: 61–65).

³¹ There was also a small green tablet with a *w3d*-sign, which has the spell 159 of the Book of the Dead written on the back side, giving instructions about what should be said above the green *w3d*-amulet and where to put it: on the throat of the deceased, the exact place where the amulet was found. Using the plate instead of a simple amulet is probably an attempt to get the space where the spell could be written (for a detailed description, see Bareš – Smoláriková 2011: 88–89).

6.3. *The text with the protective deities, the southern side, below, columns 3–12*

In this text, the motif of protection continues. Several beings are addressed by their epithets and asked to save Iufaa from specific enemies, malevolent forces, or demons, described by individual names and epithets.

There is a vignette before the text depicting four canine-headed gods, labelled by their names – on the left side, there are – “The burning one”³² and - Aker³³, on the right side or – *wdsu* or *wdf* (?)³⁴ and – “The one who brings the feast(?)”.³⁵ Each of the gods has a sign on the right side, close to his hand, the meaning of which is not clear – considering the orthography of the Late Period texts, this can stand for any other bird sign, thus the sign is probably meant, labelling each being as *b3* (of another deity or as a mighty being).³⁶

Above the heads of these four gods, a papyrus thicket or a field (?) is depicted, and the whole scene is framed by two snakes on both sides. Under this scene, there is a lower register – in the middle of the lower scene, there is a “triangle” with a goddess in the form of a cobra on each side. It could symbolise the (primaeval) mound, or it could have a connection with the sun (see below). Above the cobra on the left, the name - *hh* / (or *hh.t*, if it is the goddess) “The heating one” (?) is written, and the one on the right is called - *dsds* / *dsds(.t)* “The one who cuts up” (?).³⁷ All these deities probably have a protective function – judging by the meaning of their names and written determinatives, which suggest danger and threat (to an enemy), and also by the appearance of some of them (or their variants) in different texts.

³² LGG I: 79; it appears as an epithet of different gods and a name of being with a guardian function, which also fits here.

³³ LGG I: 82, he usually appears as a man or a lion, it can be an epithet, e.g. of Ptah, or different forms of the sun god. This deity also occurs among the 77 demons of Shednu (on the coffin of Djedhor, Goyon 1985, I: 303–304), and also as a protective deity, even, e.g. in the fight with Seth or Apophis (see, e.g. p.Bremner–Rhind 27, 10 or 29, 7).

³⁴ LGG mentions only *nb wdf* (III: 616), but with only one occurrence from p.Wilbour rto, text A 23,30 and 35, 21, where it is an epithet of Amun.

³⁵ Or *jnj (n) h3b*, “the one who is brought on the feast”(?). Any being of this name is not mentioned in LGG, its name is translated literally, but the interpretation is uncertain.

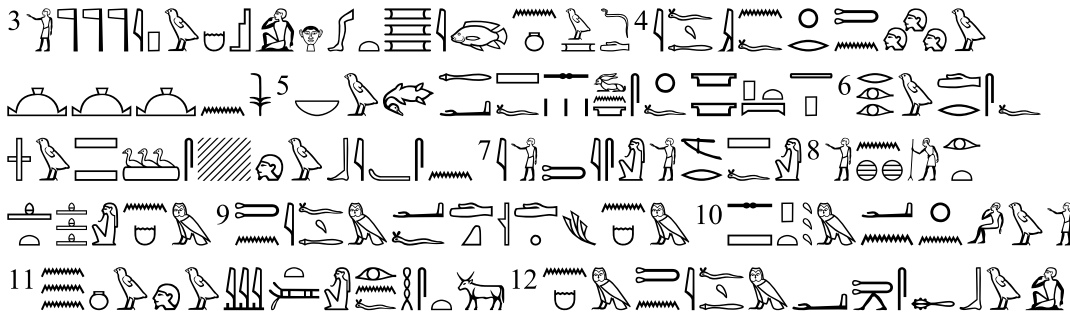
³⁶ Similar groups of protective beings, labelled or addressed as *b3.w*, appear also on some of the anthropoid sarcophagi (see Leitz – Mahrous – Tawfik 2018).

³⁷ See LGG VII: 570 and Goyon 1985:69–71, the male being with this name appears as a protective deity in Edfu; see Edfu VIII: 86,19, where he is standing in a niche with a little knife, the figure was damaged (probably already in ancient times).

However, there is no mention of any of them in the following spell, but they can be various epithets of the four (?) protective beings addressed. That might suggest that the text is just an excerpt from a longer spell, where the protective deities and their functions could be described in more detail.







Fig. 4: Vignette with four canine gods accompanying the protective spell; eastern lower side, inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus



(3) *j ntr.w jp.w hms(.w)*³⁸ *hr w^cr.t jn.w(t)*

Oh, these gods who dwell in the district of Inu(t),³⁹

³⁸ Erroneous determinative, confusion of  and .

³⁹ The word *jn.t* could be the Memphite necropolis (Hannig 2006: 1112), or it could refer to some deserted or wild places (Wb I: 93), but it usually appears with the mountain sign instead of ; with the determinative of  it appears at Wb I: 93 as *jn.t* – sacred water “im Gau Arabia”. Judging by the named gods, it will probably be the necropolis or (some part of) the realm of the dead.

dd⁽⁴⁾ *jw=f-ꜥꜣ jj.n=f hr=tn*

Iufaa speaks, having come before you:

tp.jw j3.wt nsw⁽⁵⁾ *nb.w snd ꜥꜣ šf{z}*

(You) who are on the mounds,⁴⁰ Fiery ones,⁴¹
lords of fear, great of terror,

*wn sflh*⁴² *ꜥꜣ.wj p.t t3*

open and release the doors of heaven and
earth!

p⁽⁶⁾*tr.w wdj rsf jmj.w {š}<z>š=s[n]*⁴³ *tpj.w*
bj3=sn

Look,⁴⁴ you who give the prey of birds and
fish, you who are in their marshes,⁴⁵ (you)
who are on their firmament!

(7)j tjs

Oh, *tjs*,⁴⁶



j mr-šf

oh, You, who loves respect,⁴⁷



(8)j nhh jr.t(j) htp.w

oh, the Ancient one, who makes provisions!⁴⁸

⁴⁰ For *tpj.w j3.wt=sn*, see LGG VII: 395, but mentioned is only one attestation from Sonnenlitanei (151), where they are praised by *b3.w*. Another option is their identification with a group appearing with different writing, *tpj.w j3.wt=sn* with the sign of standard; see below.

⁴¹ The sign  is probably meant by , which is a common mistake. Or it could mean just *nsw.w*, “rulers”, but without the other epithet, it seems strange; considering that they are probably some dangerous beings and/or guardians, I leave the “Fiery ones” in translation.

⁴² Written *sflf*.

⁴³ A short word may be missing here, but considering the small space, there can be only *n* and plural, which is why the brackets are omitted in the translation. LGG does not mention any group of gods with this name, but a mistake in writing is also possible: in the word “nest”, there is probably a mistake that happened during the copying from hieratic:  was changed to .


⁴⁴ Writing with one eye is common in Ptolemaic (Wilson 1997: 380), with two of them, the word appears in dictionaries only as *ptr.tj* – “both eyes”, or some part of heaven in the Pyramid texts (pyramid of Pepi I, PT 510 1183c). But in the case of Iufaa, this writing also occurs in other texts, where, considering the content, it has to be a verb (see, e.g., text about the power of *3h.tj*-eyes below).

The sign *w* at the end is interpreted as an archaic ending of the imperative (see Malaise–Winand 1999: 511). It could also be read as a participle, but based on the context, the imperative makes better sense – with the translation “who see”, the object of seeing is missing. It can also belong to the next word, *wdj*, or be read twice and occur in both words.

⁴⁵ The word *rsf* means “the catch” in Ptolemaic, it is used as a general term for the fish and birds caught during the fishing and fowling in the marshes; it could also be an offering (Wilson 1997: 592). Because the marshes are meant in the continuation of the text, this is one of the options of the translation, the allusion would be to the fishing and fowling in the underworld. However, the interpretation is uncertain because of the mono-consonantal writing and lacks of any determinative or parallel version.

⁴⁶ A being named *tjs.t* appears as “the Flame” in the Coffin texts CT III 52a, see LGG VII: 460, but the identification is uncertain.

⁴⁷ LGG III: 343 as *mr šfy(.t)*, “Der das Ansehen liebt”. He appears in Ptolemaic temples in Edfu (I, 513: 17), Dendera (VII: 50), and Kom Ombo (333: 9) in a group of eighteen deities, whom the king follows.

⁴⁸ This epithet does not appear in LGG. An alternative possibility is to transliterate  as *ptr* – “The Ancient one who sees offerings”, or *nhh ptr htp htp.w*, “The Ancient of seeing, content in offerings”.

<p><i>nḥm</i>⁽⁹⁾=<i>tn jw=f-ꜥ3 m-ꜥ fdq qd nḥm</i> ⁽¹⁰⁾<i>zšp.t m-ꜥ nḥn.w</i></p>	<p>May you save Iufaa from The One who hacks the <i>qd</i>-flower⁴⁹ and takes away the grapes⁵⁰ from the child!</p>
<p><i>j</i> ⁽¹¹⁾ <i>mn.w</i>⁵¹ <i>tp.jw</i>⁵² <i>sh.t (j)tm(.w)jr n=f ḥs<3>.t</i> ⁽¹²⁾</p>	<p>Oh, you who dwell in the field of Atum⁵³ which Hesat made for him(?),⁵⁴</p>
<p><i>nḥm=tn</i>⁵⁵ <i>jw=f-ꜥ3 m-ꜥ jt shb.w</i></p>	<p>may you save Iufaa from the one who takes beverages (?)! ⁵⁶</p>

In this text, different deities are addressed and asked to open for Iufaa the doors of heaven and earth and to protect him. At the beginning of the spell, the guardians are addressed by different epithets as a group. The first epithet describes them as terrifying guardians of the realm of the dead, or a part of it, where Iufaa enters. Then the deceased speaks to them directly: he names them again as lords of mounds, which could refer to the primaeval mound, the mounds of the buried ancestral deities, or the mounds of the realm of the dead. The group with different writing of *tpj.w j3.wt=sn*, with a sign ^ⲓ: “those who are on their standards”, appears as 77 gods connected with Hormerti (on the sarcophagus Cario JE 86718, see Goyon 1985 I: 377, II: 140),

⁴⁹ The epithet *fdq-qd* does not appear in LGG. The plant *qd* is mentioned in the list of the forbidden plants at Philae (Wb V: 79, 14), but it appears only in a list of plants (Philae 72,14, 3041, photo 72, see *qd* in TLA lemma no. 162460, DZA 30.442.930). According to Wilson (1997: 1072), the *qd* is a kind of incense or resinous material from *pinus halepensis* used during the embalming ritual (see also Goyon 1972: 238, 242). Janssen (1975: 367–

368, ostr. 54, 2, 2) mentions plant *sd.t*: considering quite often change of ^ⲓ and ^ⲓ in copying from hieratic, it could also be that plant, also identified with a plant called *sꜥd* or *sꜥt*.

⁵⁰ Grapes or wine, see Wb IV: 284 or Wilson 1997: 924. In Edfu II: 211, 15 these grapes appear together with *dsds*, who is mentioned among the beings on the vignette of this text: “grapes of Desdes are called raisins of the oasis”, similarly also at Philae 2886, Photo 850 (see *sšp* in TLA, lemma no. 144880, DZA 29.589.310). The grapes of wine are also connected with the eye of Horus (see e. g. E V 356: 4, 5 or p. Jumilhac XIV, 5–15).

⁵¹ According to Kurth (2010: 323) ^ⲓ can be read as *m*.

⁵² This entire epithet should refer to the fourth of the canine deities, thus, the ending *.w* at the end of *tp.j(w)* seems to be a mistake.

⁵³ This epithet is not attested in LGG. However, the translation is uncertain because of the way of writing.

⁵⁴ Hesat acts here as a provider of food, prosperity, and nourishment.

⁵⁵ Considering the 2nd person plural pronoun, there should be at least two beings addressed, but contrary to the previous part of the spell, the determinative ^ⲓ appears just once, and taking into account the uncertain reading of the passage, it is not possible to say where possibly divide the epithets.

⁵⁶ Or: “from being taken by the Swallower”. The verb *shb* can mean “swallow” or “drink” and is usually connected with blood or with the Nile flood (see Wilson 1997: 918). Considering the previous part of the text, where the provisions for the deceased are provided, protection from “the one who takes beverage” could protect the deceased from being thirsty in the afterlife (?), however, the epithet is strange, and the interpretation uncertain.

which would correspond with the other texts from Iufaa's outer sarcophagus, related to them (see chapter 7.3.), but it is not possible to say if the writing above is a different word, mistake or another variant of orthography. However, the group appears in several other texts: in the contemporary Book of the protection (p. Brooklyn 47.218.49, see O'Rourke 2015), the "mounds" are interpreted as the burial places of the *primaeval* deities (O'Rourke 2015: 188), the identification of them as a burial site also appears in the Enigmatic Netherworld Books (see Darnell 2004: 291).

The next epithets by which Iufaa addresses the gods are the Fiery ones, Lords of fear and Great of terror, which all refer to their function as guardians of the underworld, their sinister character, and their destructive power, which is aimed at the enemies and forces of chaos. Iufaa asks them to open for him heaven and earth.

Then he addresses them as providers of nourishment, prosperity, and abundance – they are connected with fishing and fowling in the watery region of heaven (?). Then the deceased addresses each guardian by his name: they are supposed to be four, corresponding to the vignette. At first, he speaks to three of them and asks them to save him from "The one who hacks the *qd*-flower and takes away the grapes from the child". The name of the first protector deity, *tjs*, is not clear, two others are related to awe and terror spread among the enemies (*mr-šf*) and providing of nourishment in the realm of the dead (*nḥḥ jr.t(j) ḥtp.w*). Then he addresses the last one of the protective deities with quite a long epithet connected again with abundance (*mn.w tp.jw šḥ.t (j)tm(.w) jr n=f ḥs<3>.t*) and asks him to save him from "The Swallower/The one who takes beverage(?)."

The vignette belonging to the text should correspond somehow with the spell. The labelled deities/demons are not mentioned in the text, but it seems that the addressed divinities are closely related to them and are probably manifestations of the depicted canine-headed gods. Although the names of two of them are unclear, at least *3sb* and *3kr* occur in the different texts as protective beings (see notes 32 and 33), and the canine form or canine head is typically founded as a form of the gods occurring as the guardians of the necropoleis and the realm of the dead; there are also canine-headed ancestor deities appearing in the temple of Dendera (Gaber 2015: 247). They are standing above a pyramid or triangle-shaped structure, which probably symbolises the (*primaeval*) mound mentioned as the place where they belong. The "mound" could also contain a solar symbolic and represent the rays or shining of the sun. That motive would relate to the fiery goddesses, not mentioned explicitly in the text but might be represented by the cobras in the lower register and on the sides of the vignette. The field or

marshes in the upper part of the depiction might symbolise the mentioned field of Atum, it is also connected with the fishing and fowling in the marshes of the underworld and, thus, the abundance and prosperity in the afterlife. That motif also fits the “taboo names” of demons in the second part of the text, which relate to a (sacred) plant and grapes.

The “name” of the first one of the evil demons (*fdq qd nḥm zšp.t m-ᶜ nḥn.w*) seems not to be a real name but more likely an epithet that points out that he is the one who acts in a forbidden way. The part about hacking the *qd*-flower and taking grapes from a child probably alludes to mythical events and/or forbidden cultic practices. The mentioning of real “taboos” connected with the individual temples in myths, rituals, temple inscriptions, or stelae is quite common: Seth or another enemy of the sun god/the king/the deceased is often accused of acting in a forbidden way or commit offences (such as acting against the rules, doing forbidden things, eating forbidden meals or, similarly as here, cutting sacred trees or pulling out or uprooting sacred plants; see Junker 1913, Korostovstev 1945: 155–173, Altmann 2010: 18–19, for concrete examples see e. g. Ritual for repelling Seth, p Louvre 3129, E3 or p.Jumilhac XII, 6–21). The other demon, who could endanger Iufaa, is called “The one who takes beverage”(?) – this name fits well with the function of the first one, both the malevolent demons could endanger the deceased by removing his nourishment from him. This also corresponds to the abovementioned function and epithets of the protective beings summoned in this spell.

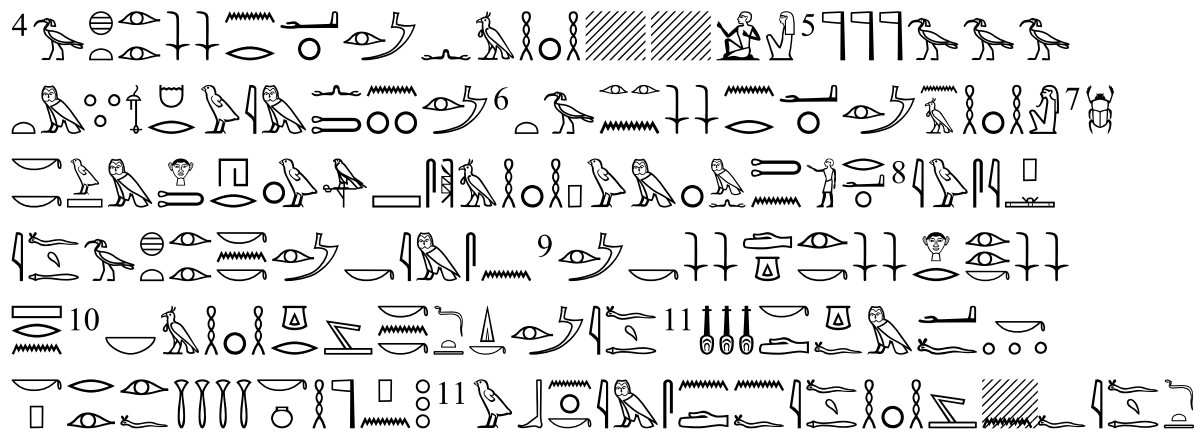
Since the text is not preserved in any parallel and contains a lot of unknown epithets and words written with a peculiar orthography (especially the places written with mono-consonantal signs or without any determinatives), the exact meaning of the text is difficult to determine: the purpose of the spell is the protection of the deceased and providing his nourishment in the realm of the dead, but a deeper understanding of the spell would require further context.

6.4. *The radiant eyes of Ra, the northern side, below, columns 4–8*

The following text deals with the radiant eyes (*3ḥ.tj*) of the sun god. The spell is part of a longer ritual text dealing with divinising of the body parts, where 14 body parts, from head to feet, are equated with the body parts of the sun god Ra. The entire text occurs on the lid of the inner sarcophagus of Menekhibnekau and also on the inside of the lid of the inner sarcophagus of Iufaa. Here, on the outer sarcophagus, only a part concerning the eyes is repeated – the reason

seems to be the stressed motif of protection of the sun's eye on the entire space around the head of the deceased: the radiant eyes of Ra can be again identified with the protective goddesses.

The detailed analysis of the text has already been published in Abusir XXIX, with the synoptic hieroglyphic transcription of both variants included (see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 13–14), only a brief commentary for the relevant part is repeated here.



(4) *3h.tj⁵⁷ nn n r^c m3 nhh*

These are the radiant eyes of Ra, who sees eternity.

[j rmt] (5) *ntr.w 3h.w mwt.w hmw.w-r3 jm=tn*
h(t)h(t) m3{t} (6) *3h.tj nn n r^c m3 nhh⁽⁷⁾*

[Oh people]⁵⁸, gods, *akhu*, *mutu*, etc., do not revert the sight of these radiant eyes of Ra who sees eternity!⁵⁹

<z3.w>⁶⁰ *hpr kk.w⁶¹ m hr=t<n> hrw šms-*
ntr nhh pw m hm=tn



<Beware> lest darkness comes into being in your face(s) on the day of procession of the god, and eternity will be that you do not know!⁶²



⁵⁷ The radiant eye, *3h.t*, is a term for the sun's god eye; according to LGG I: 46, it could also be manifested as a goddess with the power of the solar eye, who destroys enemies (of the sun god), *3h.tj* for both eyes is a pretty common term, e.g. in offering or ritual texts (Wilson 1997: 19–20).

The version of Menekhibnekau writes *3h.tj tw nn n r^c*.

⁵⁸ Added according to Iufaa's and Menekhibnekau's variants of the text.

⁵⁹ Menekhibnekau's version omits *m3 nhh*.

⁶⁰ The sign , which should stand here according to the parallel versions, was mistaken for , which could be read as a determinative for the epithet of the sun god *r^c m3 nhh*.

⁶¹ The sign  is wrongly interpreted or simplified sign  (or  or some of its variants.

⁶² Lit. "eternity will be in your ignorance". The sentence means they will not reach eternal life and a blessed existence in the netherworld.

*j r^c (8) jw sjp⁶³ jw=f-^c3 3h.tj=k n=k m3=k
jm=sn*

m3=k nn dg(3)=k nn {hr}⁶⁴ ptr=k nn⁶⁵

{šr nb} <sj3=k>⁶⁶ nhh grg=k n=k d.t

*dj=k m3 jw=f-^c3 nfr.w=k dg(3)=f mfk=k
ptr=f w3d fd.w=k nw h^c.w-tr pn⁶⁷ wbn=k
jm=sn*

*{d} <sj3> n=f jw=f-^c3 nhh grg [n]=f jw=f-^c3
d.t*

Oh, Ra! Iufaa had inspected your two radiant eyes for you so that you may see with them,

so that you may see this, so that you may behold this, so that you may look at this,


so that you may recognise eternity for yourself, so that you can establish everlastingness for yourself!

May you cause Iufaa to see your beauty, to behold your joy, and to look at your four papyrus columns of the divine body, when you shine within them,⁶⁸

so that Iufaa might recognise eternity for himself and so that Iufaa might establish everlastingness [for] himself.⁶⁹


The text is originally part of a more extended spell, whose main purpose is the divinisation of the individual body parts of the deceased, which are equated with the body parts of Ra, naming them from head to feet. Each spell has the same structure: firstly, the bodily part of Ra is mentioned, and Ra is described by an epithet chosen or newly formed to create a direct semantic link between his divine supreme power and royal authority and the individual parts of his divine body. Then any possibly dangerous beings are identified and addressed and warned not to become hostile or act against the relevant body part of Ra and Ra himself, they are also warned that if any of them fail to obey the sun god's command, they will be punished and affected in

⁶³ The version of Iufaa's inner sarcophagus has *sip.n jw=f-^c3*, and Menekhibnekau's variant is destroyed here.

⁶⁴ The sign  was erroneously written instead of \square .

⁶⁵ Menekhibnekau's version omits final *ptr=k nn*.

⁶⁶ Emended according to the parallel versions.

⁶⁷ The variant of the inner sarcophagus is : *w3d.w fd.w=k n.w thnw* – “your four dazzling papyrus columns”. The version of Menekhibnekau is destroyed here.

⁶⁸ Here, a strong symbolism connected with the number four occurs. According to Faulkner (1969, I: 4), four *w3d* pillars symbolise four cardinal points associated with Seth, Osiris, Thoth, and Dewenawi. Heaven's four columns or supports could also be clouds (Wilson 1997: 97). For the symbolism of the number four generally, see also chapter 6.2.

⁶⁹ Menekhibnekau writes *sj3=k n=f nhh grg=k n=g d.t*, probably an error from transforming the names into pronouns.

the appropriate parts of their body and also prevented from living or reaching the afterlife. In the third section of the spell, the deceased occurs as an active figure: he offers Ra his ritual help and assures him to protect his individual body parts and asks the god to get eternal life and protection in return – by protecting Ra’s body part, senses and aspects of power, the deceased magically ensures the god’s very existence and order of the world, and for doing so he must be adequately rewarded.

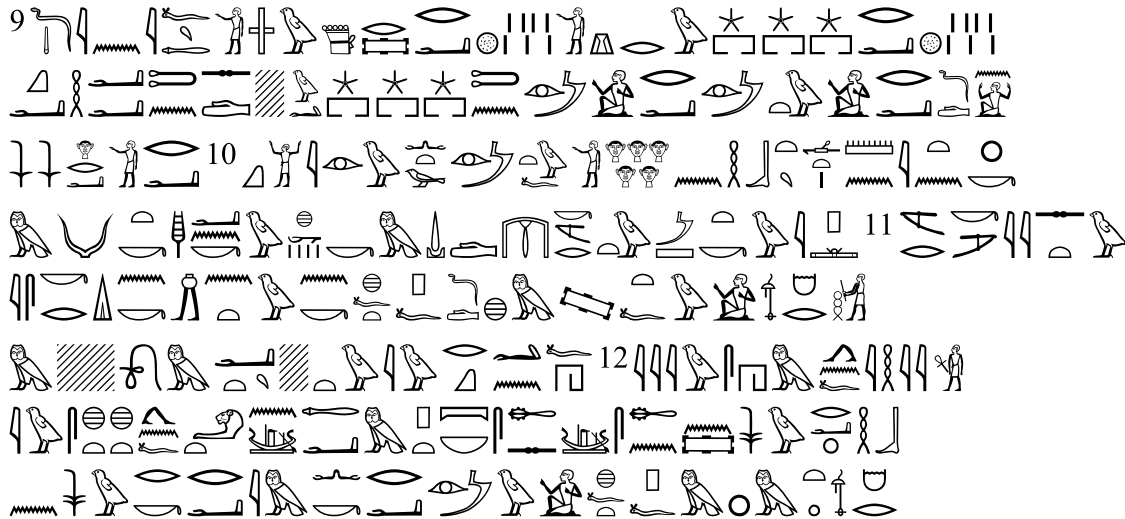
As was said above, here, on the outer sarcophagus, only a short part of the entire ritual is written: the passage focusing on the radiant eyes of Ra. The deceased equates his own eyes with the radiant eyes of the sun god, who “sees eternity” with them. Any potential evildoers are asked to refrain from reverting the eyes of the sun god and threatened with loss of sight and inability to participate in the sun god’s journey: they will see only darkness on the day of the divine procession, and they will not reach eternity. Iufaa then assures Ra that he has completed (lit. inspected) his eyes so that the sun god may see with them and know eternity. “See this” generally refers to what Ra usually sees, or alternatively, *nn* can be interpreted as darkness: “so that he may see (in) darkness”. Finally, the sun god is asked to act reciprocally for Iufaa and enable him to see the splendour of the sun god himself and know eternity.

The reason why Iufaa repeats here only this part of the text seems to be its focus on the sun’s eye(s) and its/their protection. The spell fits well with the motifs and primary purpose of the texts surrounding the head of the deceased, where the protection by the sun’s eye and its/her manifestation is stressed, and the deceased is identified with Ra himself. The spell is written on the small area close to the bottom of the sarcophagus, thus another reason for choosing only a part of a more extended ritual could be the lack of space – the text could serve as an individual spell, focusing on the protection of the eyes of Ra, but also as *pars pro toto* for the longer spell which was not possible to put on that place.

6.5. *The sun god and his guardians, the southern side, columns 9–12*

The texts in columns 9–12 are different on each side of the sarcophagus, but according to their content and length, they belong to the first part of the decoration of the sarcophagus, referring to the sun god, myths related to him, his defeating of enemies and the power and protection of the sun’s eye and its manifestations.

The text on the southern side appeals to two groups of divine beings, both guardians of gates under the supremacy of Ra. The second part contains Iufaa's speech to Ra, where Iufaa commands Ra to destroy his foes.



⁽⁹⁾ *dd-mdw jn jw=f-^{c3}*

To be recited by Iufaa:

j jmj.w dr.w r^c zp 7

Oh, you who are within the limits⁷⁰ of Ra!
(seven times)

j hr.jw sb3.w r^c zp 7

Oh, you who are under the gates⁷¹ of Ra!
(seven times)

q^ch^c.wj=tn z{d}<š> [...]w⁷² sb3.w=tn

Stretch your arms and open your gates,

m3=j r^c m3 tw=j⁷³ r^c

so that I may see Ra and Ra may see me!

⁷⁰ This epithet could refer to gates or another boundary, but also generally to everyone/everything under the command of the sun god, i. e. all creation. However, in the following sentence, the guardians of gates are explicitly mentioned, thus, it seems probable that they are also addressed here.

⁷¹ The *hrj.w-sb3.w* occur in Pfortenbuch (Hornung 1982b, I: 379; II: 267), see also LGG VI: 43, where they support the stars.

⁷² Or *zd*, lit. “break”, also meaning “open”. There was probably determinative in a lacuna.

⁷³ In the phrase *m3 tw=j r^c* the Late Egyptian form of the pronoun is used. Another option is the misreading of *t* and *n* from hieratic, the phrase would then be the Middle Egyptian subjunctive *m3n wj r^c*. Since the Late Egyptian grammar is also used further in the text (see note 77), I leave this interpretation in translation.

dd.n=j⁷⁴ nn hr r^c

I say this before Ra:

*j r^c (10) q3 jr.w jw.tj m3.tw=fj hr 4 hr nhb.t
w^c.t*

Oh, Ra, noble of forms, who cannot be seen,
oh you with four faces on one neck!⁷⁵

*mn jtn=k m wp.t=k^c h^c n=k wh.w=k m
d3d=k mr tw m3^c.t*

Your sun disk is firm on your forehead, for
you stand your columns in your audience
hall, and Maat loves you.

k{w}<3>(?)⁷⁶ jp (11) mr(.t)=k mry=s tw

Then the one whom you love (i. e. Maat) can
be reckoned, she loves you

jsk rdj n=k jn.tw n=k hft.j pf



and so this foe is given to you, this foe
brought to you,

*dd hm.t(j)=f(j) wj hm-r3 sk m [...]w3 m^c.t
[...]tw*


who says that he would destroy me, etc., who
beats [...] body [...],

jw⁷⁷ rq.n=f hy jw shm.n=f jh⁽¹²⁾y

who defied gladness, who caused the sistrum
player to move away,⁷⁸

⁷⁴ The sign  was changed for . The used form *sdm.n=f* has a performative meaning here (see Malaise–Winand 1999: 351). Or: *dd.n=j nn hr-^c* – “I say this immediately”. This is very similar to the text on the opposite side, where a “quotation” of some longer text of Ra/to Ra also appears.

⁷⁵ LGG V: 307 mentions four heads on one neck as an epithet of the sun god, in some cases of the other deities or the manifestation of *bau* of different deities, such as *bau* of Mendes, or *ba* of Osiris, Shu, Khepri and Geb. In the Saite Period, he also appears on the coffin of Ankhesneferibre (Sander–Hansen 1937: 418–419; IXd), identified with the deceased. The god with four faces on one neck can also stand for “universal” god defeating enemies and forces of chaos (Goyon 1985: 186), he also appears in the Book of the Day, addendum C to the first three hours of the day (Müller–Roth 2008: 140–154). The epithet is used for Ra also in the text on the arch of the eastern wall of Iufaa’s burial chamber, see further in the commentary.

⁷⁶ Interpretation with *m3^c.t=k* seems strange, and still, there is .

⁷⁷ *jw* is interpreted as the Late Egyptian circumstantial converter (Junge 2005: 189ff.). Another option is to begin here the new main clause: “He defied joy” etc., but considering the fact that the text ends with the threat to the enemy, the previous part could be his description and identification.

⁷⁸ Or “who made joy disappear”, but considering the determinative of a man with an *ankh* in his hand, the text probably speaks about the sistrum-player, or sistrum-player priest of Hathor, who communicated with the goddess by rattling the sistrum and the *menit* (Konrad 2011: 263–264). In the funerary sphere, this priest or divine being should assure the protection for the deceased, again connected with the goddess, who is a manifestation of the sun’s eye – obviously, the foe of the deceased tries to move the priest away.

<p><i>jw shtht.n=f h3.t n wj3 3 m p.t{nb}<=k> shz</i> <i>wj3</i></p>	<p>who stopped the prow of the great barque in your heaven, the one who could destroy the barque –</p>
<p><i>shnn sw r^c hbn sw r=k r^c</i></p>	<p>destroy him, Ra, kill him then, Ra!</p>
<p><i>jm=k rdj m3 wj hft.j pf m mwt hm-r3</i></p>	<p>Do not let this foe, be it the dead, etc., see me!</p>

This spell consists of several parts. In the first one, Iufaa addresses the guardians of Ra’s gates and asks them to open their doors for him, which corresponds with the previous text on the southern side of the sarcophagus, where different deities and/or demons are asked to open the doors of heaven and earth for Iufaa. The reason for such acting is Iufaa’s desire to see Ra – again, similarly as in the previous text, where Iufaa assigns to Ra his eyes and wants to see his beauty in return.

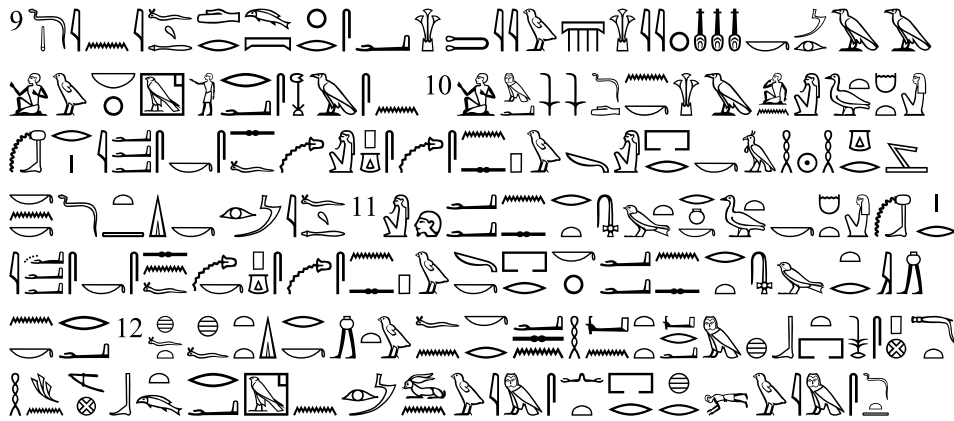
In the second part of the text, the deceased stands before the sun god and presents his speech to him. He addresses him by his epithets, as one of the noble forms, who cannot be seen, and as the one with four heads on one neck. The similar epithets of Ra appear in the text on the arch of the eastern wall of Iufaa’s burial chamber, where the deceased acts as a sun priest,⁷⁹ praising the rising sun and stressing his secret knowledge about the sun’s rebirth. The four faces are connected with four *bau* of the sun god, appearing in the Mendes tradition (Voß 1996: 379–380 and note 19; Müller–Roth 2008: 140–154), representing the sun god’s mysterious form, which cannot be seen or known. In the above-presented text, Ra is strongly connected with Maat, his role as a protector and guarantee of *maat* and the proper functioning of the cosmos is stressed, as well as his universal might and power. This aspect of the god is emphasised for an apparent reason – in the next part of the spell, the description of a potential enemy follows, and Ra is asked and also commanded to protect the deceased from him. Similarly as here, also in the text from the eastern arch of Iufaa’s tomb, the four-faced manifestation of Ra is connected with protection and defeating of enemies, he is addressed as “the one in whose rage the rebel cannot come”, “the one who repels the raging one before you”, “who divide two enemies with your horns” (Landgráfová – Janák – Míčková 2021: 350).

⁷⁹ The structure of the text on the eastern arch corresponds with a composition published as *Der König als Sonnenpriester* by J. Assmann (1970). For a detailed description and translation of Iufaa’s text, see Landgráfová – Janák – Míčková 2021: 347–357.

In this text, a detailed description of potential acts of evil-doer follows. He is labelled as the one who could destroy the deceased and his body (this part of the spell is corrupted, but the general meaning is obvious), who could ruin gladness, and also the priest/divine being who brings it and also protects the deceased by assuming the protective power of the sun's eye; and also who could stop the sailing of the heavenly barque of the sun god and destroy it. Thus the potential enemy does not endanger just the deceased but also Ra himself. At the end of the spell, Iufaa strictly commands Ra to destroy this enemy. The commanding of gods is not unusual in magical texts, there appear even threats (see, e.g. Borghouts 1978: 1), and the motive of the dependency between the (sun) god and the priest/the deceased also often occurs in religious texts. The usual motif is that the forces of chaos endanger the sun god, and the ritualist helps him to defeat them and thus preserve the *maat* in the world, on return he asks for power, protection, etc. (see, e.g. p. Bremner–Rhind, BM EA 10188, Faulkner 1933, Carrier 2014; or Rituals of defeating Apophis p. Louvre 3129 a p. BM 10252 Altmann 2010, Schott 1929); the motif appears also in many texts from the tomb of Iufaa, see e. g. text about the radiant eyes of the sun god above. At the very end of the spell, Ra is asked not to let the foe even see Iufaa – obviously in the contrast to the fact that Iufaa can see Ra, even when he is described as one of the secret forms, who cannot be seen (sic!), and vice versa.

6.6. *Hathor speaks to Ra, the northern side, columns 9–12*

The main motif of this text is again the protection of the sun god/the deceased by the goddess, representing the manifestation of the sun's eye, here identified as Hathor. Except for the usual title, *dd-mdw jn jw=f-ꜥ3*, and a short addendum at the end of the text, the entire spell is written as a speech of Hathor, addressed to her father Ra, who is identified with Iufaa. The goddess assures him that she has come according to his wish, that he is mighty and protected by her flame, and that all his enemies are brought to him defeated and given to the place of execution. Interestingly, the text still works as a “mirror” of the spell on the other side. Both spells cover the same number of columns, and even in both cases, a part about enemies begins in the 11th column, however, this could be more of a coincidence than intention.



⁹⁾ *dd-mdw jn jw=f-^c3*

To be recited by Iufaa:

dr h3(.t) hrs⁸⁰ h3.tyw h3y nfr.w=k

“The storm is driven away, the clouds are dispelled, and your beauty shines!

m33 wj nb(=j) r^c hw.t-hrw

Look at me, my lord Ra!” (says) Hathor.

j r^c sh3=sn⁽¹⁰⁾ <w>j m-^c nn dd.n=k

“Oh Ra, may I be remembered⁸¹ because of that which you have said:

h3 n=j z3.t hm.t w^cb r3 j^c .wj



Would that I had a daughter and wife with pure mouth and clean hands!

sk s {z} <n>f=j pgs zn {z} <f> pw ds=j

*My spat blood, it is my own blood.*⁸²

pr=k nhh grg=k n=k d.t

You can come out forever,⁸³ may you establish eternity for yourself!

⁸⁰ The sign  stands as a determinative instead of .

⁸¹ Here is the influence of the younger stage of the Egyptian language – in Demotic, the 3rd person plural pronoun is used for expressing the passive (Johnson 2000: 21).

⁸² Or *sm3=j*, “my spilled blood”. Probably an allusion to some myth. The meaning of the passage is perhaps to stress the connection of the sun god and his eye through blood, which was considered a magically and ritually powerful substance, especially the blood of gods (see e. g. Schmidt 2022: 403–436), similar to other divine bodily fluids (which often appear in myths as a source of different kinds of plants, substances, and even beings, see e. g. p. Salt 825 II, 1–6). Hu and Sia could be described as the ones who came from the blood of the sun god (Schmidt 2022: 412), similarly, the king can be mentioned as the “blood of the sun god” (Schmidt 2022: 412). In the text from the inner southern side of the sarcophagus of Iufaa, the blood of the sun god appears as his rays (see chapter 8.1.). Hathor’s connection with blood also appears in the Myth of the destruction of mankind, which could be alluded to as well.

⁸³ Or *pr=k <r> nhh*, “may you reach eternity”.

dj=k m3 jw=f-ε3⁸⁴ (11)tp ε.wj nzt.t wr.t

Let Iufaa behold the hands of The Great Flame!⁸⁵

jnk z3.t=k hm.t(=k) wεb r3 jε ε.wj

I am your daughter and wife with a pure mouth and clean hands,

sk {s}znf=k pgs zn{z}<f> pw ds=k

your spat blood, it is your own blood!

pr=k rε⁸⁶ <tp> ε.wj nzt.t wr.t

May you come out, Ra, on the hands of The Great Flame!

jj(=j) jn(=j) n=k rε (12) hft hft.t

I have come to you, I have brought to you, Ra, male and female foe,

dj r=k jn.tw=f n=k rdj znḥ ntt

cause that they are brought to you to be tattered and bound,

rdj m hb.t rsj p mḥt ḥn

to be given to the place of execution southern of Pe and northern from Hen!⁸⁷


bw.t rε ḥw.t-ḥrw n m3 wn.w jm=s

The *but* of Ra and Hathor is to see what is there (i.e. in the house of execution)

jw.t(j) pr ḥr.w jm=s d.t

out of which the fallen ones will not come out forever.

This spell is the last one from the section around the head of Iufaa, where the texts are focused on the protection of the deceased, identified with the sun god by the Fiery goddess. The text begins with the proclamation by Hathor, that sky is clear, darkness and storm clouds are driven away, and the beauty of the sun god shines – this formula is known, e. g. from *bandeau* inscriptions of the temples of Edfu and Dendera⁸⁸ as an introduction to the epiphany of the

⁸⁴ The sign  after the name of Iufaa is probably a relict from the variant in the 1st person singular.

⁸⁵Or: “let Iufaa be seen on the hands of the Great flame”. However, the context of the text is that Ra (identified with the deceased) looks at Hathor. “The Fiery one” or “Flame” (*nsr.t*) is a common word for the flame-goddess (see Wb II: 336, LGG IV: 353), *nsr.t wr.t* occurs according to Leitz (IV: 355) from the New Kingdom onwards as a hippopotamus-goddess with the crown of Hathor, appearing in different ritual scenes as a manifestation of the sun’s-eye goddesses or *uraei*. She is usually connected with offerings, purification, or defeating enemies.

⁸⁶ Or mistaken *ḥ*.

⁸⁷ Probably a mythical place, it is not clear if it is the same as, e.g. the one mentioned in van der Molen 2000: 339 (*ḥnn*) or Hannig 2006: 1172 (*ḥnn.t*).

⁸⁸ E.g. Edfou I/2, 284, 8–17; I/4, 551,19-552,7; I/4 573–4 etc.

(local) sun god (Cauville 2015: 23–31). The goddess continues to speak to her father, Ra, mentioning her epithet given to her by Ra himself – his daughter and wife with pure mouth and clean hands. This sentence could be an allusion to the Myth of the sun’s eye when the goddess purifies herself in the sacred waters after her return to Egypt, which could be, e.g., *isheru* lake, the waters of *abaton* (at Philae) or the primaeval water of Nun (see Richter 2012: 167ff.).⁸⁹ The goddess then returns to the sun god pacified and calmed, transformed into a beautiful woman, protecting Ra from the evil forces, which is precisely the role she plays later in the spell. The connection of the sun god and Hathor through blood, a ritually potent bodily fluid, is also stressed: at the beginning of the spell, Ra wishes to have a daughter and wife, connected with him through his own blood, and later Hathor appears according to his desire.

The sun god, with whom the deceased is identified, is then assured that he can come out into eternity and be equipped with anything he needs (in the afterlife); he appears “on the hands of the Great flame”, i. e. protected by the power of the Fiery goddess. After that, Hathor says to Ra/the deceased that she has brought to him his male and female foe(s), i. e. anyone who could be dangerous to him or harm him, and that they will be bound and also placed to the “place of execution”, which is located to the south of Pe and the north of Hen: the identification or location of Hen is not certain, see note 87, but the described location seems to be a mythical place. The giving of the enemies to *hb.t*, a place of execution which they can never leave, often occurs in different ritual texts focusing on defeating foes: see, e.g. Bremner-Rhind 27, 17–18, where Wadjet defeats enemies, and they can never come out from there; or Rituals for repelling Seth G8d where Seth is given there, *uraei* burn the rebels, and they cannot come out of the eastern *hb.t* forever; also Edfou VII 164, 11–12 – 164 12,3, where the enemy will fall there and cannot come out forever.

At the very end of the spell, a “note” follows, explaining that this place of execution is *but* for both of these deities, Ra and Hathor – the enemies and the place where they are is described as an abomination of the deities, but also of the deceased, who, identified with the sun god, is protected from them and can reach the eternal life without any harm.

⁸⁹ This mythical event was also incorporated into the cultic practices – the goddess was calmed down by e. g. an offering of the sacred water (see e. g. D III, 63, 7 or D III, 75, 10–11) or pacification rituals taking place on the sacred lake (Richter 2010: 159–160).

7. TEXTS FROM THE NORTHERN SIDE

The second section of texts on the inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus covers most of the northern side of the sarcophagus, i.e., columns 13–50. The structure of the spatial arrangement of the texts mirrors the southern side, where the third section of the texts covers columns 13–49. The one extra column in the north is caused by the figure of Iufaa, depicted at the end of this section, which serves as a vignette of the last spell and divides the last column into two shorter columns, but the actual space covered by texts is the same. It can be clearly seen that texts on both sides are related to each other, even considering their spatial arrangement: on both sides, the texts very often begin and end at an equal distance from the head of the deceased in terms of the number of columns. Both sides of the sarcophagus should probably be read parallelly or should “work” at the same time.

The most of the texts from the northern side deal with the motif of rituals recited on the (morning of) the new year. The turn of the year was a time of changes and limits when the world was not in its usual order, and thus beings or forces from different “spheres” could interfere with the world, Egypt, the king and his office, as well as individual people; similarly as during a transition to the afterlife. This motif is a common theme in the tomb of Iufaa – plenty of texts refer to the epagomenal days and the Egyptian new year. On the northern side of the sarcophagus, praising of Ra during the new year's morning appears alongside praising of Sekhmet and Hathor, the goddesses whose manifestation as the Wandering Goddess was directly connected with the beginning of inundation and the new year; and who were in their warrior aspects considered as the mother(s) of the god Tutu or Nefertem (both of these gods are also mentioned in different spells in Iufaa's tomb). These deities had power over demons, whom they sent into Egypt during the epagomenal days to spread misery and illnesses all over the land.⁹⁰ However, because they commanded these disease demons, they could also calm them

⁹⁰ Epagomenal days, “the days that are above the year”, were considered as a period when the world was extremely endangered by chaos and illnesses, and misery could spread out all over Egypt (see e.g. Quack 2018: 15–40; according to J. F. Quack the period is actually longer than the epagomenal days or the turn of the year, based on personal communication). There are many preserved ritual texts whose purpose was to turn away the dangers of the epagomenal days, e.g. “The ritual of the renewal of power on the new year” (p. Brooklyn 47.218.50, Goyon 1974), book of *h3.t nhh ph.wj* (Leitz 1994) or “The book of the last days of the year” (p. Leiden I 346, Bommas 1999). Interestingly, linen amulets with drawings of the new years' demons, made according to the ritual instructions from that book are preserved (Raven 1997). The texts, almost the same as the last mentioned ritual, are written even in the Surgical papyrus of Edwin Smith in the section concerning the protection from “the plague of the new year” (Edwin Smith papyrus 18, 1–20, 2; Breasted 1930). The plague of the new year (*j3d.t-rnp.t*) is a

down; in that aspect, they appear as benevolent and protective deities. One of the reasons why Iufaa chose these gods to be depicted and mentioned in his tomb so many times can be his weak health – during his whole life, he suffered from a serious illness (see chapter 3) that probably let him seek and copy ancient magical and medical texts to have them carved in his tomb, because he wanted to avoid being ill in the afterlife at all costs.

Another text from this section deals with the mythology connected with the guardian deities, known as “the lords of Shednu,” whose primary function was to protect the sun god/Osiris (and his coffin)/the deceased and help to defeat Apophis and the forces of chaos. This is another important motif in the decoration of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus: a significant part of the northern side is covered with a long text praising the victory of Ra over Apophis. This spell was essential for Iufaa because it is repeated also on the southern exterior side of the outer sarcophagus.

Although the dangerous deities, appearing during the turn of the year, are often mentioned in this section of texts, mostly their benevolent aspects are mentioned. The new year appears, but not the epagomenal days, and in the text dealing with overthrowing of Apophis, the fight itself is mentioned only in allusions. Still, the main motif of the text is the celebration of the sun god’s victory (and the help of the deceased in the restoration of *maat* and the sun god’s rebirth). All these motifs of protection and resurrection refer to a situation when the dangers of the turn of the year/*isfet*/transition into the afterlife are surpassed, and there is nothing to fear anymore. One of the reasons why these themes are stressed on the inner side of the sarcophagus could be the fact that they are closer to the body of the deceased than the texts written on the walls of the burial chamber, where, e.g., some dangerous aspects of the same divinities or their manifestations are mentioned (see e. g. text mentioning Tutu and naming seven demons accompanying him, Landgráfová – Janák 2017: 113–124; 2021: 180–206).

common term in Egyptian texts, that appear in ritual as well as in medical texts. Already in the Coffin Texts, it can be read that this plague has some influence even on the gods (CT 316, IV, 109b, the Fiery goddess proclaims that “every god is under my plague of the new year”, *ntr nb hr j3d.t=j*). The idea of disease demons can be based on the real situation of the appearance of a number of illnesses during the period of the beginning of inundation (see Vernus 1982–83: 115–128 or Leitz 1995: 15, note 55). The word *dhr.t*, which is used for the misery, turmoil and illnesses spread by the new-years demons also appears in medical texts, where it is used as “pathogen” (see Vernus 1982: 121).

7.1. Praising Sekhmet, columns 13–16

The following text opens the second section of texts on the sarcophagus, the northern side (from column 13 to column 49). The spell has the form of a hymn to the goddess Sekhmet, who is again a manifestation of the sun's eye and its power and remains the final part of the Myth of the sun's eye and cultic activities connected with it. The text also mentions Ptah and Nefertem, two remaining members of the Memphite triad, but it is focused on the goddess: motifs and religious ideas connected with Mennofer and the god Ptah appear mainly on the southern side of the sarcophagus, as well as in some other texts from the tomb of Iufaa.⁹¹



(13) *dw3 šhm.t*

Praising Sekhmet.

dd-mdw

To be recited:

nd ntr.w šhm.t mry(.t) pth

The gods hail (you), Sekhmet, beloved of Ptah!

jw wh3.w 4=t r q^ch.w 4 nw p.t s^cr m3^c.t n r^c

Your four columns will be the four supports of the sky, making Maat ascend to Ra!

⁹¹ An interesting example is the text related to one of the mythical snakes from the arch of the western wall of the burial chamber, who carries sanctuaries with different manifestations of Ptah (see Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 188–190; see also chapter 8.4.).

pr=t r hr.t phr=t 3h.t m3n=t pr m nw

May you come out to heaven, may you traverse the horizon, may you see the one who came out from Nun!

hnw.t ⁽¹⁴⁾ *dw3 tn r^c sq3 tn hnw m m3=f r^c*
<m> *hnw=f*

Mistress, Ra praises you, He of the *henu-barque*⁹² exalts you when he sees Ra <in> his barque.⁹³

hnw.t dw3 tn pth ndr tn zkr m wj3=f

Mistress, Ptah praises you, Sokar holds you in his barque!

*z3.t*⁹⁴ *r^c mry(.t) pth jw z3=s h3 h.t =s*

Daughter of Ra, beloved of Ptah, whose protection is behind her property/ritual activities!

t3= ⁽¹⁵⁾ *t hkr.w hr tnt3(.t)*⁹⁵ *pr-wr {g}<hr>*
hr(y).t=t

May you take the adornments on the dais of the throne while the *per-wer* is in awe of you.

q(3)b zby.t=t šnw=t

Plait your locks and your hair!

*h^c r^c m m3 t(n) hnw.t snb.t(j) h3 [...(?)]*⁹⁶ *rnn*
tn nfr-tm

Re rejoices when he sees you, mistress, healthy, ho, Nefertem has rejuvenated you.

hnw.t ⁽¹⁶⁾ *snb tn h3 h{j b}<nw>.t m grh*⁹⁷




Mistress, may you be healthy, ho, mistress in the night!


⁹² I. e. Sokar. The sign for *hnw*-barque can be read also as Sokar (see Kurth 2010: 357).

⁹³ The meaning of the text is not clear. One would expect Ra in his barque, but *hnw* should belong to Sokar, especially when he is titled “The one of Henu barque”. However, if the barque belongs to Sokar, it seems strange that he sees his barque instead of being in it. The sign of a common barque could be mistaken for the *hnw* barque because it appears previously in the text.

⁹⁴ For the writing of *z3.t* with two *t*, see note 12.

⁹⁵ See Wb V: 384–385 and Kuhlmann 1977: 75–80.

⁹⁶ Considering the bad visibility of the signs, there may be actually nothing missing,  should be  and thus the word is read as “rejoice”, or it could be also  and thus be read just as “ho”, similarly as below in column 16.

⁹⁷ For reading  as *grh*, see e. g. Kurth 2010: 174 or Wilson 1997: 1104. The night could symbolise danger, or it could also refer to some ritual activity.

dj=t̄ ʕ.wj=t̄ m⁹⁸ w3d rhy.t m jw=f n sh.t r̄

May you extend your hands to The one who makes the *rekhyt*-people flourish when he walks in the field of Ra!

jw n=t̄ jt.j=t̄ m rw.tj hr mry=t̄ {n}

Your father comes to you from both gates, with that what you desire.⁹⁹

The text is a hymn to the goddess Sekhmet, recited probably originally during the cultic activities connected with the rituals of calming the Fiery goddess, such as rituals of *sh̄tp sh̄m.t* (Goyon 2006) or the ritual of the Return of the Wandering goddess, known from many Ptolemaic temples (for the sources and reconstruction of the myth see Junker 1911). The rituals of appeasing the sun's eye and celebrating her return from Nubia were also connected with the inundation and new year's festivals: the return of the Fiery goddess, her restoration as a protective *uraeus*, and her reunion with the sun god generally symbolise renewal, resurrection, and return of the cosmos into *maat*, which here, in the funeral contexts, makes also a parallel to the resurrection of the deceased and his transition into the afterlife.

The text is addressed to Sekhmet; apparently, when she returns from the distant land; she is purified, appeased, rejuvenated, and reunited with Ra, and *maat* is restored again. At the beginning of the spell, she is addressed as the one whom the gods hail and whom Ptah loves – the connection between Sekhmet and Ptah is obvious, they represent the main pair of deities of Mennofer, and they make a triad together with Nefertem, who is also mentioned at the end of the text. In the following sentence, the four columns or supports of the sky are mentioned, which make Maat ascend to Ra. Again, as in the previous texts around the head of the deceased, an allusion to the symbolism of the number four occurs, connected with the four cardinal points and also with some aspects of the goddess of the sun's eye and her (protective) power over the whole world (all directions). In the temple of Dendera (D III, 86, 17; D III, 87, 2), four goddesses who hold up the sky are mentioned; a similar motive also occurs in the hymn to Temet, daughter of Atum, from the ceiling of the Ptolemaic hemispeos of Wadi el-Hallel (Derchain 1971: 53). They can also be depicted as “caryatides” (see D III, pl. 190), or the well-known Hathor's columns – in that context, the mentioned goddess Maat is also important as

⁹⁸ In this sentence, *m* is interpreted as *n*, dative.

⁹⁹ The phrase as it is written, *hr mry tn*, means “with the one who loves you”, but the above-presented translation makes better sense.

“the foundation of Ra’s heaven” (Richter 2016: 159). Sekhmet thus appears here as a guarantee of *maat* – she creates, or she literally is, the support(s) of the sky, which causes Maat to ascend to her father, Ra.

The goddess is then asked to ascend to heaven, walk around the horizon and see the one who came out from Nun, i. e. the sun god Ra (here again, probably identified with the deceased). In the next part of the text, Sekhmet is addressed as the one praised by other deities, namely Ra, Ptah, and Sokar, who welcomes the goddess in his barque. Hathor and her manifestations played an essential role during the festival procession of Sokar, based on the documents of Medinet Habu temple (upper register of the southern wall of the Second Court of Ramesse III) and in some early Ptolemaic papyri from Thebes. However, this ritual is probably linked to a much older tradition. The barques of the sun’s eye-goddesses were carried in the procession during the festival, and all the goddesses played the role of protectress of the king and guaranteed order and prosperity (Gaballa – Kitchen 1969: 62–67). The litany/hymn to Hathor of p. Bremner–Rhind, in the section where Sokar’s festival is described (see p. Bremner-Rhind 18, 1– 21,6), can be mentioned too. The connection of Sekhmet/Hathor with Sokar is also stressed by her relation to Ptah, often appearing as Ptah–Sokar(–Osiris).

In the next part of the spell, Sekhmet is asked to plait her hair and adorn herself on the throne dais while the sanctuary of *per-wer* is in awe of her. The name of *pr-wr*, “the Great sanctuary”, originally refers to the Upper Egyptian shrine of Nekhbet, connected with the coronation, *sed* festival, and generally legitimacy of the king and his royal authority. However, the sanctuaries or some rooms in temples were also known as *pr-wr*, and they were places where the cult of the goddesses representing the sun’s eye took place. In el-Kab, a part of the ritual activities was divided between the *pr-wr* and *pr-nw* sanctuary connected with Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt: in the *pr-wr* shrine, the goddess appears as Sekhmet, similarly as here in the text of Iufaa (Wilson 1997: 352). The main cult room of Hathor at Dendera was also known as a *pr-wr* sanctuary. It was connected with creation, royal legitimacy, the cult of the royal ancestors and the cultic activities related to the Myth of the sun’s eye (for more, see Richter 2016). The mention of awe of Sekhmet in the *pr-wr* sanctuary is thus an allusion to the return of the distant goddess, where she still appears in her aggressive aspect and needs to be purified, appeased, and then also clothed and adorned, which is mentioned in the text.

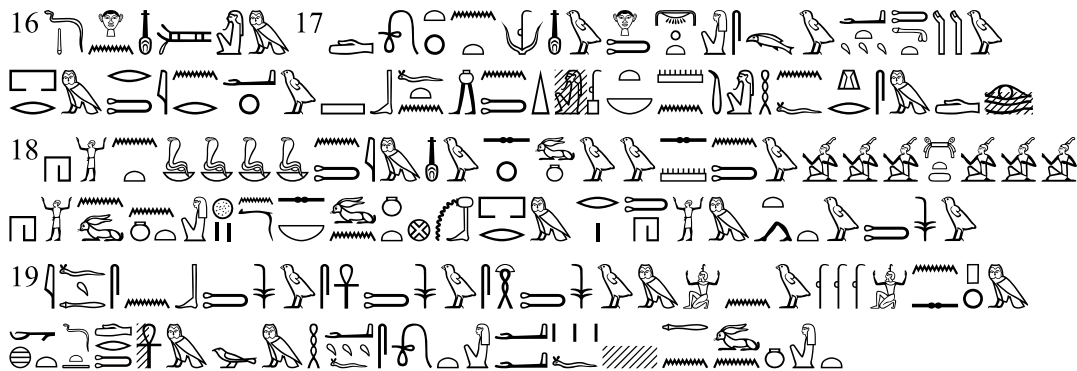
The simple dais of the throne, where Sekhmet takes her adornments, stands here for the primaeval mound that emerged from Nun and also for the dais of the thrones of Upper and Lower Egypt (Wilson 1997: 1168, Kuhlmann 1977: 75). An essential part of the festival of the

Wandering goddess was her purification and also pacification rituals in the sacred lake, which were connected not only with the primaeval ocean but also with the Nile inundation (Leitz 1994: 205–206). In the temple scenes, the goddess can also be depicted seated on the throne over the jars with inundation waters surrounded by waves; and/or receiving offerings of the primordial water as one of the devices to appease her (Richter 2010: 172 and Fig. 20). In part of the Ritual of the renewal of power on the new year (p. Brooklyn 47.218.50, II, 7–13) the *b3s* vessels are brought to the dais of the throne while Sekhmet is praised as the returned goddess, who protects the king, and Wadjet as the one who makes the Two lands green or prosper (*wḏ3*) and also protects the king from all evil. Asking the goddess to adorn herself and plait her hair makes an impression of her “barbarian” or “aggressive” look and also the state of mind, which has to be turned into her positive manifestation – she is turned, step by step, into a beautiful goddess with benevolent and protective aspects.

In the final part of the text, Ra rejoices when he sees the goddess rejuvenated by Nefertem. She is then asked to extend her hands to *w3ḏ-rhy.t*, the one who makes the *rekhyt* people flourish, which is the epithet of the king in similar rituals, very suitable for his role of the protector of people. In the 6th scene of the festival of Sokar, as depicted in Medinet Habu, the king is twice addressed as “*w3ḏ-rhyt* for [name of a goddess]”, and then the goddess is asked to provide him with stability, dominion, joy, and health in return. In the first spell, the goddess’s name is missing (Gaballa – Kitchen 1969: 63 suggest Wadjet), but in the second one, Shesemet occurs. The ritual then continues in a similar way, where the king is “protecting the Two lands” for Bastet and Sekhmet (after Gaballa – Kitchen 1969: 10). The four manifestations of the Distant or Fiery goddess appear here again, connected closely with Sokar, and playing the role of a protectress of the king, who also equips him with power and health. In Hathor’s chapel at Dendera (D II: 51, 4 and 70, 7–8), *w3ḏ-rhyt* is the epithet of Horus, who is very often identified with the king – similarly as here, in Iufaa’s text, the epithet, originally standing for the king/Horus (or another deity), refers to the deceased. Sekhmet, appearing in her appeased, benevolent manifestation, extends her hand to him when he walks in the field of Ra, i. e. he can reach the blessed state after death and live forever together with the gods, protected by the Fiery goddess as the sun god himself.

7.2. Praising Hathor in the morning of the new year, columns 16-19

This text is a hymn/ritual performed in the morning of the new year, obviously connected with additional myth(s): the whole text should be recited before the god Nefertem and addressed to the Eye goddess in the form of Hathor. The strongest motif of this text is defeating of foes, who are mentioned as *mn.tjw* and *st.jw*, as well as appeals to the goddess to make Iufaa prosper and repel evil/illness from his body. The text has a strong connection to the previous one: they might be originally e. g. part(s) of the same ritual or handbook – both of them have hymnic character, their motifs are very similar, and they mention the myths and background connected with the same festival or religious event, the returning and appeasing of the Fiery goddess, and thus refer generally to renewal and resurrection.



dd-mdw hr nfr-tm m⁽¹⁷⁾ dw3.t n.t wp(.t)-rnp.t To be recited before Nefertem in the morning of the opening of the year:¹⁰⁰

nfr w(j) hr=t nb.t sh3.w ʕ.wt=t “How beautiful is your face, Golden one, (when) your limbs are stretched!

¹⁰⁰ The expression *wp.t rnp.t* does not have to be only the beginning of the year but can also sign the first month of the year, the last month of the year, or the month of the summer solstice. These cases are connected with the rising of Sothis (see Leitz 1991: 22ff.). Similarly, the expression *tp.j rnp.t* (see e. g. Wallin 2002: 27, Spalinger 1996: 56). Any of that possibilities does not change the meaning of the text in that case. The cycle of the year was in Egyptian religious ideas connected with the cycle of the sun and resurrection; and the mentioning of the period of the beginning of the year in the funerary texts appears already in the Coffin Texts (Wallin 2002: 26ff.).

*mtr w(j) pr m r3=t jn r^c wšb=f tn jn t<n>
spd.t rnp.t nb(.t)*

How correct is what came out from your mouth!” says Ra when he answers to you, whom Sopdet¹⁰¹ brings every year,

mn.tj hn^f hr smd.wj(?)¹⁰²

you being made firm with him under his eyebrows;

⁽¹⁸⁾ *h3 n=t ntr.wt 4 n.tj(w) jm*

for you rejoice the four goddesses who are there.¹⁰³

nfr w(j) zhwnw=s mnt.w stj.w

“How beautiful is that she defeated Mentiu and Setiu!

h3 n wnw.t zp sn nj s(j) nb wnw.t

Rejoice for Wenut, rejoice for Wenut, (for) her who belongs to the lord of Wenut!

*w^cb pr m r3=t h3 mj tw(t)=t sw¹⁰⁴ (19) jw=f-
3*

Pure is what came from your mouth! Ho, come, may you make him, Iufaa, whole,

*snb=t sw s^cnh=t sw sw3h=t sw m hh n rnp.t
hh n zp m-ht d.t*

may you make him healthy, may you make him live, may you make him firm in millions of years, million times following eternity!

*dr=t {^cnh m}<mr>¹⁰⁵ m h^c.w=f sw3.t
<jmj.t> ^c.w(t)=f[...?] 3(.t) {n} wnw(.t)*



May you repel illness from his body, you who dispel away that which is in his limbs,¹⁰⁶ the Great one, Wenut!”¹⁰⁷


¹⁰¹ The text is an allusion to the Myth of the Distant goddess, who returns together with the Nile inundation, i. e. with the rising of Sopdet.

¹⁰² The last two signs are poorly visible. Behind the sign of the eye, two horizontal signs follow; considering the meaning of the text, it could be the determinative of both eyebrows (for this writing, see also Wilson 1997: 850).

¹⁰³ I.e. under that eyebrow.

¹⁰⁴ The pronoun *sw* was probably copied from another sentence/version written in the 3rd person m. sg.

¹⁰⁵ The sign  seems to be mingled for . Although partly damaged, it looks more like ^cnh, but considering the content *mr* is mentioned.

¹⁰⁶ Considering the  determinative, it should be an epithet of the goddess (*sm3.t jmj.t ^cw.t=f*), who drives away (the illness/evil) from the body, for comparison see p. Chester Beatty VII, [10], rt. 5,2–5 (for translation, see Borghouts 1978: 55–56), dealing with the myth of the true name of Ra and connected through it with the healing of (snake)bites and generally wounds and illnesses. In this case, the word appears in the speech of Ra, who heals the wound; Borghouts translates the part “bring me that node(?) of reed (...) that it may dispel (*sw3=s?*, his question mark) that which is in your limb”).

¹⁰⁷ Since the goddess is addressed, the *n* sign was probably confused for ^c, as a phonetic complement to 3.

This text takes up the motifs of the previous one: once again, it is a hymn to one of the manifestation(s) of the sun's eye, here appearing as Hathor and Wenut. Contrary to the previous spell, Hathor is here already calmed down and described as a beautiful goddess: according to its title, the spell should be recited during the morning of the new year, the very first moment when the cosmic order is restored, renewal is completed, and the new cycle begins.

This text is the first spell of the inner side of the outer sarcophagus, where the mention of the turn of the year and the new year's celebration explicitly appears. This motif was one of the crucial ones for Iufaa and is mentioned or alluded to in many texts throughout the tomb (see also chapter 7.4. below). The turn of the year and the epagomenal days were considered a dangerous period (see note 90), and the appropriate rituals were necessary to appease the aggressive deities and overcome this perilous time, which ended with the rising of Sirius (Sopdet), coming of the Nile inundation and beginning of the new year.

As was said above, the whole text is labeled as a spell that should be recited before Nefertem on the morning of the new year. The connection of Nefertem with the sun's eye goddess is obvious: he was considered to be her son, as was mentioned, or the executor of her will: he is described as a claw of the goddess in the Rituals of renewal power on the new year (p. Brooklyn 47. 218. 50; II, 4–5) and he is also identified with the pharaoh, who is resistant to the destructive power of the angry goddess. Nefertem himself often appears as the one responsible for spreading out the illnesses and turmoil, but also the one who dispels darkness and evil as such (Bonnet 1952: 510) or defeats the enemies of the sun god (e. g. CT 335). The connection of Hathor (or her manifestations) with the beginning of inundation and the rising of Sirius is well known throughout all periods of Egyptian history: the journey and return of the distant goddess, whose manifestation Hathor is, could be taken as a period of the disappearance of Sirius and its reappearance during the new year and the beginning of inundation (Quack 2002: 283–294; 2009a 145–146; Richter 2016: 3). Thus she is mentioned as the one who is brought, i. e. returns together with the rising of Sopdet and the beginning of inundation.

At the beginning of the spell, the goddess is addressed by her father, Ra, as a beautiful woman, the Golden one, whose utterances are pure and correct, the usual characteristics and epithets of Hathor in her benevolent aspects. She is also addressed as the *uraeus*, who is firm under the eyebrows of the sun god, and the one from whom the four goddesses rejoice: they are once again four manifestations of the Fiery goddess (see above), which are identified with Hathor, here clearly in her protective function as the mentioned king's/the sun god's *uraeus* –

the word *ntr.wt* is written with four signs of a royal cobra (𐎃). In the following sentence, the foes, represented by Mentiu a Setiu, are defeated – again an allusion that the dangerous period has already ended and the cosmic order and equilibrium are restored. The goddess is also named “Wenut, who belongs to the lord of Wenut” – *wnw.t* is another name of the *uraeus* and can stand for goddesses who are the sun’s eye (LGG II: 390ff., Wilson 1997: 239), and the lord of Wenut is thus the sun god/the king/the deceased, who receives her protection.

In the final part of the spell, the goddess is directly appealed to act beneficially for Iufaa – she is asked to make him whole, live and firm in millions of years in eternity, and act for him in an identical way she acts for her father, Ra. In the end, she is also asked to repel illness from the limbs of Iufaa – here is a nice example of the editing of text for the usage of a concrete person: this last sentence was likely added to the text according to the wish of Iufaa because of his health condition (see above). The purpose of the entire spell is, thus, again, the protection of the deceased, who is identified with the sun god, who receives Hathor as the *uraeus*, his daughter, a beautiful protective goddess, defeating for him his enemies and protecting him from evil, chaos and also any disease. The period of the new year stands as a parallel for the successful resurrection of Iufaa: after he had passed the dangerous transition into the realm of the dead, he can be reborn and rejuvenated, similarly to the Wandering goddess after her return, the entire land after coming of annual inundation and the rising of Sirius, and the sun god every morning.

7.3. *The Lords of Shednu, columns 20–28*¹⁰⁸

The following text differs from the previous ones by its structure and topic. While the two previous texts were hymns to different goddesses, this spell is more of a descriptive and “encyclopedic” character, including the explanatory and mythological parts. Its structure remains of the mythological manuals and ritual handbooks, usually appearing on papyri or temple walls. The text is connected to astronomical motifs: it describes the deities, who are manifestations of some celestial phenomena, connected with the decans, 36 stars or small constellations, dividing the ecliptic into 36 parts, used for measuring the night hours. The gods

¹⁰⁸ For work on this text, I am very thankful to Daniela Mendel-Leitz for sharing the results of her research and materials and for consultation and discussion on Iufaa’s variant of lords of Shednu and the accompanying text. I also thank J. F. Quack for kindly providing access to his manuscript about the Egyptian decans before publication. The work is further referred as Quack, Decans.

mentioned in the texts control these stars, and one of them, described more closely, whose hidden name and character are stressed, seems to be more important than the others (at least in the context of this spell).

These deities are identified with the so-called “Lords of Shednu”, a group of guardian deities, appearing mainly in the ritual papyri and Ptolemaic mythological texts. They are related to the city of Shednu (Horbeit, Pharbaitos, the capital of 11th Lower Egyptian nome), but the traces of their mythology can be found throughout Egypt because they appeared as protectors in general (Goyon 1985: introduction); less frequently they occur also on some monuments such as stelae, statues or sarcophagi (see below); before the Late Period allusions to 77 gods appear in some ritual and magical papyri.¹⁰⁹ According to local mythology, they guard the coffin of the dead Osiris and help the sun god fight against his enemies. One part of the spell deals with a (significantly shortened) mythological narrative, describing an episode of defeating the rebels and foes by the Eye of Ra. This motif connects the spell with the topic previously stressed in the decoration of Iufaa’s sarcophagus.

The text is accompanied by a vignette depicting seven divine beings divided into two rows (Fig. 5). The same group of divine beings is carved on both sides of two sarcophagi of sacred bulls from Horbeit (Shednu),¹¹⁰ displayed now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (sarcophagus JE 86717 of red granite + its lid JE 86722 and sarcophagus JE 86718 of black granite; see Kaper 2003 262–263, R-39 and R-40; Goyon 1985¹¹¹); one of them (JE 86718) also contains labels with their names (see below); all together are labelled as “the lords of Shednu, sacred forms in the Heliopolitan nome, secret statues in the House of life” (*nb.w šdn.w sšm.w dsr(.w) m ḥq3-nd ḥm.w št3.w [m] pr-ḥnh{t}*); see Goyon 1985: 367). Another

¹⁰⁹ E. g. on p. Chester Beatty VII (rto III, 7–10), the spell against scorpions occurs, where the goddess is addressed, described as the one “with seven uraei on her head, to whom belong 77 hearts in the darkness and during the night”; in the Magical papyrus Harris (I, VI, 4–9) evil forces such as crocodiles and snakes are warned that “the fingers of 77 gods will be in your eye” (according to Goyon 1985: 193–197), they also appear on wooden stelae.

¹¹⁰ Connected with today Tell el-Abu Yasin, the necropolis of Horbeit, located about 3km southeast of Hobeit/Shednu. There was a cemetery of the sacred bulls, incarnations of Hormerti – several sarcophagi of these bulls have been preserved, inscribed with short descriptive texts with astronomical connotations, the mentionings of the mythology of the lords of Shednu, hymns to these gods and the deceased bulls, who are identified also with Osiris. Similar texts also occur in some Ptolemaic temples of Upper Egypt (Goyon 1985: 157ff. with examples). Still, only in the temple of Edfu we can see Hormerti or Hor of Shednu in scenes of defeating Apophis (Goyon 1985: 174).

¹¹¹ In the publication of Goyon, the numbers of the sarcophagi are mingled. The item referred to by Goyon as 86722+23 is sarcophagus JE 86717; the other sarcophagus has the number JE 86718. The actual numbers JE 86722 and JE 86723 belong to two lids of the bull sarcophagi (JE 86723 is a different lid belonging to a bull sarcophagus JE 86719 with a decanal star clock and a star clock based on the Mesechtiu of the northern constellation, compare EAT III, 50ff and Pl. 24). I thank D. Mendel-Leitz for pointing that out.

sarcophagus where these gods appear is the sarcophagus of Djedhor CG 29305 (Maspero 1914, I: 161–218, 207–214; Goyon 1985: 244; Cauville 1990: 116–122; Manassa 2007: 323). Aside from the sarcophagi, they also occur in the temple of Edfu (e.g., “the room of 70” in the chapel of Sokar) and on several monuments dating from the 30th dynasty to the Ptolemaic era (Goyon 1985: 233–234; Cauville 1990: 115), mentioned is also their appearance in the tomb of Petosiris; on a “paroi” (stone slab) originally from a kiosk wall (?) in Athribis, Cairo JE 46095; Osirian chapel and outer door to the chapel of Sokar in Dendera; also on the coffins of the priests and officials from Saqqara and Thebes (Goyon 1985: 212–215).

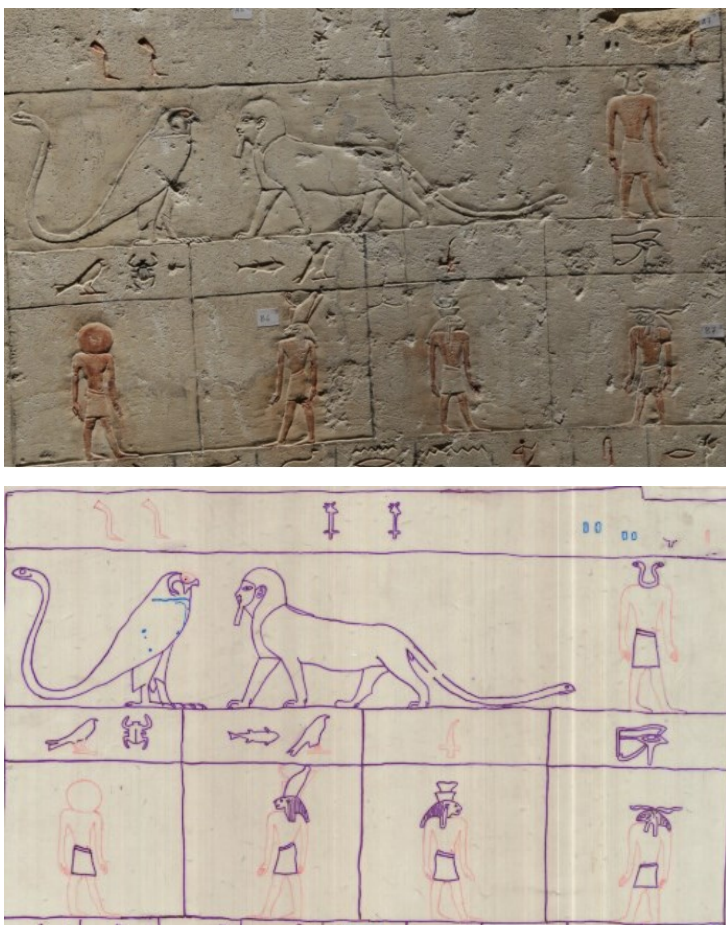





Fig. 5: The gods of Shednu on the northern inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus

On the sarcophagus of Iufaa, the first register shows in the centre a god, depicted as a walking sphinx with the body of a lion, a human head with the divine beard and *nemes*; his tail ends in the head of the snake. The image of this god looks almost the same as a depiction of the god Tutu on the arch of the eastern wall of Iufaa’s burial chamber (Janák – Landgráfová 2021: 194–

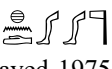
197, see also Fig. 6); the only difference is that Tutu has also a *uraeus* on his forehead. However, the identification of the deity depicted on the sarcophagus with Tutu is debatable; see below.

The Tutu-shaped god faces a god in the form of a falcon,¹¹² whose tail ends once again in a snake. Behind the Tutu-shaped god is a standing figure with a human body with two snakes instead of his head. Each of these divine beings has a small inscription above them, with their respective names: above the falcon deity is written . Kaper (2003: 263) interprets the name of the same god written in the same way on a bull sarcophagus from Horbeit (JdE 86718) as *hndy*, Gourlay 1979: 370 suggests *hnd rd.wj*.¹¹³ However, in the case of Iufaa, it could also be read as *hndhnd* and derived from *hnd*, “to tread”.






The name of Tutu-shaped god is written here as  - *ʿm(?)*, *ʿmʿm(?)* or *ʿm.wj(?)*. Connected with the previously mentioned being, this name could be derived from the verb *ʿm*, “to swallow” (see LGG II: 108): in both words, the gemination could sign intensification. The name of the first one would be then read as “The one who treads vigorously”, and the name of the other could be translated as “The Gluttonous Swallower”;¹¹⁴ *ʿm* appears on sarcophagus JE 86718 of one of the beings, where the parallel scene is depicted (see e. g. Gourlay 1979: Fig.




1); he is among seven demons in the form of a sphinx, written as .



¹¹² According to the Heliopolitan version of the myth of the guardian deities, the sun god defeated four forms of Apophis in the manifestations of the sun’s falcons (Goyon 1985: 154). See also e. g. E I, 266, 3, where Hormerti is mentioned as one of the manifestations of the sun’s falcon.

¹¹³ See LGG V: 943, the title written on the sarcophagus of the sacred bull of Shednu is  (Gourlay 1979: 370). The phrase *hnd.w(t) n.t* can also refer the crocodiles of the goddess Neith (el-Sayed 1975: 187ff.), or her weavers, who make clothing for Osiris (p. Louvre 3129,1, 22–23, see Schott 1929: 134, 5 – 6; Klasens 1952: 68, note 47), but these beings seem to have no connection with the above-described gods.

¹¹⁴ A being named *ʿm* appears already in the Pyramid Texts, e.g. PT 522, where he is addressed in parallel with the snake being *qrr*, both of them opening the way for the deceased. LGG (II: 108) mentions the occurrence from the sarcophagus of the bull of Shednu and shows that *ʿm* can be relatively often written with the determinative of a snake, as well as is often written Tutu (see, e.g. Kaper 2003: 235). The name *ʿmʿm* can refer to “The shrew”, the being called *ʿmʿm* also appears in the Book of the Dead 145 at the 21st gate of the underworld; an interesting point is a connection with the number seven – this gate has a tribunal of “seven gods”; he also appears on Opet temple as the seven cubits long being from the primeval times (Opet I, 238; Schott 1929: 145, 18; Goyon 1975: 345), in the texts from the handbook of priests of Sekhmet from the temple of Sobek of Tebtynis (p. Florenz PSI inv. I 73 + pCarlsberg 463, see Osing – Rosati 1998: 189–215; Tavole 22–23 [P,T,Ü,K]) his voice sounds from one of the caverns. In the p. Bremner–Rhind *ʿm* is one of the names of Apophis. The word *ʿmʿm* with the above-suggested meaning, derived from the intensified word *ʿm*, “to swallow”, also appears in p. Budapest 51.1960 (Kákósy 1990: 140–157), but it is only a tiny fragment that is difficult to put in context.



The name of the deity with two snakes instead of his head is damaged, the readable part shows . ¹¹⁵ In the parallel version from the bull's sarcophagus, the name is poorly visible, but there is clearly a horizontal sign, then two *hr*-signs, and a determinative of a god (A40): . According to older transcription of Gourlay (1979: 370), the name is supposed to be  and interpreted as *jr-hr.y*, “the creator(?) of two faces” (i. e. the one with two faces?), D. Mendel-Leitz suggests to read the sign as *w^c*:  or *dmd*:  (personal communication). The name *w^c-hr.wj*, “The one with two faces” seems a good solution because it corresponds well with the depicted deity with two snakes instead of his head. However, in the variant of Iufaa, there is a long red vertical stroke before *hr.wj*, thus, the previous word can be neither *w^c* nor *dmd* (shape does not correspond, and *w^c* is always painted in blue color). A possible reconstruction is that the stroke could be part of the destroyed *ntr* sign, the name of the being would be *ntr-hr.wj*, “The god of two faces”, which could easily be a synonym for *w^c-hr.wj*. The reason for the two extra strokes written behind the name in the case of Iufaa is unclear, but they are carved signs painted in blue.

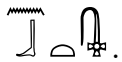
In the second register are four beings, each depicted in one column of a “table”, with his name again written above his head. Among these four deities, two and two always look at each other. From the left side is a demon with a human body and a sun disk instead of the head; his name is  *hpr-wr*, “The great form”. On the sarcophagus JE 86718, Gourlay (1979: 371) reads his name , which should probably be *hpr-wr* (see also LGG V: 716). Based on the newer analysis of D. Mendel-Leitz, there is a sign of the mummy instead of the Shu-feather: . The mummy can also be determinative of *hpr*. Thus, the same name can be read in both cases, *hpr-wr*.




The deity that faces him also has a human body and the head of a lion with a double crown; his name is  *-hr.w-bs*, according to the parallel of the sarcophagus JE 85718, where it is written . The interpretation of his name is uncertain; Leitz (LGG V: 255) suggests Horus-Bes, Meeks (1992: 424–427), on the other hand, interprets him as “Horus der

¹¹⁵ Maybe there were six strokes, but according to the sarcophagus JE 86718, there should be only two or none. However, the signs on the sarcophagus are partly destroyed.





Frühgeborene” or “Horus im Werden”, Mendel–Leitz suggests to interpret *bs* as “form, statue”. Except for the sarcophagus of the sacred bull of Shednu, he appears on the coffin of *wsjr-nht* from Abusir el–Meleq (Petrie 1891: Tafel 28).











The third figure has a human body, the head of a lion and a headdress in the shape of “pots”:  and is named , *nbt.t* – the reading corresponds with the mentioned sarcophagus, where the word is written with mono-consonantal signs with the determinative of fire,



The last deity also has a human body and the head of a ram with horizontal horns, above his head is written . On the bull’s sarcophagus is written ; which Gourlay (1979: 371) reads as *m33*, “The seeing one”, the reading should probably be the same here, but instead of the usual sign(s), the  sign was used.

For better lucidity, a comparative table of depictions of “the lords of Shednu” and their names, if written, from the tomb of Iufaa and the two sarcophagi of the sacred bulls of Horbeit follows (Table 1).

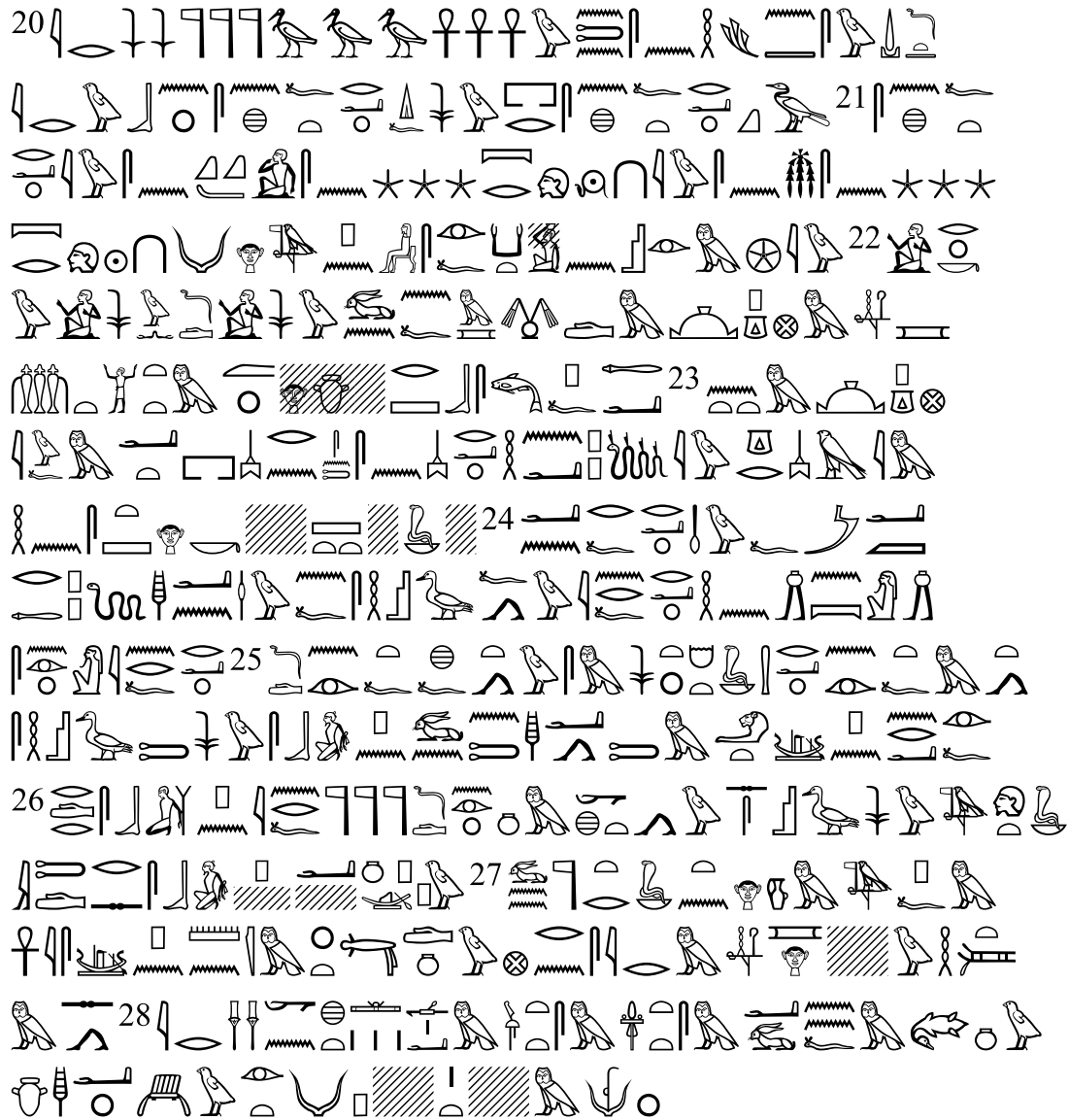
Iufaa	JE 86717 left	JE 86717 right	JE 86718 left	JE 86718 right
 <i>ḥmḥm</i> the walking sphinx with the body of a lion, human head, divine beard, <i>nemes</i> , and tail in the form of a snake	the god in the form of a walking sphinx	the god in the form of a walking sphinx	 <i>ḥm</i> the god in the form of a walking sphinx	the god in the form of a walking sphinx
 <i>ḥndḥnd/ḥndy</i> the falcon with a snake instead of the tail	the falcon on a pedestal with a snake instead of the tail	the falcon on a pedestal with a snake instead of the tail	 <i>ḥndḥnd/ḥndy</i> the falcon with a snake instead of the tail	the falcon on a pedestal with a snake instead of the tail

 <i>[ntr] -hr.wj (?)</i> the human figure with two snakes instead of the head	the human figure with two snakes instead of the head	the human figure with two snakes instead of the head	 <i>w^c-hr.wj(?) / dmd-hr.wj</i> the human figure with two snakes instead of the head	the human figure with two snakes instead of the head
 <i>hpr-wr</i> the human figure with a sun-disk instead of the head	the human figure with a sun-disk instead of the head	the human figure with the head of a ram with horizontal horns	 <i>hpr-wr</i> the human figure with a sun disk instead of the head	the human figure with the head of a bull
 <i>hr.w-bs</i> the human figure with a lion's head and the double crown	the human figure with a lion's head and the double crown	the human figure with the head of a crocodile	 <i>hr.w-bs</i> the human figure with the head of a lion and the double crown	the human figure with the head of a falcon
 <i>nbt.t</i> the human figure with the head of a lion and the headdress	the human figure with the head of a lion and the headdress	the human figure with the head of a falcon and the double crown	 <i>nbt.t</i> the human figure with the head of a lion and the headdress	the human figure
 <i>m33</i> the human figure with the head of a ram	the human figure with the head of a ram	the human figure	 <i>m33</i> the human figure with the head of a ram	the human figure with the head of a ram

with horizontal horns				
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Table 1: Comparison of names and forms of the lords of Shednu from the tomb of Iufaa and the bull sarcophagi of Horbeit (Shednu)

The text:



(20) *jr nn <n> ntr.w b3.w rnh.w nt{n}sn hn t3
swd3 d.t*

As for these gods, the living *bau*, it is them who travel through/protect the land and make eternity hale.¹¹⁶

*jr wbn=sn hft r^c dj=f sw pr=sn hft r^c
r^cq(21)=sn hft r^c*

As for their rising together with Ra, when he shows himself, they come out with Ra¹¹⁷ and enter with Ra.

juw=sn wnm=sn sb3.w p.t r tp sw 10

They eat the stars of heaven¹¹⁸ every ten days,

juw=sn ms=sn sb3.w p.t r tp sw 10

they give birth to the stars of heaven every ten days;

wp hr ntr pn šps jr=f k3.t n wsjr m dw3(.t)



except for this noble god, who does work for Osiris in Duat –

juw(22)=j rh.kwj sw n dd=j sw

I know him, and I will not say (=reveal) it.



*wnn=f m mr dmd m j3.t pg(3) m hq3
<r^cnd>(?)¹¹⁹*

He is in the canal that surrounds the mound of Pega in the Heliopolitan nome,

¹¹⁶ The phrase *swd3 d.t* appears on the bull sarcophagi from Shednu in connection with the group of the divine beings of Shednu, called *hn.tjw*; *swd3* is written with  and , Gourlay (1979: 373) connects the phrase with the watching over the corpse of Osiris, which is precisely one of the functions of the (seven) demons/or seventy-seven gods of Shednu (Goyon 1985: 200–203; for concrete examples e. g. the Ritual of four balls 28, 15; 30, of the Book of repelling evil 26). The phrase appears also in the text belonging to a group of beings, representing certain celestial phenomena, depicted in the temple of Philae (see Mendel 2022, I: 190–192; 198–199). In the text of the “Naos of the decades”, the creation of the decans is described, and they are characterised in similar construction: “It is them who guide Ra, it is them who hold together heaven, earth, *duat* and gods, they are the offsprings of Ra, Sekhmet, Bastet and Wajdet, the messengers of Thoth” (*ntsn sšm r^c ntsn sm p.t t3 dw3.t ntr.w ntsn ms r^c šhm.t nhb.t b3st.t w3d.t*, see von Bomhard 2008: 54–55).

¹¹⁷ Reference to the heliacal rising of decanal stars, see the continuation of texts, where the appearance (birth) of “new” stars every ten days is described.

¹¹⁸ Or “the gods of heaven”, but they are still stars (and/or their manifestations). The association of the stars with (individual) gods is known already from the Pyramid Texts (Wallin 2002: 97ff.). In Ptolemaic, the gods are commonly written with a star sign (★; see, e.g. Wilson 1997: 557), and such kind of writing is also common in astronomical texts (e.g. D IV, 2, 13 or VII, 175, where the heliacal rising of Sothis is described, see Leitz 1991: 4). Especially in the case of the decans it is possible that the connection to specific deities was so strong that some of them appear primary in their divine form (Wallin 2002: 100, Kákósy 1982: 163).

¹¹⁹ The sign  is written instead of .

hn.tj k3.tjw m-gs r^c [hr-jb ...] rš bs¹²⁰ pf ^ε3
(23) n.tj m j3.t pg(3)

foremost of the high ones at the side of Ra [in the midst of...] (?),¹²¹ this great initiated one who is in/on the mound of Pega.

jw=f m ^c.t wd^c rn=s

He is in the chamber whose name is *The one which arbitrates*.

ntsn wd^c r^c hn^c ^c<3>pp

It is them who arbitrates between Ra and Apophis.

jw gr wd^c hrw jm hn<^c> stš hr k[...] štt
[...] (24) dj.n rf r^c hrw=f m3^c122 r ^ε3pp

Horus and Seth were arbitrated there [...], and Ra turned his triumphant voice against Apophis.

^ch^c.n wd.n=f šhtm=f jw.jn rf r^c hn<^c> jn.j-
hr.t jn=s n jr.t r^c jn rf r^c

He ordered to destroy him. Ra and Inhuret went and brought The Eye of Ra.

(25) dd n jr.t=f hft jw=s m hm.t nsw.t hm r^c n
jr.t=f mj šhtm=t sw sbj pn

Ra spoke to his Eye when she came as the queen,¹²³ the Majesty of Ra (said) to his Eye: “Come and destroy him, this rebel!”

wnn=t ^ch^c=t m h3.t wj3 pn n r^c jr(.t)=f (26)r
dr sbj pn jn rf ntr.w



“You will exist, and you will stand in front of this barque of Ra, his eye, to repel this rebel,” said the gods.

dd.n jr(.t) r^c m-ht jw=s šhtm sw

The Eye of Ra said when she came (back): “He is destroyed.”

tp.t-ntr jj.t(j) dr=s sbj p[f] ^cn{p}(?) wj3 pw

The divine foremost one came and destroyed this rebel – it means the return of the barque(?).

¹²⁰ Sign  was changed for .

¹²¹ Considering the damaged place before and the lack of determinative, the meaning of rš must remain uncertain; it can also be part of a longer word.

¹²² Or: m3^c<-hrw>.

¹²³ A similar title appears in some ritual scenes of Edfu (see, e.g. E I,128, 16 where is hm.t-nswt wr.t tpj.t n.t r^c or E I, 50, 7 – hm.t-nswt n.t r^c-hrw-3h.tj) as the epithet of Hathor (see LGG V: 134, 135).

(27) *wnn ntr.t tn hr hnm ntr pf m ḥjs wj3 pn* This goddess united with this god in life and
mnj m njw.t šdnw rn=s moor this barque in the city, named Shednu,

jrm ḥq3-ḥnd hr [...]w ḥtm mz and in the Heliopolitan nome [...] and makes
 offering in procession (?).¹²⁴



(28) *jr šhm.wj nḥt wḥ n jmn.t=s <sn.nw> m* As for these two strong might(s?), one is on
j3b.t=s m-ḥ wnn=f m wdnw jb¹²⁵ ḥḥ 3w its/her (i.e. Shednu's or goddess') west(ern
 side) and <the other> on its east(ern side),
 while he is of the heavy heart(?) and (of) a
 long lifetime.

jr.t wp [...] t [...] m wp.t-rnp.t Opening [...] on the opening of the year.

The text begins with an astronomical part: the gods, labelled as “living *bau*”, who travel through the sky – manifestations of certain celestial phenomena, are described. Their function is briefly elucidated in the following part: they are connected with decans, the stars or small constellations, whose rising marked the beginning of individual night hours in Egyptian time measuring. The term “living *bau*” sometimes appears in astronomical texts as a word for the stars or even decans (see e. g., Osing 1998: 291, note 1377 ;von Lieven 2000a: 23; Waitkus 2008: 268, 277ff; Quack, Decans: 13).¹²⁶ The word *bau* indicates their divine characteristic, might and influence on the divine forces (on earth) rather than the manifestation of the individual deity/ies. According to the cosmogony written on the “Naos of the decades”, the decans came into being from the *bau* of all gods and goddesses (von Bomhard 2008: 55, 59).

The total number of decans was thirty-six. The heliacal rising of the individual decan signified the period directly before the sun's rising for ten days. This fact is mentioned twice in the text: these gods “eat and give birth to stars every ten days” (i. e. the new decan appears

¹²⁴ The word *mz* can mean “offerings”, but it also occurs as a verb (Wilson 1997: 458). It can also mean “to go” and “to walk in procession and make an offering”. The interpretation is uncertain because of the lack of determinatives and because part of the text is destroyed; *ḥtm* could also be “to destroy”, *ḥ* can even belong to the previous word, and then it should be read as *tm*.

¹²⁵ The meaning of this passage is not clear. The combination of signs  and  can be read as *snw* or *wdnw*. Both of that can mean “offerings”, *wdnw* with the determinative of a heart, which follows, means “to be heavy” (see Wilson 1997: 278, 279 and 856). If the passage refers to the deceased, it is possible that it refers to his successful transgress into the afterlife, including the weighing of the heart in front of the underworld judges. He is then provided with (eternal) life. However, the interpretation of this passage is uncertain.

¹²⁶ Although the common (but not the only one) Egyptian word for decans was *b3k.w* or *b3k.tjw*; several names are used for decans, but interpreted with more or less certainty, see Quack, Decans: 4 ff.

every ten days, after the period when it is not visible). The ten-day period between the rising of the individual decans seems to be of importance in the Egyptian conceptions of the afterlife already from the Coffin Texts and coffins with the Middle Kingdom diagonal star clocks and lasted up to the Ptolemaic-Roman Period, where “the festival of the first day of the decade” was celebrated (Wallin 2002: 111–112 with examples). In Fr. Y 6, 3 from the Tebtunis library, the decans are described as *ḥnh.w sb3.w mwt sb3.w tp hrw 10* – “stars live and stars die at the beginning of (every) 10 days” (according to Osing 1998: 188), similarly, in p. Carlsberg I, 3,1 *smwt sb3 sḥnh sb3 tp hrw 10* (Osing 1998: note 912 and Lange–Neugebauer 1940: 29, 59). In the Late Period funerary context, the decans appear mainly as protectors of the deceased and the ones who help him to know about the course of the night hours (Kákosy 1982: 163): Since the decans are “the star-clock”, they can help the deceased during the hours of the night and protect them in that dangerous period.

However, in the text, we only deal with a partial number of decans, only a part of the group; or, more likely, the group of seven deities that have power over these stars. As was said above, this group of gods¹²⁷ is identified with “the lords of Shednu” (*nb.w šdnw*), also labelled as *b3.w ḥnh.w* (although this expression can also appear as an epithet of seventy-seven gods of Shednu, Goyon 1985: 133).

There are not many attestations of this group of beings (see above), and they are often mixed or mingled with the “77 gods/demons of Shednu”, a group of divine beings accompanying Hormerti,¹²⁸ the main deity of Shednu, or considered to be the manifestations of him (for more see Goyon 1985; Cauville 1990). These gods do not occur in the underworld books and standard funerary texts, such as PT, CT, and BD, but they can be found in some ritual and mythological papyri or depicted in different monuments. The number of these gods can vary (usually due to the lack of space the selection of them is depicted or mentioned), but the most common number is seventy–seven.¹²⁹ The function of the 77 gods was mainly protective: they can appear as deities who protect Ra, Osiris/the deceased, which could be the main reason why they can be depicted on sarcophagi (Manassa 2007: 623); they can destroy enemies and

¹²⁷ In some cases, they can have more “demonic” character (such as dangerous beings with the power to harm or kill, but usually the foes or forces of chaos and evil), but they are standardly depicted as gods and do not hold knives as “demons” usually do. The Egyptian concepts of categories of gods and demons generally are problematic, for discussion see e. g. Quack 2015, Lucarelli 2013 or Kousoulis 2011.

¹²⁸ Considering the decoration of Iufaa’s tomb as a whole, it is interesting to note that Hormerti was also called *hrp-srq.t* and is praised as “the charmer of snakes” and the protector from the snakes, appearing especially on statues and amulets (Goyon 1985: 169–170).

¹²⁹ That number is clearly a reference for the symbolism of the number 7 and other numbers, composed from it, that were strong in Egyptian magic and religion, for more see Rochholz 2002.

even defeat Apophis (see e. g. Ritual of four balls 28, 15, 30 or Book of the repelling evil 26); they can also occur as protectors during the process of uniting Ra and Osiris (Goyon 1985: 200–203). According to C. Manassa, their mythology is very closely connected with the seventh hour of Amduat, when/where Apophis is defeated – while the defeating takes place in the underworld, as described in the underworld books, rituals as those on p. Bremner–Rhind or rituals mentioning the gods of Shednu describe what parallelly takes place on earth (Manassa 2007: 472).

However, the 77 gods of Shednu do not have to be identified with the “7 lords of Shednu”, at least not in every case. There seem to be two groups of deities connected with Shednu: one previously mentioned and the other, made of 7 beings, who are called *nb.w šdnw*. Their main function is also protecting the dead body (of the sacred bulls or the deceased). Still, they seem more connected with astronomy and some celestial phenomena. According to the bull sarcophagus JE 861717, they protect Atum in the house of Benu (on the western side of the sarcophagus) and Ra in the house of the moon (*hw.t-j^ch*, on the eastern side). Interestingly, their epithets *hnw p.t* and *swd3 d.t* appear in the temple of Philae, where they are connected with the gods described as *jmj.w j3.t=sn* and *sjp.tjw ntj.w wnb.w htp.w* “controlling those who rise and dawn” (Philae 143, 12–14, see Mendel 2022, I: 190ff.; she also suggests the possible connection of 7 lords of Shednu with the snakes found on Travée A in Esna).

The identification of the individual deities of the depicted group is also problematic. Except for their names, only two of them might be possibly identified more closely – the falcon deity and the god in the form of a sphinx. The god in the form of a falcon could be Hormerti, the main deity of Shednu in the form of a sun falcon with warrior and protective aspects. He is often accompanied by the 77 gods of Shednu, who can also be considered manifestations or *bau* of this god (Cauville 1990: 115; Goyon 1985: 185).¹³⁰ As was said above, the sphinx-shaped god is very similar to the depiction of Tutu on the arch of the eastern wall of Iufaa’s tomb.

Tutu is considered to be a being between a god and a demon.¹³¹ He was, among others, a son of a warrior goddess, such as Sekhmet, Bastet or Neith, and had power over seven demons, whom he sent to the world every year during the five epagomenal days to spread out illnesses,

¹³⁰ In the texts, where Hormerti appears as the lord of Shednu, who repels evil and drives away enemies, he usually has 77 *bau* (e.g. stela Louvre E. 10572/C 297).

¹³¹ For the close study of Tutu, see Kaper 2003. His position in the Egyptian pantheon is, in a certain way, problematic; see also note 127.

misery and plague over Egypt. The depiction from the eastern wall of Iufaa's burial chamber is the oldest depiction of this deity (Kaper 2003: 19). It shows Tutu as a sphinx with the body of a lion, a human head with *nemes* and uraeus on his forehead, and a tail in the form of a snake (see Fig. 6).



Fig.6: Tutu depicted on the arch of the eastern wall of Iufaa's burial chamber

He is labelled as Tutu (𓄠𓆎𓅓𓄠𓆎𓅓𓄠𓆎𓅓) and is accompanied by the figures of Thoth with the *wedjat* eye in his hand and Horus; above the scene, the names of three decans are mentioned: Semed, Isped and Khau (*smd, jspd, h3.w*).¹³² The text belonging to this scene contains a detailed description of Tutu, followed by the description of the depicted scene and finally, the raging of Tutu during the turn of the year is mentioned. The final part of the text says that seven demons emerged from Tutu, and their names are given (see Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 196). Because Tutu was their master, he could command them to harm but also calm them down (Leitz 1994: 245). Sometimes these seven demons are interpreted as seven aspects or manifestations of Tutu himself (Rochholz 2002: 140), as 77 demons of Shednu can be manifestations of Hormerti.

It is questionable if the depiction from the inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus depicts Tutu among the lords of Shednu. His name is different, and the same deity is never labelled as Tutu in any other document depicting or mentioning the lords of Shednu. On the other hand, it is strange that two completely different deities would be represented almost identically within a single tomb. Several aspects of Tutu also correspond well with the character of the lords of

¹³² The possible identification of these decans with particular stars of the individual constellations is debatable. Von Lieven suggests that *h3.w* belong to the constellation of Orion (von Lieven 2001: 86), Leitz (1995: 87–92) proposes *jp ds* (possibly *jsds*?) to be the 4th decan of Alfa Centauri, *smd srd* (possibly *smd*?) be 14th decan of Alfa Capricorni and *h3.w* possibly be the nebula of Andromeda.

Tutu's connection with astronomical context is generally clear from his appearance in astronomical scenes (e.g. in Esna or the Zodiac Tomb of Athribis/Sheikh Hamad). Tutu himself is sometimes identified with one of the decans: on the astronomical tablets from Grand (according to Kaper 2003: 70–71, monument 19/20, see Abry 1993), he is named *tp.j-ꜥ spd.t*, identified with the last decan of the Gemini, who precedes the decan of Sirius.

Shednu: he is a protective deity with dangerous aspects, he is connected to the decans, he is the one who, according to his accompanying text, “executes the living *baw*”, i. e. he has power over *b3.w ʿnh.w*, probably some celestial phenomena and/or their manifestations, he rules over the seven demons. If it is he, who is mentioned as “this noble god (...) who is in the chamber whose name is *The one which arbitrates*” in Iufaa’s text, it is remarkable to note that he appears as the one who arbitrates, *wḏꜥ-mdw* (Kaper 2003: 64), which is connected to his control over the fate and also to his role of a saviour (for examples of Tutu as the personal saviour and *agathos daimon* see Kaper 2003: 28–29). The interpretation thus remains open.

The seven depicted beings seem to make a tight group, which suggests whether they could represent one constellation (possibly a compound of 7 stars?), which could be considered as the lords of (other) decans. There is a group of seven decans, appearing in a particular role: the seven “dead” decans or “decans dwelling in the underworld”, *h3.tjw*,¹³³ who could be considered as a group of dangerous divine messengers, connected especially with the turn of the year, which would fit well into the rest of the decoration of the northern inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus. According to some scholars, these beings had the form of decans when these stars were visible, and they manifested as demons when it was impossible to see them in the sky; sometimes, they were identified with “the seven invisible stars”.¹³⁴ They appear from the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts to the inscriptions from the Ptolemaic temples (see Quack 1997: 284; von Lieven 2000b: 54; Leitz 2008–2009: 12; Quack, Decans: 14). This group can be identified/connected with the *h3.tjw* demons, occurring in the different texts under different names (*šm3.w, wpw.tjw*; in the Pyramid Texts, they are also identified with the circumpolar stars *jhm.w-sk.w*, e. g. Bommas 1999: 36), but they are more recognisable and distinguishable (or differ from each other) by their characteristics and functions (Leitz 1994: 243ff.; von Lieven 2000b: 53; von Bomhard 2008: 216ff.).

An interpretation of these beings as an astronomical phenomenon is possible: seven demonic beings can also represent the decan/constellation called *h3.w* (one of the stars/constellations mentioned with Tutu on the eastern side of the burial chamber). It is the first decan of Taurus and consists of seven stars (sic!), probably the seven brightest stars of Orion,

¹³³ Seven and nine are typical numbers connected with *h3.tjw* demons of the turn of the year; they appear also multiplied as 77, 770 etc. They appear in the number of beings but also as the units of their length, high etc. (Leitz 1994: 246).

¹³⁴Koenig 1981: 28; Meeks – Farvard Meeks 1993: 74; Quack 1997: 283–284; von Bomhard 2008: 217 also interpret one part of the astronomical texts of p.Carslberg I, where “the stars descend on earth” with connection to the seven decan-stars that accompany sun(god), who were in some time invisible, but this interpretation is problematic (see, e.g. Leitz 1994: 243–255 or von Bomhard 2008: 217).

connected with Osiris. This decan had a terrible reputation: in the sources from the ancient world, it appears as *mors* (Kaper 2003: 74).

The double aspects of the mentioned decan(s) remained in existence for centuries: they became personal protectors and even had their cult in Ptolemaic Thebes; but on the other hand, in Demotic and later Coptic, the word *ḥ3.tjw* became the basis for words meaning “inspiration” and “ecstasy”, but also “doom”, “fate” and even “exorcism”, “fury” and “curse” (Ritner 2011: 4–5). Their traces appear even in Greek, Coptic and Arabic texts and magical practice: e. g. in the gnostic apocryphal “catalogue of demons” *Testamentum Salomonis* from the 4th century, they appear as an angel–demonic beings (527–533, see Quack, Decans: 14), in Coptic *Liber Bartolomei* 7–9 they appear together with the plague. They could even have the forms of worms, which return to their manifestation of sacred snakes in ancient Egypt (von Lieven 2000b: 54).

Whatever their exact identification is, here, in the text from the tomb of Iufaa, the group iconographically corresponding with the lords of Shednu appears as the gods who accompany the sun god when he rises, i.e. they are connected with the heliacal rising of some stars/constellations, and they have power over the stars, who are born every ten days, i.e. the decans. According to the text, one of them makes an exception – he “makes work for Osiris in Duat”. It is questionable who this noble god is (he probable seems to be the Tutu- or falcon-shaped god, but since the exact character of the individual members of the group is not clear, the identification remains uncertain), but his secret nature and the hidden name are stressed. The deceased then proves his secret knowledge – a typical motif also occurring in other texts from the tomb of Iufaa, describing the mythical beings and their secret nature and character (see Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 180–206, Landgráfová – Janák – Míčková 2021: 350–353). Iufaa proclaims that he knows the name of the god, which he keeps secret, and the exact place where he dwells – on the mount of Pega in the Heliopolitan¹³⁵ nome. The word *pg3* can mean just “battlefield” (Wb I: 562), but it appears in several texts as a place where mythological fights take place (see e.g. p. Bremner-Rhind 26,4 or 33, 10). According to the mythology connected to Shednu, it is the place of the fight between Ra and Apophis and of the first defeat of that enemy of the sun god (in Kom Ombo I, 449, 2–3 Hormerti is “lord of Shednu, who is in front of *j3.t pg3* and slaughters the enemies of Ra”; in Edfu IV, 136, 13–14 appears “Hormerti (...)who

¹³⁵ Allusions to Heliopolis is the theme stressed in the tomb of Iufaa: other sacred snakes also often dwell in Heliopolis, and even the known texts, such as spells from Coffin Texts or Pyramid Texts, mention Heliopolis instead of different localities. The reason could be a strong connection with Heliopolitan religious traditions and some relation to Heliopolitan priests and/or access to the archive of Heliopolitan temples or material connected to them (?).

is in front of *j3.t pg3*, while crushing enemies, the one whose powers protect on his both sides”). According to Goyon 1985: x, a cultic place with that name should exist within Shednu. The chamber, where the gods dwell, is then described: this room is connected with the victory of Ra over Apophis and Horus over Seth. The relation between Ra and Apophis is given here as a parallel to the relation between Horus and Seth, which fits very well into the religious ideas of the Late Period, where Seth is very often identified with Apophis and considered a symbol of evil and chaos (Altmann 2010: 143). According to the local mythology of Shednu, Hormerti and his 7 or 77 gods of Shednu helped Ra to defeat Apophis on the first day of creation (Goyon 1985: introduction). The motif of judging is also related to the judges appearing in chapters 18–20 and 125 of the Book of the Dead, depicted on the third register of the bull sarcophagi.

After mentioning this chamber, the descriptive and “encyclopedical” part of the text ends, and the mythical narrative text follows, which is characteristic already with its verbal form – we can see the forms typical for narrative, not ritual or religious text (Malaise – Winand 1999: 653–666). This phenomenon is typical for ritual texts, mainly when origins of rituals are explained, or their mythological background is mentioned. The same practice is known from the Late Period onwards in the case of mythological papyri (different kinds of priestly manuals and mythological handbooks), where (aetiological) myths can often be found, explaining ancient ritual practices or local religious habits, epithets and aspects of the gods (see e. g. papyrus Jumilhac, the Myth and Legends of the Delta, papyrus Bremner–Rhind etc.). The myth mentioned is again connected with the Myth of the sun’s eye, similar to the previous texts on the sarcophagus. The myth begins with bringing the sun’s eye/the Fiery goddess to Ra, who commands her to destroy the rebel (not specified in the text, it might be Apophis, but figuratively also any foe of the sun god/the deceased). The gods proclaim that the goddess will stand on the prow of Ra’s barque to repel the rebel. The goddess then returns and proclaims that the task is done and the enemy is defeated. The connection of the Fiery goddess and her manifestation with the lords of Shednu is evident through the warrior, sun and protective aspects of all these deities. The narrative part ends here, and the rest of the spell has more explanatory character.

A short commentary on the myth mentions the city of Shednu for the first time in this spell. The sun’s eye goddess makes the sacred barque moor in this city, and then “Two strong mights” are described, being on its (or eventually the goddesses’) western and eastern side. What exactly is meant by these “strong mights” is questionable – it might refer to the double group of the lords of Shednu, appearing symmetrically on both sides of the bull sarcophagi, or

possibly to some cultic sceptres, statues etc. The last sentence of the texts could be an addendum, explicating the purpose of the reciting/ knowledge of the spell: to provide the successful transfer into the afterlife and a long life; and probably a ritual instruction, connecting the texts again with the new year. Unfortunately, the text is corrupted here and not very clear.

The last thing that should be mentioned is the structure of the text, which seems to reflect the structure of encyclopaedical or “scientific” texts, similarly as the other texts from the tomb of Iufaa: the text accompanying Tutu on the eastern arch; the texts belonging to the sacred snakes, depicted on the arch of the western wall of the burial chamber; and the one belonging to Mehen from the arch of the eastern wall (see Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 180–206). All these spells describe the depicted beings in detail, including details about their look, places of dwelling, character and the ritual instructions connected to them. On the northern wall of Iufaa’s burial chamber, we can see other mythological texts with a similar structure, belonging to the Purification ritual, explaining its mythological background (see Landgráfová – Míčková 2020: 183–207). Such “encyclopedical character” appears in ritual handbooks and mythological manuals, connected with specific knowledge of ritual character: they copy the structure of practical encyclopedical (hand)books, but also perhaps, e.g. astronomical treatise(s): religious themes and “science” are often connected here. As an example can serve the handbook of the priests of Selket, whose purpose was, among other things, to heal people whom snakes bit (p.Brooklyn 47.218.48, Sauneron 1989), or astronomical texts from Saff el-Henna (von Bomhard 2008; Leitz 1995), where the (unfortunately very damaged) text describing 36 decanal stars occurs, describing the name and characteristic of the individual decans, their relation to the sun god, ritual action connected with them and also their connection with concrete illnesses, colours and precious stones.

For better clarity, a table describing the structure of the texts above follows, in comparison with examples from other texts from the tomb of Iufaa, the Selket’s priests’ handbook (p.Brooklyn 47.218.48) and the decanal texts from Saff el-Henna.

Handbook of Selket's priests	Decan texts from naos of Saff el-Henna	Snakes from the western wall + Mehen	Snakes from the northern wall	Text of Tutu from the eastern wall	Text of Lords of Shednu from the outer sarcophagus
name and main characteristic of the snake	name and main characteristic of the decan	name and main characteristic of the snake	name and main characteristic of the snake	identifying Tutu as a snake	identifying the gods as the living <i>bau</i>
description of snake (colour, size etc.)	description/ characteristic of decan	description of snake (colour, size etc.)	description of the snake (colour, size etc.)	description of Tutu	the basic characteristic of the gods
description of wound	epithets and descriptions of decans ¹³⁶	relation to the sun god and his journey through the sky	relation to the sun god and his journey through the sky ¹³⁷	relation to decans	relation to the sun god and his journey through the sky; description of decans
signs of poisoning	epithets and descriptions of decans	earthly form of a snake and his chapel	earthly forms and chapel/mythology ¹³⁸	appearing on the new year	earthly form and chamber
cure and medical treatment	knowledge or ritual actions ¹³⁹	sacred knowledge and rituals about snakes	ritual instructions/myth about the origin of ritual/connection to festivals	description of demons	mythology
connection to magic and gods ¹⁴⁰		instructions and benefits for the deceased / the priest	ritual instructions/myth about the origin of ritual/connection to festivals	names of demons	instructions and benefits for the deceased / the priest

Table 2: Comparison of the structure of “encyclopaedical” texts from the tomb of Iufaa with the Selket’s priests’ handbook (p.Brooklyn 47.218.48) and the decanal texts from Saff el-Henna

¹³⁶ The text is highly damaged, and the texts of the individual decans significantly differ. In some cases, the connection with other celestial phenomena is mentioned, or their visible forms, connection with other gods etc.

¹³⁷ Omitted in the case of Hayshes-serpents.

¹³⁸ In the case of the ouroboros and the personification of sacred awe. Text with Haysesh-serpents again omits this part; after describing them, ritual instructions directly follow.

¹³⁹ Only in some cases see note 136.

¹⁴⁰ Only in some cases.

7.4. *Praising Ra during the new year, columns 29–34*


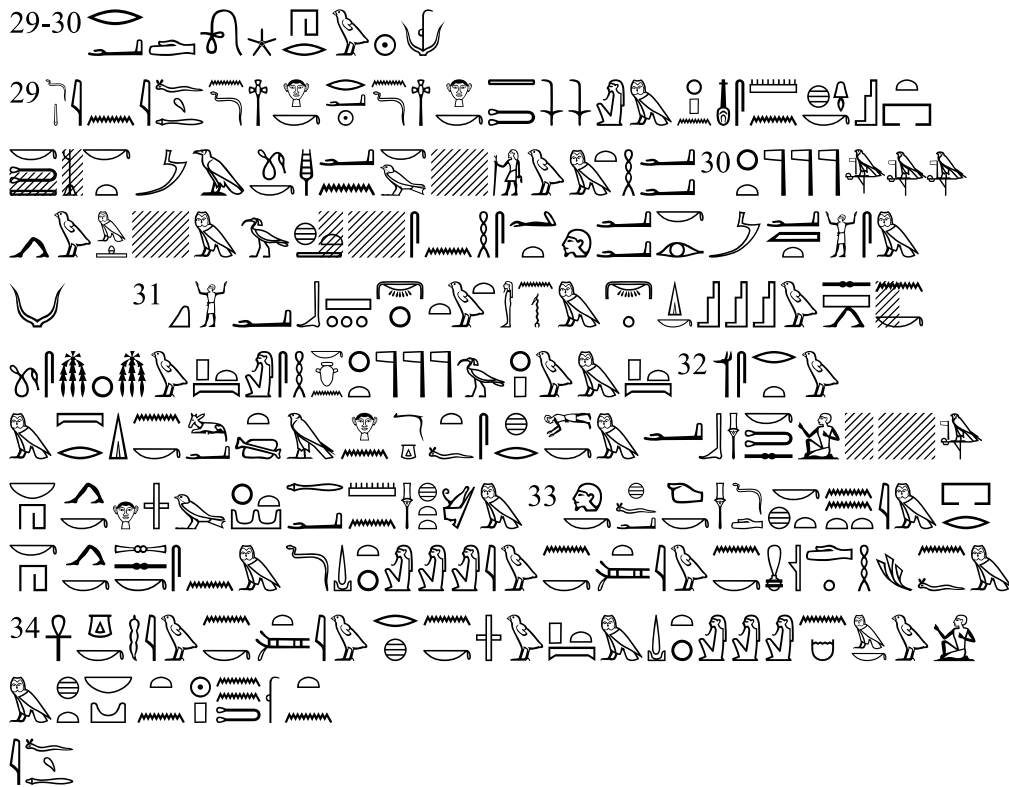
The following text is a hymn or ritual recited on new year's day, praising Ra and Tatenen. The sun god is addressed by his different epithets, such as the one who created *maat* and for whom the Ennead rejoice, but the stressed motifs are also allusions to the divine tribunal of the underworld; the deceased speaks and also commands those who are there. At the end of the spell, the main function, i.e. the protection of the deceased, is mentioned: Iufaa asks Ra to save him from all evil things during the day when the text is recited, but also during the entire year, i.e. any time. The spell is accompanied by a figure of the deceased, labelled with his name, above his head, and  *dw3* [?]¹⁴¹ in front of him (Fig. 7).



Fig 7: The figure of Iufaa, the northern side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus

¹⁴¹ It is unclear if there was a real sign; however, if so, it is not readable.



(29-30) *dw3 r^c hrw wp(.t)-rnp.t*

Praising Ra during the day of the opening of the year.

(29) *dd-mdw jn jw=f-^c3*

To be recited by Iufaa:

nd hr=k r^c nd hr=k t3-tnn m hrw pn nfr

Hail to you, Ra, and hail to you, Tatenen, on this beautiful day!


smnh=k s.t=k tz(?)=k tm3=k

May you make your place firm, may you rise <on> your mat (?).

h^c n=k [wr.w]¹⁴² m t<m3=sn(?)>¹⁴³ h^{cc}

For you rise [the great ones] <on their mats>(?), the Ennead rejoices, coming in

(30) *psd.t jw(.t) m htp [...] m 3h.t [...] =sn hs.t
tp ^c.wj=k*

¹⁴² Probably two signs  missing.

¹⁴³ “For you rise the great ones on their mats” is a common phrase in religious texts, see e. g. hymns to Osiris of stela Louvre C 30; A 11 (Patanè, 1982: 77–82; Assmann 1999: 464–465) or stela Hannover 1976.80a, B7 (Franke 2003: 1997), accessed from TLA; or BD spells 169, 172 or 181, where the elders rise on their mats for the deceased. Considering the mention of *tm3* in the previous sentence, it would make sense that it was also mentioned here, and a copyist omitted the word.



	peace [...] in the horizon, [they sing/present] ¹⁴⁴ songs before you,
<i>jr m3^c.t q3=s m wp[.t=k]¹⁴⁵ (31) q3{^c} bš(š) twt</i>	you who created Maat so that she may be
<i>n d^cm</i>	high on your fore[head], the noble one (made) of <i>beshesh</i> ¹⁴⁶ , the true (divine) image (made) of electrum!
<i>dj=k s.wt zš.n=k</i>	You are given to the places which you have passed (?)
<i>rwd=s ms r^c ms.w p.t</i>	and she may make firm the birth of Ra ¹⁴⁷ , the child of heaven (?).
<i>sk jb n psd.t 3h pw m p.t</i>	The heart of Ennead is clean(?)– that is beneficial in heaven.
<i>(32)wsr.tw m p.t rdj n=k jw^c.t hrw hr ns.t=f</i>	You are powerful in heaven, to you was given the inheritance of Horus on his throne.
<i>shr=k m ^cb=k tz[...]ntr nb</i>	May you overthrow with your scepter and may you speak(?) ¹⁴⁸ [...] every god,
<i>h<3>=k hr jm.j-wr.t-^c3¹⁴⁹</i>	may you descend to the starboard
<i>mn(.t) shm.tj m (33)tp=k</i>	(while) the Two powerful ones are firm on your forehead!

¹⁴⁴ The translation is emended according to the meaning of the text, but the exact verb used is questionable.

¹⁴⁵ There is no text carved in the lacuna. The reason can be simply the mistake of a copyist, but also, e. g. the damage of the papyrus from where the text was copied. The text is emended according to the sense and typical phrase occurring in texts with similar content.

¹⁴⁶ For *bšš* or *bhh* with “substance” determinative, see Wilson 1997: 327 or Wb I: 471. It seems to be a mineral or substance similar to a mineral, probably (a kind) of natron. In the Antu-list of Edfu laboratory, the colour of *bšš* is compared to carneol and the colour of the heart (see Wilde – Míčková – Pehal – Coughlin, *forthcoming*).

¹⁴⁷ The phrase *ms(.t) r^c*, “the birth of Ra”, could be possibly an allusion to the new year – this phrase, referring to the festival celebrated at the beginning of the new year, could be used also an alternative for *wp.t-rnp.t* (Parker 1950: 33, 47). However, the passage is quite unclear and obscure.

¹⁴⁸ From *tz*, utterance, and change of  and  (?). A similar phrase occurs further in the text, where a speech is mentioned after seizing a sceptre.

¹⁴⁹ See Wb I: 73.

hḫḫ=ḫ sḫm ḏḏ=ḫ ḫ.t n nt.t jm

May you grasp the sceptre, and may you say
the rites for the one who is there,

pr=ḫ ḫ<ḫ>=ḫ ḫz=ḫ sn m ḏḏḏ.t

may you come out and descend, may you
command them in the tribunal!

*jw n=ḫ tm jw n=ḫ mj-ḳd ḫnf m ⁽³⁴⁾ḫnh
ns(.t)=ḫ ndm*

To you belongs everything, to you belong all
(things), as you are worshipped in life, in
your lovely place.

jw n=ḫ tm jw ḫh.n=ḫ jmj.w p.t m ḏḏḏ.t

To you belongs everything. You know those
who are in heaven in the tribunal.

*nḫm=ḫ wj m-ḫ ḫ.t nb(.t) ḏw(.t) n ḫrw pn n.t
rnp.t tn*

Save me from all evil things of this day and
of this year!

This text has the character of a hymn to sun god Ra and Tatenen: already the addressed deities determine the character of the text, which connects the motifs of the “sun religion” and the mythology related to the realm of the dead. Tatenen often appears as a chthonic deity associated with the underworld, and thus as the protector of the deceased, but also a being who assures the successful renewal and resurrection; the connection of the sun god with these motifs is obvious. Although both gods are hailed at the beginning of the spell, its title mentions only Ra and only the sun god (or one of his forms) is directly addressed.

At the beginning of the spell, the god appears as the one who is firm on his place and for whom the Ennead rejoices, praising and singing songs for him, and also the one for whom rise the great ones on their mats – this might be the underworld tribunal, which is described as such in several spells of the Book of the dead (BD 169, 172, 181), where the deceased enters into the underworld and is welcomed there by the gods and the blessed dead. He is then addressed as a creator of Maat, who is firm and high on his forehead as the *uraeus* (for the role of goddess Maat as the solar eye see e.g.. Assmann 1969: 219), whose image is made of precious materials.

The next part of the text seems to be addressed to the deceased (identified with the sun god/the king), who is presented as the one who has power in heaven and to whom was given the inheritance of Horus. He is also the one who can descend to the divine starboard because

the two powerful ones belong to him, i. e. the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The deceased thus gains a divine status and can ascend and descend according to his wish, rule with his sceptre and command the tribunal in the underworld; he also recites the rites for his ancestors. He is lord of the universe, equipped with all the necessary provisions and the sacred knowledge of the matters of the divine spheres and underworld – he knows the beings of the heavenly tribunal.

At the end of the spell, Iufaa asks Ra/Tatenen to save him from all evil during the first day of the new year and throughout the whole year that has just begun, i. e. during the entire period, which starts after his renewal (i. e. death).

7.5. Praising Ra and defeating Apophis, columns 35–50

The following text is a spell praising the victory of Ra over Apophis. The texts and rituals dealing with overthrowing Apophis are well known, and many examples are preserved. Still, although the motif of Iufaa's text is the same, its structure and content slightly differ; see below.

The text appears twice in the tomb of Iufaa, the other variant is written on the southern outer side of the sarcophagus. However, the two versions of the exact text were probably copied from two different sources, considering the orthography and variants of spellings of some words, which are repeated within the text (see e. g. *m³^c-hrw*, *mj*, *ʿ3pp* or other individual minor differences); these changes are not just mistakes of the scribe or carver, but variants of writing.¹⁵⁰ The version of the text on the exterior of the sarcophagus writes much more determinatives than the variant from the interior; it also often writes a simple form of the plural: noun + *w*, the interior variant often repeats signs three times; the exterior also uses negation *nn* where the interior variant has only *n*. The changes in orthography and cases where the texts differ are marked in the footnotes.

¹⁵⁰ As a similar example can serve the protective text from the southern outer side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus, which also appears on the top of the lid of the outer sarcophagus of Menekhibnekau: these two copies are only versions of that texts which are known so far, but the versions differ so much that we can say that they were copied from two different sources (Bareš – Landgráfová – Míčková 2022: 145–157).

35-36

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(25-36) *dw3 r^{c151} shr c3pp¹⁵²*

Praising Ra and defeating Apophis.

(35) *dd-mdw jn jw=f^{c3}*

To be recited by Iufaa:

¹⁵¹ On the outer side of the sarcophagus, there is no honorific transposition.

¹⁵² The outer variant always writes Apophis like this:

wḏ^c mdw¹⁵³ {njw.t}<zp> sn

*jnk m3^c-hrw¹⁵⁴ jnk jt h(^c)b {h}<zp> sn jnk jt
mzn.t š3^c zp sn*

*jnk b3q sdd.n=j m zns^w157 zp sn sbj. (36)n¹⁵⁸=j
m r3 nb nfr mr.y=j¹⁵⁹*

mk wj¹⁶⁰ m-^c sdb nb dw

jnk hrw m3^c-hrw¹⁶¹ r.w¹⁶²=j r.w n dhw.tj

(37)shr jb ntr.w shtp sn.wj r nfr¹⁶³=sn

Matters are decided, matters are decided:


I am triumphant, I am the one who took the
weapon (?),¹⁵⁵ I am the one who took the
weapon, I am the one who took the
harpoon(?),¹⁵⁶ I am the one who took the
harpoon.

I am well, I recited praising, I recited
praising, and I laughed because of every
beautiful utterance, which I like!



Protect me from all terrible evil!

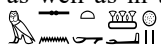
I am Horus triumphant, my reed is the reed of
Thoth,

the one who made the hearts of gods content,
the one who appeased two brothers to their
satisfaction:

¹⁵³ The outer side has writing .


¹⁵⁴ The outer side writes .


¹⁵⁵ The word *h^cb* means “implement” or “tool” (Wb 3: 42; Van der Molen 2000: 314). Considering the following phrase and the content of the whole text, it probably means a kind of weapon. On the outer side of the sarcophagus is written *hb^cd.t*; *h^cb.tj* can also mean Seth (LGG V: 44), thus alternative translation, “I seized Seth”, is possible, but if the word *mzn.t* in the following part is really “harpoon”, the parallel construction makes better sense. The sign  at the end of the word was mingled with , as in the case of *mzn.t*.


¹⁵⁶ The word *msn* can (among others) mean “knife” (Wb I: 146), *msn.tj* is harpooner in a sacral context (Wb II: 145), considering the writing by uniliteral signs and lack of the determinative, the exact meaning is uncertain, but as well as in the case of *hb^c* in the previous note, the word means probably a weapon. The outer side writes . The word *š3^c* behind *mzn.t* could point to marshland, and thus some specific kind of weapon/harpoon used during the hunt in marshes (i.e. hunting crocodiles, hippopotamus etc.).


¹⁵⁷ Outer side omits the determinative.


¹⁵⁸ On the outer side is wrongly *sbsw.n(=j)*, confusing *s* and *j* during the copying from hieratic is a common mistake.

¹⁵⁹ On the outer side is .

¹⁶⁰ On the outer side is .

¹⁶¹ On the outer side is again .

¹⁶² The outer version has this word with determinative  in all cases.

¹⁶³ Outer version writes .

$n^{164} t3=f \{n\} hrw n zš= \{s\} <f>^{165} n stš$

he did not reject¹⁶⁶ Horus, he did not pass Seth.¹⁶⁷

$dd.n=f m r3=f^{168} zš.n=f m r.w(t)=f$

He spoke with his mouth, he wrote with his reed.

$dd.n=j m dd.t jr.n=j m jr.t$

I said what needed to be said, I did what needed to be done.

$(38)wp r3=j wp r3 jr.t \{3\} <hr.w> sms.w m m3^c \{nfr.w\} <hrw>^{169}$

My mouth is open (as) is open the mouth of the Eye of Horus the Elder,¹⁷⁰ triumphant.

$mj^{171} rk n=j r w3.t nfr.t^{172}$

Come then to me to the beautiful way!

$dj=k n=j sfh^{173} nfr nhm=k wj hw=k wj^{174}$

May you give me my beautiful release,¹⁷⁵ may you save me, may you protect me,

$jr=k k3.w=j^{(39)} nhr=j dw3=j tw$

may you prepare for me my *kau*¹⁷⁶ so I can live and praise you.

¹⁶⁴ The outer version has negation *nn*.

¹⁶⁵ Corrected according to the version from the outer side of the sarcophagus. Translation without the correction is possible as $n zš=sn stš$ - “Seth was not passed”, but considering the 3rd person *m*. suffix in the previous part of the sentence, the other variant makes better sense.

¹⁶⁶ The word *t3y* is in TLA as lemma no. 163390 as “to resist” with cross-reference to *twr* (lemma no. 170340, see Wb V: 252).

¹⁶⁷ On the outer side of the sarcophagus is only $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ instead of Seth.

¹⁶⁸ On the outer side, the stroke under *r* is missing in both cases.

¹⁶⁹ Corrected according to the outer variant of the text; the orthography there is again $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$.

¹⁷⁰ On the outer side is $jr(.t) hrw$ and the sign is really $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$; *sms.w* has determinative $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$.

The Eye of Horus the Elder, with the connection with the king and the renewal of power, is a motif known already from the Pyramid Text, see e. g. PT 256, where the deceased king sits upon the throne of Horus the Elder, and his eye is described as his might.

¹⁷¹ The outer version is without $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$.

¹⁷² The outer side has $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$.

¹⁷³ The outer side has determinative $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$.

¹⁷⁴ The text on the outer side of the sarcophagus is damaged here; the damage starts behind *hw*, then only parts of some signs are visible, and the fluent text continues from $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ and $jr=k$.

¹⁷⁵ Possibly also from illnesses(?).

¹⁷⁶ I.e. offerings, sustenance.

*j3*¹⁷⁷ *n=k r^c m-hnw jr.tj=k jt n=k 3w*¹⁷⁸-*jb*

Praise belongs to you, Ra, within (the sight) of your eyes, may you receive joy!

*s_dm=k mdw pn*¹⁷⁹ *nfr dd.n=j n=k*

May you listen to this speech that I have said to you!

*jnk jj hr h^c*¹⁸⁰ *n r^c shpr nfr.w*¹⁸¹

I am the one who comes with joy for Ra, who created perfection,

⁽⁴⁰⁾*jnk jn n=k*¹⁸² *m3^c.t twy*¹⁸³ *s3w=k hr=k*
*jm=s*¹⁸⁴

I am the one who brings you this *maat* so that you may gladden your face by it,

*jr n=k nw ndmndm sk dr n=k sdb*¹⁸⁵ *m hrw pn*
*dr w3=k r=f*¹⁸⁶


so that you can make a time of sexual pleasure – the evil is driven away from you on that day because you are far from it.


dj=k n=j n^ch w3s ⁽⁴¹⁾*jr=k k3.w=j*
<*n^ch=j*>¹⁸⁷ *dw3=j tw r tr.wj*


May you give me life and power, may you prepare for me my *kau*, and I will praise you at all times!


*k3.w=j*¹⁸⁸ *hn^c h^c=j*


My *kau* belong to (lit. are with) me in my lifetime!


¹⁷⁷ The outer side writes .


¹⁷⁸ The outer side has the sign .


¹⁷⁹ The outer variant: .



¹⁸⁰ The outer variant has determinative .


¹⁸¹ The outer variant writes .


¹⁸² The outer variant has .

¹⁸³ The outer variant has .

¹⁸⁴ The outer side has .

¹⁸⁵ The outer side writes  instead of .

¹⁸⁶ The outer side has: .

¹⁸⁷ According to the previous part of the text, where has this sentence already appeared, and the outer side, where the verb is written. The outer side also writes *k3.w* as .

¹⁸⁸ The previous part is partly destroyed on the outer side of the sarcophagus; *k3.w* is again written in a shortened way.

dj=k n=j nfr {=k}<nb>¹⁸⁹ n{.t}¹⁹⁰ hrw pn

May you give me all the good of this day,

*hsf¹⁹¹=k dw jj m bk3.t {hrw}<3>¹⁹² n hpr js r=j
r d.t*

may you destroy all evil, which comes in the
(new year's) morning, so that it will not
happen against me (again), forever!

*m3^c-hrw¹⁹³ (42) r^c r^c<3>pp zp 4 m3^c-hrw¹⁹⁴=j hr
dd.t.n=j {k}<nb>¹⁹⁵*





Ra is triumphant/justified over Apophis
(recited four times); I am triumphant/justified
because of everything I have said.



jnk mdw¹⁹⁶ hr r^c ns¹⁹⁷ r^c




I am the one who speaks before Ra, the
tongue of Ra,


*jnk hr.n=f¹⁹⁸ m jr.t=f b3q=f n=f ds=f zp sn m
htp zp <sn>*


I am the one with whose actions he is content,
for whom he himself is well, for whom he
himself is well, in peace, in peace.


¹⁸⁹ Translation with the suffix of the second person masculine is also possible, but the version with  makes better sense. The change of signs  and  is a common mistake and on the outer side of the sarcophagus, the sign is really .

¹⁹⁰ The outer side has really  and not .


¹⁹¹ The outer side writes , the next side is partly destroyed so it is not possible to say if it was  or .


¹⁹² In the outer side of the sarcophagus there is no bird sign, but , *bk3* with the determinative of sun disk means morning – the ritual should be recited during the (new year's?) morning, see below.

¹⁹³ In that place the writing of *m3^c-hrw* on the outer side changes: .

¹⁹⁴ In that case from the outside there is .

¹⁹⁵ The outer side is correct.

¹⁹⁶ The outer side writes again .

¹⁹⁷ From the outside is .

¹⁹⁸ The outer side has *jnk pr.n [...]* *m jr.t=f b3q=f n=f ds=f zp sn*.

*nḥm=k*¹⁹⁹ *wj m-ᶜ ḥ.t nb(.t)* (43) *d̄w(.t)*²⁰⁰ *nḥm=k*
*wj m-ᶜ sdr.t*²⁰¹ *wd.tj d̄w nḥm=k* *wj m-ᶜ sh.t*
*d̄w*²⁰² *hpr*²⁰³ *r=j*

Save me from all evil things, save me from the permanent bad state of being bedridden, save me from the lousy snare which would be against me!

*jnk jn n=k ḥᶜᶜ*²⁰⁴ *rᶜ dr= {f} <j>*²⁰⁵ *n=k ᶜ<3>pp*

I am the one who brings you joy, Ra; I have driven Apophis away for you.

*wn sb3.w*²⁰⁶ *j3b.tjt n.t*²⁰⁷ *p.t n rᶜ*

The eastern gates of heaven are open for Ra,

pr {n} <=f> (44) *m 3ḥ.t pr=k m w3.t nzp.w*

so that he may come out from the horizon, so that you may come out from the way of wounds!²⁰⁸

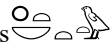
*j.nᶜy.n=j j.mn.n=j*²⁰⁹ *wj3=k*


I have anchored, and I have moored your barque,²¹⁰

*mk nwh.w n wj3=k*²¹¹ *m dr.t(j)*²¹²

see, the ropes of your barque are in my hands.

¹⁹⁹ The text on the outer side is corrupted here.

²⁰⁰ On the outer side of the sarcophagus is  - *ḥ.t nb.t tw ḥmw-r3*.

²⁰¹ The version from the outer side of the sarcophagus has a slightly different orthography: .


The word *sdr̄y.t* with the written determinative means usually “spend the night” or “sleep”, but also “to be inert”, “to be idle” and even “to be bedridden” (Wb 4: 392; Lesko – Switalski Lesko 2002–2004: 102–103) – this interpretation makes good sense considering Iufaa’s health condition (see below and also chapter 3).



²⁰² The version from the outer side writes *sh.t dwt*.

²⁰³ The outer side has *hpr* without a phonetical complement.

²⁰⁴ Here the same variants of orthography as in the previous part occurs, with the same content: the outer version has only one *n* after *jn* and behind *ḥᶜᶜ* follows the determinative.

²⁰⁵ Corrected according to content and the outer version, where the pronoun is correct. The third person *m*. suffix suggests that the text was originally written in the 3rd person.


²⁰⁶ The version from the outside writes .


²⁰⁷ The outer side has really  and not .

²⁰⁸ I. e. wounds or damages caused by Apophis, see below.

²⁰⁹ The outer side has: .


²¹⁰ The form *sdm.n=f* with prothetic *j* (see Edel 1955: 249–151) seems to be the most probable interpretation here. The alternative possibility of translation is imperative, as *j.nᶜy n=j* etc., but considering the fact that in the next part of the text, where the deceased proclaims that he has the ropes of the barque in his hands, the first option makes better sense.

²¹¹ The outer side lacks the plural strokes in *nwh.w* and *wj3* is written only .


²¹² Probably unwritten dual, on the other side the word is written .

<i>rdj=j²¹³ zš n (45)wj3=k sk dr=k sdb.w²¹⁴ nb d.w</i>	I let your barque travel, and you will repel all
<i>m hrw pn</i>	evil this day.
<i>sk nhm²¹⁵=k wj m-^c h.t nb(.t) dw(.t)²¹⁶ hm.w-r3</i>	Save me from all evil things etc.!
<i>mj wd3²¹⁷ r=k r^c nh(=j) hn<^c>=k</i>	Come, sail then, Ra, that I can live with you!
<i>t3w r {jw}<fnd=>k²¹⁸ n²¹⁹ ph (46)tw²²⁰ nšn nb</i>	The breath belongs to your nose; any bad
<i>dw²²¹ n hrw pn</i>	storm will not reach you this day.
<i>m3^c-hrw r^c r 3pp zp 4 jw m3^c-hrw²²²=<k> nb²²³</i>	Ra is triumphant over Apophis (recited four
<i>r hft.j nb{nb}<k>²²⁴ {njw.t} <zp> 4</i>	times), you are triumphant/justified against
	every enemy of yours (recited four times)!




The text, whose title is “Praising Ra and defeating Apophis”, starts with a passage where the deceased proclaims that “the matters are decided”, which means that the fight is already over and Ra is triumphant over Apophis. The deceased is identified with Horus, who defeats the representatives of evil by force (the alternation of the relation of Ra and Apophis with Horus and Seth is typical in the Late Period texts; see commentary to the text of lord of Shednu above), and also with Thoth, who is the judge, who arbitrates between these two to the content of both sides. In the next part of the spell, the deceased proclaims that he did and said everything that was needed (to assure Ra’s final victory) and asks Ra to come to him, protect him and equip him with any provisions he needs so that he might live and praise the god.





²¹³ The outer side has .

²¹⁴ The outer side omits *r* in *dr*; again writes *d* instead of *d̄* in *sdb* and *dw.t* instead of *d̄w*.

²¹⁵ On the outer side the sign  is omitted.

²¹⁶ On the outer side *dw.t* is written.




²¹⁷ The outer version writes *mj* without , *wd3* is without  and with determinative .

²¹⁸ According to the outer side, which writes  , such text makes sense and the signs  and  could be easily mingled.

²¹⁹ The outer side has again negation *nn*.

²²⁰ There is an omitted *t* on the outer side.

²²¹ Outer side has again *dw.t*.

²²² The first *m3^c-hrw* on the outer side *m3^c-hrw* is written  , the second one .

²²³ The outer side is correct.

²²⁴ The outer side is correct.

In the next part of the text, Iufaa once again names what he had done for Ra and asks for provisions, protection and defeating any danger or enemy in return. He compares Ra's triumph (*m3^c-hrw*) against Apophis with his triumph and justification (*m3^c-hrw*) in the afterlife. He also stresses his words and speeches; he even identifies himself with the tongue of Ra – a body part by which Ra can speak and thus make things happen and literally create the world and its conditions according to his desire. Once again, the deceased asks Ra to save him from all bad things. Interestingly, among the evils, “the evil state of being bedridden” is mentioned – this note is of interest because it does not seem to be a standard part of this text, it was more likely added to the ritual according to Iufaa's wish. Considering his health condition (see chapter 3), it is easily imaginable that being bedridden might seem to him as a significant threat, which he wanted to avoid in the afterlife.

In the next part of the text, it is proclaimed that the eastern gates of heaven are open for Ra, thus, he can be reborn and rise again, victorious and unharmed. The part where “coming out of the way of wounds” is mentioned probably refers to injuries sustained by Ra in the fight with Apophis (Wilson 1997: 546), which could also have unique healing power (Kees 1925: 8–9) – again a detail, that could be important for Iufaa personally. Then Iufaa describes himself as the one who moored the barque of Ra, who tightly holds its ropes and makes the travelling through the sky safe for the sun god; again, he asks for his protection in return.

In summary, the entire text describes the interdependence of the deceased and the sun god – the deceased ritually helps Ra to defeat Apophis, i. e. re-create *maat* and assure the (eternal) renewal, and asks for protection and provision for himself in return. The theme of the deceased who helps Ra to defeat Apophis and asks for some reward in return is the motif known already from the Coffin Texts (see CT VII, 375b–377g, CT VI, 644 etc.), and it often appears in the funeral literature throughout the Egyptian history, together with the general motif of protection or help of the deceased to sun god (this dependent relationship occurred already in some of the previous texts, see e.g. chapter 6.4.).

The texts whose purpose was ritually defeating Apophis (or Seth) are well known from different ritual handbooks. However, they are usually more complex compositions (for more on that topic and further examples, see e. g. Kousoulis 2001, Altmann 2010; Jasnow 2018–2019: 37–66, Thiers 2020: 393–410). An example could be Rituals for repelling evil and Rituals for driving away Seth (p. Louvre 3129 and p BM 10252, Schott 1929, Altmann 2010). They start with practical ritual instructions: when and where the ritual(s) take place and what is needed for them, e. g. an image or statue of Apophis/Seth/an enemy and how to manipulate it. Then the

foe (or foes) is addressed, repeatedly and directly, with different epithets, mentioning his evil character and sinister intentions, sometimes including quite a long list of his crimes. He is cursed and commanded to fall and be driven away; the individual gods are often described as punishing and repelling him, and sometimes the ritualist identifies himself with them. Then the praising of the victory and return to *maat* is celebrated. Typically, texts for repelling Apophis also contain the mythological episodes, describing what the enemy had committed, or how he was judged and punished for his deeds and the world was restored and returned to its order, often represented by the justification of Osiris and coronation of Horus, accompanied by praising and joy of all other gods; sometimes also concrete cities and places within Egypt are mentioned as being in joy, celebrating etc. The cursing of Apophis/Seth can be repeated, and all other enemies and possible dangers are identified with him. This thematical unit is repeated several times within one ritual handbook (and the exact order of episodes can slightly change).

The praising of victorious Ra also appears in these handbooks, but it is only one part of the more complex text. He is often praised as the one who returns worlds to *maat*, who assures the position of Horus and gives him his inheritance, who is victorious and mighty and defeats all his enemies. He can also be addressed directly by the ritualist, similarly to the above-presented text of Iufaa. The sun god is then asked to protect the ritualist from different possible evils and dangers, such as enemies, horror, death etc. – the ritualist names his deeds, by which he helps the sun god restore order and defeat forces of chaos: he usually mentions his help to different deities or even identifies himself with them. He mentions that he can destroy enemies of the sun god (or Osiris and other different deities), who has power over enemies, who makes the sun-barque sail, who restores order, truth and the natural course of the cosmos. He could also be identified as the one from the suite of the sun god, who knows his names, forms and ways. His help is thus necessary for victory over chaos; in return, he is protected and cannot be harmed, and he is mighty as the gods.

The text of Iufaa reminds more of The Book of overthrowing Apophis from p. Bremner-Rhind (Faulkner 1933; Carrier 2014) – the interesting point is that contrary to the previously mentioned handbooks, this text is composed initially for the king, who appears in a role of the ritualist. The book also starts with a title and purpose of the ritual, but, similarly as here, almost at the beginning, the victory of Ra is mentioned, who is praised as victorious, mighty, strong and noble, together with the pharaoh. The sun god is then asked to come to the pharaoh and drive away all his enemies, as he repels Apophis from him. Similarly, as in Iufaa's text, the victory of Apophis is taken both by the (magical) power of Ra and the physical force of Horus,

who defeats Apophis and rebels with the spear of heavenly ore (p. Bremner-Rhind 22, 9 ff.). Pharaoh then praises Ra and is described as the one who killed Apophis and his rebels for Ra, and the sun god is asked to be benevolent to the pharaoh. The same refrain as in the case of Iufaa is also repeated four times (*m3^c-hrw r^c r 3pp m3^c-hrw pr-3 r hftj.w=f*, for the first occurrence see p. Bremner-Rhind 22, 17). However, the next part of this text focuses more on defeating Apophis as such, similarly as in the previously mentioned texts – the individual parts have titles “spell for binding Apophis” (*r3 n q3js 3pp*, 22, 17), “spell for taking a knife for defeating Apophis” (*r3 n šzp dz r hwj 3pp*, 22, 20), “spell for burning (lit. giving fire against) Apophis” (*r3 n rdj.t h.t r 3pp*, 22, 23 – 24), the enemies are then addressed directly and are commanded to be bound, oppressed, punished, driven away and killed; in some cases also other deities appear as the destroyers of Apophis, mostly different manifestations of the sun’s eye goddess. The ritual instructions are mentioned, and defeating of Apophis is stressed and repeated forever. Interestingly, in one addendum with instructions, there is a mention that “it is beneficent (*3h*) for the one who will perform it (i.e. the ritual) on earth, it is beneficial for the one who will perform it in the realm of the dead” (23, 15–23, 16). The “universal” power of the ritual is thus confirmed – the fight against the chaos takes place throughout the spheres. The victory of the sun god needs to be assured on earth as well as in the underworld, i. e. it is necessary, and also beneficial for the ritualist, to perform such a rite during life and after death. The restoration and renewal of the cosmos and defeating of chaos thus again stand as a parallel not only to the (eternal) restoration of the royal power but also to the resurrection of the deceased. Several “books” or “chapters” then follow: Apophis and generally the sun god’s enemies are addressed directly, cursed and destroyed, and the different deities and their manifestations participate in the defeating of chaos. The two “Books of knowing the forms of Ra, who defeats Apophis” (*md3.t n.t rh hpr.w nw r^c shr 3pp*, 26, 21ff. and 28, 20 ff.) follow: both of them are written as a speech of Ra, given after he emerged at the beginning of the cosmos, describing the creation and also his role and character of the primordial god, then Apophis and other foes are defeated again – it is the very first defeat of them, which is supposed to be ritually repeated forever. The ritualist thus identifies himself with the victorious sun god, who is also compared to the pharaoh, defeating all his enemies. At the end of the text, the different names of Apophis are listed – the ritualist thus also proves his sacred knowledge, and Apophis can be repelled and destroyed completely. By imitating the action of the sun god, or the pharaoh, who repels all evil away, the ritualist, or the deceased, can ritually take his place

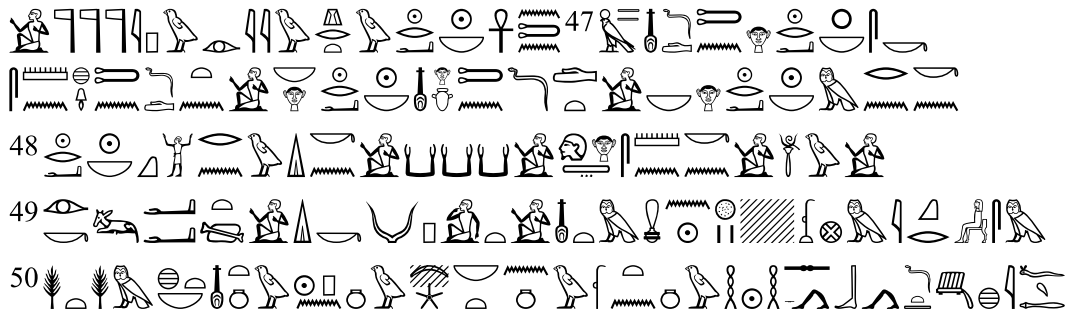
and not only defeat chaos but also receive the power and the protection of the sun god for himself.

In Iufaa's variant of the text of repelling Apophis, the ritual/spell takes part at the moment when Apophis is already defeated; Iufaa praises Ra, mentions that he helped him to defeat his enemy and asks him for something in return. The whole text does not have the character of an "exorcism" and driving away evil forces, which is typical for texts with the topic of overthrowing Apophis; on the contrary, it has almost the character of a hymn or praising Ra after successfully defeating of evil, which is the motif that is stressed even in the title of the spell.

This could be compared to previously presented texts relating to the new year, which do not mention the epagomenal days, but the first day of the new year, when the dangers are already driven away. However, Iufaa's text could be part of a longer ritual text from which only the victorious passage was copied in the tomb – the reason could be trying to avoid the potentially dangerous parts of the text, mentioning the fight with the forces of chaos and showing their names, shapes, power etc., and keep only the victorious aspect(s) of the ritual to be manifested forever in the tomb/during the passing into the afterlife. The text also occurs relatively close to the body, i. e. at the place where the deceased is more endangered and the protective passages need to be stressed – compared to the decoration of the burial chamber, where also dangerous aspects of the different deities are explicitly mentioned (e. g. the description of Tutu and naming his accompanying demons, see Landráfová – Janák 2021: 194–197).

7.6. Providing by the four gods and protection of the deceased, columns 46–49

This short text, stressing providing of the deceased by the four gods, who provide Ra daily, follows the Apophis ritual on both sides of the sarcophagus. It is thus questionable if the spell belongs to the previous text, but considering that it focuses on a different topic, it is presented here as an individual spell. The text is also repeated again on the southern inner side of the sarcophagus, see below.



*j*²²⁵ *ntr.w jp.w jr.yw*²²⁶ *hr.t {w}*²²⁷ *r^c r^c nb*

²²⁸Oh, you gods, who make the provisions of Ra every day,

nh n=tn ⁽⁴⁷⁾ *r^c-hrw-3h.tj nfr dd=tn*²²⁹ *hr r^c r^c nb*

for you live Reharakhti, that which you say before Ra every day is beautiful,

*sk smnh=tn dd.t.n=j*²³⁰ *nb hr r^c r^c nb*

while you make firm that which I say before Ra every day.

*nfr hr jb=tn dd.t.<n>=j*²³¹ *nb hr r^c r^c nb*


Everything that I say before Ra every day is good in your hearts,


m rn{=k}<nb> n⁽⁴⁸⁾ *r^c r^c nb q3 rn.w*

in every name of Ra every day, (of Ra), noble of names.

*dj=k n=j k3.w=j*²³² *hr tp t3 smn=k n=j j3w=j*


May you prepare my *kau* on earth, may you make my office firm for me,

²²⁵ The outer side writes .

²²⁶ The outer side writes .


²²⁷ The outer side is correct.

²²⁸ Here begins the part that repeats itself in columns 46–49 on the southern side, see below.

²²⁹ The outer side has: .

²³⁰ The version from the outer side has again *t* instead of *tn* in *=tn* and omits *n* in *dd.t.n=j*.

²³¹ The outer side writes phonetical complement *r* under *nfr*, has *t* instead of *tn* and omits .

²³² The outer side omits .

(49) *jr=k jw^{cc}.t=j* ²³³ *dj=k wp.t=j nfr.t²³⁴ mjn zp*
sn [nfr]<.tj> rnp.t(j) {njw.t} <zp sn>²³⁵ m
jqr²³⁶ šps m (50) *bd.t²³⁷ m h.t nb(.t) nfr.t²³⁸*


may you make (for me) my inheritance, may you give (me) my beautiful portion of today, may you give (me) my beautiful portion of today, beautiful and rejuvenated, beautiful and rejuvenated, in noble and excellent (things), in wheat and all the good things

nw²³⁹ hrw pn nw <grh pn nw>²⁴⁰ 3bd nb{.t}²⁴¹
<nw smd.t tn> nw rnp.t tn nw nhḥ²⁴² zb d.t
jm3h(.w).jw=f^{cc}

of this day, of < this night, of > every month, < of this 15th-day festival > of this year of *neheh*-eternity which traverses *djet*-eternity. Reversed Iufaa.

The spell addresses four gods, not mentioned by names, which make provisions for Ra and speak before Ra daily. Iufaa turns to them and asks them to make everything he says firm and beautiful before Ra. At the end of the text, he asks Ra to provide him with everything he needs in the afterlife – the list of the things is mentioned, as well as the fact that the deceased will be equipped with these things every day, night, month, half-month festival and year forever. It is questionable if the spell is directly connected with the text praising Ra and defeating Apophis. The entire text is repeated on the southern side of the sarcophagus, almost in the same columns, where it appears as an individual spell. Its appearance on the opposite side and the fact that the motif of victory over Apophis is not mentioned anymore speaks for taking it separately. Still, on the other hand, each of the spells on the northern side of the sarcophagus has its title (except for the text dealing with the lords of Shednu, but it has a significant and distinctive vignette). It again stresses the motifs of speaking of the deceased before Ra and equipping him with all provisions that he needs in the afterlife.

²³³ The outer version omits *t*.


²³⁴ On the outer side is .

²³⁵ According to the outer side.

²³⁶ The outer side writes really *jgr*.

²³⁷ The outer side has a determinative of grain.

²³⁸ The outer side has again a phonetical complement to *nfr* (*r*).

²³⁹ The outer side writes in all cases .

²⁴⁰ According to the outer side.

²⁴¹ The outer side writes *3bd pn nw smd.t tn*.

²⁴² The outer side writes .

Considering the fact that the hieroglyphs in the entire tomb of Iufaa are quite small (compared to other contemporary shaft tombs) and many texts are abbreviated so much that they are complicated to read and understand, it is evident that the texts that are repeated in the decoration have particular importance and stress (some of) the most important motifs. This fact is valid for two previously presented texts. Moreover, it could be said that these spells contain the most important motifs “all in one” – in the text of overthrowing Apophis, the general renewal, rejuvenation, restoring of *maat* and defeating of forces of chaos is mentioned, the close relationship between the deceased and the sun god is established, as well as his identification with the different deities, he magically assures that he will be protected from any harm or danger. Here he proclaims that he will be provided with nourishment and also all excellent and noble things in the afterlife, mentioning them very specifically, when needed.

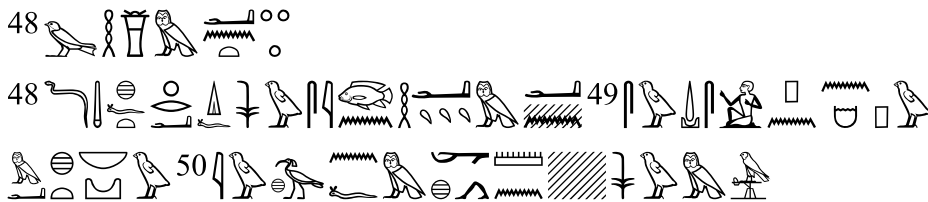
7.7. Anointing with antu, columns 48–50

The following short text concludes the northern section of decoration of the inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus. It contains a ritual instruction, connected with the previous spell(s) – it might be related to the text of overthrowing Apophis or providing the deceased, but it can be also relevant for the entire section of the ritual texts, assuring mainly the protection of the deceased. However, it does not appear neither at the end of the second variant of the text of praising Ra’s victory over Apophis on the outer side, nor at the end of the second variant of the text dealing with the gods who provide Ra, repeated on the southern side.

The text is accompanied by a vignette, depicting Iufaa – the words *jm³h.w jw=f-^c3*, which conclude the previous text of overthrowing Apophis, can be read also as a label to the figure (see Fig. 8). In front of the figure of Iufaa is the title of the spell, *wrḥ m ^cnt.w*.



Fig. 8: The figure of Iufaa accompanying the title *wrḥ m ʕnt.w*, the northern inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus



(48) *wrḥ m ʕn.tjw*

Anointing with *antu*.²⁴³

(48) *dd-mdw ḥft rʕ dj=f sw*

To be recited before Ra, when he shows himself,

sjn ḥʕ.w m ʕn[t.w]

to have the body rubbed with *antu*

(49) *swd3 s(j) pn*

that makes the man prosper.

nḥm pw m-ʕ ḥ.t nb(.t) dw(.t)

It is protection from all evil things.

²⁴³ The word *ʕnt.w* is conventionally translated as “myrrh” (e. g. Wb I: 206–207; Wilson 1997; Germer 1985: 106); however, based on its use described in different texts, it seems more likely to describe different kinds of resinous material and their mixtures (see Wilde – Mičková – Pehal – Coughlin, *forthcoming*). Similar conclusions have come from the recent biomolecular analyses of the organic content of vessels from the 26th dynasty embalming workshop in Saqqara (Rageot – Hussein – Beck – Atlmann-Wendling – Ibrahim – Baghat – Yousef – Mittelstaedt – Filippi – Buckley – Spieeri – Stockhammer 2023, <https://www-nature-com.ezproxy.is.cuni.cz/articles/s41586-022-05663-4>).

⁽⁵⁰⁾*jw 3h n=f m-h̄t mn[...] sw m hr.t-ntr*

It is powerful/useful for him after mooring (i.e. death), he being [...] in the realm of the dead.

This spell is a ritual instruction, accompanying the previous text(s). According to the text, the spells should be recited before Ra “when he shows himself”, i. e. during the sunrise. This could refer to the morning of the new year, which is mentioned in the titles of some of the previous spells, or it could refer generally to the time of sunrise and recitation of the spells during every/any morning, when Ra starts his daily journey through the sky and the entire world is reborn, as well as the deceased is reborn and rejuvenated and can join the sun’s cycle and the sun god’s journey.

Another ritual instruction mentions anointing body (of the deceased) with *antu*, which “makes the man prosper” – the deceased is rubbed with a sacred substance(s), similarly as is done for the images of gods, and thus becomes divine. The spell together with anointing ensures protection from evil and is said to be beneficial and powerful for the deceased in the realm of the dead. A complex ritual of anointing the body of the deceased is written on the southern wall of Iufaa’s burial chamber, its translation and analysis are in progress (for general content and translation of some parts see Landgráfová – Míčková 2021: 359–369).

8. THE TEXTS FROM THE SOUTHERN SIDE

The third section of the decoration of the inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus covers most of its southern side, namely columns 13–49. The area covered by spells thus mirrors the northern side, as was said above. Again, none of the texts has any known parallel version.




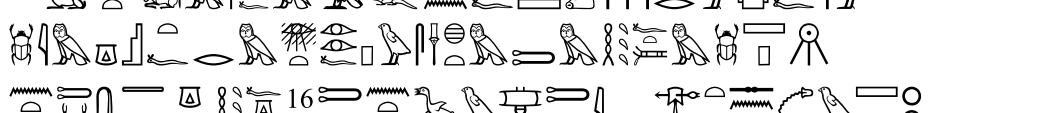









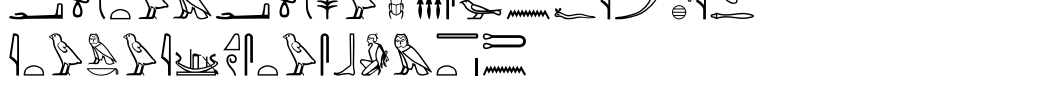
Most of the spells of the southern side are written in a retrograde direction, which clearly divides them from the previous and following sections (the texts around the head of the deceased and the sequence of the Pyramid Texts spells around the feet of the deceased). One of the stressed motifs of this side of the sarcophagus is cosmology and the mythical events related to it; an important deity is, except for the creator sun god, Ptah and his different manifestations. Three of the texts, where the manifestations of the deities (twice Ptah and once Thoth) are mentioned, are written in a tabular form.

The first text has the form of a hymn to Atum, naming different aspects of the sun god as the creator and various mythical events (or allusions to them) that preceded the creation of the world. Several following spells are connected to Ptah, his manifestations, and mythology and ritual instructions related to this deity. The first is text in the form of a table, mentioning the festival of Ptah on the 25th day of the second month of the *akhet*-season and four different manifestations of this deity, the ritual instructions on what shall be done on that day in the form of a plain text follow. However, this text also contains a part with mythological narratives, again focused on the creation of the world and also aetiologies of multitude, deficiency and *but* of fish. The spell is followed again by a table, where the individual deities are identified with the senses and organs of the creator god, Ra, who creates the world with the power of his mind and speech. This table also contains four different manifestations of Thoth. The last one is accompanied by a myth explaining the origin of his name. The last retrograde text deals again with the manifestations of Ptah; this time, there are eight of them, each identified with a different deity.

The last two texts of that section of the decoration are written in the normal direction and deal with different topics: the first one is a hymn to “royal building” or “royal shelter”, which/who shall protect the deceased. The last spell's main motif is protection – the same text appears in columns 46–49 on the northern side, addressing the four gods who provide Ra daily and are asked to provide the deceased with anything he needs in the afterlife.

8.1. *Creation, Atum, columns 13–24*

The text that opens the southern side of the sarcophagus is written in a retrograde direction, like most of the texts from this part of the sarcophagus. The spell consists of several layers, and most of its motifs come from the Heliopolitan cosmogony and local religious ideas. A changed and re-interpreted part of the Coffin Texts Spell 714 has also been integrated into this text. The main part of the spell is formulated as a hymn to the god Atum as a creator, but it contains many digressions such as mentions of mythical events, speeches to several different beings or comments, notes and explanations of the main text.

13 














(13) *dḥw.tj ḥms ḥnꜥ psd.t*

Thoth sat down with the Ennead

sk sw ḥr mdw ḥnꜥ=sn dd.hr=f n=sn

and talked with them, and then he said to them:

ptr jr.t.n (j)tm(.w) r=tn

“Look at all that Atum has done for you!”

k<y> dd (j)tm(.w) pw hft psd.t

Another version: “He is Atum in front of the Ennead²⁴⁴

hpr{.w}<.t> m h^c.w=f

which came into being from his body.

²⁴⁵*ntf pw nw w^c.w nn sn.nw=f*

He is Nun, the Sole one, who has no equal.

⁽¹⁴⁾ *hpr nn m sp w^c n mh hpr nn²⁴⁶*

This came into being in one moment in a flood, this came into being.

ntf p{3}<w>²⁴⁷ hpr dbn jr.t jm.j swh.t=f²⁴⁸

He is the one who came into being and encircled that which was created, the one who is in his egg.

ntf pw š<3>^c n=tn shd


He is the one who created²⁴⁹ light for you –

st.wt=f pw n jr.tj=f

that is the rays of his eyes.

jr.n=f mry²⁵⁰=f hft wd.n=f

He acted as he wished, according to what he ordered.²⁵¹

²⁴⁴ The signs  of *psd.t* are written in the opposite direction.


²⁴⁵ Here begins the part of CT 714 (VI, 343 j–o), original in the 1st person sg. For a commentary of this part of the CT 714, see also Allen 1988: 13–14.

²⁴⁶ CT: *hpr.n=j jm zp wr n {3}? mh hpr.n=j*– Faulkner (1978: 270) translates: “I came into being yonder on the great occasion of my flood”, Allen (1988: 13) “That is where I developed, on the great occasion of my floating that happened to me”.

²⁴⁷ The interpretation without an emendation is also possible: *p3.hpr* as a Late Egyptian form of the participle (see Junge 2000: 65), “The one who came into existence“. Another option is to interpret *p3* as the verb “to fly” and translate the epithet as “the one who flew up and who transformed (himself) into The one who encircles...”. However, considering the entire text, the similar construction is still repeated; thus, the above-written interpretation makes sense.

²⁴⁸ CT version (CT VI, 343m–n): *jnk p3 hpr=f dbnn jm.j swh.t=f*– “I am one who flew up, whose shape is (that of) Debenen (*dbnn*) who is in his egg” (Faulkner 1978: 270); Allen has (1988: 13): “I am the one who had developed – Circlet, who is in his egg”. The word *dbn* appears in LGG VII: 530 as an epithet of Horus, Ptah of Re–Harakhti.

²⁴⁹ This sentence’s origin is again reinterpreted Coffin Texts spell, where is *jnk š3^c jm nw* (CT VI, 343o). The word *š3^c* primarily means “to initiate”, “to begin”, “to command”, or “to ordain”. For the secondary meaning of the verb as “to create”, see Wilson 1997: 987. The explanation that the light is the rays of the sun god seems to be a later note: it does not appear in the Coffin Texts. The CT spell differs: *mk hh.w pr.n=j mk wj wd3 shpr.n=j h3.w=j m 3h.w=j*; the corresponding part starts again in CT VI, 344c, see note 251.

²⁵⁰ Extra  sign.

²⁵¹ CT (VI, 344c–d) writes *jnk jr.w kd.n= {w}j r mrr=j hft jb=j*.

ntf pw (j)tm(.w) ⁽¹⁵⁾wn.tj

m wd.w=f m 3d=tn r=f nšp.w²⁵² hrw-s3=f

jw hpr jm st-hr=f²⁵³ rm.t jr.tj=f pw

shm.t m h^cw=f tm hpr šp

ntf tk3 t3.wj kk h^c.w=f⁽¹⁶⁾kk=tn

ntf t3w=tn

jr st.wt znf=f <pw> wšr²⁵⁴ hr jtr.w

<n>tf pw nw n<n> sk=f

ntf nb tm wn hpr tm jr.n=f hpr.w w^c.w

dm=sn²⁵⁶ sw<.t> mn.t m h^c.w=sn

jr.j h3. ⁽¹⁷⁾w{tp}-<jb m> h^c.w=f pw

j3d.t{w}²⁵⁷ 3h b3=f

He is Atum, triumphant,

when he commanded when you attacked against him, you, who panted(?) behind him.

And (you/they) came into being under his supervision – these are the tears of his eyes.

The might is in his body, and blindness shall not come:

he is one who illuminates Two lands, the darkness of his body is your darkness.

He is your air/breath.

As for the rays, <they are> his blood, dried upon(?) water.²⁵⁵

He is Nun, whose perishing does not exist.

He is the lord of all: it happened that everything came into being when he took on himself the form of The sole one.

The illness was cut from their limbs –

it means that sickness (of the heart) was removed from his body, (namely) the plague and the sickness/sorrow of his *ba*.

²⁵² The word *nšp* with this determinative is “to inhale” or “to pant”, but the meaning is uncertain (Wb II: 339, Wilson 1997: 549).

²⁵³ CT (CT VI, 344 e–f): *jw pr.t jm=j m s.t-hr=j rm.y jr=j pw m 3d [...]r=f rmt nšp.w hr.w-z3=j zk[...]*. Here the preserved variant of the Coffin Texts ends.

²⁵⁴ The \circ signs could stand for \odot or $\overset{\circ}{\Lambda}$ as a determinative of that word (Wilson 1997: 269).

²⁵⁵ One would expect here the phrase “dried from water” or something similar. However, it does not correspond very well with the preposition *hr*. Another option is to read the second round sign as the second or erroneously duplicated determinative for *wšr*, and read the preposition as *r*, but this option also does not clarify the meaning of the passage.

²⁵⁶ Demotic passive, see Johnson 2000: 21.

²⁵⁷ The determinative 𓂏 was mistaken for 𓂏 .

ntf pw jr tn jwr jm=f m nw

He is the one who created you, who were conceived by him in Nun;

ms=f m jšd.t ḥnb3b3²⁵⁸.n=f ḥr nt tp sš=f

he was born close to the *ished* tree, he flew around above the water over his marshes.

*ntf pw jm.j-wr dd m mskt.t <jm.j>-wr dd⁽¹⁸⁾
m m^cnd.t*

He is the one who is at the starboard, firm in the *mesketet*-barque; one who is at the starboard, firm in the *mandjet*-barque,

jw rmn n=f jz.w mj-qd=sn

for him works the whole crew.

jr=tn m mw nw sš=f ḥr-jb=f

You were created in the water of his marshes, in the middle of it.

*rwjdy r=tn n k3=f r-dr wr=tn n 3.t=f gr=tn n
wrr.t=f*

Dance²⁵⁹ for his *ka* until you become great for his moment and until you fall silent for his *wereret*-crown!

*ntf pw ḥpr m nw nb⁽¹⁹⁾tm ḥr.j-
tp{ḥ}<psd>.t²⁶⁰*

He is the one who came into being from Nun, the lord of all, the one, who is in the forefront of the Ennead.

*pr=f ḥ3=f m stz m nb<j>.t n.t jr.t=f ḥ3=f zp
sn*

He comes out and descends in a cloud and in a flame of his eye behind him, in a cloud and in a flame of his eye behind him,

n ḥm sw ḥ3(.w) k3r²⁶¹ n ḥm=tn jm=f

thus the guardians of the sanctuary can not destroy him. You will not have power over him!

ntf ḥpr ds=f ḥn^c b3=f

He is the one who created himself and his *ba*.

²⁵⁸ Wb III: 113.

²⁵⁹ For *rwt* as “dance”, see Wb II: 407. The mentioning of “his moment”, connected with the crown, could refer to the coronation.


²⁶⁰ Ennead is again written in the opposite direction.


²⁶¹ These beings appear as dangerous demons already from the Pyramid Texts; see LGG V:12.


<i>jr.t=fpw h<3>b.n=f m kk sm3.w²⁶² (20)pw</i>	It is his eye that he sent into the greatest darkness. ²⁶³
<i>ntf qm3 tm ntf(j)tm(.w) tz h3.tjw m nhn=f</i>	He is the one who created all (beings). ²⁶⁴ He is Atum, who tied hearts (even) in his youth.
<i>ntf °b 3.t wsjr</i>	He is the one who is connected with the moment of Osiris.
<i>ntf(j)tm(.w) m3°{.t °}=f/<hrw>²⁶⁵=f m-ht °h3 phr.n=f psd.t °3.t</i>	He is Atum, triumphant after the fight when he encircled the Great Ennead.
<i>ntf(j)tm(.w) sd °h3 bhñ hnn</i>	He is Atum, who breaks up the fight and cuts down strife,
<i>r (21) dj jr.t n jp s(j)</i>	the one who gave the eye to the one who reckons it.
<i>ntf(j)tm(.w) dj t3.w m tp.w hm.wt²⁶⁶ m- {bb}<rd.wj></i>	He is Atum, who gave men to the fore and women to the back.
<i>ntf(j)tm(.w) ms jw3.t n gm bhz=s</i>	He is Atum, who gave birth to the cow whose calf cannot be found,
<i>hw.t-hr.w m z3 h°.w=f pn</i>	Hathor, who protects this his body.
<i>ntf(j)tm(.w) jp wd3.t dj.t n jp=s(22) mn=s (j)n šw dj=f °nw²⁶⁷</i>	He is Atum, who inspects the <i>wedjat</i> -eye, which was given to its inspection and

²⁶² The expression *kkw sm3(.w)* describes the primaeval darkness before the creation and/or outside the created world, as well as the darkness beyond the horizon. This darkness is given to a parallel with the waters of Nun (Wb V: 143–144; Wilson 1997: 1092).

²⁶³ I. e. the sun's eye.

²⁶⁴ According to the determinatives  “all beings” are mentioned (not generally “everything”).

²⁶⁵ Determinative .

²⁶⁶ The determinatives should obviously be , but the divine beard can be clearly seen – this mistake is quite a common feature; see also note 17.

²⁶⁷ This passage is quite obscure and writing without determinatives make the understanding complicated. Shu can be associated with Inhuret, the one who brings the eye (or the Eye goddess) back (see Pinch 2004: 71–72), or can appear in a syncretism with him, especially in the later periods of Egyptian history (see Meyrat 2014: 263–337, Shaikh al Arab 2013–2015: 249–262). The word °n, “to return” could be possibly mingled for °nw/°wn, “to cry” or “to mourn” (see Wilson 1997: 142).

ntf(j)tm(.w) sfh h3.tjw j^c dšr.w

establishing by Shu, when he reported (about it)/ returned (?).

He is Atum, who releases hearts, the one who washes away ‘the red’ /impurity.

*h₁tp=f sw m jwnw m (j)tm(.w) h₁tp=f sw m nn-
nswt m hr.j-š=f*

He rests in Heliopolis as Atum, he rests in Heracleopolis as Herishef.

jw=j⁽²³⁾ dd=j

I say.²⁶⁸

j psd.t hpr{.w}<.t> m h^c.w=f

O Ennead, who came into being from his body,

jr.n=f rn=tn n pr=tn m ^c.t jm=f

he created your names when you emerged from one of his limbs!²⁶⁹

ntr.t pr.t(j) m tp=f dr=s p.t dr=s t3

The goddess, who came out on his head – her limit is heaven, her limit is earth.

jnb h3=tn m {j}<q>d⁽²⁴⁾=f tjhn.t

The wall is around you as his building of faience –

hm.tw m hm{f} sw ^cw3.tw m ^cw3 sw

the one who would destroy it will be destroyed, the one who would attack on it will be attacked.

n hpr msd=tn r=f jm3h(.w) jw=f^{c3}

It will not happen that your hate will be against him, revered Iufaa.

jtwmk(?)²⁷⁰ wj3 qs.tw sbj.w m t3 tn

The barque ??? and the enemies of this land are bound.”

This quite a long text begins as a speech of Thoth in front of the Ennead, who praises Atum before them and describes the creation of the world, mainly through the different epithets of the

²⁶⁸ Thoth is still speaking.

²⁶⁹ For the cosmographic nuance of the phrase ^c.t jm=f, see Klotz 2012: 35–36.

²⁷⁰ The last part of the text is quite obscure. The possible emendation could be j<n>.tw {m}<n>=k wj3, “the barque is brought to you”, but considering the writing with monoconsonantal sign without determinatives and the fact that context is not very helpful, I rather leave the passage questionable.

creator god, mentioning, among others, several mythical events that took place before/during/shortly after the creation. The hymnical character of the text remains the genre which Assmann calls “narrative creation hymns” (Assman 1995: 161 ff.²⁷¹), which typically integrate the different theologies and religious concepts into one cosmogony, which thus joins the various concepts and their aspects – the typical feature of the cosmogonies of the Late Period. These kinds of hymns usually contain part(s) written as a narrative, with narrative verbal forms and chronological structure of the events, beginning with the emerging of the sun god from the *primaeval* waters and continuing with the creation of different spheres or parts of the universe.

At the beginning of the spell, Atum is described as the creator god, the Sole one, who has no equal; he is identified with Nun, the *primaeval* ocean, and thus with the one from whom everything emerged. He is the chief of the Ennead, who came out from his body, and also the creator of light, which came into being from his eyes. The significant part of this and the following section of the text is a reinterpreted variant of CT spell 714, which was incorporated into the text (it is also possible that CT 714 is originally an excerpt from a longer ritual; since only a single variant of the spell is preserved, see de Buck, CT VI, 343, the question of its origin or parallels remains open).

The next part alludes to the myth of rebellion against the sun god: Atum appears here as the triumphant one after those, who came out from his eye, i. e. people, raged against him or even attacked him.²⁷² The most known version of the myth of the rebellion against the sun god occurs in the Book of the Heavenly Cow (generally Piankoff 1955, Hornung 1982, Guilhou 2010), where people rebel against the old sun god Ra (whose manifestation is usually Atum). The rebellion is suppressed by Hathor/Sekhmet and followed by leaving of the sun god for heaven; the origin of several natural and social phenomena is then described. However, allusions to this myth can be found in other (and earlier) sources, as seen here on mentioned CT 714; another example is BD 175, where Atum speaks with Thoth about the “rebellions of the children of Nut”.

In Iufaa’s text, the sun god is then described as the mighty one who illuminates the Two lands and provides all beings with his light. The origin of the rays of light is then explained in

²⁷¹ The study is based on two particular hymns, the Tura Hymn from the New Kingdom and the Hibis Hymn pl.32 from the Persian Period.

²⁷² The myth of the origin of people from the sun god’s eye is well known throughout Egyptian religious texts (see, e.g., CT 76, 77); an interesting variant comes from the temple of Esna (Esna V: 142), where people come into being from the tears of the creator and gods from his laugh.

a gloss – they are the dried blood of the sun god.²⁷³ The sun god is again mentioned as the Sole one who created the world. The part that mentions removing illness and misery from the body and *ba* of the sun god follows.

Another phase/version of the creation is alluded to in the next part of the spell. After the creator god emerges from the dark of the *primaeval* waters, he appears as a *benu* bird floating above the waters of Nun, then he is also named as the one who stands on the starboard of his day and night barques. The gods, whom he created in the middle of his waters, are then asked to dance for him and celebrate him until he appears in his royal dignity, with a *wereret*-crown on his head, and they fall silent in awe of him.

Another aspect of the solar deity is then stressed: his connection with the fiery goddess, who is behind him and protects him and thus he is saved from any potential danger or evil demons, here represented by “the guardians of the sanctuary”, beings who endanger the god/the deceased and must be eliminated by fire (e. g. PT 244, 245). The myth of the sun’s eye’s return is also mentioned when the sun god is described as the one who sent his eye into the deepest darkness – clearly a reference to the myth when the sun’s eye was sent to find Shu and Tefnut in the *primaeval* waters of Nun. Atum is again addressed as the creator of all beings and the one connected with Osiris, an allusion to uniting Re and Osiris in the underworld.

The text then returns to the active and warrior aspect of the sun god, he is again “triumphant after the fight”, which might be again an allusion to the fight with the rebellious people, but also generally with enemies and forces of chaos. The warrior aspect of Atum appears e. g. in the 3rd hour of The Book of the gates (Hornung 2014: 82ff.), where he defeats Apophis on behalf of Ra and when he fights together with other gods against different enemies. In the text of Iufaa, Atum is “the one who encircled”, i. e. defended (?) the great Ennead, and “the one who breaks up the fight and cuts down the strife”, and also the one who inspects and reckons the *wedjat* eye, i. e. he is the one who puts the things back in their places, returns the world to its order and assures its continuous renewal. Conveniently, the text continues with establishing rules of the created world – the sun god gives “men to the fore and women to the back”, he gives birth to goddess Hathor in the form of a cow, and, again, he restores the *wedjat* eye. Finally, Atum washes the impurity or the red, i. e. he purifies himself after defeating chaos and creation of the world²⁷⁴ and then rests in two sacred cities – in Heliopolis in his form of Atum,

²⁷³ The origins of certain phenomena, materials or substances from the bodily fluids of gods are usual in Egyptian aetiological myths, see e. g. p. Salt 825 (Derchain 1965).

²⁷⁴ The motif of purification of the creator god at the beginning of time also appears in the Purification ritual, written on the northern and partly eastern wall of Iufaa’s burial chamber (Landgráfová – Míčková 2020:183–207).

and in Heracleopolis in the form of Herishef, which refers to his form of a setting sun, alluded among others also by mentioning of the red colour. The title *nb dšr.w* describes the sun god or/and Herishef already in the Coffin Texts;²⁷⁵ according to Sethe (Komm. Pyr. IV: 117) and Altenmüller (1972: 10), this epithet has a connection with the similar one, attested already in the Pyramid Texts as *b3 jm.j dšr.w*, connected with the evening sun. According to Altenmüller, this epithet is related to the aetiological myth from Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead, to a part dealing with the syncretism of the sun god (Ra) and Herishef and their connection to Osiris – Osiris has a heating diadem, which causes a blister on his head, Re cures him and from the blister flows the blood and pus, from which the Heracleopolitan lake is made (see Altenmüller 1972: 13). Another important connection with Heracleopolis, which needs to be mentioned, is a variant of myth of the destruction of mankind, taking place in that city (see, e. g., Backes 2010).

At the end of the text, Thoth addresses the Ennead as the ones who came out from the limb of Atum, who created their names; the fiery goddess is mentioned again, and one more mythical event follows. The mentioning of a wall, which was built by the sun god, probably as a defence against enemies(?), might be an allusion to the protective wall built by the gods against the attack of evil beings at the beginning of time, appearing in the Legends of the Nile Delta (Goyon 1985: 152–153). Anyone who would destroy or act violently against it is threatened to be repelled and destroyed.

The last sentence of the text deals with its beneficial purpose for the deceased – Iufaa is protected from the hate of gods, and all enemies are bound and destroyed(?) – the end of the spell is not very clear and probably contains some scribal errors. Generally, the text praises the different aspects of the creator god, praises him as the one who established the world and its rules, and also the one who can defeat enemies and guarantee (cyclical) renewal. The deceased thus ensures to be protected and reborn, but he also shows his knowledge of the secrets of the creation and thus proves his power over the entire cosmos and its eternal renewal.


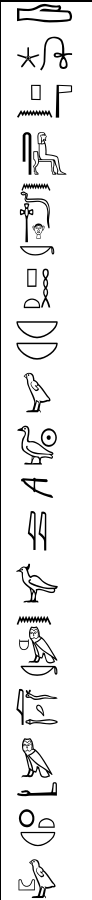
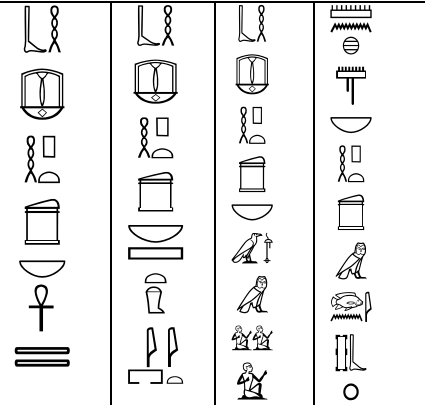


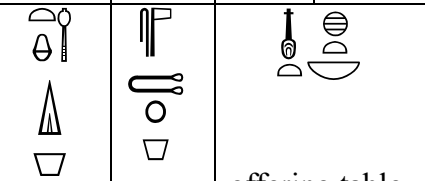
²⁷⁵ In the spells 335 and 336, which are written as speeches of Atum with hymnic characters with glosses (CT IV, 316c, 328i); in the speech addressed to the ferryman in the netherworld (CT 404, CT V, 188 e–f); and in CT 420, addressed to that god (CT V 257g).

8.2. The festival of Ptah, columns 25–33

The following text starts with a table, again written in a retrograde direction. It mentions four manifestations of Ptah, praised on the 25th day of the second month of *akhet* and asked for protection for Iufaa. The second part of the spell continues under the table as a plain text, describing the ritual activities connected with the festival: revealing the faces of the god, manipulation with the *menekhet* linen and praising the god and asking him for protection. The spell then continues as a mythological narrative, describing the origin of different phenomena.

The text concerning the festival is presented here in a table, as written on the sarcophagus, and then repeated in horizontal lines for easier reading. The rest of the spell continuously follows.

The table, columns 25–29

25	26	27	28	29
				
				
				
				
				
<p>offering table</p>				

- (29)*dw3 ntr pn šps nd hr=k pth nb nb.w z3 r^c mr.y rhy.t nhm=k jw=f-^c3 m-^c h.t nb(.t) dw(.t)* Praise of this noble god: Hail to you, Ptah, lord of lords, son of Ra, who loves the *rekhyt* people! Save Iufaa from all evil things!
- (25–28)*3bd 2 3h.t sw 25 (26)hb pth nb šty.t²⁷⁷* The second month of the *akhet*-season, day 25: the festival of Ptah, lord of the secret chamber.
- (25–28)*jr.t m hrw pn (25)t (26)h(n)q.t (27)k3(.w) (28)3pd(.w) (25)hd.t (26)sntr (27–28)h.t nb(.t) nfr.t* What is offered on this day: bread, beer, bulls, birds, *hedjet*-bread, incense and all good things.
- (29)*dw3 ntr pn šps nd hr=k pth nb nb.w z3 r^c mr.y rhy.t nhm=k jw=f-^c3 m-^c h.t nb(.t) dw(.t)* Praise of this noble god: Hail to you, Ptah, lord of lords, son of Ra, who loves the *rekhyt* people! Save Iufaa from all evil things!
- (25–28)*3bd 2 3h.t sw 25 (27)hb pth nb hmw.w²⁷⁸* The second month of the *akhet*-season, day 25: the festival of Ptah, lord of craftsmen.
- (25–28)*jr.t m hrw pn (25)t (26)h(n)q.t (27)k3(.w) (28)3pd(.w) (25)hd.t (26)sntr (27–28)h.t nb(.t) nfr.t* What is offered on this day: bread, beer, bulls, birds, *hedjet*-bread, incense and all good things.
- (29)*dw3 ntr pn šps nd hr=k pth nb nb.w z3 r^c mr.y rhy.t nhm=k jw=f-^c3 m-^c h.t nb(.t) dw(.t)* Praise of this noble god: Hail to you, Ptah, lord of lords, son of Ra, who loves the *rekhyt* people. Save Iufaa from all evil things!
- (25–28)*3bd 2 3h.t sw 25 (28)mnh(.t) {nb}²⁷⁹ pth m jnb²⁸⁰* The second month of the *akhet*-season, day 25: the *menekhet* festival of Ptah in *Inebu*.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷ LGG III: 755–756, different deities, even snake-forms, including Ptah, also 11th of 77 demons of Shednu.

²⁷⁸ LGG III: 698, only three occurrences – Middle Kingdom coffin (B2B0, 1996: 161) and ritual scene of the Saite Period (1937: 186) and Graeco-Roman Period (Edfu III: 119, 13).

²⁷⁹ Written for the feast-determinative. According to Wb II: 88, the word can mean the entire month of Paophi, but the concrete festive day is obviously mentioned here.

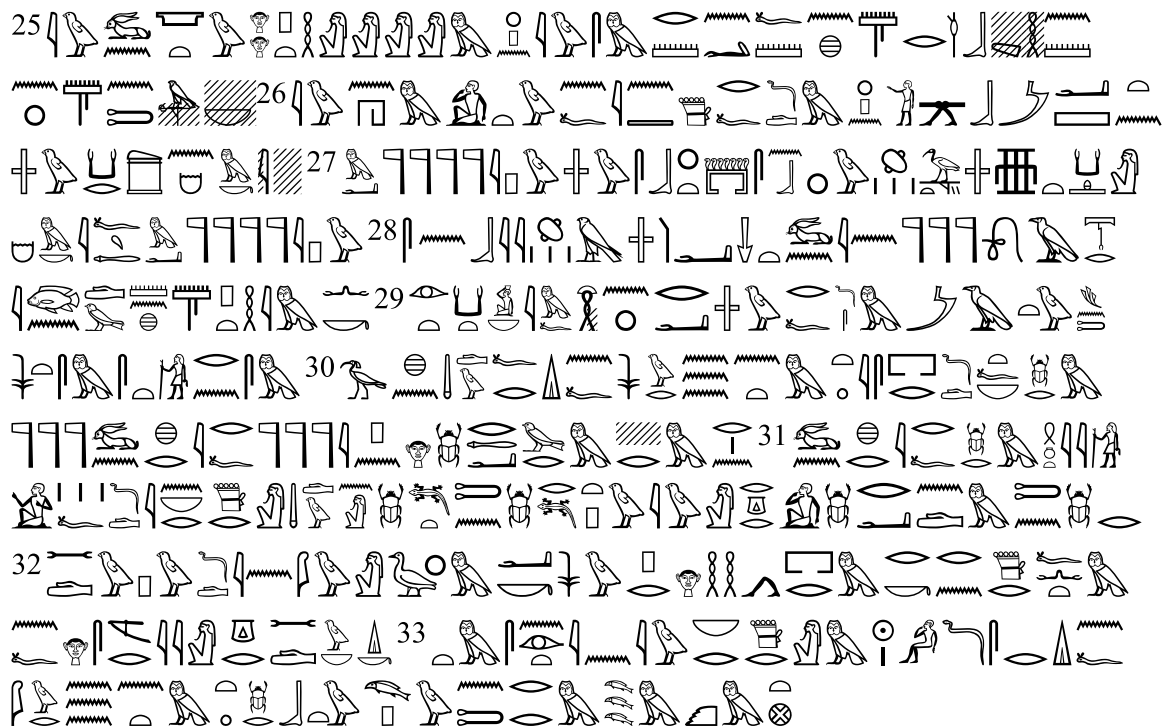
²⁸⁰ LGG III: 171 has only *pth nb jnb j3bt.t* or *jnb hd j3bt.t*.

²⁸¹ Mentioned is probably *jnb.w-(hd)*, i. e. Memphis.

(25–28) *jr.t m hrw pn* (25) *t* (26) *h(n)q.t* (27) *k3(.w)* What is offered on this day: bread, beer, bulls,
 (28) *3pd(.w)* (25) *hd.t* (26) *sntr* (27–28) *h.t nb(.t) nfr.t* birds, *hedjet*-bread, incense and all good
 things.

(29) *dw3 ntr pn šps nd hr=k pth nb nb.w z3 r^c* Praise of this noble god: Hail to you, Ptah,
mr.y rhy.t nhm=k jw=f^c3 m^c h.t nb(.t) dw(.t) lord of lords, son of Ra, who loves the *rekhyt*
 people! Save Iufaa from all evil things!

The text under the table, columns 25–33



(25) <i>jw wn.tw hr hr pth 4 m hrw pn</i>	One reveals the face(s) on four Ptahs on this day. ²⁸²
<i>jw sm rmn=f mnh(.t) r wdb hn<ϙ> mnh(.t) n.t ntr nb</i>	The <i>sem</i> -priest brings the <i>menekhet</i> -linen to offer, together with the <i>menekhet</i> -linen of every (other) god.
(26) <i>jw nhm.tw n=f jn t3 <r>-dr=f</i>	The entire land rejoices because of him.
<i>dd m hrw pn</i>	What is said on this day:
<i>j zb m3^c.tj²⁸³ n jmj.w-k3r</i>	“Oh, you who leads the justified one(?) to those who are in the shrine, ²⁸⁴
<i>nhm=k j[w=f^c3] (27) m-^c ntr.w 4 jp.w jmj.w sbh.t²⁸⁵ snb hw.w dhw.tj jm.j-hnt</i>	save I[ufaa] from these four gods, who are in the portals, and destroy impurities of Thoth, the <i>jm.j-hnt</i> priest!
<i>k3-htp nhm=k jw=f^c3 m-^c ntr.w 4 jp.w (28) snb.y hw.w hrw jm.j-^c(?)²⁸⁶</i>	Kahotep, ²⁸⁷ save Iufaa from these four gods and destroy impurities of Horus, the <i>jm.j-(?)</i> priest!”
<i>wn.jn ntr.w w3²⁸⁸ r jndw</i>	The gods moved away from misery. ²⁸⁹
<i>mnh(.t)²⁹⁰ pth jm=k (29) jr.t k3.t nb(.t) jm=f</i>	The <i>menekh(et)</i> -festival of Ptah – do not do any work during it! ²⁹¹

²⁸² The usual phrase is *wn hr n* [name of the god] (Nelson 1949: 206). Another possibility of reading is *hr.wj*: there is an example with the two-faced writing from the offering texts from the 25th dynasty: *wn hr.wj hn.tj-htj m33 nfr.w=f* (see Vernus 1978: 65-66), which Lohwasser (1992: 45) connects with the eyes of the god, but the interpretation is uncertain.



²⁸³ For *zb m3.tj* see LGG VI: 234. In this case, the word *m3.tj* could refer to the deceased.

²⁸⁴ The *jmj.w-k3r* can be guardians of the dead Osiris, the meaning of the phrase thus could be that the deceased is led to the place where Osiris dwells (?).

²⁸⁵ For earlier attestation, see LGG I: 281.

²⁸⁶ The reading of this title is uncertain.

²⁸⁷ Kahotep LGG VII: 268, the epithet of different deities.

²⁸⁸ Wrong determinative:  instead of .

²⁸⁹ Considering the narrative form, there is a possibility that part of the myth is missing.

²⁹⁰ The determinative of the festival is omitted.

²⁹¹ The *menekhet* festival is referred to by the 3. sg. m. pronoun, but *.t* is often not written, and it might not be pronounced any more.

<i>skj.n r^c jmj.w r3=f ds<=f> m m3w.t n.t sw.t</i>	Ra wiped ²⁹² what was in his own mouth with the <i>m3wt-n.t-sw.t</i> ²⁹³ -plant,
<i>sms.t rn=s m⁽³⁰⁾3h n mdw=f</i>	the name of which was <i>The Eldest one</i> in/by the power of his speech.
<i>rdj.n=f sw r mw n{.t} mwt</i>	He gave it ²⁹⁴ in the water of death ²⁹⁵
<i>js pr dd.t=f nb hpr m ntr.w</i>	and all that he said emerged, transformed into gods.
<i>wn.hr jrf ntr.w jpn hr hpr 3 wr m pr m r3{n}<=f></i>	The gods became powerful and great when they came out from his mouth
<i>(31) wn.hr jrf hpr m šnw.t=f</i>	and then (they) changed into his council.
<i>dd.jn nb-r-dr</i>	The Lord of all said:
<i>mdw.n=j hpr ʕš3=tn hpr ʕš3w.t pw</i>	“I spoke, and your multitude became.” This is how multitude came into being.
<i>jw=j r gr hpr ʕnd m=tn hpr⁽³²⁾ ʕnd pw</i>	“Now I will fall silent, and deficiency will come into being among you.” This is how deficiency came into being.
<i>dd.jn šw z3 r^c</i>	Then spoke Shu, son of Ra:
<i>mk sw ptr hr hḥ pr m r3=k</i>	“Look at him, the one/that what watches and searches for that what came out from your mouth,
<i>r ndr=f n tm.n=f hr=s</i>	to seize (it) and to become complete because of it!

²⁹² The phrase *sk-r3* appears in ritual scenes (e.g., in the Ritual of the opening of the mouth) as an act of ritual purification of the mouth (Wilson 1997: 941).

²⁹³ A flower connected with the Fiery goddess, which has the power to expel enemies; see below.

²⁹⁴ Since the mentioned plant is feminine and also labels the goddess, it seems that *sw* refers to “what was in his mouth”. The meaning then fits with the continuation of the text: his speech is transformed into different things and beings. The other option is that the pronoun is mistaken for *sj* or *s.t*.

²⁹⁵ I. e. the primeval ocean(?), see below. The water of death also appears on the fragmentary papyrus London UC 32107A, Recto, with “Die Geschichte von/über Nachti”; unfortunately, the papyrus is not well preserved, and the context is not clear, see Collier – Quirke 2004: 36–37 or access from TLA.

<i>mry gr ʕnd.w nb</i>	Beloved one, calm down all deficiency,
<i>dj=k⁽³³⁾tm=sn jr.t</i>	do not let it (lit. them) act!
<i>jn-jw nb-r-dr m {rʕ} <hj> <n> ds</i>	Is the lord of all a weak child?" (?)
<i>rdj.n=f šw r mw n{.t} mwt</i>	He placed Shu in the water of death.
<i>hpr bw.t pw n.t rm.w m km.t</i>	This is how the <i>but</i> of fish came into being in Egypt.

The table mentions praising and offering to Ptah on the 25th day of *akhet*. The festive day is mentioned four times, each time with a different aspect of Ptah: he is lord of Ankhtawy, lord of the secret chamber and lord of craftsmen. The last repetition does not mention any specific epithet but mentions the name of the festival – it is called *menekh* or *menekhet* and takes place in Mennofer, i.e. Inebu (hedj). Each time, there is a short “offering list” with items presented to the god on that day, and Ptah is praised as lord of lords, son of Ra, who loves the *rekhyt* people. He is then each time asked to protect Iufaa from all evil things.

According to the festival calendar from Esna, on the 25th day of *akhet*, the festival of Ptah, lord of Ankhtawy, was celebrated, as well as the festival of Heka (*hk3*); (Esna II: 125, 9, see also Grimm 1994: 43, 378).

The plain text, following after the table, begins with the ritual instructions: “revealing of the face(s) of four Ptahs”. The four Ptahs are the manifestations of the god mentioned in the table (the repeated epithet *nb nb.w z3 rʕ mr.y rhy.t* is the fourth one). The manifestation of the different deities into the group of fours is well known (see chapter 6.2., where the different groups of four female deities are mentioned; chapters 7.6. and 8.6., where four gods making provisions of Ra appear; and chapter 8.3. with four manifestations of Thoth); the described situation might allude to some ritual activities connected with four different images of Ptah(?). The group of four Ptahs appears also in the Coffin Texts spell 215 (CT III, 180c), where they open the mouth of the deceased in the tribunal (see also Berlandini 1995: 17).

“The revealing of face” is a typical ritual formula, usually used in the daily temple ritual and during certain festivals (see e. g. Esna II 170, 7–8; or V, 25). It is connected with the beginning of the rituals when the priest starts the cultic activities and reveals and sees “the face” of god after the purification. The exact meaning of the formula is the subject of debate (for a more detailed study of the phrase with further literature, see e. g. Lohwasser 1991).

The *menekhet* linen is then brought for the offering. The word *mnḥ.t* is a general term for clothing (Wilson 1997: 435), which often appears in the offering scenes from the Ptolemaic temples, usually connected with rejuvenation or revival, but also with protection. Its origin goes back to the Pyramid Texts, and the ritual itself could originate in the funerary cult (Coppens 2007: 124); the cloth was presented to the gods also during the epagomenal days and connected with the period of the turn of the year (Ryhiner 1995, Cauville 2002: 43–44, Coppens 2014, 2016: 35–36), which is particularly interesting in the general context of the decoration of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus and ritual spells connected with the period of the new year on the opposite side of the sarcophagus (see, e.g., chapters 7.2. and 7.4.). The *mnḥ.t* cloth also appears in The Opening of the mouth ritual (see scenes 1, 50, 51, 53).²⁹⁶ The four manifestations of Ptah could be possibly connected with the typical four-coloured linen or four kinds of *mnḥ.t*-cloth, used during several rituals (see Coppens 2007: 124, Wollnerová 2021: 157–167).

The ritual instruction continues with the words that shall be spoken on the day of the festival: the different deities are asked to protect Iufaa from a group (or two?) of four dangerous gods/demons, possibly the four mentioned Ptahs (?). Each of them is then asked to remove impurities from the deities, namely Thoth and Horus, who seem to play the roles of the priests connected with the mentioned ritual and/or festival (Thoth could also state for Seth, who would then make a couple with Horus, representing the different aspects of duality). The first of the mentioned title, *jm.j-ḥnt*, was a priest responsible for the king’s dress, ornaments and regalia and who assisted him with dressing, which is connected with the offered cloth (Jones 2000: 281–282, title no. 1015). In the later periods, the title was also held by the priests connected with the mortuary cults, who took care of the dress and adornments of the deceased (king) and the gods (Kees 1928: 23–24, 57–58). He also appears in some scenes of the Ritual of the opening of the mouth, among others in scene 43, where he recites the spell for defeating the enemies of the deceased. He appears as Thoth, similarly as here, on the occasion of coronation (Wilson 1997: 71). The second title, connected with Horus, is more obscure, but one would also expect a connection with dressing or the offered cloth in the context of the mortuary cult.

After the purification of the gods, the last instruction follows, connected generally with the day of the *menekh(et)* festival – no work shall be done on that day. The instructions of that kind appear in the ritual texts connected with the concrete festivals. The book of *h3.t nḥḥ ph.wj*

²⁹⁶ In the first scene, it is just put behind or around the deceased. Scene 50 is the spell for taking different kinds of cloth, including the *mnḥ.t*. The linens are identified here with the eye of Horus, which makes the deceased “firm” (*mnḥ*). In the 51st scene, *mnḥ.t* is presented with *w3d*-amulet, and in the 53rd scene, *jd mj*-cloth.

d.t is noticeable in the context (see Leitz 1994), which names the ritual instructions and prophecies connected with each day of the year (however, the description and instructions for the second month of Akhet, 25, have nothing in common with the festival mentioned in Iufaa's text).

The second part of the spell consists of a narrative. It focuses again on events at the beginning of time and before the world's creation. The myth starts when the sun god Ra wipes his mouth with a plant called *m3w.t n.t sw.t*. This plant often occurs in the medical–magical texts, and from that comes its connection with the goddess Sekhmet (Wilson 1997: 409). According to p. Budapest 51.1961, that flower expels enemies; its stem was considered to be a kind of torch, connected with the *uraeus*, who daily lights the torches of Ra (see Kákosy 1967: 240–242; Koemoth 1993: 59). The connection with the power of the fire also appears in other texts: see e. g. CT 1012, where the plant is already titled as the daughter of Ra, or table CG 9430 where Isis and Nephthys protect the user (probably identified with Horus) from the fire by cutting these plants (Koemoth 1993: 60). The plant is also connected with the Hathor's festivals on the New Year (see e. g. Edfou III, 319, 12, where is mentioned even the festival of *m3t.t* plants). In Iufaa's text, the flower is also identified with the Fiery goddess, i. e. the Eldest one.

The narrative then continues: once the mouth of the sun god is wiped, i. e. released, he speaks to the dead water, i.e., the dark and (yet) dead primaevial ocean, and the gods emerge from his speech and become his council. The speech of Ra follows, which explains the creation of a multitude and deficiency: the sun god spoke, and the multitude came into being, and when he becomes silent, the deficiency will come into being. The sun god thus creates the world, or, in this case, the gods, by the power of his speech, which is the motif stressed also in the next spell, see below. Interestingly, the reversed side of the divine speech is also mentioned as a power with creative potential: in this case, the negative thing(s), i. e. the deficiency, came into being from Ra's silence.

The following part of the text is a bit complicated to understand. The son of Ra speaks and probably describes the threat of the created world by the negative aspect(s) of the just emerged things and beings. He asked the sun god to calm down the deficiency he created to not act against the other things and beings that came from his mouth, because he has the power to act in such a way and should not be weak. At the end of the spell, when Shu ends his speech, Ra places him in the water of death, which is another aetiological myth – after that action, the fish become *but* in Egypt. The appearance of (some kind of) fish as ritually forbidden in a cultic

context is known (Aufrère 1998, Galpaz–Feller 1995); however, here, the statement is made more generally for entire land (or it is possibly connected to Ptah’s festival?).

The aetiological myths of a similar kind, explaining the origin of some phenomena, such as origins of divine epithets, local toponyms, festivals or, similarly as here, *but* related to individual gods or temples, are often found in the texts from the Late Period onwards, although they usually appear in the mythological or ritual handbooks, not in the tombs.²⁹⁷ These myths are often made of puns and are strongly connected with the power of the speech (of gods), similarly as in Iufaa’s spell. The most known examples can be found already in the oldest religious texts, such as the creation of Shu and Tefnut by coughing and spitting²⁹⁸ or the origin of humans (*rmṯ*) in the tears (*rm*) of the sun eye.²⁹⁹

The connection of the mentioned myth with the festival of Ptah is not very clear; neither is why this text (or part of the text) was copied to Iufaa’s tomb behind the text mentioning Ptah’s festival. It might be connected with the following text, written again in a tabular form, where the myths associated with creation continue, or it might have relevance to events related to the *menekhet* festival, but the context is missing. The connection of the first part of the text with the funeral sphere is clear: the god is praised and asked to protect the deceased. The mythical part could again serve as proof of Iufaa’s acquaintance of the secrets of the creation and origins of the arrangement of the world, which puts him in the position of the initiated one and/or possessor of divine knowledge.

²⁹⁷ The appearance of this kind of myth in this period is not surprising – according to some scholars, aetiological myths occur in times when the original sense of some rituals is changed or forgotten. The new myths, explaining the origin of ancient rites, are created to justify their performance (Harrison 1912: 6, Hooke 1956:43, for theories of the function of aetiological myths in Egypt see, e.g. Assmann 1977, Schenkel 1977, Sternberg 1985, Assmann 2003, Quack 2009). These shortened myths could be recited during the ritual performances to which they belonged; they could also serve as didactical texts or mnemonic aids for the priests (Jørgensen 213: 42ff.). As the example of ritual handbooks containing such myths can serve p. Jumilhac (Vandier 1965), so-called Myths and legends of the Delta (p. Brooklyn 47.218.50; Goyon 1974) or mythological manual of Tebtunis, preserved in several versions (Osing – Rosati 1998).

²⁹⁸ See, e.g. PT 600, CT 77.

²⁹⁹ E.g. CT 76, 77.

8.3. *The identification of the deities with organs of Ra and the myth of Thoth, columns 34–42*

The following text is written again as a table and in a retrograde direction. The first line contains a myth of the creation of Hu and Sia, and then several gods follow, identified with the sense organs of Ra. Each deity is also depicted as a standing figure in the table (except for the Ennead, which is written with nine *ntr*-signs). Sia is a man with the head of a falcon, Hu with the head of a lion, and the other deities have human forms. Each of them is holding an *ankh* in his right hand, men deities are holding *w3s* in the left, and the goddesses are holding *w3d*. There is also partly preserved polychromy: the man figures have dark red skin, and the women have black hair (see Figures 9 and 10).

Then the table continues with four manifestations of Thoth, each identified with a different god, and in one case, an explanation of his name by a myth added. The manifestations of Thoth are depicted as well, each as a male figure with the head on an ibis, with an *ankh* in his right hand and *was*-sceptre in his left hand (see Figure 12).

The text is again presented in the table, and the version with the hieroglyphs in lines follows.



Fig. 9: Hu, Sia and *w3d.tj*, the southern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus



Fig. 10: Seeing, Hearing, Maati, the southern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus

Fig. 11: The beginning of the tabular text, where different gods are identified with the organs of Ra, the southern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus

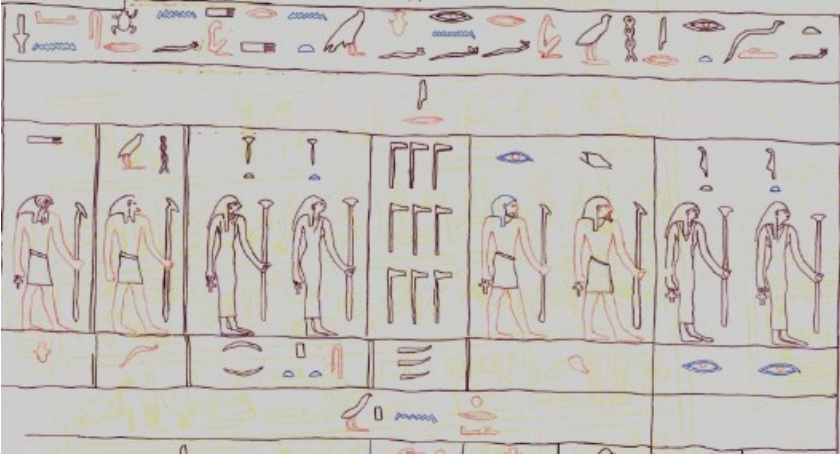


Fig. 12: Figures of four Thothes, the southern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus

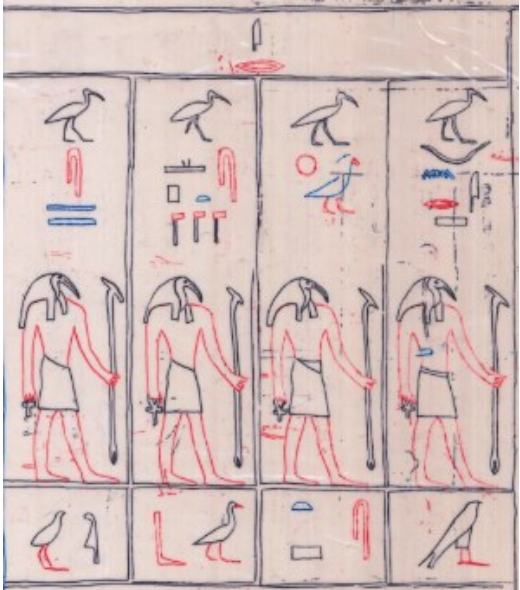
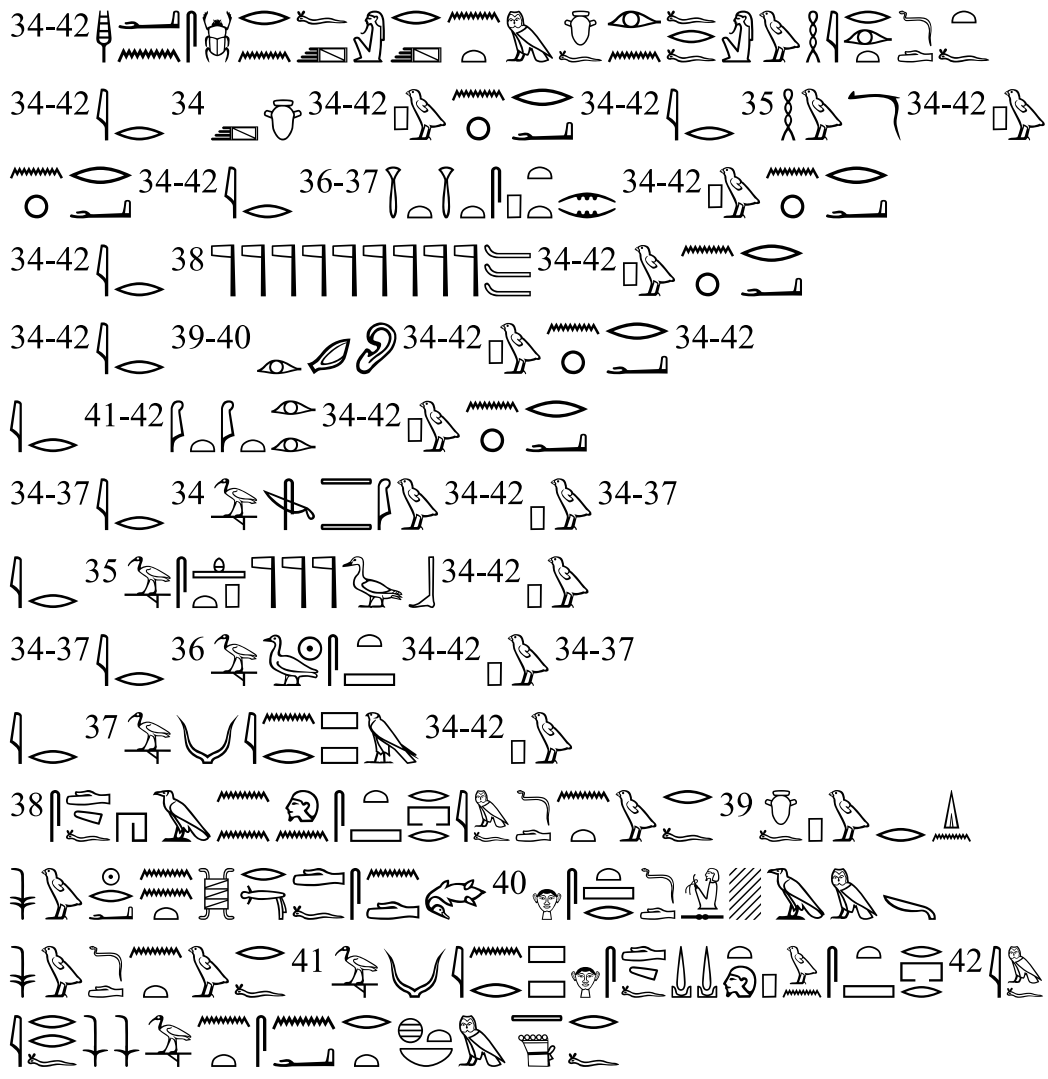


Fig. 13: Facsimile of four Thothes with their names and identifications, the southern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus

 figure of Sia	 figure of Hu	 two figures of <i>w3d.tj</i>	 PPP PPP PPP	 figures of <i>jr</i> and <i>sdm</i>	 two figures of <i>m3c.tj</i>
 figure of Thoth	 figure of Thoth	 figure of Thoth	 figure of Thoth		



(34-42)^ch^c.n shpr.n=f sj3 r sj3 n.tj m jb=f jr.n=f rf hw jr jr.t dd.t=f He created Sia to recognise what was in his heart. He created Hu³⁰⁰ to do that which he had said.

(34-42)jr (34)sj3 jb (34-42)pw n r^c As for Sia (Knowledge), he is the heart of Ra.

(34-42)jr (35)hw ns (34-42)pw n r^c As for Hu (Utterance), he is the tongue of Ra.

(34-42)jr (36-37)w3d.tj sp.tj (34-42)pw n r^c As for the Two Wadjets, they are the lips of Ra.

(34-42)jr (38)ps^cd.t jbh.w (34-42)pw n r^c As for the Ennead, they are the teeth of Ra.

³⁰⁰ Hu is written in the opposite direction (i. e. not in retrograde).

(34-42)jr jr (41-42)sdm ³⁰¹ msdr<.wj> ³⁰² (34-42)pw n r ^c	As for Seeing-god and Hearing-god, they are the ears of Ra.
(34-37)jr (34)m3 ^c .tj jr.tj (34-42)pw n r ^c	As for the Two Maats, they are the eyes of Ra.
(34-37)jr (34)dhw.tj sšm t3.wj šw (34-37)pw	As for Thoth, who leads the Two lands, he is Shu.
(34-37)jr (35)dhw.tj shtp ntr.w gb (34-37)pw	As for Thoth, who makes the gods content, he is Geb.
(34-37)jr (36)dhw.tj z3 r ^c stš (34-37)pw	As for Thoth, son of Ra, he is Seth.
(34-37)jr (37)dhw.tj wp-jnr hrw (34-37)pw	As for Thoth, the Opener of stone, he is Horus.
(38)sd=f hnn n stš r pr {s}<j>m=f	He broke up the head of Seth so that he may come out of it.
dd.n.tw r=f(39) {jb}<tp> ³⁰³ =f pw	It was said because of it: It is his head.
rdj.n sw r ^c n n.t r šd=f	Ra gave it to Neith to cut it up.
snd ⁽⁴⁰⁾ hr stš r dd z3 z[m]3(?) sw	The face of Seth was in fear, saying: “Beware of cutting it! (?)”
dd.n.tw r=f(41)dhw.tj wp-jnr hr sd=f d3d3 pw n stš (42)pr jm=f	He is called Thoth, the Opener of stone, because he broke up this head of Seth to come out of it.
jr rf nn dhw.tjw ntsn r{t}<q> ³⁰⁴ h.t nb(.t) m t3 dr=f	As for these Thothes, it is them who complete/tie/know all things in the entire land.

³⁰¹ Wb IV: 388, see also TLA, lemma no. 150580, personified Hearing. LGG VI: 718 mentioned reference to p. Jumilhac, where it is the epithet of a *wab*-priest; he also appears in Edfu VII: 20, 8–20 – 24, 6–7.

³⁰² Considering the position of a sign and an empty space next to it, there are supposed to be two ears; the other sign was just forgotten or unfinished.

³⁰³ The confusion of signs $\overline{\text{h}}$ and $\overline{\text{t}}$ is quite common. The sentence with “heart” does not make good sense in the context, while “head” fits nicely into the myth.

³⁰⁴ Mistaken writing of *r*q – almost the same sentence occurs in one of the texts below, see chapter 8.4.

This text seems to be part of a longer spell or even a mythological handbook or manual. It starts with the narrative form $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}.n \text{sdm}.n=f$, supposing that it continues a previous narrative or at least a ritual related to the narrative. The first part of the table stresses the motif already focused on in some of the previous spells, i. e. the description of the acting of the creator god at the beginning of time. In that case, the origin of the deities Sia (Knowledge, Perception) and Hu (Utterance, Speech) is mentioned. The aetiology is based on the names of the deities, which thus stresses the power of the mind and speech of the creator: Sia is created to “recognise (*sj3*) what was in his heart” and Hu to “do that which he had said”. This motif, of course, reminds of the so-called Memphite theology, popular in later periods of Egyptian history, which explains the creation of the world mainly through the power of speech(es) of the creator, identified with Ptah – the occurrence of this text among the spells connected with Ptah, his festival and his manifestations (see also below) thus seems not to be a coincidence.

The table then lists several gods, who are identified with individual body parts of Ra, connected with senses, perception and ability to speak: Sia is his heart, i. e. the organ where perception, knowledge, memory and feelings settle; Hu is his tongue, the organ by which the god can speak and thus express his thoughts aloud, which is the act by which he creates the world (and words), as was seen in the text above, where all gods emerged from his speech. The Two Wadjets are his lips, which fit with the duality of the organ, the Ennead are his teeth, and then again, the pairs of deities appear: the Seeing-god and the Hearing-god are his ears and the Two Maats his eyes. This part again alludes to the religious background of the Memphite theology, where, similarly as here, the different deities are identified with the creator’s organs, and vice versa, and thus the most important gods participate on the creation. The senses of the creator are presented in his heart, i.e., mind, and cause everything to emerge, which is then spoken aloud: *“The Ennead are teeth and lips in his mouth/in his speech, which acclaimed the names of everything, from which Shu and Tefnut emerged and which born the Ennead. Seeing of eyes, hearing of ears, smelling/breathing of nose, they (all) ascend to the heart. He/it is the one who let all knowing to emerge, and it is the tongue which repeats what the heart has devised”* (Memphite theology 55–56). A similar statement comes from papyrus Leiden I 350 (V, 16–17, Zandee 1947: Plate V), where Sia is the heart of Amun-Ra and Hu are his lips; the text says about the creator that *“he thought out everything that exists by that what is in his mouth”*.

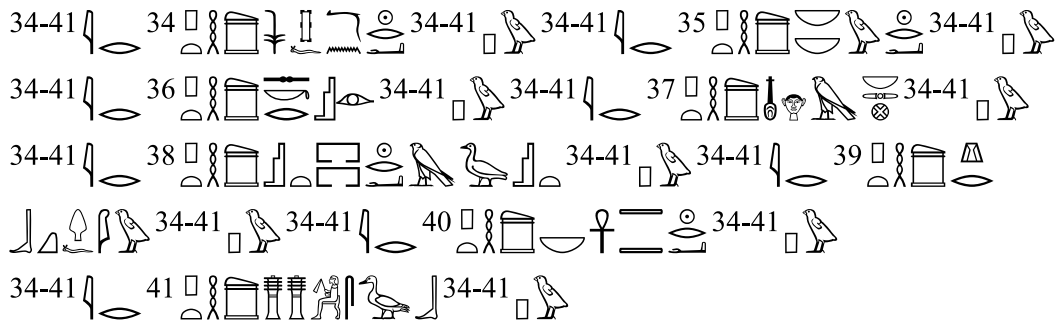
The second part of the table differs thematically: this time, four different manifestations of Thoth are mentioned, each with a different epithet, similarly to the four Ptahs mentioned in

the table above. Each form of Thoth is also identified with the other deity: Shu, Geb, Seth and Horus. The lists of different forms of a single deity, associated with different divine beings or with individual cultic practices, places etc. appear in the ritual handbooks, such as p. Jumilhac (V, 1–26), where many forms of Anubis are named, each one with the different epithet and identified with different deity, the short aetiological myths connected with Anubis follow (VI, 1–9). Iufaa’s text concerning the forms of Thothis is also accompanied by an aetiological myth, in this case explaining the epithet of Thoth, Opener of stone. The narrative describes the birth of Thoth from the head of Seth, known from the Contending of Horus and Seth (12, 8f., Gardiner 1932: 37f.; see also Bleeker 1973: 112; Stadler 2009: 146–152). The myth is connected here also with the goddess Neith, probably because of arising of her importance during the Saite period. A similar myth might accompany each of Thoth’s manifestations, particularly when, at the end of the text, “these Thothis” are mentioned altogether, but these myths could be skipped (because of their lesser importance or because of the lack of space).

8.4. Table with Ptahs and the following text, below, columns 34–41

The following text starts again as a table with different manifestations of a single deity; in this case, it returns to god Ptah. The accompanying text is written behind the table, again in a retrograde direction – this is the last retrograde text on the inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus; the other spells are written in a standard direction, see below. The text describes the gods more closely and mentions their function and relation to the sun god and the Ennead.

34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41



*jr pth*³⁰⁵ *rs.j jnb=f*³⁰⁶ *ns n r^c pw*

As for Ptah, who is southern of his wall, he is the tongue of Ra.

*jr pth nb nb.w*³⁰⁷ *r^c pw*

As for Ptah, lord of lords, he is Ra.

*jr pth skr*³⁰⁸ *wsjr pw*

As for Ptah Sokar, he is Osiris.

*jr pth nfr-hr*³⁰⁹ *hrw nb hm pw*

As for Ptah, beautiful of face, he is Horus, lord of Letopolis.

*jr pth s.tj r^c*³¹⁰ *hrw z3 3s.t pw*

As for Ptah, deputy of Ra, he is Horus, son of Isis.

*jr pth hr.j b3q=f*³¹¹ *šw pw*

As for Ptah, who is under his olive tree,³¹² he is Shu.

*jr pth nb nḥ-t3.wj*³¹³ *r^c pw*

As for Ptah, lord of Ankhtauey, he is Ra.

*jr pth dd šps*³¹⁴ *gb pw*

As for Ptah, the noble *djed*-pillar, he is Geb.

³⁰⁵All signs of the sanctuaries have *dd*-sing on its right sides.

³⁰⁶For more attestations see LGG IV: 722.

³⁰⁷For *nb nb.w* see LGG III: 658. However, it mentions only one occurrence of the epithet with Ptah (the statue Museum Toronto 969.137.1), dated to the Saite Period (Wilkes, Nichols, Lloyd, Martin 1979, 57 and pl. 51, no. 199).

³⁰⁸For Ptah-Sokar syncretism, see LÄ VII: 1060, LGG III: 173

³⁰⁹For *nfr-hr*, see Wb II: 255, LGG IV: 214–217.

³¹⁰For *s.tj-r^c*, see LGG VI: 68.

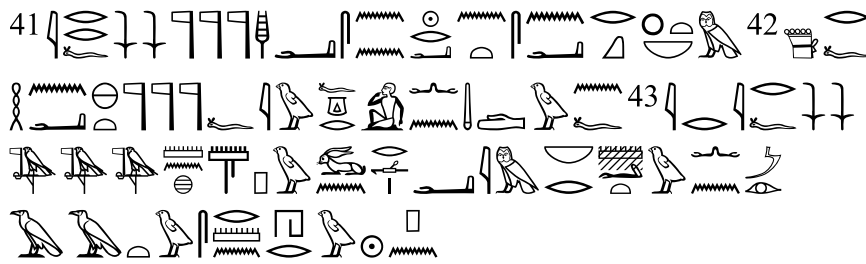
³¹¹For *hr.j-b3q=f*, see WB I: 423, LGG VI: 36–37. He appears as one of the four Ptahs in CT 215; see above.

³¹²For interpreting *b3q* as the olive tree, see Quack 2016: 275–290.

³¹³For *nb nḥ-t3.wj*, see LGG III: 601–602.

³¹⁴For *dd-šps*, see Wb V: 627, LGG VII: 678–680. For the connection with Ptah, see Sandman – Holmberg 1946: 154–166.

The text



(41) *jr rf nn <n> ntr.w ḥḥ=sn n rḥ*

As for these gods, they stand for Ra.

ntsn ḥrq ḥ.t nb(.t) m t3 (42) dr=f ḥnḥ psd.t=f

It is them who complete/know all things in the entire land, together with his Ennead.

ju=f gr nn mdw.n=f

(But) he is silent and does not speak.

(43) *jr rf nn <n> ntr.w mnḥ(.t) pw wn r wḥ jm nb*

As for these gods – the *menekhet*-cloth is what belongs to each of them.

rmn.tw nn m33.tw=s r-mn hrw p<n>

It is brought, but it cannot be/has not been seen until this day.³¹⁵

The table mentions eight manifestations of Ptah, each described by a specific epithet and identified with a different deity. An exception could be the first Ptah, who is entitled The one who is south of his wall and identified with the tongue of Ra. However, the tongue of Ra can be personified as Hu, as seen above.³¹⁶ The rest of Ptah's forms are identified with Ra (twice), Osiris, Horus of Letopolis, Horus (or Harsiese), Shu and Geb. Most of the mentioned epithets have a protective function and/or are connected with the guarding and protecting of the deceased: the connection of Ptah–Sokar–Osiris with the funeral sphere is obvious, Horus of Letopolis is a form of the sun–falcon with the warrior and protective aspects, Horus, son of Isis is the protective deity *par excellence*, the lord of Ankhtawy is usually connected with the Memphite necropolis and its protection, and *hr.j-b3q=f* is generally associated with offerings and protection (Sandman Holmberg 1946: 147–150).

³¹⁵ Lit. “its seeing does not exist until today”.

³¹⁶ In the Memphite theology, 52a, “the great Ptah” (*pth wr*) is the heart and tongue of the Ennead.

The concluding text mentions that these gods “stand for Ra,” i. e. they all are manifestations of the sun god (for this meaning of expression $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}} n$ [name of god] see Sauneron 1989: 11, n. 7; Osing 1998: 173; Quack 2009: 273, n. c; see also Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 183 and note 23 for comment on this expression in the tomb of Iufaa).

The deities are then described as those who know or complete everything in the entire land together with the Ennead. Then the text goes back to the creator god, who is described as silent and not speaking – this statement seems to refer back to the previous mythological text about his speech and silence – after the sun god created the world with his words, he fell silent.

The last sentence is not written under the table with Ptahs but covers almost the entire column 43, thus, it might be related to Ptahs from that table, but also Thoths and/or the other deities in the previous table, or to all these deities generally. The comment returns to the carrying of *menekhet* linen, described at the beginning of the text, and commenting on Ptah’s festival; the mention that cloth cannot be seen refers to its secret and sacred status.

The tables presented here are not the only texts in the tomb of Iufaa which mention the different forms of Ptah. One of the sacred snakes, described in the so-called Snake encyclopedia on the arch of the western wall, bears shrines with the nine manifestations of Ptah (Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 188–190), identified with different deities. The six of the present epithets are identical in both cases; four of them (one on the sarcophagus and three on the western wall) differ. However, the gods with whom they are identified vary. For comparison, see Table 3.

Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus			The western wall of Iufaa’s burial chamber		
Position	Manifestation of Ptah	Identification	Position	Manifestation of Ptah	Identification
1	<i>rs.j jnb=f</i> The one who is southern of his wall	The tongue of Ra (Hu)	7	<i>rs.j jnb=f</i> The one who is southern of his wall	Geb
2	<i>nb nb.w</i> Lord of lords	Ra	8	<i>nb nb.w</i> Lord of lords	The tongue of Ra (Hu)
3	<i>skr</i> Sokar	Osiris	6	<i>skr</i> Sokar	Osiris
4	<i>nfr-ḥr</i> The beautiful of face	Horus, lord of Letopolis	5	<i>nfr-ḥr</i> The beautiful of face	Horus
5	<i>s.tj r^c</i> The deputy of Ra	Horus, son of Isis	-	-	-
6	<i>hr.j b3q=f</i>	Shu	1	<i>hr.j b3q=f</i>	Atum/Tatenen

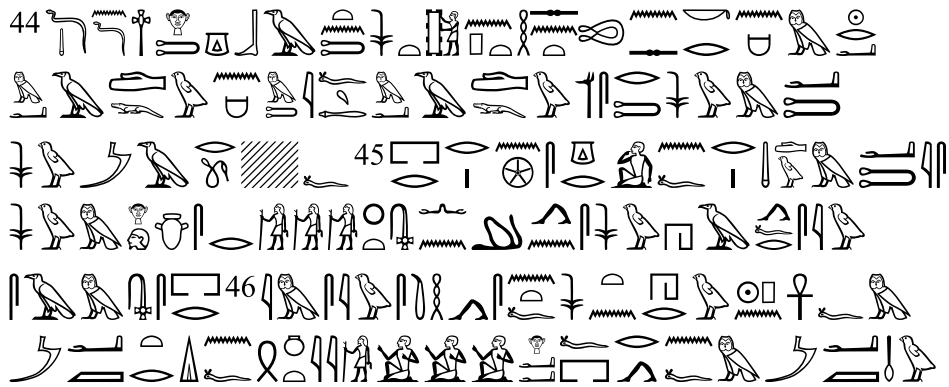
	The one who is under his olive tree			The one who is under his olive tree	
7	<i>nb ʕnh-t3.wj</i> Lord of Ankhtawuy	Ra	-	-	-
8	<i>dd šps</i> The noble <i>djed</i> -pillar	Geb	2	<i>dd šps</i> The noble <i>djed</i> -pillar	Re-Harakhty
-	-	-	3	<i>nb m3ʕ.t</i> Lord of maat	Shu
-	-	-	4	<i>nb ʕnh w3š</i> Lord of life and dominion	Seth
-	-	-	9	<i>wr</i> The great one	The heart of Ra (Sia)

Table 3: Table with a comparison of the manifestations of Ptah on Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus and the western wall of the burial chamber. The corresponding deities are marked in red.

8.5. *The protection of the deceased, columns 44–46*

The main motif of the following text is the protection of the deceased. The text continues the motifs connected with the Memphite religious background and the significant role of Ptah, but it differs from the previous spells. Contrary to all previous texts of the southern inner side of the sarcophagus, this (and the next) spell is written in a standard direction and not retrograde, which separates it visually from the group of the preceding spells.³¹⁷ The text is addressed to the “building” established by Ptah and Sokar, which/who makes a shelter for the deceased and saves him from Apophis and all enemies and evil.

³¹⁷ The division of the texts into thematical groups by changing the directions of writing also appears on the northern side of Iufaa’s burial chamber. The Purification ritual, the main text of that section, is written left to right, and a figure of a lector priest concludes each spell. The accompanying myths are always written from right to left, and two short texts that are extraneous to ritual are written in retrograde (Landgráfová – Míčková 2020: 186ff.).



(44) *dd-mdw jnd hr=t gb3.t n.t nswt qd.n pth* To be recited: Hail to you, royal shelter,³¹⁸
snt.n skr whom Ptah built, whom Sokar established!

nḥm r^c m-^c 3d.w nḥm=t jw=f^c3 m-^c 3d.w Save Ra from The angry one, may you save
 Iufaa from The angry one!

wsr=t sw mt sw m3r (45)[...]f pr r3 n dw3.t May you make him powerful, see, he is
 wretched, [...] come out from the mouth of
 Duat.

sgr n=f r3 mdw mt js sw m hr-tp-jb sr.w The mouth, which talked, fell silent for him,
 look, he is among the officials!

ḥ.t nn pḥ.n=s sw h3=f r=s jw=s 3m=s The fire, it will not reach him, he can descend
pr<=f> (46) *jm=s jw=s th=s ntfnswt hrw pn* to it when it burns and come out of it when it
 is bright (because) he is the king on this day.

ḥnḥ=f m m3^c.t rdj n=f šnw.t hr^c.wj=f pr.n=f He lives from *maat*, the council was given to
m m3^c-hrw his hands, and he came out as
 justified/victorious.

This text shows the royal motives and the background of solar theology, where the deceased is presented as equal to the sun god and the king. The spell addresses “the (heavenly) royal shelter”, or “vault” (which can be possibly personified, see note 318), built by gods, namely

³¹⁸ The word *gb.t* can mean “heaven” or “celestial vault” (Wilson 1997: 1097, or TLA lemma no.1166870); generally, it is derived from *k3p*, “to hide”, or “to cover”. Thus, I translate it more generally as “shelter”, which can have broader meanings; however, it might also be personified as (a sky-)goddess.

Ptah as the divine craftsman, and Sokar, here probably as a deity who can appear in a syncretism with Ptah, but also as a gatekeeper and god connected with the realm of the dead and protection of the deceased. This heavenly shelter is then asked to protect Ra and Iufaa from the Angry one, i.e., Apophis (*3d* is a usual epithet of crocodile foes generally, or Seth as The angry one, see Wilson 1997: 27–28, but these gods can stand for each other in this period and context; see also commentary to chapter 7.3.). Interestingly, this motif mirrors the text of praising Ra's victory over Apophis on the opposite, northern side of the sarcophagus. She/it, i. e. the shelter, is also asked to make the deceased powerful and get him out of misery. He is then described as the one who is among the officials and for whom the mouth, which talked, gets silence, which means that he can command them with his power and that they fall silent because of his authority, as the gods before their ruler and officials before their king. In the following sentence, the deceased is also mentioned as the one who cannot get any harm – he can ascend and descend to fire, which will not reach him because he is identified with the king (and the sun god). The fire or flame thus alludes to the protective fiery goddess, who protects him and destroys all his enemies with her heat. At the end of the spell, the deceased is described as the one who lives by *maat*, who commands his council and is victorious and justified.

8.6. *Providing by the four gods and protection of the deceased, columns 47–49*

The text which concludes the textual sequence of the southern side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus is the spell, which is also repeated on the opposite, northern inner side, and also on the outer southern side of the sarcophagus, where it follows the text celebrating the overthrowing of Apophis. Since the text is presented in more detail in the previous chapter (see 7.6.), the transcription of hieroglyphs, transliteration and translation follows, accompanied by only a brief commentary.



(47) *dd-mdw jn jw=f-3*

To be recited by Iufaa:

j ntr.w jp.w jry.w hr.w r^c r^c nb

Oh, you gods, who make the provisions of Ra every day,

nh.n tn r^c-hrw-3h.tj nfr dd=tn hr r^c r^c nb

for you lives Reharakhti, that which you say before Ra every day is beautiful,

sk smnh=tn dd.t=j nb hr r^c r^c nb

while you make firm that which I say before Ra every day.

nfr hr jb=tn dd[.t.n=j nb]³¹⁹⁽⁴⁸⁾hr r^c r^c n b

[Everything that I s]ay before Ra every day is good in your hearts,

m rn nb n r^c r^c nb q3 rn.w

in every name of Ra every day, (of Ra), noble of names.

dj=k n=j k3.w=j hr tp B smn=k n=j

May you prepare my *kau* on earth, may you make my [offi]ce firm for me,

[j3]³²⁰w=j

jr=k jw^c.t=j dj=k wp(.t)=j⁽⁴⁹⁾nfr.tj mjn zp

may you make (for me) my inheritance, may you give (me) my beautiful portion of today,

sn nfr.tj³²¹ zp sn m jqr šps m dd.t m h.t nb(.t)

may you give (me) my beautiful portion of today, beautiful, beautiful, in noble and excellent (things), in wheat and in all the

nfr.t

good things

³¹⁹ Emended according to the text's version on the sarcophagus's northern side.

³²⁰ See the previous note.

³²¹ The northern version writes *rnp.tj nfr.tj zp sn*.

*nw hrw pn nw <grḥ pn n>w 3bd pn nw
smd.t{nb}³²² <tn> rnp.t nw nḥḥ zb d.t
jm3ḥ(.w).jw=f-^{cc}*

of this day, of < this night, of > every month,
of <this > 15th day festival of this year of
neheh-eternity which traverses *djet*-eternity.
Revered Iufaa.

The last spell of the southern side addresses the four gods, who make provisions for Ra and speak before Ra every day. Iufaa turns to them and asks them to make everything he says firm and beautiful before Ra. At the end of the text, he asks Ra to provide him with everything he needs in the afterlife – the list of the things is mentioned, and also the fact that the deceased will be equipped with these things every day, night, month, half-month festival and year forever.

³²² The sign *nb* was confused for the festival-determinative (𓄿).

9. THE PYRAMID TEXTS AND THE OFFERING RITUAL

The rest of the texts of the inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus contain mostly Pyramid Texts spells focused on the offering ritual. The spells cover the rest of the northern side (columns 51–62), the western side, i. e. the area at the feet of the deceased (together 19 columns), and the rest of the southern side (columns 50–59); most of the texts are written in a tabular form.

Throughout the Old Kingdom, the number of texts of the offering ritual continuously expanded, but they always remained a very distinctive group (Hays 2012: 84–85). From the very beginning, the recitations of short phrases concerning the eye of Horus were tightly connected with ritual action – the presentation of genuine offerings (Hays 2012: 88). The objects and substances offered are present as postscripts to the recitations; most of them can also be found in contemporary offering lists (Hays 2012: 88).

The offering ritual from Iufaa's outer sarcophagus contains these spells:

- the northern side: PT 62 §43a – PT 62§43b – PT 65 – PT 65 – PT 63 – PT 66 – PT 68 PT 69 – PT 70 – PT 71 2a – PT 71 3a – PT 71 4a – PT 71 6a – an Eye of Horus spell I³²³ – an Eye of Horus spell II – Nephthys text T (text F) – text J – Nut-Spruch C.I.1a.
- the western side: PT 71D 2a – PT 71D 3a – PT 106 – PT 107 – Eyes of Horus spell – PT 71D 5a – PT 79 – 80 – PT 72 variant(?) – PT 72 variant(?) – PT 73 variant(?) – PT 74 – PT 75 – PT 76 – PT 78 variant – PT 78 variant – The offering of *jbr* oil spell – The offering of *b3q* oil spell – PT 219 – PT 220 excerpt – PT 222 excerpt
- the southern side: PT 651 – PT 652 – PT 653A – PT 653C – PT 58 – PT 59 – PT 60 – PT 61 – The offering of *hkr.w* spell – The offering of *b3hy(.t)* spell – The offering of *šnd.t* spell – The offering of *mstr.t* spell – The offering of *qbh.t* spell – The offering of *jd.t* – spell The offering of *hms.t* spell – The offering of *hbs* spell – The offering of *hbs.t* spell – The offering of *wmt(?)* spell – The purification spell (?).

Most of the spells are also preserved in other Late Period tombs, including the recently published shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022), where the offering ritual occurs on the western wall of the burial chamber. Since the texts were already

³²³ The spells without numbers could not be identified with any of the hitherto known spells, but their content and words correspond to those of the other spells of the offering ritual.

analysed and commented on in Menekhibnekau's version, here the transcription, transliteration and translation follow, accompanied by commentaries, corresponding with already published variants and stressing mainly differences between them or specifics of Iufaa's variants.

The version of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus corresponds with the second part of the offering ritual of Menekhibnekau (the first part has parallels on the inner sarcophagus of Iufaa, behind the head of the deceased, where the sequence is PT 781 – Spell for donning the double crown – PT 783 – PT 783v – PT 784 – PT 785 – PT §2285b – Spell for donning the double crown, variant – PT 787 – PT 788 – PT 789 – PT 789v – PT 600 – BD 158 – BD 157 – Spell for donning the double crown, variant – PT 71A – PT §2285b – PT 71A – Spell for becoming a god – PT 71A). The second part, presented here, consists of the presentation of staves, sceptres, maces, bows, jewellery (not preserved in Old Kingdom variants), unguents, insignia and clothing and is generally known from the pyramid of Neith (Allen 2005: 318–321), from the pyramid of Pepy II (Allen 2005: 258–261), and also from Late Period parallels, see below. Among the spells of the offering rituals, several different spells appear, written under the tables, mostly known from the contemporary textual corpora (except for some examples and sequences, see below).

For the decoration of the tomb of Iufaa is typical that the most common spells and their sequences, preserved on the walls of the burial chambers of contemporary tombs, are written on the sarcophagi. The reason is the unusual decoration of Iufaa's burial chamber. In the case of Menekhibnekau, the offered objects are depicted and labelled above the text of the offering ritual in an object frieze, which shows a large number of various items divided into seven boxes (Bareš 2013: 76–85; Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 184ff.) On the contrary, in Iufaa's texts, the maces and items are always depicted in the tables. However, they always appear in the separate part of the tables; it is possible that the original distribution of the text could be similar to the one in the tomb of Menekhibnekau, but since here the text is written in much smaller space because of the amount of (probably more important) texts on the walls and the other parts of the sarcophagus, even the depictions were reduced to the scale of common hieroglyphs, occurring in the texts.

9.1. *The northern side*

The part of the offering ritual, covering columns 51–62 on the northern inner side of the outer sarcophagus, contains the offering of sceptres, bracelets and personal items. This offering ritual has a parallel in the pyramids of Pepy II and Neith.³²⁴ The exceptions are spells dealing with jewellery, where the first two texts consist of a single, unknown spell, twice repeated, and the third one is “Nephthys text T” (after von Falck 2001: 451–450). The last two spells of the northern side of the sarcophagus do not belong directly to the offering ritual, and their main motif is the protection of the goddess Nut: “text J” (after Gestermann 2005: 386) and “Nut-Spruch C.I.1a” (after Falck 2001: 49–59).

9.1.1. The offering of sceptres, columns 51–60

This part of the offering ritual contents of the offering of 17 sceptres and/or staves³²⁵, divided into two tables, placed one above the other, and three kinds of jewellery. This part of the ancient offering ritual is also attested, besides Old Kingdom pyramids, in three Late period parallels, that of Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 240–241), Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 8081) and Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 205–212). In Menekhibenaku’s case, where the offered objects are depicted and labelled above the text, as was said above, and divided into several boxes, the first table of Iufaa corresponds almost precisely to Menekhibnekau’s fifth “box” or set of items, with only *3ms n jwnw* standing in the place of Menekhibenakau’s *mdw j(3)r*, while the second table corresponds with the sixth “box” and the first item of the seventh “box”. In the case of Pediniese, the two sets of items (staves and sceptres) are not divided but form a single table. The stave sequence runs: *hrs, hrp n j3nr, jwr, dsr, mhn, hrp n sh.t, hrp n š rsj, hrp n š mh.tj, hrp n š jmn.tj, hrp n š j3b.tj* (Maspero 1900a: 240), thus again almost identically, with only spelling variations. The exact sequence also appears in Hekaemsaf, where the staves are also not divided from the sceptres (Maspero 1904: 80–81).

³²⁴ On the contrary, the other part/another version of the offering ritual, appearing on the inner sarcophagus of Iufaa, has only parallel in the Late Period, see Bareš – Landgráfová – Míčková 2022: chapter III.x).

³²⁵ For the different kind of scepters and maces used in the offering ritual see also Jéquier 1921: 159–191.

The first table, columns 51–60

The first table consists of presenting ten sceptres or maces. The accompanying text sequence is: PT 62 §43a – PT 62§43b – PT 65 – PT 65 – PT 63 – PT 66 – PT 68.

60	59	58	57	56	55	54	53	52	51

PT 62, § 43a = Nt 307³²⁶

51

(51) *3ms n hr.w*

Sceptre of Horus.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ꜥ3

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa!

mj n=k mw jm.j jr.t-hr.w

Take the water which is in the eye of Horus,

jm sfh³²⁷=k tw jm=s

do not let go of it!³²⁸

This spell is associated with *3ms n hrw* sceptre. Since the spell usually occurs as one unit with the following text, see commentary on PT 62.

PT 62

52

(52) *3ms n jsr*

Sceptre of tamarisk.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ꜥ3

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa!

mj n=k jr.t hr.w m3.n dhw.tj mw jm.j=s

Take the eye of Horus, for Thoth has seen the water which is in it.³²⁹

jnk 3s.t wsjr z3=k hrw jw=f-ꜥ3 nb jm3h.w

I am, Isis and Osiris, your son Horus, Iufaa, lord of reverence.³³⁰

The two offered items of Iufaa are *3ms n hrw* and *3ms n jsr*. In N and Nt, the items offered are a *hrs*-sceptre, a *db3*-sceptre and a mace (Faulkner 1969: 14). In the Late Period versions of Hekaemsaf, the items are *mdw-hrw* and *mdw-j3sr* (Maspero 1904: 80), in Pediniese *hrs* and *hd*

³²⁶ Preserved in versions N and Nt, according to Sethe (§291a a 292a), only the end and depiction are visible.

³²⁷ PT writes *m sfhh=k jm=s*, Faulkner (1969: 14) translates “do not let go of it”, Menekhibnekau has *sfhh=k jm=s* and adds once more “Oh Osiris Menekhibnekau” (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 206).

³²⁸ Lit. “do not release yourself from it”.

³²⁹ Faulkner (1969: 15) translates “Eye of Horus, the water in which Thoth has seen *hrs* sceptre” etc., Mercer, similarly. Menekhibnekau, as well as Pediniese and Hekaemsaf all have *jm.j=k*.

³³⁰ This last sentence does not appear in the Old Kingdom versions, but it seems to be a standard part of the Late Period variants. Pediniese writes *jnk 3s.t wsjr z3=k* (Maspero 1900a: 240, col. 123), with the last word omitted for lack of space in the table; Hekaemsaf *jnk 3s.t wsjr z3=k hr.w*, with Horus in the next column and introduced by *dd-mdw* (Maspero 1904: 80); Menekhibnekau *jnk 3s.t wsjr z3=k hr.w*, without adding the name of the deceased (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 206).

Iufaa’s variant associates this spell with the “sceptre of Heliopolis” (*3ms n jwnw*). Menekhibnekau has *j(3)r.t* sceptre; *mdw j(3)r(.t)*, Pediniese and Hekaemsaf have *jwr(.t)*, perhaps a writing of *j(3)r.t*. In N and Nt, PT 65 is associated with a *hrs*-sceptre (Allen 2013, II: PT 65).

PT 64

54 

(54) *3ms n dsr*

Scepter (of) *djeser*.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ε3

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,³³⁵

*dsr=k m hr{=k}<=f>*³³⁶

you are secluded from his sight/attention.

If the Late Period offering ritual is a continuous text, divided only so that the individual clauses could be connected with their respective items, the *hr=f*, mistaken in Iufaa’s variant for *hr=k*, refers to Horus and his agency in protecting – “secluding” – the body of Osiris from Seth. The spell is associated with a *dsr*-sceptre in all preserved versions of the ritual, Iufaa associates it with *3ms n dsr* sceptre and in the case of Menekhibnekau, the sceptre is labelled as *mdw-dsr*.

PT 63³³⁷

55 

(55) *3ms n mhn*

Sceptre *mhn*.

*dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-ε3*³³⁸

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

*dj n=k*³³⁹ [*s*]*w*³⁴⁰ *m hnw*


place [h]im/[i]t inside!³⁴¹

³³⁵ Menekhibnekau adds *nb jm3h*.

³³⁶ An alternative translation is possible as: “you are secluded in your face”. However, the Old Kingdom, as well as the Late Period variants, write... *hr=f*, thus Iufaa’s variant seems to be misunderstood.

³³⁷ PT 63 (PT I, §44b), emended after N, where [...] *hr.w wd n=k sw m-hn.w=k* is preserved following a longer lacuna.

³³⁸ Menekhibnekau adds *nb jm3h*.

³³⁹ Menekhibnekau writes , *wd n=k*.

³⁴⁰ Emended according to the preserved versions.

³⁴¹ PT 63 (PT I, §44b), preserved, fragmentarily, only in N, with *m-hnw=k* “inside you” (Allen 2005: 259), or perhaps rather “in your abode”? The suffix pronoun is missing in all Late Period versions (Maspero 1900a: 240; Maspero 1904: 80).

The preserved text in N reads [...] *hr.w wd n=k sw m-hn.w=k*, following a longer lacuna, indicating that the *sw* should refer to Horus. James P. Allen restores the first part to “[betake yourself to your son] Horus” (Allen 2005: 259). If there is a continuity with the previous spells, the Late Period version of the ritual, too, refers to Horus here, and nothing needs to be added. Another option is that the pronoun of the Late Period variant refers to the sceptre. In N, the items offered with this spell are a *mhn*-mace and, apparently, an *jsr*-sceptre (Allen 2013, II: PT 63). Iufaa associates this spell with *3ms n mhn*, Menekhibnekau’s object frieze, as in Pediniese and Hekaemsaf, the spell is associated with a *mdw-hn*, *mhn*-staff.

PT 66

56 

(56) *3ms n <ht>-sht*

Sceptre of *sht*.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ʕ3


To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

*snht n=k jr.t hr.w hr=k*³⁴²

make the eye of Horus strong with you!

There are two versions of this spell. One is preserved in Nt, Pediniese and Iufaa and reads *snht n=k jr.t hr.w hr=k*, “make the eye of Horus strong with you!”. The second version is preserved in Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Mičková 2022: 208) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 80). The spell is associated with *3ms n sh.t*-sceptre, in N and Menekhibnekau’s object frieze a *ht-sh.t*-sceptre appears; Menekhibnekau writes *mdw-sh.t*, Pediniese and Hekaemsaf *mdw n sh.t* (Maspero 1900a: 240; Maspero 1904: 80).

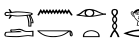
PT 68

57 

58 

59 

60 

³⁴² Menekhibnekau has  - “redeem for yourself the eye of Horus”. Faulkner (1969: 15) translates this part as “make the eye of Horus come back to you”.

(57) $\text{3ms } n \text{ š } rsj$	Sceptre of the southern lake.
$\underline{dd}\text{-}mdw \text{ wsjr } iw=f^{\epsilon}3$	To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,
$mj \text{ } n=k \text{ } mw \text{ } jm.j \text{ } jr.t\text{-}hrw \text{ } 3ms \text{ } [hr.w(?)]$	Take the water which is in the eye of Horus, the <i>ames</i> sceptre [of Horus(?)],
$htm<=f>^{343} \text{ } tw \text{ } m \text{ } ntr$	so that it may equip you as a god. ³⁴⁴
(58) $\text{3ms } n \text{ š } mh.tj$	Sceptre of the northern lake.
$\underline{dd}\text{-}mdw \text{ wsjr } iw=f^{\epsilon}3$	To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,
$<mj \text{ } n=k> \text{ } 3ms \text{ } hr.w^{345} \text{ } htm \text{ } tw \text{ } m \text{ } jr.t \text{ } hr.w$	take the sceptre of Horus, equip yourself with the eye of Horus,
$3ms \text{ } htm=f \text{ } tw \text{ } m \text{ } ntr^{346}$	the sceptre – it will equip you as a god. ³⁴⁷
(59) $\text{3ms } n \text{ š } jmn.tj$	Sceptre of the western lake.
$\underline{dd}\text{-}mdw \text{ wsjr } iw=f^{\epsilon}3$	To be recited: Osiris Iufaa!
$\underline{dd}\text{-}mdw \text{ } jm^{348} \text{ } sfh=k \text{ } tw \text{ } jm=f$	To be recited: Do not loosen yourself from it,
$z3\{=f\} \text{ } jm=k \text{ } sfh=k \text{ } jm=f$	beware lest you loosen yourself from it!

³⁴³ Emended according to the parallel versions.

³⁴⁴ The text is fully preserved only in Nt, where it reads $\underline{dd} \text{ } mdw \text{ } wsjr \text{ } n.t \text{ } m \text{ } n=k \text{ } mw \text{ } jmj \text{ } jr.t \text{ } hr.w \text{ } h3 \text{ } n.t \text{ } pw \text{ } mh \text{ } n=k \text{ } \epsilon=k \text{ } m \text{ } hrs$ – “To be recited: Osiris Neith, take the water which is in the eye of Horus. O Neith, fill your hand with the *heres*-sceptre!”. N only preserves $ppy \text{ } nfr\text{-}k3\text{-}r^{\epsilon} \text{ } pw$. Pediniese $mj \text{ } n=k \text{ } mw \text{ } jmj \text{ } jr.t \text{ } hr.w \text{ } mh \text{ } \epsilon=k \text{ } hrs$ (Maspero 1900a: 240). Menkehibnekau’s version is the result of misreading the hieratic $m\{r3\}<h> \epsilon=k <m \text{ } hrs>$ (Landgráfová – Bareš – Mičková 2022: 208 and note 922). Iufaa confounds this and the following segment; thus “Horus” can probably be emended in the lacuna.

³⁴⁵ Emended according to the preserved Late Period versions – this part does not occur in the Old Kingdom variants. Pediniese has also $3ms \text{ } hr.w$, without $mj \text{ } n=k$ (Maspero 1900a: 240), due to haplography at the border of two columns.

³⁴⁶ Pediniese reads $htm \text{ } tw \text{ } m \text{ } jr.t \text{ } hr.w$, “equip yourself with the eye of Horus” (Maspero 1900a: 240), Menkehibnekau $htm \text{ } tw \text{ } m3\{3\}<m>s \text{ } htm=f \text{ } tw \text{ } m \text{ } ntr$ “provide yourself with the *ames* sceptre, so that it may equip you as a god (Landgráfová – Bareš – Mičková 2022: 209).

³⁴⁷ Menkehibnekau writes $m \text{ } n=k \text{ } 3ms \text{ } hrw \text{ } htm \text{ } tw \text{ } m \text{ } 3\{3\}<m>s \text{ } htm=f \text{ } tw \text{ } m \text{ } ntr$ – “take the *ames* sceptre of Horus, provide yourself with the *ames*-sceptre, so that it may equip you as a god”.

³⁴⁸ The other variants write $jm=k$.

(60) <i>3ms n š j3b.tj</i>	Sceptre of the eastern lake.
<i>dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ʕ3</i>	To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,
<i>dj n=k sw m ʕ=k n sw <n=k> n sw n=k</i>	place it in your hand, for it belongs <to you>, it belongs to you! ³⁴⁹

The last spell of that section, PT 68, covers the last four spells of Iufaa’s table (columns 57–60). However, judging from the parallel versions, it was clearly considered a compact unit, and thus it is presented here also as a single spell.

The Pyramid Text spell 68 (§ 43a–47c, the last one unpreserved in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts) deals with the four sceptres, connected with the four cardinal points, which probably suggests the power of the deceased, which contains the whole world. In the variant of Iufaa, the spell is associated with four sceptres, named *3ms n š rsj.*, *3ms n š mh.tj*, *3ms n š jmn.tj* and *hrs n š j3b.tj*. In N and Nt, PT 68 is associated with the offering of a *hrs*-sceptre (Allen 2013, II: PT 68). In Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 240), the sceptres are labelled *hrs n š šmʕ.w*, *hrs n š mh.w.t*, *hrs n š jmn.t* and *hrs n š j3b.t*, in Hekaemsaf the staves are abbreviated to *mdw n š rs.j mh.tj jmn.tj j3b.tj* (Maspero 1904: 80). In Menekhibnekau’s corresponding section of the object frieze, four pairs of staves are associated with similar labels: *mdw n š šmʕ.w*, *mdwn š mh.t*, *mdw n š jmn.t* and *mdw n š j3b.t* (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 209–210). This spell concludes the staves box/section in Menekhibnekau’s case, where, similarly as here, it concludes the first table of the offering ritual.

The second table, columns 51–57

This table occurs under the previous one and continues the part of the offering ritual, where different kinds of sceptres, maces and flails are offered. The table contains seven items: *mks* document holder, *sm3*-mace, *hd*-mace, *dʕm-*, *w3s*, *ʕb.t* and *nh3(h3)*. Pediniese has the same sequence of objects but it is not divided from the staves (Maspero 1900a: 240–241). In Menekhibnekau’s tomb, the offering ritual runs continuously; only a different “box” of items is

³⁴⁹ Probably part of PT 68 (§ 47d), which is not preserved from the Old Kingdom versions. Hekaemsaf’s PT 68 ends with *n sw n=k sw n=k*, “for it belongs to you, it belongs to you”, Pediniese’s *nm n=k*, “it belongs to you”. Carrier translates Hekaemsaf’s version as *n swn=k*, “because you suffer” (Carrier 2010: 3374–3375) and Pediniese’s as *mw=k*, “your water” (Carrier 2010: 3526–3527). Menekhibnekau has just *sw n=k sw n=k*, “it belongs to you, it belongs to you” (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 209).

PT 69, § 48a = Nt 316

51 

52 

(51)*mks*

Mekes document-holder.³⁵⁰

*dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-^{c3} jm3h(.w) hr ntr=f
jwf-^{c3}*

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, revered before his
god, Iufaa!

(52)*sm3*

Sema-mace.³⁵¹

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-^{c3}


To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,



mj n=k db^c n stš sm3 [jr.t]³⁵² hr.w

take the finger of Seth, that [the eye] of Horus is
made to see (again)!³⁵³

In the offering ritual of Hekaemsaf, spell 69 itself is associated with the *mks*-document holder (Maspero 1904: 80–81), as in Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 210). In Pediniese’s list, the *mks*-document holder also follows the staves section, but it is associated with a different, hitherto unidentified text (Maspero 1900a: 240; Carrier 2010: 3572–3573). In Iufaa’s version and the variant of Nt (Allen 2013, II: PT 69), the spell is associated with two items, *mks* and *sm*; in other preserved Late Period versions, the *sm3*-sceptre is associated with the following spell.

The *mekes* document holder is supposed to be a sacred object connected with kingship, maybe a case for some documents. It often appears in offering rituals, especially those connected with kingship, or in funerary rites from the Old Kingdom until the Ptolemaic inscriptions. The item could also be *mekes*-sceptre – these two items were often confused in ancient Egypt (see LÄ IV: 20–21; Wilson 1997: 473–473).

³⁵⁰ The determinative should actually be .

³⁵¹ The sign  is probably a mistake for  or something similar.

³⁵² Emended according to parallel versions.

³⁵³ PT 69 (PT I, §48a) is fully preserved only in Neith which reads: *dd-mdw wsjr n.t m n=k db^c stš sm33 jr.t-hr.w h̄d.t*, “To be recited: Osiris Neith, take the finger of Seth so that the bright eye of Horus is made to see (again)! ”

Nt, Iufaa and Pediniese, the *nh3h3*-section (PT 71 6a) is the last, whereas in Menekhibnekau it is the first. As clearly visible in the table, in Iufaa’s version the individual sections of PT 71 were taken as individual spells.

In Menekhibnekau’s variant spell 71 is preceded by an “Eyes of Horus spell” associated with the *mn*-mace (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 211). In Pediniese, the *mn*-mace is associated with the final text of the offering ritual, PT 69b+72e (Carrier 2010: 3528–3529). In the version of Iufaa that spell also occurs, but in a different position, closer to the end of that section, after PT 107 (= CT 858), see below, and it is not associated with any item.

PT 71A 3a

55 

(55) *w3s*

Sceptre *was*.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ʕ3

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

m w3w=s m-ʕ=k r hftj.w=k

do not allow it to be distant from you to your enemies!

Iufaa’s variant of that spell seems to be misunderstood or mingled from two (or more) versions. Its beginning does not appear in the Old Kingdom versions, Nt has only *m w3=f m ʕ=k* “do not allow it to be distant from your hand”. Pediniese has, like the OK versions, *m 3=s m ʕ=k* (Maspero 1900: 241), Menekhibnekau writes *wsr={t}<k> r hft.j=k jmj w3 r=s* – “You are stronger than your enemy, do not be distant from it!” (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 212).

PT 71A 4a, § 49+2 = Nt 320

56 

(56) *ʕb.t*

Sceptre *abet*.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ʕ3

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

dsr dsr hr rd.wj=f

be secluded, be secluded, upon his feet! ³⁵⁶

In Nt, Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 241) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 80–81), like in Iufaa and Menekhibnekau, this text is associated with the ‘*b.t*-forked staff, in Menekhibnekau this item belongs already to the next box, i. e. the following group (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 212).

PT 71A 6a



(⁵⁷) *nh3*

Sceptre *nekha*.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ε3

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

mj n=k jr.t hr.w nh3{n}h.t m ε ms(.w)
{=s}<=f>

take the Eye of Horus, which survived in the
hands of <his> children! ³⁵⁷

In N, Nt, Iufaa and Pediniese, the *nh3(h3)*-spell (PT 71 6a) concludes the section of the offering ritual, dealing with sceptres and maces, except for Menekhibnekau, where this spell is presented previously, see above.

The sceptre *nh3/nh3h3* occurs already on Narmer’s palette and is represented as an important item of royal or divine regalia until the Ptolemaic period (for more, see LÄ II: 516–517; Derchain 1963: 22–25; Wilson 1997: 538–539).

³⁵⁶ 71A (4a), emended after P and Nt, where the text reads: *dsr tw dsr tw hr dbε.wj=f*, “You are secluded, you are secluded upon his fingers!” The change of *dbε.wj* to *rd.wj* is probably caused by the wrong interpretation of the hieratic. Both Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 212) and Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 24) write: *dsr dsr <hr> rd.wj<=f>*.

³⁵⁷ Preserved in P and Nt, which reads: *dd-mdw wsjr n.t m n=k jr.t hr.w nh3.h.t m ε ms.w=f*, “To be recited: Osiris Neith, take the eye of Horus, which survived in the hands of his children.” The variant of Menekhibnekau is also mistaken, as *mj n=k jr.t hrw <n>h3}<h>.t m ε ms{s}<=f>*; see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 211.

9.1.2. The offering of jewellery and protection of Nut, below, columns 58–62

The following table continues the offering ritual, it consists of three individual texts, presenting bracelets and anklets. The first and the second one is the spell dealing with the eye of Horus, repeated twice and not attested in the Pyramid Texts (or later, except for one parallel in the tomb of Menekhibnekau, see below). The third spell is the so-called “Nephthys text T (after von Falck 2001: 451–450)” or “text F” (after Gestermann 2005: 386).

The same items are attested in the offering ritual of Menekhibnekau, in the fourth “box” of the object frieze on the western wall of his burial chamber (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 212), where it continues with offering tails, aprons and a dagger. A more extended version of this part of the offering ritual, presenting more items, appears on the western end of the southern inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus.

The items are again presented in the table, or, possibly, the previous table’s continuation, mentioning sceptres and maces. However, the third text continues outside the table in column 61, where another spell (“Text J”, see below) follows.

61

60

59

58

An eye of Horus spell, column 58 below

58

(58) *nbw*



(Of) gold:

h(3)dr(.wt)

h(3)dr(.t)-bracelets.³⁵⁸

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-^{c3}

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

³⁵⁸ The determinatives look more like , but since they should represent some jewellery,  seems to be a better choice for transcription.

*rdj.n(=j) n=k jr(.t)*³⁵⁹ *hr.w t̲z<=s>*³⁶⁰ *n=k* I have given to you the eye of Horus so that
qs.w=k srwd=s n=k ʕ.wt=k it may assemble³⁶¹ your bones for you and so
that it may support your body for you.

The spell has not been identified, but its structure and content clearly place it within the offering ritual. The only so far known parallel comes from the tomb of Menekhibnekau, which is associated with *the h3dr.wt*-bracelets, *swr.wt* beaded anklets and *mnfr(r).wt jr.t ʕ.wj* bracelets (Bareš 2013: 77–78; Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 201–202). Here, on the outer sarcophagus of Iufaa, the spell is repeated twice (see below) and associated once with the *h(3)dr(.wt)* bracelets, and with *mnfr.t*-bracelets in the other text.

The *h3dr.wt* bracelets are attested on several Middle Kingdom stelae (e.g. Cairo 28027; TLA DZA 26.334.910); the word is also known from the offering scenes from the Ptolemaic temples. Their main function was the protection of the arms and wrists, which is connected well with the ritual function of making limbs strong and assembling bones (i.e., body). In a scene in the temple of Edfu (Edfu II, 282, 2–11), they are connected with the eyes of Horus, which protect both halves of the body (Wilson 1997: 600, see also Jéquier 1921: 100–102).

An eye of Horus spell II, column 59 below



(59) *nbw*

(Of) gold:

mnfr.t

mnfr.t-necklace.³⁶²

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-ʕ3

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

*rdj.n(=j) n=k jr(.t) hr.w t̲z<=s>*³⁶³ *n=k* I have given to you the Eye of Horus so that
qs.w=k srwd n=k ʕ.wt=k it may assemble your bones for you and so
that it may support your body for you.

³⁵⁹ Menekhibnekau writes just *rdj n=k* (or *rdj(=j) n=k*) and writes *t* in *jr.t*.

³⁶⁰ An alternative translation without emendation is possible: “your bones are assembled for you”, but considering the parallel sentence further in the text and the parallel version in Menekhibnekau, the suffix seems to be omitted.

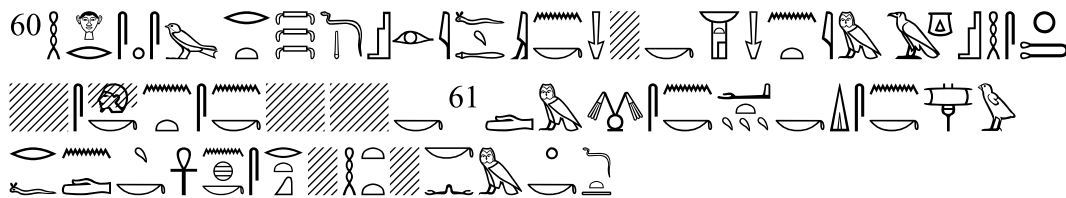
³⁶¹ For this meaning of *t̲z*, see Wilson 1997: 1171.

³⁶² See note 358 above.

³⁶³ See note 360.

The spell is repeated text from column 58, this time associated with the *mn-nfr.t*-bracelet. In the only known parallel from Menekhibnekau's tomb, the spell is written once and associated with three items, see above. The *mn-nfr.t* can refer to the adornment of ankles or arms, protecting the wearer in ritual scenes, similarly as in the previous case (see Jéquier 1921: 99; Wilson 1997: 429).

Nephtys text T/ text F³⁶⁴



(⁶⁰) *hrs*

(Of) carnelian:

swr.wt

barrel-beads of carnelian.

dd-mdw wsjr iw=f-³

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa!

jj n=k s[n].t=k nb.t-hw.t sn.t jmj.t ghs.t

Your sister Nephtys comes to you, the sister, who is in Geheset,³⁶⁵

[*tz*]=*s tp=k <j>n{t}n=s n=k [qs.w=k]*
dmd=s n=k ^c.wt=k

[so that] she [may affix] your head, so that she may unite [your bones], so that she may assemble your limbs for you.



dj=s n=k t3w³⁶⁶ r fnd=k ^cnh=k srq[=s
hty.t=]k n mwt=k d.t

She gives air to you, to your nose, so that you may live. [She] lets [your throat] breathe, and you will not die forever.

This spell is associated with the *swr.t* anklet of barrel beads of carnelian, another jewel or amulet with a protective function (see Jéquier 1921: 50; Westendorf 1966: 149). This text, together

³⁶⁴ Nephtys text T after von Falck 2001: 451–459; Text F after Gestermann 2005: 386; see also Sawi – Gomaa 1993: 16.

³⁶⁵ For *jm.jt ghs.t*, see LGG I: 295. Geheset is a place where Osiris was found and revived, and, like Nedit, also a place of his death and the fight against Seth (Strandberg 2009: 162–170). According to PT 485, the resurrection happens through Geb (Backes 2016: 690). In p.Jumilhac, Geheset is connected, besides Hathor, also with Nephtys (Vandier 1965: 53–54).

³⁶⁶ The sign looks more like , but the hieroglyphs are not well carved and the stone is damaged; considering the content and the parallel versions, it has to be read as .

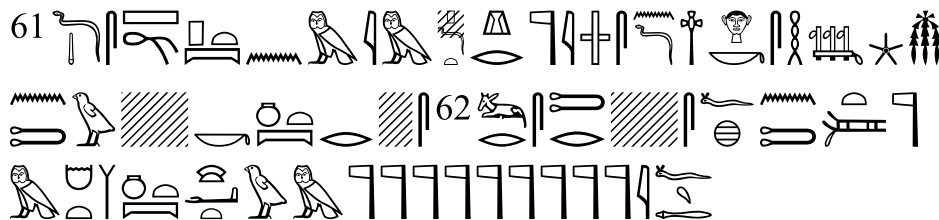
with the parallel Isis-text T (see Falck 2001: 441–451, or Gestermann 2005: 385 as “text A”), occurs in many Late Period tombs (Sawi – Gomaa 1993: 16–19, Gestermann 2005: 385) and sarcophagi (von Falck 2001: 441–442), including the inner side of the sarcophagus of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 49–50). Only here, in the case of Iufa, is the text associated with the *swr.t* and the offering ritual.

The main motif of the spell is the protection of the deceased by the goddess Nephthys, the sister of Osiris, identified with the deceased. She affixes his head, unites his bones, assembles his limbs, makes him whole and hale, and provides him with air so that he might live and breathe (forever). These texts are tightly connected to the frequent images of Isis and Nephthys standing at the head and feet of Osiris as Anubis performs the mummification rites (Assmann 2005: 168–169).

The end of the northern wall, columns 61–62

The last two columns of the northern side of the sarcophagus contain two spells, one so-called “text J” (after Gestermann 2005: 386) and “Nut-Spruch CI.1.1a” (after von Falck 2001: 49–59). None of these spells is associated with any item, and it is questionable if they directly relate to the offering ritual.


Text J³⁶⁷




*dd-mdw sš p.t nm jm(.j)*³⁶⁸ *pd.*³⁶⁹ *t hr(.t)*³⁷⁰ To be recited: The heaven is open, and the one, who is in the (expanse of the) sky, who carries the god, can travel in it.

ntr jm=s

³⁶⁷ According to Gestermann 2005: 386; it is preserved on the southern wall of the tomb of Psamtik from Saqqara (Daressy 1895: 21).

³⁶⁸ Psamtik writes only .

³⁶⁹ The sign could possibly be also .

³⁷⁰ The version of Psamtik has *t* clearly written.

(j)nd hr=k s3h ms.n tw [mw.t]³⁷¹=k nw.t Hail to you, Orion! Your [mother] Nut gave birth to you,

r[np]=s⁽⁶²⁾<r>³⁷² jwr=s t(w) r she became rejuvenated so hat she may give birth to you in her [moment].

[nw]³⁷³=s

sfh.n t(w)³⁷⁴ (j)tm(.w) m hm.t nw.t h^c.tw Atum has released you from the womb of Nut, you have risen among the Ennead,³⁷⁵ Iufaa.

m psd.t jw=f^{c3}

In this spell, also preserved in the tomb of Psamtik at Saqqara (Daressy 1895: 21), the deceased is identified with Orion, i.e. Osiris in his celestial form. He is hailed as a god, born of the goddess Nut, and he can rise, be released and be mighty among the gods, here represented by the Ennead.

Nut-Spruch C.I.1a,³⁷⁶ column 62

62 

dd-mdw pšš.n s(j) mw.t=k nw.t hr=k m rn=s To be recited: You mother Nut spread herself above you in her name of Shetpet.

št-p.t³⁷⁷

dj.n=s w[n=k] m ntr n stš³⁷⁸ m rn=k n ntr She caused you to exist as a god for Seth in your name of God,³⁸⁰ revered [Iufaa].

jm3h [jw=f^{c3}]³⁷⁹

The text, which concludes the northern inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus, is preserved from several other coffins and sarcophagi from the Late Period (in a more extended version as Nut-Spruch C.I.1a–b, together with Nut-Spruch C.I.2a-b, see von Falck 2001: 51). Usually the spell is longer, but here only the first part of it occurs, obviously because of lack of space.

³⁷¹ Emended after the uncorrupted version of Psamtik.

³⁷² Emended according to the version of Psamtik, which writes *rnps=s r jwr.n=s*.

³⁷³ After the version of Psamtik.

³⁷⁴ Psamtik writes *sfh.n=f(j)tm(.w) hm.t nw.t h^c.tj m ntr*.

³⁷⁵ Psamtik has *h^c.tj m ntr*, “you have risen as a god”.

³⁷⁶ According to von Falck 2001: 49–59.

³⁷⁷ This spelling does not appear in any of the texts collected by Falck, Texttafel I.

³⁷⁸ The usual expression is *n hft.j(w)=k*; see von Falck 2001: 53.

³⁷⁹ In the other versions, the text continues: *hnm=s tw m-^c h.t nb(.t) dw(.t) m rn=s n hnm.t-wr p.t hr hr z3=t twt wr jm.j mswt-ntr.w* (after von Falck 2001: 53).

³⁸⁰ Old Kingdom versions of both spells (if preserved) write *n hft.j=k m rn=k n ntr*.

The text continues the motifs of the previous one: the deceased is again identified as a son of Nut, who protects him and makes him divine.

9.2. *The western side (feet)*

The texts of the western inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus, i.e., the area at the feet of the deceased, continue the offering ritual. As seen above, most of the text is written in tabular forms. The items offered are different kinds of weapons, eye paints and oils or unguents. The last three spells of that section do not belong to the offering ritual but are part of the *s3h.w* liturgy A1, see below. The first spell, PT 219, is written in a tabular form, the last two are not and content excerpts from PT 220 and 222. All these spells are significantly shortened because they are written close to the bottom of the sarcophagus, where is not enough space. However, these spells are shortened quite often because they are very long, and significant parts of them are repeated.

The sequence of the texts of the western side is: PT 71D 2a – PT 71D 3a – PT 106 – PT 107 – Eyes of Horus spell – PT 71D 5a – PT 79 – 80 – PT 72 variant(?) – PT 72 variant(?) – PT 73 variant(?) – PT 74 – PT 75 – PT 76 – PT 78 variant – PT 78 variant – The offering of *jbr* oil spell – The offering of *b3q* oil spell – PT 219 – PT 220 excerpt – PT 222 excerpt.

9.2.1. The offering of weapons, columns 1–7

The following table deals with the offering of seven kinds of bows, arrows and cords (pair of *jwn.t* bows, the *rwd* cord, the bundle of arrows, *dns.w* “weights”(?), *mt3.yt*, “forked staff”(?), the *mnw*-mace and pair of *pd.tj* bows).³⁸¹ It contains the versions of the Pyramid texts spell 57. The basic version of the spell is preserved in several pyramids (W, T, P, N, Nt), but in all cases, the text is significantly damaged, and it contains only the formula of offering the eye of Horus. The version with the extended spell, containing offerings of different weapons and items, is preserved in the pyramid of Neith (see Faulkner 1969: 11–13). This part of the offering ritual also appears in the Late Period versions of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 212–216), Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 241) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 80–81).

³⁸¹ For the different kind of weapons used in the offering ritual see also Jéquier 1921: 192ff.

PT 71D 2a = PT 57A



(1) *jwn.tj*

The *jwn.tj* bows.

dd-mdw wjsr jw=f -³ jn.n(=j) n=k jr.tj hr.w
m jwn.tj m <bw> hp rn=sn jm³⁸²

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa! I bring to you the two eyes of Horus – two *jwn.tj*-bows– from the place where their name was hidden.

The spell is associated with the *jwn.tj*-bows, which are brought to the deceased, like in Nt, Menekhibnekau’s object frieze (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 213), Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 241) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 80–81).

PT 71D 3a/ PT 57C variant(?)



(2) *rwḏ*

The *rwḏ* cord:

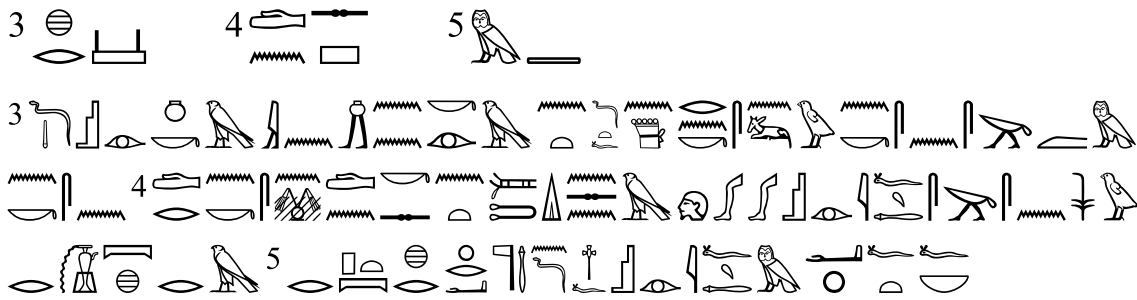
dwn wsjr jw=f -³ hnm=sn jm=k r jqr hr=k

stretch (them) out, Osiris Iufaa, they are joined with you more than with the one who is excellent before you.

This short, unidentified text also appears in the offering ritual of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 213) and Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 241), associated, like in Iufaa, with the *rwḏ*-cord (a single appears in the variant of Iufaa and Pediniese, a pair of them are represented in Menekhibnekau). Nt associates the *rwḏ*-cord with PT 71D 3a, which contains the phrase *dwn=f sn r t3* (Allen 2013, II: PT 71D), and, Iufaa’s, Menekhibnekau’s and Pediniese’s versions may be a variant of this text.

³⁸² The other versions of the text all have *m bw hr=sn jm* (Old Kingdom version Nt, Allen 2013 II: PT 71D) or *m bw hr=sn* (Late Period versions, see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 213), “from the place on which they have fallen”. The verb used in the version of Iufaa seems to be misunderstood, meant might possibly be *hpr.n=sn jm*, “from the place where they came into being”(?).

PT 106



(3) *hrš*

Bundle of arrows.

(4) *dnz.w*

Weights(?).

(5) *mt3(y.t)*

Forked-staff(?).

(3) *dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-³ jnk hr.w jj.n(=j)*
jn.n(=j) n=k jr.(tj)³⁸³ hr.w n.t d.t=f³⁸⁴

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, I am Horus! I have come so that I may bring to you the eyes of Horus of his body.

ndr n=k sn jwn <n>=k sn sšm {m}(=j) n=k
sn⁽⁴⁾dr(=j) n=k sn dmd(=j) n=k sn tm.tj³⁸⁵

Seize them, join them to yourself, for I have led them for you, I removed them for you, I have assembled them for you in their entirety.

dj.n sn hrw tp-rd.wj³⁸⁶ wsjr jw=f-³
sšm=sn sw r qbḥ r hr.w³⁸⁸ (5)r p.t hr r^cntr ³

Horus has placed them before Osiris Iufaa so that they might lead him to the watery region, to Horus, to heaven before Ra, the great god,

³⁸³ Emended after N and in congruence with the plural pronouns in the following text.

³⁸⁴ The version of N only differs in small details: *jw.n(=j) jn.n(=j) n=k jr.tj hr.w n.t d.t=f*.

³⁸⁵ The version N runs as follows: *ndr sn jwn n=k sn j^cb.n(=j) n=k sn dmd.n(=j) n=k sn tm.t(w)*, Menekhibnekau has *ndr n=k jwn <n>=k sn skm(=j) n=k sn dr(=j) n=k sn tm.t(w)*: “Seize them, join them to yourself, for I made them whole for you, I removed them for you in their entirety” (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 214).

³⁸⁶ Faulkner translates this part as “on the king’s (N) feet”, but *tp-rd.wj* can mean simple “before”(see Wb V: 290).

³⁸⁷ PT 106 (69a-70b). The beginning is missing in both Iufaa’s and Menekhibnekau’s variants, N has *dd mdw h3 N pw jnk z3=k jnk hr.w...*, “To be recited: O this N, I am your son, I am Horus...”.

³⁸⁸ The Old Kingdom Pyramid Text versions are corrupted. Menekhibnekau has *sšm=sn r qbḥ.w hr.w*, “so that they would lead him to the watery region of Horus” (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 214).

The eyes of Horus spell



Mnw

The *mnw*-mace.

⁽⁶⁾*dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-ʿ3 jn.n(=j) n=k³⁹⁴ jr.tj*
hr.w hr=k m3=k jm=sn

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, I have brought to you the eyes of Horus so that you might see with them.

wp n=k jr.tj=k m3=k jm=s<n>

May you open your eyes so that you might see with them!

This text, associated with the *mn(w)*-mace, does not correspond to any preserved Pyramid Texts spell, but it appears in contemporary tombs of Menekhibnekau and Pediniese. In Menekhibnekau, the text is connected with the same item as in the case of Iufaa but belongs to the previous table (“box six” of his offering frieze, see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 209, 211). In Pediniese, the *mn*-mace is associated with the final text of the offering ritual, PT 69b+72e (Carrier 2010: 3528–3529), which begins with *jn.n=j n=k jr.tj hrw*, but continues differently.

PT 71D 5a = PT 57 F/G (?)



pd.tj

The *pd.tj* bows.

dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-ʿ3 jn.n(=j) n=k pd hr-jb n
stš dj.n(=j) n=k sn

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, I have brought to you that which is stretched within Seth, I have given it to you.

³⁹⁴ Menekhibnekau writes *jn.t(w) {n} jr.tj hr.w*: “the eyes of Horus were brought to you” (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 211).

ᶜb n=k sn ndr=k sn

Join them to yourself, take hold of them!

ᶜh3.w hrš

Weapons: the bundle of arrows.

This spell concludes Iufaa’s table of the offered weapons and is associated with the *pd.tj* bows. At the end of the spell, a short label is written: ᶜh3.w hrš, “weapons: the bundle of arrows”, which seems to be added to bows in the title. In the tombs of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 213–214) and Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 241), these items are associated with PT spell 106, together with several other weapons, see above. The Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts spell 71D is attested in the versions of P, N and Nt, but all are very poorly preserved, and only some individual words are visible (Allen 2013, II: PT 71D). In the tomb of Menekhibnekau, the part dealing with the offering of weapons ends the ritual at the end of the western wall. On the contrary, the offering ritual of Iufaa continues with the offering of eye paints, unguents and oils; see below.

9.2.2. The offering of eye paints, columns 8–9

The following two texts, PT 79 and PT 80 continue the offering ritual from the previous part; in that case the eye-paintings are offered.³⁹⁵ The first spell is connected with the green eye paint *w3d* and the second one with black paint *sdm*; the offering of black and green paint occurs from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. Sometimes one can be connected with the right eye and the second with the left eye (see Wilson 1997: 468). The offering of eye paints and spells associated with them also appear in the Late Period tombs of Psamtik (Maspero 1900: 180), Pediniese (Maspero 1900b: 237, 251–253), Padineith (Maspero 1901: 105, 110) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 79, 81).

³⁹⁵ For the different kind of eye paintings used in the offering ritual see also Jéquier 1921: 153–155.

PT 79–80



(8) *w3d ʕrf 1*

Green eye paint: one sack.³⁹⁶

dd-mdw hr.w jm.j wsjr jw=f-ʕ3 mj n=k jr(.t)
hr.w wd3.t

To be recited: Horus, who is in Osiris Iufaa, take the hale/the healing eye of Horus!

dmj n=k s(j) r hr=k jr(.t) hr.w wd3.t wd3.tw
m3=k jm=s

Attach it to your face, the hale *wedjat* eye of Horus, to your face so that you may see with it!

(9) *smd ʕrf 1*

Black eye paint: one sack.

dd-mdw hr.w jm.j wsjr jw=f-ʕ3 pn mj n=k
jr.t hr.w wd3.t

To be recited: Horus, who is in this Osiris Iufaa, take the hale/healing eye of Horus!

dmj³⁹⁷ n=k s(j) r hr=k³⁹⁸

Attach it to your face!

These two spells appear together as a single unit from the Pyramid Texts: both are preserved in versions W, T, N and Nt (Allen 2013, II: PT 79–80) and associated with the *w3d* and *smd* eye paints. Both of the spells also appear in the Late Period: it is among the offering ritual of Psamtik, on the northern wall (Maspero 1900b: 171, 180); and Hekaemsaf, on the eastern wall (Maspero 1904: 82). Each of the spells differs slightly in orthography and sequence of individual sentences, but the content is the same. In the tomb of Padineith, both eye paints are

³⁹⁶ In some offering lists, the eye paintings are kept in sacks (*ʕrf*), not jars (see occurrences of *ʕrf* in TLA, lemma no. 39490). The sign depicted here in the tomb of Iufaa could be read as *ʕrf*. Another option is to take the sign as determinative and read just *w3d 1*. However, the item, such as eye painting, is supposed to be held in some kind of container.

³⁹⁷ In the Pyramid Texts spells, the used verb is always *sdm(j)*, which can be interpreted as “to attach”, but it can also mean “to paint (eyes)” (Wb IV: 370).

³⁹⁸ The Old Kingdom variants of the spells associated with the eye paints read: *dd mdw hrw jm.j wsjr N/pn mj n=k jr.t hr.w wd3.t sdmj n=k s(j) jr hr=k sdm.n hrw jr.t=f wd3.t h3 wsjr pw dmj n=k jr.t=k (r hr=k) wd3.t m3=k jm=s* (or similar, with only slight differences, see Allen 2013, II: PT 79–80). The spell of Psamtik, associated with eye paints, write just *psmtk sdmj n=k jr.t hr.w wd3.(t)w r hr=k* (Maspero 1900: 180), Pediniese has *sdmj.n(=j) n=k jr.t hr.(w) wd3.t* (Maspero 1900b: 253), Hekaemsaf has a longer variant: *dd-mdw h3 wsjr* [titles and name of the deceased] *pn mj n=k jr.t hr.w wd3.t wdʕ.tw dj=k s(j) r hr=k jr.t hr.w wd3.t dmj=s tw h3 wsjr N dmj n=k jr.t=k m3=k jm=s hr.w jm.j wsjr N wd3 sdmj r hr=k dd-mdw jm.j wsjr N wd3=s dmj=s r hr=k* (Maspero 1904: 82).

associated with Pyramid Texts spell 77 (Maspero 1901: 110). The offering of eye paint does not occur in the tomb of Menekhibnekau.

Both eye paints can symbolise protection and the power of the deceased: *w3d* paint was connected, among others, with Punt and foreign lands; when it is offered to the gods, the king/the deceased often gets in return the rule over the foreign lands and its products, but it is also connected with the protection of the eyes and making things whole (see Wilson 1997: 205). The protective function of black paint is also apparent; the black eye paint was often used to protect eyes from diseases and insects (Wilson 1997: 468).

9.2.3. The offering of ointments, columns 10–19

The following table contents of several spells where the different ointments are offered.³⁹⁹ The offering of sacred oils appears already in early Egyptian history (see Koura 1999: 10ff.).

The spells, associated with seven sacred oils, make a sequence and belong together already from the Pyramid Texts – they are preserved in versions W, T, N, Nt and Wd (Allen 2013, II: PT 72–78). The offering of seven sacred oils, together with other substances identified with the eye of Horus, also appears in the Coffin Texts spell 934 (CT VII, 134a–j). Similarly, as in the Pyramid Texts, it is a part of the offering ritual: in the next part the ritual continues with the offering of linen and other forms of the eye of Horus. A similar text also appears in spell 936 (CT VII 138a–144e), preserved in version GIT, where the final part of the spell contains a table where the offered items are mentioned. The offering of oils and unguents is also an essential part of the Opening of the mouth ritual. Interestingly, the sequence of the oils offered here in the tomb of Iufaa, where some items are added to the usual sequence of seven sacred oils, corresponds with the sequence occurring in the 55th scene of the Opening of the mouth, although the texts differ (see Otto 1960, I: 132–136). The first mentioned offered unguent is *md.t*, then follows the seven sacred oils: *st-hb*, *hknw*, *sft*, *nḥnm*, *tw3*, *h^ct.t-š* and *h3t.t-thnw*, and the sequence continues with the offering of another two unguents: *jbr* and *b3q*.

The offering of seven sacred oils appears in a tabular form already in the Old Kingdom offering ritual of the Pyramid Texts spells (see Allen 2013, II: PT 72, 73). In the Late Period tombs of Pedineith (northern wall), the table with seven sacred oils and accompanying spells occur (Maspero 1901: 109), as well as in the tomb of Ciannehebu (Maspero 1900c: 279). In the

³⁹⁹ For the different kind of ointments and unguents used in the offering ritual see also Jéquier 1921: 18ff.

tombs of Psamtik (northern wall) and Hekaemsaf (western wall), the spells accompanying the offerings of oils and unguents also appear, but not all of Iufaa's offering ritual: in Psamtik, nine items occur: *st*, *sntr*, then seven sacred oils appear (*st*, *hkn.w*, *sft*, *nḥnm*, *tw3*, *h^c.tj-š*, *h^c.tj-ḥnw*, see Maspero 1900b: 180), in Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 79) the table begins with the offering of incense (*sntr*), natron (*hzm*) and *mnd*, then again seven sacred oils follow, in the same sequence as in Psamtik. The offering of oils also appears in a table of the offered items on the southern wall of the burial chamber of Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 81), where the sequence starts with *zt* and *sntr*, the seven sacred oils follow, and the offering ritual continues with the offering of eye paints (Maspero 1904: 81). The eye paintings continue the sequence also in Psamtik (Maspero 1900b: 180), contrary to Iufaa, where the eye paints are mentioned in the previous section. The offering of oils is not attested in the tomb of Menekhibnekau.

19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10

PT 72 variant(?)

11 

wrḥ m st-ḥb



Anointing with *st-ḥb*-oil.

dd-mdw h3 wsjr iw=f^{c3} mj n=k jr(.t)

To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa, take the eye of

ḥr.w st⁴⁰⁰

Horus: *st-ḥb* oil!

This spell seems to be a variant of Pyramid Texts spell 72, associated with offering of *st*-oil (Allen 2013, II: PT 79; the spell is preserved in versions W, T, N, Nt, Wd). The other Late Period variants more or less copy the Old Kingdom version, but the variant of Iufaa differs. The sign  (*mḥ*) seems to be replaced by  (*mj*) and the text was probably divided into two spells, belonging to two items, *md.t* and *st-ḥb* oil. The *st-ḥb* is considered the first of the seven sacred oils (Koura 1999: 155–157).

PT 73 variant (?)

12 

(12) *wrḥ m ḥknw*

Anointing with *hekenu*-oil.

dd-mdw h3 wsjr iw=f^{c3}

To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa!

mḥ.n(=j) n=k jr(.t) ḥr.w md.t mj n=k

I have anointed for you the eye of Horus, i.e.

s(j) ḥkn s(j) m ḥr=k⁴⁰¹

medjet-oil – take it, spread it on your face!

This text could be a variant of Pyramid Text spells 73, which is attested in W, T, N, Nt, and Wd versions and is always associated with the offering of *ḥkn.w* oil. However, the text of the original spell differs. Similarly, as in the previous case, the other preserved variants differ only slightly from the Old Kingdom versions.

⁴⁰⁰ The Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts reads: *dd-mdw zp 4 wsjr N mḥ.n(=j) n=k jr.t=k md.t*. The name of *st* oil follows. The variant of Psamtik writes *mḥ n=k jr.t=k m md.t* (Maspero 1900b: 180), Padineith and Hekaemsaf have *mḥ.n(=j) n=k jr.t=k m md.t* (Maspero 1901: 109, 1904: 79), Pediniese repeats the spell twice, once with *jr.tj* in dual and once with *jr.t* (Maspero 1900a: 252).

⁴⁰¹ The Pyramid Texts spell associated with *hekenu* oil reads: *mj n=k ḥnq m ḥr=f*. The Late Period version of Psamtik has *mj n=k jr.t ḥr.w ḥnq jm ḥr=k* (Maspero 1900: 180), Hekaemsaf *mj n=k ḥnq jm ḥr=k* (Maspero 1904: 79), Padineith *mj n=k ḥnq m ḥr=k* (Maspero 1901: 109). The variant of Pediniese repeats PT 72 and continues with *mj n=k ḥnḳ m ḥr=k* (Maspero 1900b: 252).

*mj n=k jr(.t) hr.w hnm.n=f*⁴⁰³ *m md.t* Take the Eye of Horus, which he put together/joined (to face) by (*md.t*-)oil.

The Pyramid Texts spell 75 (preserved in W and N, fragmentarily also in Nt and T) is associated with the next of the seven sacred oils, *nhnm* (Koura 1999: 171–173). The spell is almost identical in all Late Period variants.

PT 76

15 

(15) *wrḥ m tw3* Anointing with *tw3*-oil.

dd-mdw h3 wsjr iw=f-ʕ3 To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa,

mj n=k jr(.t) hr.w jn.n=f tw3.n=f ntr.w take the eye of Horus, which he brought and by
jm=s which he raised the gods.⁴⁰⁴

The spell 76 of the Pyramid Texts is associated with *tw3* oil both in Old Kingdom and Late Period versions. The *tw3* oil is again one of the seven sacred oils (Koura 1999: 181–183).

PT 78 variant

16 

(16) *wrḥ m ḥ3t(.jt)-ʕ3* Anointing with the finest ʕ3 oil.

dd-mdw h3 wsjr iw=f-ʕ3 To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa,

mj n=k jr(.t) hr.w jt n=k r hr=k Take the eye of Horus, affix it to your face!

⁴⁰³ All Old Kingdom variants write *hnm.t.n=f* (Allen 2013, II: PT 75). From the Late Period variants, Psamtik (Maspero 1900b: 180) and Padineth (Maspero 1901: 109) write the same variant as OK, Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 252) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 79) have *hnm.n=f* as Iufaa.

⁴⁰⁴ W version writes only *jn.t.n=f ntr.w jm=s*, Nt *jn.tn=f tw3.t.n=f ntr.w jm=s*, the other two versions are damaged (Allen 2013, II: PT 76). Psamtik writes *jn.n=k* instead *jn.n=f* (Maspero 1900b: 180), Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 252) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 79) have the same text as Iufaa, Padineth *jn.n=f tw3.t.n= {n}<f>* (Maspero 1901: 109).

This spell is associated with the next of the seven sacred oils, *ḥ3t.jt-ꜥš* or *ḥ3t.jt n.t ꜥš* (Koura 1999: 40n.). In the Old Kingdom spell (Allen 2013, II: PT 77), as well as in the Late Period variants of Pediniese (Maspero 1900a: 252), Psamtik (Maspero 1900b: 180) and Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 79), this and the subsequent oil (*ḥšt.t-ḥn.w*) are associated with PT 77; in Padineith the spell(s) connected with last two oils were omitted (Maspero 1901: 109). The variant of Iufaa thus differs. It seems that PT 77 was omitted entirely here, and an excerpt from PT 78, associated originally only with *ḥšt.t-ḥn.w*, was used as a spell associated with both oils.⁴⁰⁵

The word ꜥš could be used generally for any fir tree (Wilson 1997: 180); thus, the identification is uncertain (for suggestions, see Germer 2008: 49).

PT 78 variant

17 

(17) *wrḥ m ḥ3t(jt)-ḥnw*

Anointing with the finest oil of *ḥnw*.

dd-mdw h3 wsjr iw=f-ꜥ3

To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa,

mj n=k jr(.t) ḥrw jt n=k r ḥr=k

take the eye of Horus, put it on your face!

This text is a variant/a part of PT 78, repeated for the second time (see above) and associated with *ḥ3t(jt)-ḥn.w* oil. This text does not appear in any contemporary tomb, where this item is associated with the previous spell together with *ḥ3.t(jt)-ꜥš*. The oil is again attested among seven sacred oils (Koura 1999: 193–195). It is often translated as “the finest Libyan oil”, but the identification of *ḥnw*, in that case, is uncertain (Koura 1999: 195).

The offering of *jbr* spell

18 

(18) *wrḥ m jbr*

Anointing with *iber*-oil.

dd-mdw h3 wsjr iw=f-ꜥ3

To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa,

⁴⁰⁵ The Old Kingdom variant of PT 78 is preserved in W, N, Nt, only fragments are attested in T (Allen 2013, II: PT 78). The whole spell reads *jn.n(=j) n=k jr.t ḥr.w jt.t.n=f r ḥ3.t=f*.

mj n=k jr(.t) hr.w d.t=k d.t=f

take the Eye of Horus, (because) your body is his body.

The last two spells of this table continue the previous offerings of unguents, but it does not occur in the Pyramid Texts or any contemporary tomb. They might be taken from a different textual tradition and added because of the importance of the presented items – both of them are part of the presenting of oils in the Opening of the mouth (Otto 1960, I: 132–136). Throughout Egyptian history, the *jbr* unguent has been used in temple rituals and the funerary sphere (Koura 1999: 204–206). It is often identified as ladanum (after Ebbell 1929: 48–49, see also WbDrog: 23–24), but this identification seems to be uncertain (see Germer 2008: 24). Probably because of its strong smell, it was often used for repelling demons and evil generally, also from the deceased (Germer 2008: 24, Wilson 1997: 60), which gives one possible reason for adding it among the offering list of oils and unguents in the tomb.

The offering of *b3q* spell

19 

⁽¹⁹⁾ *wrḥ m b3q*

Anointing with *b3q* oil.

dd-mdw h3 wsjr iw=f-ʕ3

To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa,

mj n=k jr(.t) hr.w sjp s(j) b3q.t(j)

take the eye of Horus, assign it to you, the bright one!

Similarly, as in the previous case, this spell is not part of the original offering ritual of the Pyramid Texts and does not also occur in the Late Period. Again, it is part of the sequence of the 55th scene of Opening of the mouth. Different variants of *b3q* oil are widely used in medicine (Germer 2008: 56–58). The word *b3q* is used for oil made from seeds. Usually it is identified as a moringa tree (WbDrog: 151; see also Germer 2008: 56) or an olive tree (Quack 2016: 275–290; for discussion, see also Koura 1999: 221–225).

9.2.4. PT 219, below, columns 1–12

The next spell, which is written again in a tabular form and covers columns 1–12 on the lower right side of the western side of the sarcophagus, does not continue the offering ritual but starts a new section containing the sequence of the Pyramid Texts spells 219, 220 and 220. These spells are part of the so-called *s3h.w* liturgy A1 (Assmann 2002: 19), which consists of PT spells 213–222. The rest of the spells from that sequence, PT 213–218, appear on the bottom of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus (see chapter 10).

The group of Pyramid Texts spells 213–222 is a common and well-known text sequence established already in the Old Kingdom and continued throughout the later periods of Egyptian history.⁴⁰⁶ In the case of the Old Kingdom pyramids, the text is fixed, and it is always followed by the sequence of PT spells 245–246, except for the case of Unas. The exact sequence also occurs in the pyramid of queen Neith and in non-royal tombs, where it is preserved 32 times,⁴⁰⁷ but not always in precisely the same form. H. Altenmüller (1972: 46–7) and J. Assmann (1986, 1990: 14; 2005: 249, 280–285) have identified this sequence as Liturgy A, among others, a set of glorification texts performed by living priests for the deceased and connected with the night rituals of vindication and embalming of Osiris. Some scholars label the sequence differently – according to Osing (1986: 138), the sequence PT 213–222, possibly together with PT 245–246, forms Group C; according to Allen (1994: 13–16), Sequence E (213–22; 245–6); Hays describes the sequence as part of group B (Hays 2012: 92), Subsequence 77 (Hays 2012: 475). Whatever designation it is given, Liturgy A is the oldest attested mortuary liturgy in ancient Egypt (Assmann 1990: 14). Interestingly, in the pyramid of Unas, it is inscribed on the southern wall of the sarcophagus chamber, opposite the offering ritual on its northern wall (Assmann 1990: 14), its connection with that ritual is thus apparent and in a certain way also followed in the Late Period.

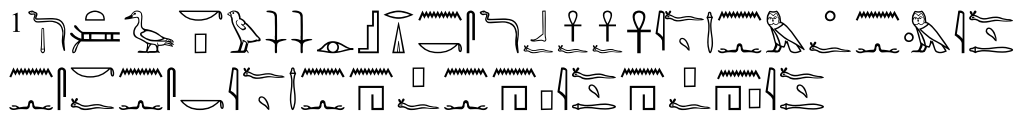
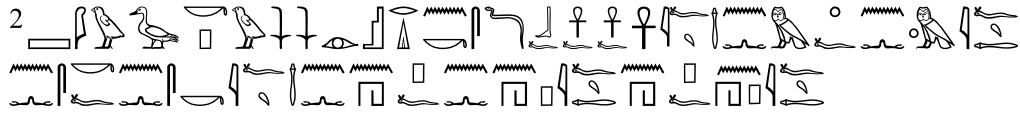









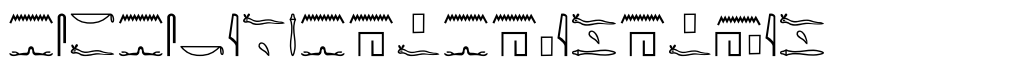
PT 219 represents a lengthy litany in which the deceased shares his fate with that of Osiris. In the Middle Kingdom attestations of Glorification liturgy A, this spell is usually absent or present only partially due to its length and repetitive nature (Bène – Guilhou 2004: 65). In

⁴⁰⁶ For a summary treatment of the extant Middle Kingdom examples, see Bène – Guilhou 2004: 57–83. The Late Period parallels include Padiamenope (TT 33, Dümichen 1885, II: pls. 16–20), wooden sarcophagus Cairo CG 41002 (interior walls of the chest, Moret 1912: 56–61), and out of sequence, Padiniere (Allen 1950: 69). In Abusir, the sequence has been preserved in the shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau (eastern wall of the burial chamber, Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 220ff.) and the beginning of the sequence (PT 213–214) in the shaft tomb of Udjahorresnet (Bareš 1999: 52–53).

⁴⁰⁷ Hays 2012: 98, see Listing Two and Three under Sequence 8, 37–45, + 125; subsequences 75–90, 92-4 + 104.

the tomb of Iufaa, and also Menekhibnekau (see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 235–246), the entire spell occurs, but formatted into a table to save a considerable amount of space, as the repetitive passages have to be written only once. In the case of Iufaa, there was obviously a lack of space close to the bottom of the sarcophagus. Thus some phrases are omitted or shortened, and the repetitive part is written only once, although it should be read in the first and also in the second part of the spell. The text is presented in a tabular form and then in plain hieroglyphic text. Since the signs and sentences are divided unevenly through the table, only the beginnings of columns are marked in the transcription, both in the first and second part, for better orientation in the text.

12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

- 1 
- 2 
- 3 
- 4 
- 5 
- 6 
- 7 
- 8 
- 9 
- 10 
- 11 
- 12 



(1) *dd-mdw (j)tm(.w) z3=k⁽¹⁻¹⁰⁾ pw nn wsjr*
rdj.n=(1-2)k sdb=f⁽³⁾nh=f

To be recited: Atum, this is your son, Osiris,
 whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and
 to live.

<p>(4) $\epsilon nh=f$ (5-12) $\epsilon nh jw=f-\epsilon 3$ $nn mwt=f nn mwt$ $jw=f-\epsilon 3$</p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) $nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-\epsilon 3$ $nn nhp=f nn nhp$ $jw=f-\epsilon 3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-\epsilon 3$</p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.⁴⁰⁸</p>
<p>(2) $\check{s}w z3=k$ (1-10) $pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k$ (1-2) $sdb=f(3) \epsilon nh=f$</p>	<p>Shu,⁴⁰⁹ this is your son, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.</p>
<p>(4) $\epsilon nh=f$ (5-12) $\epsilon nh jw=f-\epsilon 3$ $nn mwt=f nn mwt$ $jw=f-\epsilon 3$</p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) $nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-\epsilon 3$ $nn nhp=f nn nhp$ $jw=f-\epsilon 3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-\epsilon 3$</p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.</p>
<p>(3) $tfnw.t z3=t$ (1-10) $pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k$ (1-2) $sdb=f(3) \epsilon nh=f$</p>	<p>Tefnut, this is your son, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.</p>
<p>(4) $\epsilon nh=f$ (5-12) $\epsilon nh jw=f-\epsilon 3$ $nn mwt=f nn mwt$ $jw=f-\epsilon 3$</p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) $nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-\epsilon 3$ $nn nhp=f nn nhp$ $jw=f-\epsilon 3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-\epsilon 3$</p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.</p>
<p>(4) $gb z3=<k>$ (1-10) $pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k$ (1-2) $sdb=f(3) \epsilon nh=f$</p>	<p>Geb, this is <your> son, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.</p>
<p>(4) $\epsilon nh=f$ (5-12) $\epsilon nh jw=f-\epsilon 3$ $nn mwt=f nn mwt$ $jw=f-\epsilon 3$</p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>

⁴⁰⁸ With two meanings of *nhp*, Wb II: 283.9–284.2 and Wb II: 283.8.

⁴⁰⁹ Padiamenope omits Shu and has Tefnut twice (Dümichen 1882, II: pl. 18), probably due to haplography in the highly repetitive text.

<p>(1-12) <i>nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-^{c3} nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-^{c3} nhp=f nhp jw=f-^{c3}</i></p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.</p>
<p>(5) <i>nw.t z3=t (1-10)pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k (1-2) sdb=f(3) ^cnh=f</i></p>	<p>Nut, this is your son, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.</p>
<p>(4) <i>^cnh=f(5-12) ^cnh jw=f-^{c3} nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-^{c3}</i></p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) <i>nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-^{c3} nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-^{c3} nhp=f nhp jw=f-^{c3}</i></p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.</p>
<p>(6) <i>3s.t sn=t (1-10)pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k (1-2) sdb=f(3) ^cnh=f</i></p>	<p>Isis, this is your brother, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.</p>
<p>(4) <i>^cnh=f(5-12) ^cnh jw=f-^{c3} nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-^{c3}</i></p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) <i>nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-^{c3} nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-^{c3} nhp=f nhp jw=f-^{c3}</i></p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.</p>
<p>(7) <i>dhw.tj sn=k (1-10)pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k (1-2) sdb=f(3) ^cnh=f</i></p>	<p>Thoth,⁴¹⁰ this is your brother, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.</p>
<p>(4) <i>^cnh=f(5-12) ^cnh jw=f-^{c3} nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-^{c3}</i></p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) <i>nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-^{c3} nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-^{c3} nhp=f nhp jw=f-^{c3}</i></p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not</p>

⁴¹⁰ Thoth appears twice at the table; the first time, he stands for Old Kingdom Seth. TT 33 and CG 41002 have Seth, too; Menekhibnekau writes Thoth twice as Iufaa.

(8)nb.t-ḥw.t sn=t̄ (1-10)pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k

(1-2) sdb=f(3)ḥnh=f

(4)ḥnh=f(5-12) ḥnh jw=f-ḥ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt
jw=f-ḥ3

(1-12) nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ḥ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp
jw=f-ḥ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ḥ3

(9)ḏhw.tj sn=k (1-10)pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k

(1-2) sdb=f(3)ḥnh=f

(4)ḥnh=f(5-12) ḥnh jw=f-ḥ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt
jw=f-ḥ3

(1-12) nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ḥ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp
jw=f-ḥ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ḥ3

(10)ḥrw (1-10)jt.j=k pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k

(1-2) sdb=f(3)ḥnh=f

(4)ḥnh=f(5-12) ḥnh jw=f-ḥ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt
jw=f-ḥ3

(1-12) nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ḥ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp
jw=f-ḥ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ḥ3

be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

Nephthys, this is your brother, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away and Iufaa will get away.

Thoth, this is your brother, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.⁴¹¹

Horus, this is your father, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

⁴¹¹ The text of CG 41002 ends here (Moret 1912: 61).

(11)*psd.t* ʕ3.t (11-12)*wsjr pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k*

Great Ennead, this is Osiris, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.

(1-2) *sdb=f*(3)*ʕnh=f*

(4)*ʕnh=f*(5-12) *ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-ʕ3*

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

(1-12) *nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ʕ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-ʕ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ʕ3*

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

(11)*psd.t* ʕ *nds.t* (11-12)*wsjr pw nn wsjr rdj.n=k*

Small Ennead, this is Osiris, Osiris, whom you have caused to be rejuvenated and to live.

(1-2) *sdb=f*(3)*ʕnh=f*

(4)*ʕnh=f*(5-12) *ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-ʕ3*

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

(1-12) *nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ʕ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-ʕ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ʕ3*

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

(1)*nw.t z3=t pw nn [wsjr]*

Nut, this is your son [Osiris.]⁴¹²

(4)*ʕnh=f*(5-12) *ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-ʕ3*

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

(1-12) *nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ʕ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-ʕ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ʕ3*

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away

⁴¹² According to the parallel versions, the text should continue: *dd.n=t r=f ms.n=j jtn=t sk=t n=f r3=f wp r=f jn z3=f hr.w mr=f tn ʕ.w=f jn ntr.w* “(This is your son Osiris), about whom you have said: ‘Someone has been born to me’, so you said. You have wiped his mouth for him, after his mouth had been opened by his beloved son Horus, and his limbs had been distinguished by the gods.” Since the text is written at the end of the western wall of the sarcophagus and close to the bottom, there was not enough space for this part. In the next section, the “chorus” part (*ʕnh=f ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3* etc.) shall be repeated again, but there was no space for writing it twice as well: it is supposed to be reread again from the middle part of the table.

$m rn=k n jm.j^{(2)}jwnw n\ddot{d}[dd=f m \ddot{d}.t=f]^{413}$	in your ⁴¹⁴ name <i>One who is in Heliopolis</i> , who end[ures in his coffin].
$(4)\epsilon nh=f^{(5-12)} \epsilon nh jw=f-\epsilon^3 nn mwt=f nn mwt$ $jw=f-\epsilon^3$	He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,
$(1-12) nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-\epsilon^3 nn nhp=f nn nhp$ $jw=f-\epsilon^3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-\epsilon^3$	he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away
$m rn=k n jm.j^{(3)}\epsilon nd.t$	in your name of <i>One who is in Andjet- nome</i> . ⁴¹⁵
$(4)\epsilon nh=f^{(5-12)} \epsilon nh jw=f-\epsilon^3 nn mwt=f nn mwt$ $jw=f-\epsilon^3$	He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,
$(1-12) nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-\epsilon^3 nn nhp=f nn nhp$ $jw=f-\epsilon^3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-\epsilon^3$	he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away
$m rn=k n jm.j^{(4)}hw.t-srq k3-h\dot{t}p$	in your name of <i>One who is in the temple of Selket, the Satisfied</i> ka.
$(4)\epsilon nh=f^{(5-12)} \epsilon nh jw=f-\epsilon^3 nn mwt=f nn mwt$ $jw=f-\epsilon^3$	He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,
$(1-12) nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-\epsilon^3 nn nhp=f nn nhp$ $jw=f-\epsilon^3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-\epsilon^3$	he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away

⁴¹³ Emended according to the parallels, the signs at the end of the column are damaged.

⁴¹⁴ All versions write “in your name”, but finding a reference for the 2nd person pronoun is impossible here. Either the text really changes from speaking about the deceased and introducing him to the individual gods to addressing him directly, or a mistake has appeared in a very early version of the text and has been recopied ever since.

⁴¹⁵ In the parallel versions, the text adds epithet $hr(.j)-tp sp^3.wt=f$, “chief of his nomes”. Andjet nome is the 9th nome of Lower Egypt, with the capital Busiris.

m rn=k n jm.j ⁽⁵⁾*sh ntr jm.j k3p*

in your name of *One who is in the divine booth*, who is in censuring.⁴¹⁶

(4)*nh=f* ⁽⁵⁻¹²⁾ *nh jw=f-3 nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-3*

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

(1-12) *nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-3 nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-3*

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away

m rn=k n jm.j ⁽⁶⁾*hd p3 r*

on your name of *One who is in the Mansion of the Mace*, the risen one.⁴¹⁷

(4)*nh=f* ⁽⁵⁻¹²⁾ *nh jw=f-3 nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-3*

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

(1-12) *nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-3 nn nhp=f nn nhp jw=f-3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-3*

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away

m rn=k n jm.j ⁽⁷⁾*s3h tr=k r [p.t t3]*

in your name of One who is in Orion, your season being [toward the sky and toward the earth].⁴¹⁸

(4)*nh=f* ⁽⁵⁻¹²⁾ *nh jw=f-3 nn mwt=f nn mwt jw=f-3*

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

⁴¹⁶ The parallel versions continue: *jm.j k3p dbn.j tz.tj jnq.tj*: “one who is in the divine booth, who is in the chest, who is in the net” (see e. g. Allen 2013, II: PT 219 or Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 242 for the Late Period variant of Menekhibnekau).

⁴¹⁷ The Old Kingdom versions write *p3r* with M41 (a piece of wood) classifier. Apparently, the phrase was as confusing to the Late Period editors as it is to modern translators. The version of Iufaa is corrupted, but the classifier of a staircase in Menekhibnekau’s version makes it clear that the editor(s) understood the phrase as the definite article, *p3*, followed by the verb (*j*)*r*, “to rise, to ascend”. LGG I: 247 gives *jm.j hd-p3r* as an epithet that is attested only here. Faulkner (1969: 47) translates “castle of the mace of *p3r*-wood”; Allen (2005: 37) “One who is in the white palace of laurelwood”. The Old Kingdom writings make it clear that (*hw.t*)-*hd* is a mansion of sorts. The following *p3r / p3 r* is unclear, the classifier indicates wood or an object made of wood. In Padiamenope, *p3r* has a fish classifier (Dümichen 1892, II: pl. 20), which is probably erroneous for M 41.

⁴¹⁸ Or “at the sky” and “at the earth”; see also the translation of Allen 2005: 37. The sentence should be repeated (*tr=k r p.t tr=k r t3*), but, obviously, there is not enough space for this writing, but there is a place for two signs of *p.t* and *t3*.

<p>(1-12) <i>nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ꜥ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp</i> <i>jw=f-ꜥ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ꜥ3</i></p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away and Iufaa will get away</p>
<p><i>m rn=k n jm.j</i> (8) <i>hw.t-wr-jh.w ꜥ.wj=k h3</i> <i>[jh.t]</i>⁴¹⁹</p>	<p>in your name of <i>One who is in the Mansion</i> of <i>Great cattle</i>,⁴²⁰ your arms being around [offerings].</p>
<p>(4) <i>ꜥnh=f</i> (5-12) <i>ꜥnh jw=f-ꜥ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt</i> <i>jw=f-ꜥ3</i></p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) <i>nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ꜥ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp</i> <i>jw=f-ꜥ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ꜥ3</i></p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away</p>
<p><i>m rn=k n jm.j</i> (9) <i>dp ꜥ.wj=k h3 [jh.t]</i></p>	<p>in your name of <i>One who is in Buto</i>, your arms being around [offerings].⁴²¹</p>
<p>(4) <i>ꜥnh=f</i> (5-12) <i>ꜥnh jw=f-ꜥ3 nn mwt=f nn mwt</i> <i>jw=f-ꜥ3</i></p>	<p>He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,</p>
<p>(1-12) <i>nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ꜥ3 nn nhp=f nn nhp</i> <i>jw=f-ꜥ3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ꜥ3</i></p>	<p>he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away</p>

⁴¹⁹ The text shall continue: *ꜥ.wj=k h3 jh.t z3.t=k h33.tj jm=s* “your arms being around offerings, your daughter, being equipped with them”, after Menekhibnekau, or *htm tw jm=s*, “equip yourself with it”, after OK version.

⁴²⁰ Or *hw.t-wr-k3.w*, “Mansion of the Great of Bulls,” the reading is uncertain as the sign E1 is always used as a logogram, thus, *k3* or *jh*. The same building appears in the Coffin Texts (CT I: 143b), interpreted as *hw.t wr-jh.w* “Haus der Rinderreichen” in TLA (accessed 08/2021), but “Mansion of the Great Bulls” by R. O. Faulkner (Faulkner 2004: 26); once again the word is in all attestations written with the logogram. The CT spell has the same topic as the PT spell discussed here. LGG II: 428 gives *wr-jh.w* (with uncertain reading, but *jh* spelled out) as a form of Khnum in Edfu. The way the phrase is written in the PT, Iufaa and Menekhibnekau, it could also be interpreted as *hw.t-wr*, with the E1 as a classifier, “Mansion of the Great (Bull)”, *wr* being perhaps the same as *k3-wr* (LGG VII: 253–254).

⁴²¹ In the OK PT, this paragraph precedes the *hw.t-wr-jh.w/k3* paragraph. The other versions continue with the same sentence as in the previous phrase.

m rn=k n jm.j ⁽¹⁰⁾*wn.w rs.j mh.w* ^ε*wj[=k r*
jh.t]

in your name of *One who is in southern and northern Hermopolis*, your arms being around [offerings].⁴²²

⁽⁴⁾*εnh=f* ⁽⁵⁻¹²⁾ *εnh jw=f-ε3 nn mwt=f nn mwt*
jw=f-ε3

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

⁽¹⁻¹²⁾ *nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ε3 nn nhp=f nn nhp*
jw=f-ε3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ε3

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away and Iufaa will get away

m rn=k n jm.j ⁽¹¹⁾*njw.t š.w wnm.n[=k jr.t]*

in your name of *One who is in the city of lakes*, [you] have eaten [the eye].⁴²³

⁽⁴⁾*εnh=f* ⁽⁵⁻¹²⁾ *εnh jw=f-ε3 nn mwt=f nn mwt*
jw=f-ε3

He will live, and Iufaa will live, he will not die, and Iufaa will not die,

⁽¹⁻¹²⁾ *nn sk=f nn sk jw=f-ε3 nn nhp=f nn nhp*
jw=f-ε3 nhp=f nhp jw=f-ε3

he will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish, he will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down, he will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

⁽¹²⁾ *d.t=f d.t n jw=f-ε3*

His body is the body of Iufaa.⁴²⁴

Rather than a “litany of identification with Osiris” (Allen 2005: 34), this spell is a litany of the shared destinies of the god Osiris and the deceased, who are, however, held distinct throughout most of the text. Osiris is presented to the gods of the Heliopolitan Ennead, his family relation

⁴²² In the Old Kingdom PT, southern and northern Hermopolis have separate paragraphs (with otherwise identical text). In the version of Menekhibnekau, the sentence with the meal offering is omitted.

⁴²³ The text continues: *wnm.n=k jr.t jšn h.t=k hr=s jfh n=k s3=k hr.w εnh=k jm=s* - “you have eaten the eye, and your belly will be round with it, your son Horus will release it for you, so that you may live through it”.

⁴²⁴ The spell should continue with also naming flesh and bones of the deceased *jwf=k jwf=f qs.w=k qs.w=f zj=k zj N zj=k m3ε-hrw zj N m3ε-hrw* and then the closing part: “your flesh is his flesh, your bones are his bones, when you go, N goes, when you depart, being justified, N departs, being justified”. The end of the spell was omitted in Iufaa because of the lack of space.

to them is stressed, and it is proclaimed that Iufaa will share his fate. In the second part of the spell, Osiris is addressed by several different epithets, and his and Iufaa's fates are again equated. At the end of the text, parts of Iufaa's body are identified with those of Osiris, and it is proclaimed that if Osiris lives and prospers, the same will happen to Iufaa.

9.2.5. PT 220 and 222 excerpts, columns 13–19 down

The last two spells of the sequence, PT 220 and PT 222, continue the Liturgy A1 but do not appear in any other contemporary tomb where this sequence occurs.

PT 220 excerpt, columns 13–14 below



(13) *dd-mdw wn ʕ.wj 3h.t nhb.w q(3)r.t*

To be recited: The doors of the horizon are open, the door bolts are open!⁴²⁵

*nfr.wj jj.n=f hr (14)mdw=f dd(.t)=f n=t*⁴²⁶

How beautiful is that he had come and spoke, (how beautiful) is what he had said to you!

*nfr.wj hr=t n htp(.tj) m3.tj [rnp].tj mj rʕ m 3h.t*⁴²⁷

How beautiful is your face, you being satisfied, renewed and [rejuvenate]d like Ra on the horizon!

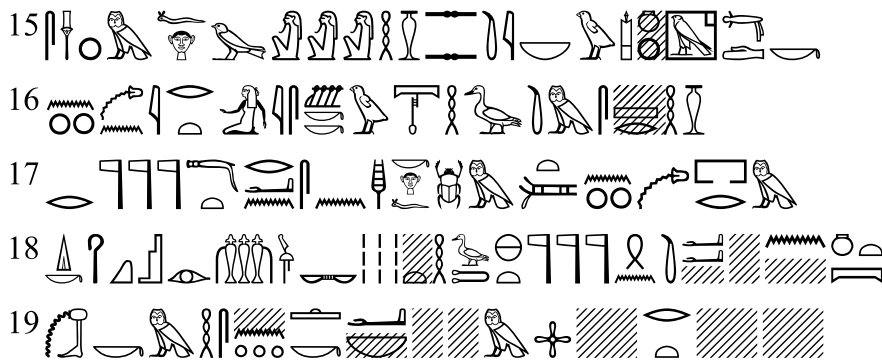
⁴²⁵ I. e. to the Fiery/Great goddess. The Pyramid Texts spell 220, § 194a (see Allen 2013, II: PT 220). The Old Kingdom variants write *q3n.(w)t=s* instead of *q3r.(w)t*, but it is supposed to be a variant of the same word, “door bolt” (see Wb V: 12).

⁴²⁶ The Pyramid Texts spell continues § (194b–195b): *jw.n=f hr=t n.t jw.n=f hr=t nzt.jw.n=f hr=t wr.t jw.n=f hr=t wr.t-hk3.w wʕb n=t snd n=t htp=t hr=f htp=t hr ʕb=f htp=t hr dd.t.n=f (j.dd=f) n=t* - “He has come to you, Net(-crown), he has come to you, Fiery one, he has come to you, Great one, he has come to you, Great of magic, being pure for you and being in awe of you. May you be content with him, may you be content because he is pure, may you be content because of what he had said, what he said to you”. A significant part of the spell was omitted because of the lack of space or/and by mistake of a copyist; some words were also changed to re-interpret the shortened text.

⁴²⁷ PT 220, § 195b–c. The original spells add another sentence: *ms.n tw (j)tm(.w) jt.j ntr.w jw.n=f hr=t wr.t-hk3.w hr.w pw sn m z3 jr.t=f wr.t hk3.w*: “Atum gave birth to you, the father of the gods. He has come to you, Great of magic, he is Horus, enclosed by the protection of his eye, the Great of magic”.

This spell consists of excerpts from the Pyramid Texts spell 220 (preserved in versions of W, N, Nt and fragmentarily in T and P, see Allen 2013, II: PT 220), § 194a–b and 195 b–c, connected to a single text. The text was significantly shortened, probably because of the lack of space close to the bottom of the sarcophagus (or/and by mistake(s) of the copyist). However, thanks to some changes, its content still makes sense and can be read more or less continuously, thus, the spell can also be a Late Period variant of the original text. The main motif of the original spell is the protection of the deceased by the Fiery goddess. In the version of Iufaa, she is not mentioned, which is probably a mistake caused by the shortening of the text – from the content, it is clear that she is still addressed. The deceased spoke to her, and she is satisfied, rejuvenated and beautiful, i. e. she appears in her benevolent form and protects Iufaa.

PT 222 excerpts, columns 15–19, below



(15) *sh̄m=f hr wr.w ḥzz {tj}*⁴²⁸ *nb.w jwnw ḥw.t- hrw* He is powerful before The great ones, praised of the lords of Heliopolis and of Hathor.

*šd=k [hsf.w=k]*⁴²⁹ May you seize [your opponent!]

(16) *nḥḥ.n*⁴³⁰ *jwr.t js šzp kk.w* The Pregnant one gave birth to/spat out the one who enlightens darkness,

⁴²⁸ The *.tj* ending seem to be a mistake or relict from the version written in 2. ps. sg. Another option is emend the text as *ḥzz.tw<=fjn> nb.w jwnw atd*.

⁴²⁹ This part could be misunderstood or a corrupted variant of PT 222 § 203a–b, which originally writes *h3=f hsf=f ḥḥ=f hr tp wr m wr.w=f ḥz.n sw nb.t-ḥw.t šd.n=f hsf=f* (Allen, 2013 II, P 222). The goddess Nephthys was mingled or changed for Hathor. The spell seems to begin in the middle of the text, there is no title, addressee or introductory sentence, thus, it is possible that it was taken with the previous text as one unit.

⁴³⁰ The verb *nḥḥ/nšnš* can mean “spit out” or, less literally, “gave birth” (see Wb II: 342), however, the meaning seems to be derived from this spell.

<i>ḥtm.tj m stš {r?}⁴³¹ ḥz⁽¹⁷⁾r ntr.w mh.tjw⁴³²</i>	the one provided as Seth, (to be?) praised more than the (other) northern gods.
<i>rdj.n=sn ḥ^c=k ḥr=f t3 <pn pr> m (j)tm.w nhḥ pr m [ḥpr̄r]⁴³³</i>	They let you stand upon it, the land, which came out from Atum, the spittle, emerged from [Khepri].
<i>(18) dj=k ḥk3 wsjr ḥn.tj-jmn.t(jw) pd.t-psd.t ḥtm.tj psd.t⁴³⁴</i>	May you cause Osiris Khontamenti to rule the Nine bows, the one who provides the Ennead!
<i>{z3} <šn>⁴³⁵ šn tj ḥ.wj [...]n [mw.t=k] nw.t</i>	The arms of [your mother] Nut will enclose you.
<i>(19) w^cb=k m ḥs[m]n ḥtp(?)=k dj=k(?) [(?)...] m wnm [...]rt [...]⁴³⁶</i>	May you be purified with natron, may you be content [...]



This spell contains several excerpts from the Pyramid Texts spell 222 (preserved in W, N, Nt and fragmentarily in T and P, see Allen 2013, II: PT 222). Unfortunately, the text is written close to the bottom of the sarcophagus, and thus it is shortened because of the lack of space. Many signs are also omitted or damaged, probably by the inner sarcophagus, which was put inside the outer one. The text's exact wording and precise meaning are thus difficult to reconstruct. Still, the main motifs are clear: the deceased is presented as the mighty one among the gods, present at the beginning of the world, he oversized his enemies, and he is purified and protected by his mother, goddess Nut. Since the spell does not occur in contemporary tombs, one of the suggestions could be that it was preserved in a poor state already during the Late Period and copied with errors or put together from different fragments.

⁴³¹ The preposition *r* does not make much sense here. It might be a mistake of the copyist (?).

⁴³² This is supposed to be originally PT 222 § 205a–206a, reading *nšnš n jwr.tj.j.spš.n=k grḥ ḥtm.tj m stš šbšb w3d.wj ḥz.n 3s.t*. Obviously, the text uses uncommon words, which could cause problems with interpretations already in the Late Period.

⁴³³ This part is PT 222 § 199 a, originally: *ḥ^c=k ḥr=f t3 pn pr m (j)tm(.w) nšš pr m ḥpr̄r*.

⁴³⁴ This part is PT 222 § 202b: *dj=k j3q N pn 9.t ḥtm=f psd.t*.

⁴³⁵ The sign  was confused with .

⁴³⁶ The first part of the final sentence is PT 222 § 208b-c: *šnn tw ḥnw-ḥ.wj mw.t=k nw.t w^cb=k m 3ḥ.t sḥ=k ḥ^cb=k m š.w šw*. The end of the spell seems to be different, but the text is also very corrupted – i. e. the signs before *m* can possibly stand for several horizontal signs.

9.3. *The southern side*

Columns 50–59 from the southern inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus contain another part of the offering ritual. The texts are again written in tabular forms and present the offering of royal regalia, aprons and linen. The first table consists of the known spells from the Pyramid Texts, which have a parallel in the tomb of Menekhibnekau; the texts in the second table were not identified with any known spells of the offering rituals. Still, their content continues the previous motif, offering of the linen. The last text of that section is written in plain text, but unfortunately, the signs are significantly damaged, and only fragments of the spell can be reconstructed.

The sequence of the spells of the offering ritual of the southern side is: PT 651 – PT 652 – PT 653A – PT 653C – PT 58 – PT 59 – PT 60 – PT 61 – The offering of *hkr.w* spell – The offering of *b3hy(.t)* spell – The offering of *šnd.t* spell – The offering of *mstr.t* spell – The offering of *qbh.t* spell – The offering of *jd.t* – spell The offering of *hms.t(?)* spell – The offering of *hbs* spell – The offering of *hbs.t* spell – The offering of *wmt(?)* spell – The purification spell (?).

9.3.1. The offering of aprons, linen and adornments, columns 50–59

The following table contains ten items, consisting of different kinds of aprons, linen and adornments: *w^ct.t* ceremonial tail, a pair of *hbs.tj* ceremonial tails, *bs3.w* apron, *m3gsw* dagger, *db3.w* apron, *sj3(.t)* linen amulet, *mnh.t* linen, *mnh.t-pgs(?)* cloth and pair of *hkr* adornments.⁴³⁷ Each object is accompanied by a short spell from the offering ritual of the Pyramid Texts, which is attested in the pyramids of Pepi II and Neith. There is only one parallel version of that sequence, appearing in the tomb of Menekhibnekau: the items are presented in the fourth “box” of the offering frieze (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 201ff.), together with *h3dr.wt*, *swr.wt* and *mnfr.wt* bracelets, which in the case of Iufaa, appear on the northern side of the sarcophagus, see above.

⁴³⁷ For the different kind of aprons, cloth and linen in the offering ritual see also Jéquier 1921: 17ff.

50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59

PT 651

50

(50) *w^ct.t*

The *w^ct.t* ceremonial tail.

(50-59) *dd-mdw wsjr jw=f^c3 pn (50) mj n=k⁴³⁸*

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take the unique

sr.t hr.w w^ct.t⁴³⁹

eye of Horus!

⁴³⁸ The version of Nt omits *n=k*, both versions have *jt* instead of *m*. Menkhibnekau has the same writing as Iufaa, but he has the determinative of an eye behind the *w^ct.t*.

⁴³⁹ The sign looks, at first sight, more like , but based on the content and its red colour, the more probable solution is that it is , which was not fully carved or mistaken.

PT 653C

53 

(53) *m3gsw*

The *m3gsw* dagger.


(50–59) *dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-ꜥ3 pn*

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

(53) *mj n=k jr.t hr.w m33<=fjm>=s⁴⁴² m-ꜥ stš* take the eye of Horus, <through> which <he> can see, from the hand of Seth.

The text is preserved in the Old Kingdom only in the pyramid of queen Neith. Here, as well as in the case of Iufaa and Menekhibnekau, the offered item is the *m3gsw* dagger. Menekhibnekau has in his object frieze also <*m*> *tpn.t* – “dagger sheath” (Bareš 2013: 79; Landgráfová – Bareš-Míčková 2022: 201).

PT 58

54 

(54) *db3.w*

The *db3.w* apron.

(50–59) *dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-ꜥ3 pn* (54) *mj n=k hr.t* To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take the eye of Horus, by means of which you have danced.⁴⁴³
hr.w (j)b3=k jm=s

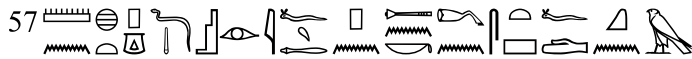
The spell is associated with the *db3(.w)* apron in Nt, Iufaa and also Menekhibnekau’s offering ritual. It is probably a multicoloured kilt connected with Lower Egypt. Later, in Ptolemaic temples, that linen is often associated with Renenutet; it also appears in connection with the white colour and once (E V: 186, 4) as an offering to Anubis where it is supposed to be one of the linens used for mummy bandages. The mentioning of dancing in that offered linen probably suggests its ritual use, e. g. during some festival.

⁴⁴² Emended after Nt, Menekhibnekau has the same omission as Iufaa.

⁴⁴³ Neith’s version writes *jb3.t.n=f {jm=tn} jm=s* (Allen 2013, II: PT 58) Menekhibneau writes *wb3.n=fjm=s*, “which he has opened”, which confirms the emendation of Faulkner 1969: 14, see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 203 and note 902.

The spell is associated with *mnḥ(.t)*, “*mnḥ.t*-cloth” in Iufaa’s and Menekhibnekau’s version of the text, and six-weave god’s linen in Nt (Allen 2013: PT 60; Faulkner 1969: 14).

PT 61

57 

(57) *mnḥ.t pg<s>*⁴⁴⁷

The *mnḥ.t-pgs(?)* cloth.

(50–59) *dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-ꜥ3 pn* (57) *mj n=k ḥpš* To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take the haunch of
*n stš fdq.n*⁴⁴⁸ *ḥr.w* Seth, which Horus has cut off.

In Nt, the spell is associated with four-weave god’s linen (Allen 2013: PT 60; Faulkner 1969: 14). In Iufaa’s variant, the associated item is *mnḥ.t-pgs(?)* cloth, in the case of Menekhibnekau, the spell is associated with *mnḥ.t*-cloth together with the preceding one (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 204).

The offering of *ḥkr.w* spell

58 


(58) *ḥkr [...]*⁴⁴⁹

The small/best (?) adornment.

(59) *ḥkr wr*

The great adornment.

(50–59) *dd-mdw wsjr jw=f-ꜥ3 pn*

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

(58) *s3q(=j) ḥꜥ.w=k swd3(=j) ꜥ.wt=k rdj.n ḥr.w* I have assembled your limbs, I have made
n j.tj=f wsjr wd.n (59) *ntr ꜥ3* your body whole, (as) Horus had done for his



father Osiris, (as) the great god had commanded.

dmj=f r=k ḥkr=f ꜥ.wt=k

May he join to you and may adorn your limbs!

⁴⁴⁷ The word *pgs* means “to be clothed” (Wilson 1997: 378).

⁴⁴⁸ The variant of Nt writes *fdj* instead of *fdq*, and Menekhibnekau uses the same verb as Iufaa.

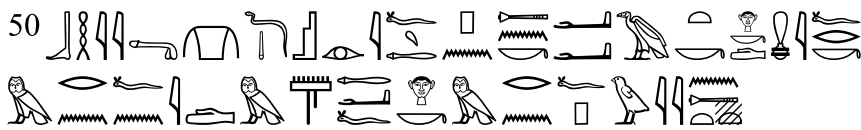
⁴⁴⁹ After the first *ḥkr*, two vertical signs are depicted, but they are not clearly visible: the first one look as  in retrograde and the second one as  (?). If so, then the meaning might be *tp.j*, or, alternatively, one would expect an adjective compatible with *wr*, so the opposite (*šrj*, *nds* etc.) or equivalent (ꜥ3 or similar).

The last spell of that section covers the last two columns of the table and is connected with two items, the small/the best(?) and the great *hkr* – probably a kind of jewellery or ceremonial or ritual adornment. The text appears neither in the Pyramid Texts nor in the tomb of Menekhibnekau, where the last spell of the section is different but contains similar motifs: the assembling of the limbs of the deceased and his protection (see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 205). The text of Menekhibnekau is not, contrary to Iufaa, associated with any item and might be a summary text for the preceding box containing bracelets, anklets and pieces of clothing (see also Bareš 2013: 78–79, items 21 to 30).

9.3.2. The offering of linen, below, columns 50– 59

The following table presents another set of aprons and linen, together nine items: *b3hy(.t)* under-kilt, *šnd.t* kilt, *mstr.t* linen, *qbḥ.t* apron, *jd.t* cloth(?), *ḥms.t(?)*, *ḥsb* cloth, *ḥbs.t* cloth and *wmt* cloth(?). These spells do not occur in the Pyramid Texts spells, but they continue the offering ritual. The repeated motif in many spells of that section mentions that the offered cloth gathers the deceased's limbs together. Thus the presented linen may be more connected with the embalming ritual(s) than the ones offered in the previous table.

The offering of *b3hy(.t)* spell



(50) *b3hy(.t)*⁴⁵⁰

The *b3hy(.t)* under-kilt.

(50-58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f-ꜥ3 pn* (50) *mj n=k ꜥ.wj*
mw.t=k hr=k

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take the hands of your mother to you!

⁴⁵⁰ The determinative does not look exactly like the written sign, but it is the closest variant of it.

djm=f r=k m rn=f pw n jdm {c3} <.wj>=f It⁴⁵² will join with you in his name he *jdmj-*
hr=k m rn=f pw^c b3h(y)t⁴⁵¹ cloth, its arms are on you in its name of
b3hy.t.

This spell is associated with the *b3hy(t)* under kilt (see Wb I: 422). TLA mentions only the occurrence in the lists from the annals of Amenemhet II (lemma no. 53530).

The offering of *šnd.t* spell



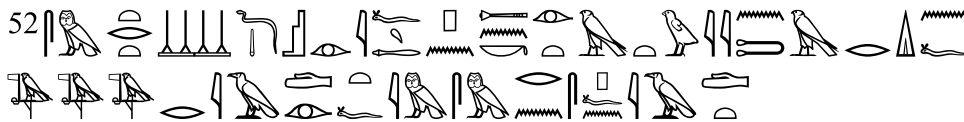
(51) *šnd.t* The *šnd.t* kilt.

(50-58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f-c3 pn (51)db3 tw m jr.t* To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, provide yourself
hr.w wd.t with the hale eye of Horus!

nr=k ntr.w mj nr=sn n jr.t hr.w The gods are in awe of you as they are in awe
of the eye of Horus.

The offered item is, in this case, *šnd.t*-kilt. It appears already in the Pyramid Texts spell (PT 267 and 335), but none fits with the text above.

The offering of *mstr.t* spell



(52) *mstr.t*⁴⁵³ The *mstr.t* linen.

(50-58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f-c3 pn* To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take this Eye of
(52) *mj n=k jr.t hr.w twy n.t hr.w* Horus, which belongs to Horus,

rdj n=f ntr.w r j3d{t}=fjm=s m rn=s pfn j3d.t that which the gods gave to him so that he
may ascend(?)⁴⁵⁴ through/with it in its name
of *j3d.t*.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ The sign ◀ was probably mistaken for ▶, or the latter is carved very badly and in a simplified way.

⁴⁵² The 3. sg. m. pronoun probably refers to the linen (*jdm(j)*) or *b3h* without the feminine ending.

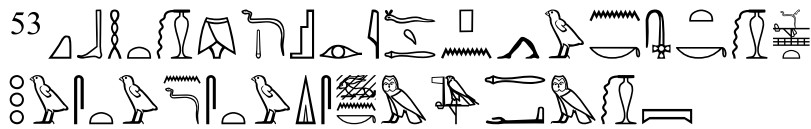
⁴⁵³ The signs *m* and *s* are reverted.

⁴⁵⁴ The word *j3d* can mean “to climb” (Wb I: 35).

⁴⁵⁵ Again probably a kind of linen or apron: *jd.t* also appears in another text of that sequence, see below.

The item connected with that spell is *mstr.t*-cloth (Wb II: 152). That linen appears in the Pyramid texts of Neith and is associated with the spells 57K and 57 L. Both of those spells have different texts than the spell of Iufaa, but their main motif is protection. Similarly as here, in the pyramid of queen Neith, the spells are connected with the offering sequence of PT 652 and 653 and their variations, and PT 61–71 (for the texts, see Faulkner 1969: 2).

The offering of *qbh.t* spell



(53) *qbh.t*

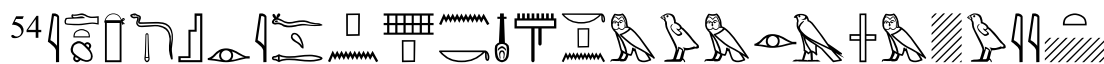
The *qbh.t* apron.

(50–58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f-ꜥ3 pn* (53) *jw n=k* To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, your flame which calms down(?) the *Wadjet region* has come to you,

hw=s tw nd=s tw dj=s [wn]=k m ntr ꜥ3 m qbh may it/she protect you, may it/she save you, may it/she let you [exist] as the great god in the firmament.

This spell is associated with an apron called *qbh.t*, which is not attested in any other spell concerning the offering of linen. Because of its name, the item is connected with the watery region of heaven and has a protective function.

The offering of *jd.t* spell



(54) *jd.t*

The *jd.t* cloth(?).

(50–58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f-ꜥ3 pn* (54) {*sp3.t*} To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take that fine *nfr(.w)* cloth⁴⁵⁷,

*mw m jr.t hrw wnm(.t): [...]**wy.t* water(?)⁴⁵⁸ from the right eye of Horus, which is in [...].

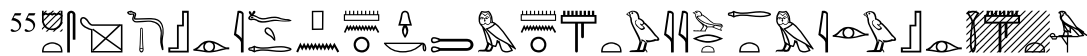
⁴⁵⁶ 10th Upper Egyptian nome (Wb I: 269), or *w3d.tj* “Oasenregion” (TLA lemma no. 859343).

⁴⁵⁷ For *nfr.w* cloth, see Wilson 1997: 515.

⁴⁵⁸ I. e., tears(?).

The cloth associated with this spell is called *jd.t* or *j3d.t*, but any cloth does not appear with that orthography. The other cloth mentioned in the spell is *nfr.w*, which occurs in connection with the Sokar festival and the Abusir papyri and among the cloth offerings in Edfu and Dendera (see Wilson 1997: 515).

The offering of *hms.t* spell

55 

(53) *hms.t*

The *hms.t*-linen(?).

(50-58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f 3 pn*

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa,

(53) *mnh=k t(w) m mnh(.t) twy wr.t 3.t m jr.w*
wsrj [...].

may you make yourself splendid by this noble and great *mnh.t*-cloth, as was done for (for) Osiris [...].⁴⁵⁹

In that spell, the surface of the sarcophagus is corrupted so much that the name of the offered item cannot be read with certainty. According to the determinative, it is another kind of linen or apron.

The offering of *hsb* spell

56 

(56) *hsb*

The *hsb* cloth.

(50-58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f 3 pn* (56) *mj n=k jr.t*
hrw nr n=s ntr.w hbs.t=s sn

To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take the Eye of Horus, of whom the gods are scared of when it covers them.

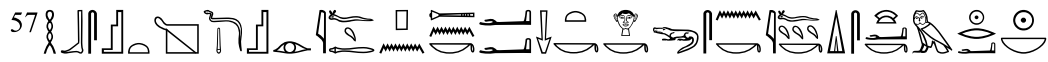
[...]=*k dmd=s qs.w=k nwy=s n=k 3.wt[=k]*

[...], it will gather your bones; it will wrap all [your] limbs.

⁴⁵⁹ The signs in the lacuna cannot be read with certainty.

The offered item is called *hbs*, derived from the word “to clothe” or “to cover”. As in the previous spell, it is a kind of cloth. According to the spell, it covers and assembles the deceased’s limbs, suggesting its use during embalming.

The offering of *hbs.t* spell



(57) *hbs.t* The *hbs.t* cloth.

(50-58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f-ʕ3 pn (57) mj n=k ʕ.wj* To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, take the hands of your sister to you!
sn.t=k hr=k

sʕq=s n=k jwf=k dj=s hʕ=k m r ʕrʕ nb May she she assemble for you your flesh, and may she let you appear in glory as Ra every day!

Similarly, as in the previous spell, the name of the offered cloth, this the *hbs.t*-linen, is derived from *hbs*, “to clothe”, “to cover”. The word *hbs.t* with the determinative of a garment is also the name of the underworld goddess (Wb III: 66 or LGG V: 113), from which the connection with the linen used during the embalming and funeral is clear.

The offering of *wmt(?)* spell



(58) {*hrw*}<*w*>{*nw*}*mt* The *wmt* cloth(?).

(50-58) *dd-mdw wjsr jw=f-ʕ3 pn (58) hr.w js nd* To be recited: Osiris Iufaa, it is Horus who avenged/protects his father, as the eldest god, son of Osiris.
jtj=f m ntr sms.w z3 wsjr [...]

[...] *jn=f hw=f <t>w(?) nd hr.w [...]* [...]he protects you(?) . Horus protected/avenged [...] what Seth has done.
 (59) *jr.n stš*

jr ḥbs wsjr jw=f-^{c3} r s [...]s^cq.n=f jwf=f As for the cloth: Osiris Iufaa [...] he has
j^c{r}b.n=f n=f ḥ^c.w <=f> jr⁴⁶⁰ dmd n=f[...] assembled his flesh, he has purified his limbs.
 If (it) is gathered for him[...] (?).

The last text of the table covers, similarly as in the previous case, the last two columns. The name of the offered garment is not clear, it could be *wmt*, a kind of thick linen (Wb I: 307), with mistaken orthography: *{hrw} <w>{nw}mt*.

9.3.3. The purification spell (?), columns 50-59

Transcription according to the current state:



Transcription of L. Bareš from the period of excavations:

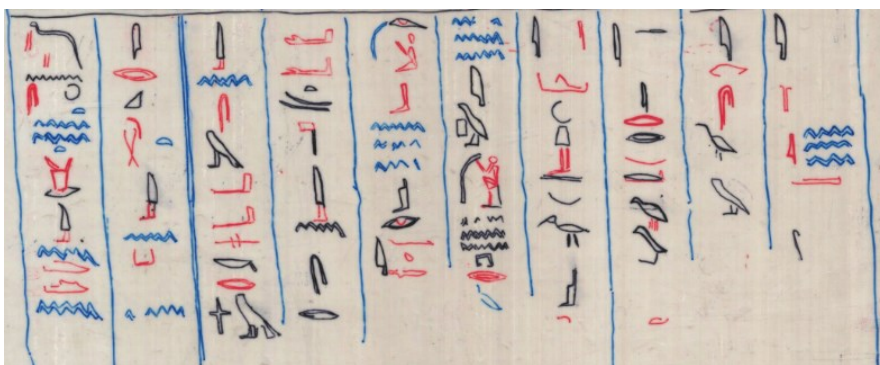


Fig. 14: The end of the southern wall transcribed by L. Bareš

⁴⁶⁰ *jr* seems strange in that position, one would expect the continuation of the previous content. However, the text is corrupted and poorly visible and thus it is difficult to emend or reconstruct it.

(50) *dd-mdw jn sh.t n n.t n n.t jj. ddn(?) [...]* To be recited by ?⁴⁶¹ of Neith/the Red crown:
 (51) *srq.t jj.n(?) k3 [...]* n [...] ? has come [...] Selket, *ka [...]* has come [...].

(52) *jj=s m ε.wj zkr jm.j [...]* (53) *ε.wj (j)tm(.w)* She comes in the hands of Sokar (?), who is
jnnf [...] r r(?) in [...], (in the?) hands of Atum [...]

(54) *wεb wsjr jw=f-ε3 [m]* (55) *mw [jp.w wεb]* Osiris Iufaa is purified [by this pure] water,
pr[.w ...] (56) *j... wε(?)... b3 s.t/wsjr(?)...]* (57) which came from [...] ?.⁴⁶²
j[... jrr ... r w w(?)...] (58) *jr s b3 m(?)* (59) *j... j mw(?)...]*

The last spell of the southern side of the outer sarcophagus of Iufaa is very poorly readable. The text is written close to the bottom of the sarcophagus; the signs are carved very poorly; they are unfinished and also rewritten in some cases; the wall is also damaged by the inner sarcophagus, which was inside the outer one. The shaded part is filled according to notes of L. Bareš: since the degeneration of some signs, unfortunately, rises during time, only traces of some signs are visible in the current time and reading of some parts cannot be proved (for comparison, see Fig. 14). Since the spell is fragmentarily preserved, it is impossible to identify it with any known text. The only clearly notable motif of the spell is the purification of the deceased. The text could also serve as a concluding spell for the offering ritual of aprons, cloth and linen, presented on the southern side of the sarcophagus.

⁴⁶¹ The meaning of the word is questionable, especially considering the omitted determinative.

⁴⁶² The rest of the spell is so fragmentary that it is not even possible to guess the meaning of the text. The purification of the deceased by some kind of sacred water which came out from some divinity or sacred place is a common motive in Egyptian religious text. It also appears in the tomb of Iufaa (see Landgráfová – Míčková 2020: 187, 194).

10. THE TEXTS FROM THE BOTTOM

The texts on the bottom of the outer sarcophagus are written in black ink and not carved, thus, a significant part of the texts is very poorly visible. The inscriptions are also partly damaged by the inner sarcophagus, originally put inside the outer one. Considering that there is no trace of carving, and, on the other hand, there is no visible or preserved sign of drawing on the sarcophagus walls, the possibility that the signs were never supposed to be carved, just written in ink, remains.

The decoration is divided into three parts: the first begins at the head of the deceased and has a similar character to the offering ritual presented in the previous chapter: the texts are written in tabular form, mentioning the individual offered items, connected with the accompanying spells.

The second part of the decoration of the bottom contains the Pyramid Texts spell 213 – 218 and thus continues the so-called *s3h.w* liturgy A1, which also appears on the western inner side of the outer sarcophagus, see chapters 9.2.4. and 9.2.5..











The third part is read from the opposite direction, i. e. from the feet of the deceased towards his head, but continues the previous topic. It contains a shortened PT 219 and an excerpt from PT 222 (?).

10.1. *The offering ritual*

The first part of the decoration covers the upper part of the bottom of the outer sarcophagus and contents two tables presenting the offering ritual, i. e. different kinds of offered items and accompanying spells, and an additional short spell belonging probably to all offered objects and/or introducing the *s3h.w* liturgy.

10.1.1. **The offering of incense and natron, columns 1–5**

The first text of the first section covers the five columns and is read from right to left. The offered items are [*s*]ḥd (?), incense (*sntr*), *mnd* unguent, natron (*ḥsmn*) and, once again, incense. Under each item, a jar of a different type is depicted, followed by number one, representing the quantity of the substance.

1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

The spell of illuminating the face



(1) *shd ʕnh* (?)

???⁴⁶⁴

dd-mdw jn wsjr jw=f-ʕ3 [...] ⁴⁶³ *m ʕ.wj=k* To be recited by Osiris Iufaa: [...] in your hands to [...] ⁴⁶⁵ me. Illuminate my face, open my face!


The spell is a part of the offering ritual and begins the section of presenting incense, aromatic substances and several other items. The text does not correspond to any known Pyramid Texts spell, but here, in the case of Iufaa, it is part of a section of offering incense and connected to the following PT 29. Similar spells appear on Middle Kingdom coffins, but the text does not precisely correspond with Iufaa's variant (see von Falck 2001: 193–194). The precise character of associated item is not clear, see note 464.

PT 29

The following spell continues the previous one: the main motif of the spell is purification and censuring. It covers columns 2–5 of the bottom of the sarcophagus and is read continuously, thus, it is associated with all items mentioned in these columns. The Pyramid Texts spell 29 is preserved in versions N^b, N^c and fragmentarily in P and N^a (Allen 2013, II: PT 29). From the Late Period, a parallel spell occurs on the eastern wall of the tomb of Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 82).

⁴⁶³ The sign written here is clearly a bird, but the exact kind is not possible to determine. Judging from the content, the word is supposed to mean something bright, shiny, illuminating. One would suppose the eye of Horus, but there seems not to be enough space for two signs.

⁴⁶⁴ The precise character of the offered item is not evident neither from this corrupted spell nor from the possible parallels in the contemporary tombs. One would expect it to be a kind of unguent or incense, similar to the other items presented in the table, but the meaning is uncertain. The word *ʕnh(.t)* can be a kind of unguent (Koura 2003: 170), or *ʕnh* could be a type of jar (Wilson 1997: 158). However, the combination appearing here remains obscure.

⁴⁶⁵ There seems to be a lacuna for two signs, which are not legible. One of them could possibly be , according to notes of L. Bareš, but only the traces of writing are visible.



(2) *sntr j^cb(?)*⁴⁶⁶ 1

One vessel of incense.

(3) *mnd r^cf* 1

One sack of *mnd* unguent/paint.⁴⁷⁰

(3) *hsmn b3s/nmst*⁴⁶⁷ 1

One vessel of natron.

(3) *sntr b3s/nmst* 1

One vessel of incense.

(2) *dd-mdw h3 [wsjr] jw=f-^c3 jn.n(=j)*⁴⁶⁸ *n=k jr(.t) hrw htm hr=k jm=s r^cb=s tw st⁽³⁾=s jr=k*⁴⁶⁹

To be recited: Oh [Osiris] Iufaa! I have brought you the eye of Horus, may your face be equipped with it! May it purify you, may it scent you!



[*st jr.t h*] *r.w [r jw=f-^c3 jd]r=s rwd=k hw=s tw m-^c 3gb <n> r^c n* (4) [*stš*]⁴⁷¹

[May the eye of Ho]rus [scent Iufaa]! May it [remo]ve your impurity, may it protect you from the flood(?)⁴⁷² of the hand of [Seth]!

⁴⁶⁶ The sign can also be determinative.

⁴⁶⁷ The shapes of individual jars differ, but signs are poorly visible. The approximate shapes are presented in transcription, but the exact reading is uncertain; the signs can also be determinatives of the presented substances; thus, only the general word “vessel” is used in translation.

⁴⁶⁸ Both Old Kingdom versions write *jw.n(=j) jn.n(=j) n=k jr.t hr.w*, (Allen 2013, II: PT 29) with just a slightly different orthography; the same variant writes Hekaemsaf; he also adds the sign *sn^c* after *hr.w*, which seems to be a mistake of a copyist (Maspero 1904: 82).

⁴⁶⁹ The Old Kingdom versions write , Hekaemsaf only .

⁴⁷⁰ The presented item should be a substance or colour used (also) as an eye paint (see Jéquier 1921: 153–155). If so, the container (or determinative) is *r^cf*, sack, and not a jar; see note 396.

⁴⁷¹ The corrupted parts are emended following the preserved versions of the spell from the Pyramid Texts: *st jr(.t) hr.w jr N pn jdr=s rwd=k hw=s tw m-^c 3gb n r^c n stš* (Allen 2013, II: PT 29). The variant of Hekaemsaf writes ...*hw=s tw m 3gb n jr(.t) hr.w* (Maspero 1904: 82).

⁴⁷² Meant is probably some evil or impure kind of liquid. Faulkner (1969: 6) translates it as “sweat(?)”.

h3 wsjr jw=f-ꜥ3 nhh n=k jr(.t) hrw hr=k mj Oh, Osiris Iufaa, may the eye of Horus endure
n=k jr(.t) hrw wd3.t wd3.t for you, take the healed *wejd*-eye of
 Horus!⁴⁷³

h3⁽⁵⁾ wjsr jw=f-ꜥ3 pd.n=f st=f r=k h3 wsjr Oh, Osiris Iufaa, it⁴⁷⁴ spread its smell towards
jw=f-ꜥ3 dmj n=k jr(.t) hrw jr hr=k you! Oh, Osiris Iufaa, join the eye of Horus
 to your face!

The spell is associated with three items: incense (mentioned twice), *mnd* unguent and natron. In the Pyramid Texts (variant N^c), the offered item is named as *sntr wšr*, “dry incense”. The main motif of the spell is the purification and protection of the deceased by the scent of the offered incense. The last sentence of the text does not appear in original Old Kingdom variants; however, a similar conclusion occurs in the Late Period variant of the spell from the tomb of Hekaemsaf (Maspero 1904: 82).

10.1.2. The offering of incense, columns 6–16

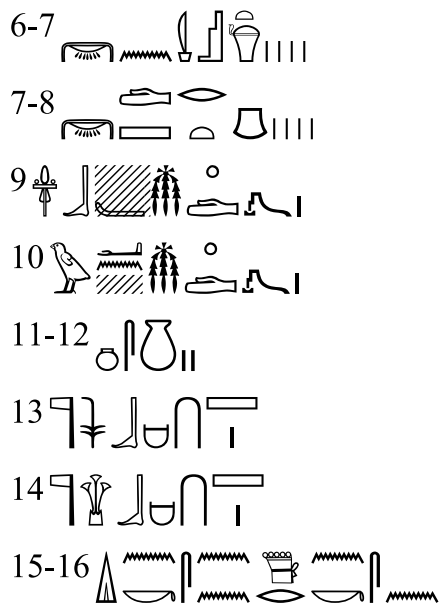
The following table is the last part belonging to the offering ritual. It presents several items: different kinds of incense and aromatic substances, but also gold, weapon(s)(?) and other offerings, the exact meaning of which is uncertain. The spell, which accompanies them, is, unfortunately, partly corrupted. Judging from its content, it seems to be a version of PT 71 and its variants (PT 71 A and B according to Allen 2013, II: PT 71A, B and PT 71 F–I according to Faulkner 1969: 17). All Old Kingdom variants, except for Neith, are damaged, and the exact meaning of several phrases and also the character of the offered objects is uncertain. No Late Period variant is preserved. Iufaa’s variant repeats the sentences which occur in the Old Kingdom version(s) of the spells, but does not correspond precisely with any version; neither the offered items correspond with the items presented in Neith’s variant. From the arrangement of the table, it also cannot be said which object belongs to which part of the text, so the text is

⁴⁷³ The Old Kingdom versions have: *h3 wsjr N pn nhh n=k jr(.t) hr.w wd3.t hr=k jr.t hr.w wd3.t wd3.tj*(Allen 2013, II: PT 29). All preserved OK variants end here, N^c adds an offered item, *sntr wšr*. The variant of Hekaemsaf writes *h3 wsjr hk3-m-s3=fjn.n(=j) n=k jr.t hrw wd3.wt jj.n st=s r=k* (Maspero 1904: 82).

⁴⁷⁴ Considering the 3. ps. sg., the incense is mentioned (or, alternatively, Horus).

presented below as one unit. The second spell of the table is PT 71C, which is fragmentarily preserved only in the version of N. The hieroglyphs are not divided according to the individual spells – because of the bad preservation of the text, it is not possible to determine where one spell ends and the other begins.

16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6
16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6



Horizontally:



(6-7) *nbw nms.t 4*

(Of) gold: 4 *nemset*-jars.

(7-8) *nbw dšr.t 4*

(Of) gold: 4 *desheret*-jars.

(9) *(j)3bh msd/msh(?)*

(j)3bh: 1 *mesekh* vessel/jar(?).⁴⁷⁶

(10) *wꜥn msd/msh(?)*

*wꜥn*⁴⁷⁷ (?): 1 *mesekh* vessel/jar(?).

(11-12) *snw 2*

Two *snw* jars (?).⁴⁷⁸

(13) *<s>ntr rs.j bj3 1*

The southern Egyptian incense: 1 copper/metal vessel(?).

(14) *<s>ntr mhꜣw.j bj3 1*

The northern Egyptian incense: 1 copper/metal vessel (?).

⁴⁷⁶ The word *msd(.t)/mst* appears as a bag or sack, *msh* occurs as a loan word for wine or oil jar (Wb II: 147; Lesko, 1982: 242; Hoch 1994: no. 198).

⁴⁷⁷ The word *wꜥn* can mean “juniper”, which was typically added into the unguent and anointing mixtures, but considering the lacuna and an obscure continuation of the phrase, one cannot be sure.

⁴⁷⁸ According to Jéquier (1921: 6), *nws* written that way is a kind of headwear. The word *snw* appears with the jar determinative as a word for a kind of jar connected with purification (Jéquier 1921: 315).

(15-16) *dj(=j) n=k⁴⁷⁵ sn ndr n=k sn*

I give them to you, take them!

Horizontally:

pd[-ḥḥ]

The *pd[-ḥḥ]* insignia.⁴⁷⁹

ntr jn

The “Divine *jn*” insignia.⁴⁸⁰

db3-ntr

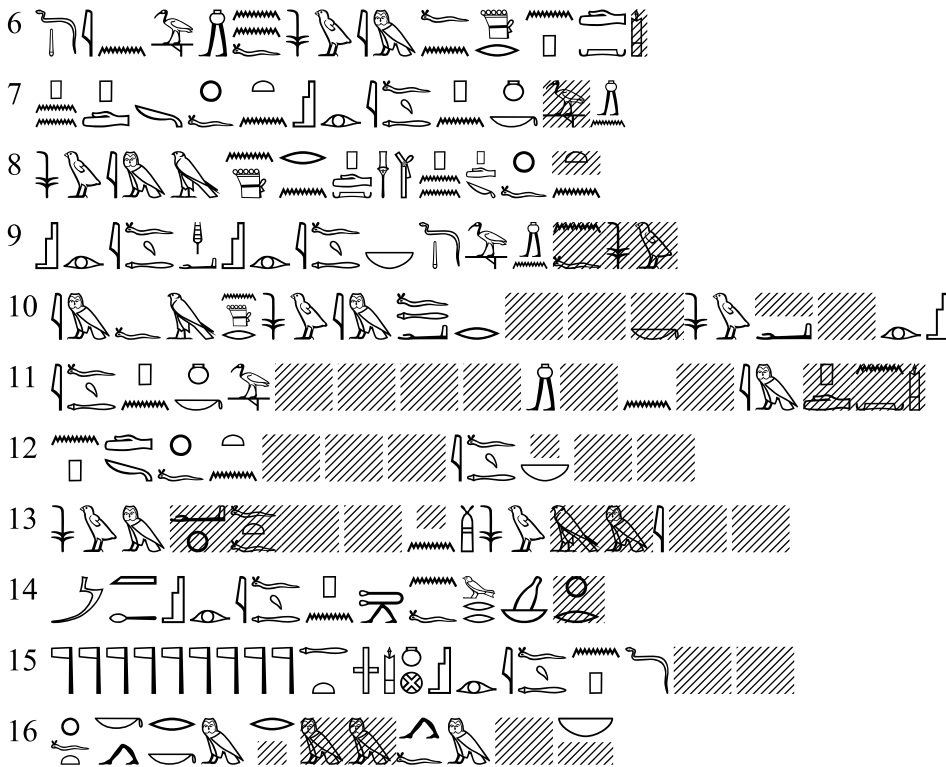
The “Divine adornment” insignia.⁴⁸¹

db3-ḥḥ

The “Adornment of living” insignia.

swrḥ

Anointing(s).



⁴⁷⁵ The translation without emendation is also possible, as “they are given to you”, but omitting the 1st person in a performative statement is quite common in the offering spells.

⁴⁷⁹ According to its appearance, determinative and depiction, the *pd-ḥḥ* is a name of ceremonial staff, similar to the following items (see Jéquier 1921: 223–227). Allen (2005: 319) translates the item as the “bow spreader”, and Faulkner (1969: 17) “*pd-ḥḥ* -mantlet”.

⁴⁸⁰ Again, a name of insignia, sceptre, staff, or a similar item appears in the Old Kingdom spell 71B; Allen (2005: 319) translates “the *jn*-implement”.

⁴⁸¹ Allen (2005: 319) translates “The god’s adornment‘ implement”. According to Jéquier (1921: 224), it’s a variant of *pd-ḥḥ*.

PT 71B variant

⁽⁶⁾*dd-mdw jn*⁴⁸² *dhw.tj jn(=j) n=f sw* To be recited by Thoth: I have brought it to
jm=f ndr n<=k> pd-^ch^c ⁽⁷⁾pn npd hft.j him (i. e. Horus) from him (i. e. Seth). Seize
n wsjr jw=f-^c3 pn this *pd-^ch^c* weapon⁴⁸³ and slaughter the foe
of this Osiris Iufaa!

jnk [dhw.tj] jn.n(=j) ⁽⁸⁾sw jm hrw ndr I am [Thoth], I have brought it from (him).
<=k> pd-^ch^c pn npd hft.j n ⁽⁹⁾wsjr Horus, seize this *pd-^ch^c* weapon against the
jw=f-^c3 ^ch^c wsjr jw=f-^c3 nb <jm3h(?)> enemy of Osiris Iufaa, so Osiris Iufaa, lord
of <reverence(?)>, might stand.


dd-mdw <jnk> dhw.tj jn[n=j sw]⁽¹⁰⁾ To be recited: <I am >Thoth, I have brought
jm=f hrw ndr sw jm=f-^c3r [...][...k] sw it from him. Horus, take it from him
[...]^c/dj [...]^cwsjr ⁽¹¹⁾jw=f-^c3 pn [...]! [...] it [...] this Osiris Iufaa.

jnk dhw.tj[...]^cjn [...]^cn.(=j) [sw]jm [pd I am Thoth, I have brought [it ...] from
n<=k> pd-^ch^c ⁽¹²⁾npd hft.j n [wsjr(?)] (him). [The *pd-^ch^c* weapon(?). The foe of
jw=f-^c3 nb [...] [Osiris(?)] Iufaa...], lord of (?) [...]

PT 71C (or its variant)

⁽¹²⁾ [...] ⁴⁸⁴ ⁽¹³⁾*sw m[-^c hft.j=f...]^c n ^cpr sw* [...] him fr[om his foe..., [Horus], equip him
[hrw m[j [...] as(?) [...].

⁽¹⁴⁾*m3^c-hrw wsjr jw=f-^c3 pn jt.n=f* This Osiris Iufaa is justified, he has seized
wrr(.t) [hr] ⁽¹⁵⁾psd.t ^c3.t jm.j(t) jwnw the *wereret*-crown before the Great Ennead,
which is in Heliopolis.

⁴⁸² It seems that *jn* is misunderstood *jnk* from the Old Kingdom variant of PT 71B, written as . According to Allen, the Old Kingdom variant of PT 71B reads: *dd-mdw jnk gb dhw.tj jn sw pd pf [...]^c h^c pn npd hft.j n n.t pn*. The associated object is *pd-^ch^c*.

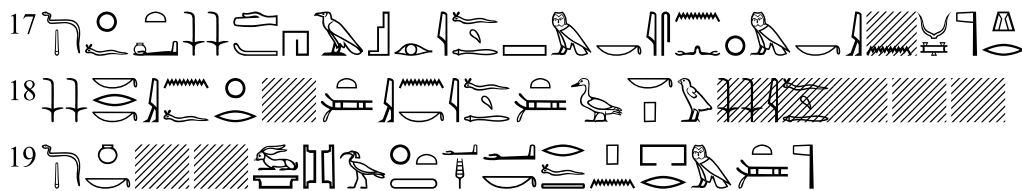
⁴⁸³ Probably a kind of weapon. The word appears only here, Wb I: 571 translates “Bogenständer(?)”. The emended part *n<=k>* might also be caused by confusing of the above writing of the phrase and the words *npd*, “knife” (Wb II: 250). The same mistake/writing appears also in the next sentence.

⁴⁸⁴ Because of the damage of the text, it is not possible to say where exactly the spell begins.

wsjr jw=f-ʕ3 npd [...]⁽¹⁶⁾*hft=k jw r=k m* Osiris Iufaa, slaughter [...] your foe! Come
r[...m m(?)] jw=f m [...] *nb [...]* [...] he comes [...].

The pair of spells from the Pyramid Text starts with a list of the offered items: precious materials (or jars and containers made of them), incense and different kinds of ceremonial staffs or similar insignia. The offering ritual of the Pyramid Texts associates spell 71 B with the *pd-ʕhʕ* staff (and similarly PT 71F and 71I, according to Faulkner). In the variant of Neith, Spell 71G is associated with the *db3-ntr*, and also *nw-rwd* bowstring and *gn(?)* mantlet; (Faulkner 1969: 17). PT 71 C (Allen 2013, II: PT 71C) is preserved in only one version (N) and is very corrupted, only individual words can be read.

10.1.3. An offering spell, columns 17-19



⁽¹⁷⁾*dd-mdw hft hnk nn <n>dbh*

To be recited while presenting these offerings:

h3 wsjr jw=f-ʕ3 šm=k js nn hm=k

Oh, Osiris Iufaa, you have come, you will not perish!

jj.n(?) wp-w3<.wt> hr [...(?)]⁽¹⁸⁾ nn=k
r=k

Wepwawet [has] come to you with that what belongs to you (?).

jj.n=f hr[=k(?)...] (j)tm(.w) jj n=k jw=f-ʕ3
(j)tm(.w) z3=k pw nn [jwf=f-ʕ3...]

He has come to [you...], Atum, Iufaa has come to you. Atum, this is your son, [Iufaa...].⁴⁸⁶

⁽¹⁹⁾*dd-mdw jnk [...]* *wn ʕ3.wj 3h.t*

To be recited: I am [...], the doors of the horizon are open!

⁴⁸⁵ The decoration is corrupted here, there might originally be some signs or not.

⁴⁸⁶ The last sentence could be an excerpt from the Pyramid Text spell 219 (§ 167a f.), which is repeated throughout the text, see chapter 9.2.4.

ḥ^c=k r=f t3 pn pr m (j)tm(.w)

May you stand on it, on that land that
emerged from Atum!⁴⁸⁷

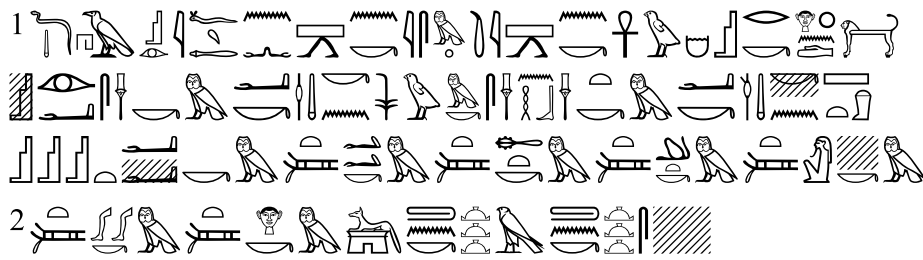
The text, written in three columns, divides the offering ritual from the following sequence, where *s3ḥ.w* liturgy A1 continues. Interestingly, the title of this spell, *r3 dd jn hr(.j)-ḥ3b(.t) ḥft ḥnk nn <n> dbḥ.t*, appears also in the tomb of Menekhibnekau, where it also precedes the A1 liturgy (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 221), which suggests the close connection between presenting of the offerings and reciting the mentioned *s3ḥ.w* spells. Contrary to Menekhibnekau (and parallels in Udjahorresnet, TT 33 and CG 41002, where the liturgy starts with a *dd-mdw* with no title), here, in the case of Iufaa, the title is accompanied by the entire spell, but the text is fragmentary because of the partly damaged decoration of the bottom of the sarcophagus. It does not correspond entirely with any known spell from the Pyramid Texts but contains fragments of PT 222 (§167a–b and §199a). Its main motif is, except for the presenting offerings, assuring that the deceased has successfully entered the afterlife and has been accepted among the gods.

10.2. The Pyramid texts 213–218 (*s3ḥ.w* liturgy A1), columns 1–18 in the middle

The second part of the decoration of the bottom of the outer sarcophagus covers its middle section and contents of Pyramid Texts sequence 213–218. These spells are part of *s3ḥ.w* liturgy A1 (see Assmann 2002: 19), which consists of PT spells 213–222, a set of glorification texts performed by living priests for the deceased and connected with the night rituals of vindication and embalming of Osiris. Some of the spells of this sequence (PT 219, 220 and 222) appear on the western inner side of the outer sarcophagus, so for a closer comment on *s3ḥ.w* liturgy A1, including its occurrences, see chapters 9.2.4.. The sequence of PT 213–219 also occurs in the tomb of Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 220ff.); thus, most of the commentaries are taken from this recently published volume.

⁴⁸⁷ This sentence could be an excerpt from the Pyramid Texts spell 222 (§199a).

PT 213 (§ 134a–135c)



(1) *dd-mdw h3 wsjr jw=f-3 nn šm.n=k js mw.tj* To be recited: Ho Osiris Iufaa! It is not dead
*šm.n=k nh.w*⁴⁸⁸ that you have gone, you have gone alive.

*hms=k rk*⁴⁸⁹ *hr hnd [ws]jr* Sit, thus, on the throne of [Os]iris!

*{s}(3)=k m {sw}<nh>.w*⁴⁹¹ *wd-mdw=k n* Your *aba*-sceptre is in your hand so that you
may command the living,

mks-nhb(.t)=k m {=k wd-mdw[=k] n št3.w-s.wt Your lotus-bud-sceptre is in your hand so that
[you] may command those of secret places.⁴⁹²

[wj]=k m (j)tm(.w) rmn.wj=k m (j)tm(.w) Your arm[s] are (those of) Atum,⁴⁹⁴ your
h.t=k m (j)tm(.w) ph{t}wj=k m (j)tm(.w) shoulders⁴⁹⁵ are (those of) Atum, your belly
*[s3=k]*⁴⁹³ *m (2) (j)tm(.w) rd.wj=k m(j)tm(.w)* is (that of) Atum, your buttocks are (those of)
hr=k m jnp(.w) Atum, your [back] is (that of) Atum, your
legs are (those of) Atum, your face is (that
of) Anubis.

⁴⁸⁸ Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 221) and other versions write *nh.tj*, here and also in the case of Udjahorresnet (Bareš 1999: 52) is *nh.w* - clearly the stative of the 2nd ps.m. is mentioned by the *.w* ending, which is common in the Demotic grammar (see Johnson 1991: 35–36).

⁴⁸⁹ In both OK versions where this part occurs (W, N), the particle is omitted, both versions have the imperative, although Mercer (1952, I: 58) translates “so you sittest”. CG 41002 has *hms=k*, “may you sit...”. Menekhibnekau and Udjahorresnet writes the same way as Iufaa.

⁴⁹⁰ W writes , N , T is destroyed, and this part is omitted in Wd. CG 41002 has a significantly shortened version, probably due to haplography, since it is incomprehensible without emendation: *{b=k <m- =k ...> wd-mdw=k n št3.w-s.wt*. Menekhibnekau writes , similarly, Udjahorresnet. In the case of Iufaa, the sing was mingled for , probably because the sign follows.

⁴⁹¹ Change of for . W has *wd=k mdw m nh.w, t nd N wd.w mdw n nh.w, Wd [...] mdw n nh.w*, both Menekhibnekau and Udjahorresnet write the same as Iufaa.

⁴⁹² I. e. the dead.

⁴⁹³ According to the other versions, although *z3* usually occurs first.

⁴⁹⁴ Faulkner (1969: 40) translates “your X is Atum”; both interpretations are theoretically possible.

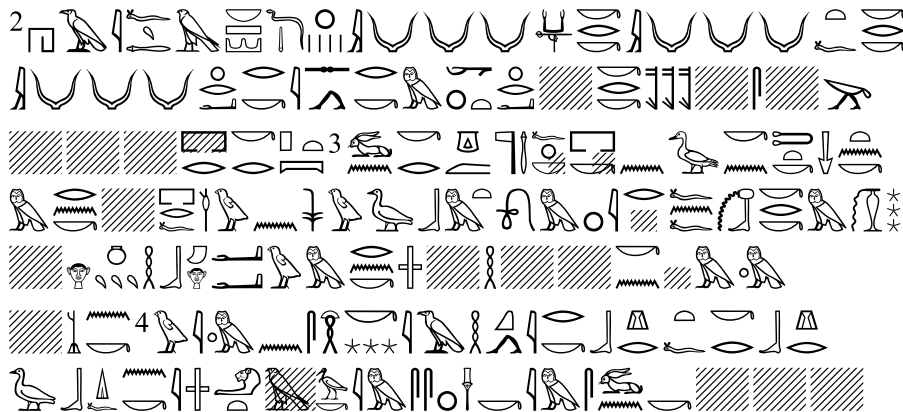
⁴⁹⁵ Allen (2005: 31) translates “lower arms” and “upper arms”.

phr.n=k j3.wt hr.w phr.n=k j3.wt s<tš>

You have crossed the mounds⁴⁹⁶ of Horus,
you have crossed the mounds of Seth.⁴⁹⁷

The first spell of this sequence proclaims that the deceased, although departed, continues to live. He is asked to assume the throne of Osiris and he seizes different kinds of sceptres as signs of his might over both the living and the dead. His body parts, from the arms down to the legs, are identified with those of Atum, and his face is identified with Anubis. Finally, he is said to have travelled the mounds of Horus and Seth, i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt, or both the cultivated land and the desert. Thus, the deceased, as Osiris-Atum, assume rulership over Egypt and the living and dead.


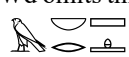
PT 214



(2)*h3 jw=f-ʕ3 hrw{nb}<=k r>*⁴⁹⁸ š *dd-mdw zp* Ho Iufaa! May you stay away from the lake!
⁴⁹⁹ To be recited four times.

⁴⁹⁶ All the Old Kingdom versions, as well as CG 41002, Iufaa and Udjahorresnet, have *j3.wt*, mounds. Here, the word is written as *jw.w* “islands”. Faulkner (1969: 40) interprets this section as “The mounds of Horus serve you (*phr n=k*), the mounds of Seth serve you.” “Mounds” and “islands” were frequently confounded in the writing of the Ptolemaic Period, probably due to the phonetic closeness of the two words (TLA DZA 20.114.260, accessed 08/2021).

⁴⁹⁷ The Old Kingdom versions have Seth, and so do the versions of Udjahorresnet, TT 33 and CG 41002, only Menekhibnekau replaces Seth with Thoth.

⁴⁹⁸ Versions W, T and N write  *z3=k š* or very similarly, “may you beware the lake”, Jp is destroyed, and Wd omits this part. Menekhinnekau and TT 33 write as Iufaa, CG 41002 has a somewhat enigmatic (and erroneous)  . Udjahorresnet writes *<s>3=k r š*. It is possible that other Late Period versions ultimately derive from the same copy as Udjahorresnet’s, with the further reinterpretation of the G1, 3 sign as G5, *hr.w*.

⁴⁹⁹ In the case of Menekhinbekau, the number four is omitted; all the other variants write the same text as Iufaa.

jj wpw.tjw k3=k r=k jj wpw.tjw jt.j=k r=k jj The envoys⁵⁰⁰ of your *ka* have come to you,
wp.wt r^c r=k jj wpw.tjw r^c r=k the envoys of your father have come to you,
the envoys of Ra have come to you!

jj r=k m-ht r^c [=k w^cb]=k r=k qs.w[=k m] Go after [your] (father) Ra,⁵⁰² [purify]
sk.w⁵⁰¹ bjk.w ntr.jw] yourself, [your] bones are the cle[ansed ones
of the divine falcons].⁵⁰³

[p]r=k r p.t (3)wn=k r-gs ntr 3⁵⁰⁴ May you [g]o forth to the sky so that you may
be at the side of the great god.

<s>fh⁵⁰⁵=k pr=k n z3=k ntt=k May you leave your house to your son, your
descendant.

{sn} <md>.t(j)<>=f(j) {k}<nb>⁵⁰⁶ m rn=k Anyone who <would> speak in an [evil] way
[dw] pr=f wd.n sw gb m tw3 m njw.t jr(.j) of your name, when he comes out, Geb has
ordained him (to be) an inferior man in the
<hm>=fn<n>=f town of the pregnant one,⁵⁰⁷ and he will be
weak.

⁵⁰⁰ For the role of *wpw.tjw*, “envoys” of gods in the Pyramid Texts as basically executioners of the gods’ commands with their mandate, rather than “messengers” as deliverers of messages, see Valloggia 1976: 48-50.

⁵⁰¹ Or “lances”, but the context is one of purification. This word does not occur in the Old Kingdom PT, but similar writing appears in Padiamenope (Carrier 2009: 3202-3203) and Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 222). Carrier interprets it as “your bones being destroyed,” but there is little justification for this. In the version of Iufaa, *s* and the determinative are visible, and other signs of the word are destroyed.

⁵⁰² This is an appeal for the deceased to go after his *ka*, who is his father, the sun god Ra (as stated explicitly in the context, for the concepts, see also Janák 2003: 193–210). For the relationship of the *ka* and the father, see Assmann 2005: 44–45; for the deceased going to/with his *ka*, see Assmann 2005: 96–104. Udjahorresnet’s version ends here (Bareš 1999: 52); given the scarcity of texts in his tomb, we may presume that the beginning stands for the entire sequence (for various abbreviating processes in ancient Egyptian text editions, see Bène – Guilhou 2004:

67). The Old Kingdom versions write instead of Ra just $\text{\textcircled{0}}$, thus Mercer (1952, I: 59) translates the part “follow after (pursue) thy sun (days)” and Allen (2005: 31) “go in the wake of your sun”.

⁵⁰³ The Old Kingdom versions have *qs.w=k bjk.wt ntr.wt jmj.wt p.t*, “your bones are (those of) the divine she-falcons who are in the sky” (Allen, New Concordance, §137b). TT 33 has *qs.w=k m sk.w bjk.wt ntr.w(t) n.t p.t* (Dümichen 1885, II: Pl. 16), CG 41002 *qs.w=k m sk.w bjk.wt ntr.jt p.t* (Moret 1912: 56). Menekhibnekau writes exactly the same as Iufaa ((Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 222).

⁵⁰⁴ The OK versions (W, T, N, Ip) write only *ntr*, see also the following note.

⁵⁰⁵ The *s* was misread as $\text{\textcircled{3}}$ in the source of both Iufaa and Menekhibnekau, the OK and other LP versions all write *ntr* followed by *sfh*.

⁵⁰⁶ The sign $\text{\textcircled{1}}$ was mingled for $\text{\textcircled{2}}$. Menekhibnekau writes *k* instead of *nb*, similarly to Iufaa.

⁵⁰⁷ Interpreted, following Allen 2005: 31, as the region of the birth of the sun, i.e. the perpetrator will not be able to participate in the sunrise (Allen 2005: 62, n. 35). This phrase was apparently incomprehensible to some of the

Late Period copyists; CG 41002 has  , interpreting it clearly as “in the underworld”.

w^cb=k r=k m qbḥ.w sb3.w[h3=k] ḥr nwh bj3(.w) You, however, will purify yourself in the cool
ḥr ^c.wj <ḥr.w> m rn=k jm.j ḥ[nw] water of the stars so that you may descend
 (aboard) on ropes of heavenly ore on the arms
 of Horus in your name (of) *The one who is in*
the he[nu-barque].

kj.w n]=k{n?} [hn]mm(.t) tz.n k⁽⁴⁾w jhm(.w)-sk The *hen]memet*-people⁵⁰⁸ [call out to you],
 the imperishable stars⁵⁰⁹ have raised you.

j3{ḥ}q jr=k <r> bw ḥr jtj=k r bw ḥr gb dj=f Climb up <to> the place where your father
n=k jm.j-ḥ3.t [ḥr.w] is,⁵¹⁰ to the place where Geb is, so that he may
 give to you that which is on the brow of
 [Horus],

b3=k jm=s shm=k jm=s so that you may be *ba*-mighty because of it,
 so that you may be powerful because of it,

wn=k [jm=s m ḥnt.j-jmn.tjw] and so that you may exist because of it as
 Khontamenti.

This spell first warns the deceased of the dangers that await him in a lake in the underworld, a place he is to avoid.⁵¹¹ Then it is announced to Iufaa that the envoys of his *ka*, that is, his father, the sun god Ra, have come to aid him in his passage to the afterlife – after the necessary purification, he is to join the great god, the sun god again, in the sky. While leaving earth to join his father in the sky, his own son will take care of his possession on earth (he is instructed to leave his house to his son), and Geb will protect his name from slander: those who would speak badly of the deceased will not be able to participate in the sunrise and rebirth of the sun, whereas Iufaa himself, as a pure one, will board the barque of the sun and join Re on his daily journey, applauded by the Egyptian populace and assisted by the blessed dead who have entered the sky

⁵⁰⁸ The *hnmm.t*-people appear in several Egyptian texts alongside the *p^c.t*- and the *rhy.t*-people to indicate the totality of the Egyptian population. In the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, they are often said to reside in heaven; and in the Coffin texts, they are associated with the sun god and Heliopolis (Griffin 2018: 34–37).

⁵⁰⁹ The imperishable stars are the circumpolar stars, the dead who have ascended to the sky and form the crew of the sun boat (Wilson 1997: 108).

⁵¹⁰ Menekhibnekau omits this part.

⁵¹¹ For this dangerous lake and connection with (ultimate) death as well as the process of mummification, see Assmann 2005: 143–144.

before him. Geb, the father of Osiris and thus of the deceased Iufaa, will pass on to him the insignia which grants him his rightful powers.

PT 215



⁽⁴⁾*h3 jw=f^{c3} zj jn.w=k bt [h]w[w.tj]w=k hr* Ho, Iufaa! Your couriers⁵¹² have gone, your
jt.j=k hr [r^c(?)](j)tm(.w) [h]era[lds]⁵¹³ run to your father, to (Ra-?)
 Atum, (saying):

<*r^c-(j)tm(.w)*>*s[^cr⁵¹⁴ [n=]k sw <r>šn n=k* “<Ra-Atum>, l[i]ft him up [to you], enclose
⁽⁵⁾*sw m-hnw-^{c515}=k n<n> sb3 ntr.j jw.tj* him with you!” There is no divine star
[rmn.w]=fjnk rmn. {tj}<.w>=k⁵¹⁶

⁵¹² The word *jn.w* is the most general of the PT words for “courier”, and it refers to various bearers of things and messages, see Valloggia 1976: 49.

⁵¹³ For *hww.tjw* as “heralds,” announcing the king’s arrival to the sky, see Valloggia 1976: 49.

⁵¹⁴ The Old Kingdom versions write *sj^c* without *r* and all Late Period variants write *s^cr*.

⁵¹⁵ The Old Kingdom and other Late Period versions write the compound preposition as *m-hnw-^c*, except for Menekhibnekau, who writes *m-hn.w^c.wj*, “in your arms” (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 225).

⁵¹⁶ The old Kingdom versions have *jn k rmn.tj=k*, which Faulkner (1969: 42) interprets as *jn (n)=k rmn.tj=k* – “Have you your companion?” Mercer (1952, I: 59) translates: “Shall I be thy companion?”. TT 33 has *n(n) sb3-ntr.j jw.tj rmn.j jnk rmn.j=k*, CG 41002 *nn sb3 ntr.j jw.tj rmn.w=fjnk rmn.w=fjnk rmn.w=k*, Menekhibnekau writes the same way as Iufaa with some changes in orthography.

	without its [companion] – I am your companion!
<i>m3 <wj> m3.n=k jr.w ms.w jtj.w=sn rh r3=sn⁵¹⁷ jhm.w-sk</i>	See <me>, as you have seen the forms of the children of their fathers, those who know their names, and the imperishable stars, ⁵¹⁸
<i>m3.n=k {sw}[jm.jw ḥ hrw pw hnḥ stš]</i>	and as you have seen {him} [those who are in the palace ⁵¹⁹ – they are Horus and Seth.] ⁵²⁰
<i>psg=k hr n hrw n=f dr=k nkn jr[=f]</i>	Spit upon the face of Horus for him ⁵²¹ so that you may drive away injury from [him].
<i>j ḥ[h]=k hr(.wj) stš n=f dr=k jj[=f] ms.n=k pf [jwr.n=]k p<n></i>	Gras[p] the testicles of Seth for him so that you can drive away [his] mutilation; you have fashioned that one, you [have conceived] this [one].
<i>(6)ms=k hrw m rn=k⁵²² n nwr n=f t3 sd3.w n=f [p.t]</i>	You have given birth to Horus in your name of <i>The one for whom the earth shakes</i> and <i>The one for him [the sky] trembles.</i> ⁵²³
<i>n<n> jy pf [n<n> n]kn pn tz-phr nn nkn=k nn jy=k</i>	If that one has no harm, this one [will have no h]arm, and vice versa, and thus you will not be harmed, and you will not be injured.

⁵¹⁷ CG 41002 has *rh.w r3 n jhm.w-sk*. Menekhibnekau's version is mistaken as *rn=sn*.

⁵¹⁸ Mercer (1952, I: 59) writes: "Look (at me), thou has regarded the form of the children of their fathers" Allen (2005: 31): "See me, as you have seen the forms of the progeny", etc. "The children of their fathers," "those who know their spells," and "the imperishable stars" all refer to the dead, i.e., the blessed spirits who have died before Iufaa (for the presence of the previous blessed dead in the afterlife, see Smith 2017: 153).

⁵¹⁹ Allen (2005: 31) translates as "see (in me) the two in the palace – that is Horus and Seth." In the case of Menekhibnekau word ḥ, palace, has been (mis)interpreted as jḥ, "net", which occurs later in the text (Landgráfová – Bareš – Mičková 2022: 225).

⁵²⁰ Menekhibnekau writes Thoth instead of Seth, but also the Late Period versions (CG 41002) and TT 33 have Seth. In the case of Iufaa, the text is not visible.

⁵²¹ Spitting was an important healing technique in ancient Egyptian magical practice, see Ritner (1993: 78–81), it is healing spittle that should reach the face of Horus.

⁵²² All Old Kingdom versions (W, T, N) have *rn=f*. Padiamenope has *ms=k hr.w m rn=f nwr n=f t3 sd3 n=f p.t* (Dümichen 1882, II: pl. 16), CG 41002 *ms.n=k hr.w m rn=k nwr n=f t3 sd3 n=f p.t* (Moret 1912, II: 57) and Menekhibnekau *ms=k hrw m rn=k n nwr n=f t3 sd3 n=f p.t*

⁵²³ Faulkner (1969: 42) emends to "<Seth in your name of> One for whom the sky trembles." While such parallelism is very appealing, this version appears in no Old Kingdom attestation of this spell.

ms=k hrw n [wsjr b3.n=k r]=f shm.n=k r=f You have been born, Horus, to Osiris, but you have become mightier than he, you have become more powerful than he.⁵²⁴

n<n> mtw.t ntr zj.tj n.j=f n zj=k n(.j)=f n rdj There is no seed of god which belongs to him that has passed (from life), you, who belong to him, will not pass (from life), Ra-Atum will not give you to Osiris⁵²⁵ and Horus,⁵²⁶

tj r^c-(j)tm(.w) n wsjr hrw

n jp=f jb=k n shm=f⁽⁷⁾m h3t.j=k he will not control your heart, he will not have power over your heart.

wsjr n shm.n=k jm=f n shm.n z3=k⁵²⁷ jm=f Osiris, you can have no power over him, your son can have no power over him. You can have no [pow]er over him, Horus, [your father] can have no control over him.

hrw n shm.n=k jm=f n [sh]m.n [jtj=k] jm=f

n(j)-kw jw=f^{c3} ntr pw d[d.n] z3 z3(.t) [jtm.w] “You, this Iufaa, belong to this god,” s[aid] the twin son and daughter [of Atum] to him.

r=f⁵²⁸

tn k[wjn=s]n m rn=k n ntr hpr r=k [tm] m ntr “Raise your[self,” said t]hey, “in your name of *God* and become [complete] as any god:

[nb]

tp=k m hrw dw3.t⁽⁸⁾ (j)hm(.w)-l Your head is (that of) Horus of the underworld,⁵²⁹ Imperishable one!

⁵²⁴PT 144b includes a similar text with Seth: *jwr=k stš n gbb b3.n=k jr=f shm.n=k jr=f*, “You were conceived, Seth, to Geb, but you are mightier than he, you are more powerful than he,” which also appears in Iufaa and other Late Period versions of the text (e.g. Padiamenope, Carrier 2010: 3206–3207). CG 41002 has only the Horus version, like Menekhibnekau.

⁵²⁵ § 145b (Allen 2013, II: PT 215), this way also in W (and fragments in Wd and T) and in the translation of Faulkner (1969: 42). Some variants preserve only the preceding § 145a, which Mercer (1952, I: 60) translates “no seed of a god, which belongs to him, goes to ruin, so thou who belongest to him will not go ruin”, and Allen (2005: 32) “no god’s own seed has gone (from life), you, his own, will not go.”

⁵²⁶ The Old Kingdom variants are fragmentary, but all seem to have a separate parallel clause for Osiris and for Horus, Menekhibnekau’s version (and that of CG 41002) is abbreviated, and in Padiamenope, the Horus clause is missing altogether (Carrier 2010: 2306–3207).

⁵²⁷ Most versions have *gb*, Menekhibnekau and Padiamenope (Carrier 2010: 3206–3207) write *z3=k* like Iufaa.

⁵²⁸ The twin son and daughter of Atum are Shu and Tefnut, *r=f* occurs in Late Period versions (Padiamenope, Menekhibnekau) but never in the Old Kingdom spells.

⁵²⁹ In accordance with Quack 1995: 105, the clauses in the Gliedervergottung texts, in general, are translated here: “NN’s body part X is (that of) god G,” but alternatively, the text could be translated “NN’s body part X is the god

mḥnt=k mḥnt.j-jr.tj jḥm(.w)-sk

Your forehead is (that of) Mekhenty-irty,
Imperishable one!

*[msdr.wj]⁵³⁰=k <m> z3 z3.t (j)tm(.w)
[jḥ]m(.w)-sk*

Your [ears] are (those of) the son and
daughter of Atum, [Impe]rishable one!

jr.tj=k z3 z3.t (j)tm(.w) (j)ḥm(.)-sk

Your eyes are (those of) the son and daughter
of Atum, Imperishable ones!

ḥnd=k m z3b (j)ḥm(.w)-sk

Your nose is (that of) a jackal, Imperishable
one!

[jbḥ.w=k spd.w] (j)ḥm(.w)-sk

[Your teeth are (those of) Sopdu],
Imperishable one!

*ḥ.wj=k ḥḥpj dw3-mw.t=f dbḥ=k pr=k r [p.t
pr=k]*

Your arms are (those of) Hapi and Duamutef:
if you demand to ascend to [the sky, you will
ascend].

*rd.wj<=k> jms.tj qbḥ-sn.w=f dbḥ=k
h<3>=k⁽⁹⁾[nn.] h[3=k]*

Your feet are (those of) Amset and
Qebehsenuf: if you demand to descend]to the
nether-sk]y, [you will] des[cend.]


ḥ.tj]=k z3 z3.t (j)tm(.w) jḥm(.w)-sk

Your [two limbs] are (those of) the son and
daughter of Atum, Imperishable one!

n sk=k n sk k3=k twt k3

You shall not perish, and your *ka* shall not
perish, for you are a *ka*!⁵³¹

G”. Carrier (2010: 3206–3209) translates “this of” for the singular body parts and gods and equates directly only the paired ones.

⁵³⁰ The Old Kingdom PT versions write “ears” with the signs . Iufaa’s variant is poorly visible, but the signs look more like human ears, as in Menekhibnekau.

⁵³¹ Menekhibneau writes a shorter variant of this sentence, *n sk k3=t tw k3* (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 227).

This spell represents a reaction to the previous one: in PT 214, the envoys of Iufaa’s father, of his *ka* and of Ra came to assist Iufaa in ascending to the afterlife in the sky; here, he has dispatched his own couriers and heralds, who announce his arrival to his father Ra-Atum and ask him to accept him in the sky. In the following part, the deceased addresses Ra-Atum directly, asking him to admit him among the gods and to protect him like them. Interesting is the short passage which once again addresses Iufaa and states that Ra-Atum will protect him from Osiris and Horus, who will not be able to control the heart of the deceased and have power over it. While the belligerent and thus dangerous nature of (some forms of) Horus is well known (typically Hor-Merti of Shednu, LGG V: 260–261), the need to protect the deceased from Osiris appears only rarely in the Pyramid Texts, but it is not unknown.⁵³² Perhaps Osiris here is to be understood as the chief of the afterlife judgement (for this role as one of the earliest of Osiris’, see Smith 2017: 134–135), and being protected from him and not having one’s heart controlled by him, means that the deceased passed or has the ability to pass the judgement successfully and may enter the company of the blessed. In the final part, Menekhibnekau is addressed by Shu and Tefnut, the twin children of Atum; his body parts are deemed divine by means of the so-called *Gliedervergottung*,⁵³³ and Iufaa himself an imperishable one (i.e., a northern imperishable star and a member of the blessed dead in the crew of the barque of the sun god).

PT 216



⁵³² In PT 264, as in the present spell, the deceased is assured that he will not be handed over to Osiris, PT 534 expresses the hope that Osiris will not come against the deceased and his tomb in “this his evil coming,” and in PT 412 the deceased has to avoid stepping in Osiris’ corruption (Smith 2017: 137).

⁵³³ For the concept of *Gliedervergottung*, see Quack 1995: 104–109.

⁽⁹⁾ *dd-mdw jj.n=f hr=t [nb.t-hw.t jj.n=f] hr[=t mskt.t]* To be recited: He has come⁵³⁴ before you, [Nephthys, he has come] before [you, *mesketet*-barque],

jj.n=f [hr=]k m3^c-hr-tr.tw [jj.n]=f hr=t msh3.t-k3.w sh3=tn sw j[w=f-^c3] he has come [before you], *One who sails on blood*,⁵³⁵ he has come before you, Meshetkau.⁵³⁶ Remember him, I[ufaa]!

š]n [s3h j]n dw3[.t] w^cb ^cnh m 3h.t Orion has been encirc]led⁵³⁷ [b]y the underwo[rld], the living one has been purified in the horizon.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *[š]n spd[.t j]n [dw] (11) ⁵³⁸ 3.t w^cb ^cnh m (12) 3h[.t]* Sopd[et] has been [encirc]led [b]y [the under]world, the living one has been purified in the horizon.

šn (13) j[w=f-^c3 j]n dw3.t (14) w^cb ^cnh m 3h.t I[ufaa] has been encircled [b]y the underworld, the living one has been purified in the horizon.⁵³⁹

⁽¹⁵⁾ *3h <.n>=f n=sn (16) qb[b] n=f n=sn (17) m-hnw-^c(.wj) (18) [jt.j=f] m-hn w-(19) ^c(.wj) jtm.w* He has become glorified for them, he has become refreshed for them in the arms of his father, in the arms of Atum.

In this spell, the deceased comes before the divine beings connected to the sailing of the night barque: Nephthys, the Night-barque, One who Sails on Blood and Meshetkau, and he enters the underworld (i.e. sets alongside the sun), having been purified in the horizon. The final clause is a reassurance that the sun's setting is simply a pleasant rest on an eternal journey.

⁵³⁴ Allen (2005: 32) translates “someone has come to you”, Faulkner “I have come to you”, interpreting the Old Kingdom versions as unwritten 1st person singular.

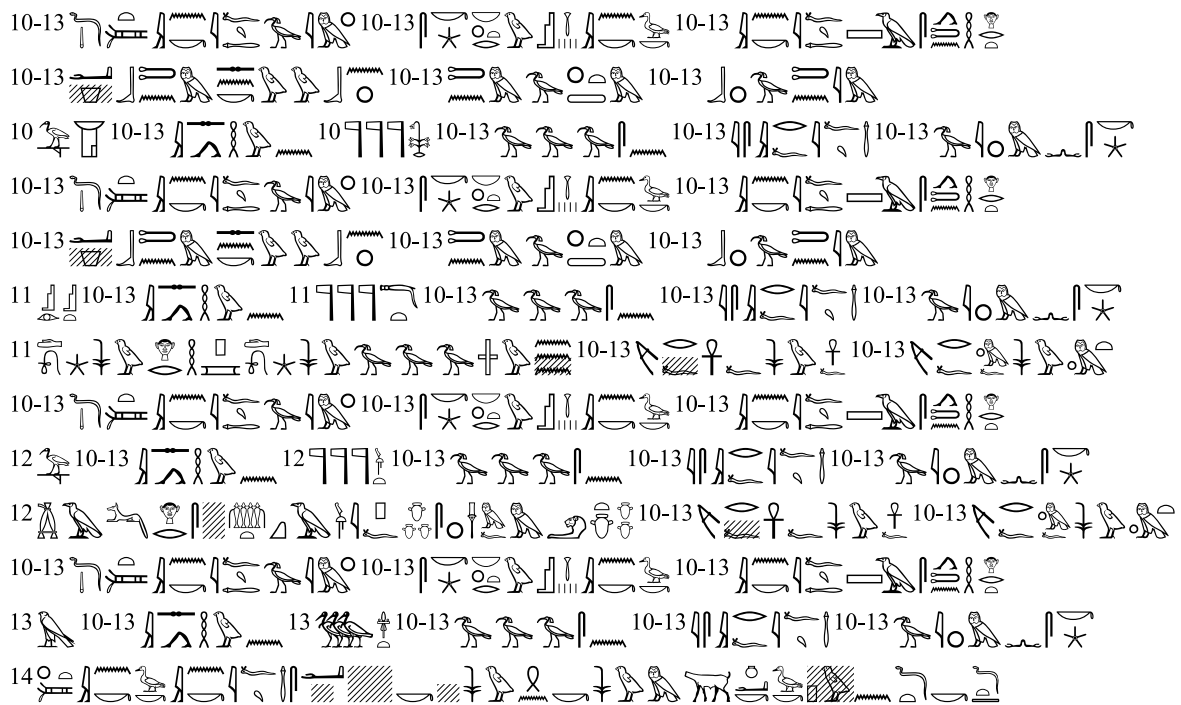
⁵³⁵ “One who sails on blood”, not in LGG. Allen (2005: 32) translates “Pilot covered in Gore,” in any case, the name refers to a boat (or its helmsman) sailing through the sky at dusk when the sky is red and thus “bloody”.

⁵³⁶ “Die die *kau* erfreut” (LGG III: 436), but perhaps it is preferable, in this context, to read with Allen “Place where the *kau* are remembered” (Allen 2005: 32).

⁵³⁷ According to Faulkner (1969: 44), this refers to the disappearance of stars at dawn.

⁵³⁸ From column 11 on, the columns are very short because the text is written above the table with PT 217.

⁵³⁹ Allen (2005: 32): “Sothis has become encircled by the duat, as the Living one became clean in the horizon”.



(10-13) *dd-mdw (j)tm(.w)*⁵⁴⁰ *jj n=k jw=f-c3 3h*
jhm(.w)- (10-13) sk nb h.wt {r}s.t w3d 4

To be recited: Atum, Iufaa has come to you, a blessed spirit, an imperishable star, lord of the affairs of the place of the four papyrus columns.⁵⁴¹

jj n=k z3=k (10-13) jj n=k jw=f-c3

Your son has come to you, Iufaa has come to you.

*š3s=tn hr.t (10-13) c**b**=tn m znk.w wbn(10-13)*
=tn m 3h.t m (10-13) b(w) 3h=tn jm

May you (i. e. Atum and Iufaa) travel through the sky, may you become united in darkness, may you shine on the horizon in the place where you are glorified.

⁵⁴⁰ In the Old Kingdom versions and also in Menekhibnekau is Ra-Atum.

⁵⁴¹ Mercer (1952, I: 61) “lord (by) decree of the places of the four papyrus-pillars”, Allen (2005: 33) “lord of the prosperity of the place of the four papyrus-columns”. The four columns represent the four cardinal points, and thus the totality of the Egyptian world, as do Seth, Osiris, Thoth and Dewenawi (Faulkner 1969: 456).

(10) *dhwtj*⁵⁴² *nb.t-hwt* (10-13) *jz hw n* (10) *ntr.w*
rs.j (10-13) *3h.w=sn* (10-13) *js jj rfjw=f-ε3* (10-13)
3h jhm(.w)-sk

(10-13) *dd-mdw (j)tm(.w) jj n=k jw=f-ε3 3h*
jhm(.w)- (10-13) *sk nb h.wt {r} s.t w3d 4*

jj n=k z3=k (10-13) *jj n=k jw=f-ε3*

š3s=tn hr.t (10-13) *εb=tn m znk.w wbn* (10-13)
=tn m 3h.t m (10-13) *b(w) 3h=tn jm*

(11) *wsjr 3s.t* (10-13) *jz hw n* (10) *ntr.w mh.tjt* (10-
13) *3h.w=sn* (10-13) *js jj rfjw=f-ε3* (10-13) *3h*
jhm(.w)-sk

(11) *dw3*⁵⁴⁵ *sw hr hεp dw3 sw 3h.w jmj.w mw*

(10-13) *mr[=f] εnh=f sw εnh=f* (10-13) *mr=f*
mwt=f sw mwt=f

Thoth and Nephthys, go, hasten to the gods of the south and their blessed spirits, (announcing) that Iufaa has come, a blessed spirit and an imperishable star.⁵⁴³

To be recited: Atum, Iufaa has come to you, a blessed spirit, an imperishable star, lord of the affairs of the place of the four papyrus columns.

Your son has come to you, Iufaa has come to you.

May you travel through the sky, may you become united in darkness, may you shine on the horizon, in the place where you are glorified.

Osiris and Isis go, hasten to the gods of the north and their blessed spirits, (announcing) that Iufaa has come, a blessed spirit and an imperishable star.⁵⁴⁴

Those who are over the inundation praise him; the blessed spirits who are in the water praise him.

The one whom [he] wishes to live, he will live, the one whom he wishes to die, he will die.

⁵⁴² The Old Kingdom variants (W, N, Nt, Jp), and also Padiamenope have *stš*, Menekhibnekau has *dhwtj* and CG 41002 has *wsjr 3s.t* instead of *stš nb.t hw.t*, the entire passage with *stš nb.t-hwt* seems to have been omitted through haplography.

⁵⁴³ There should follow §153c of PT— *mr=f mwt=tn mwt=tn mrw=f εnh=tn εnh=tn* : “if he wishes you to die, you will die, if he wishes you to live, you will live”. The sentence was omitted in Iufaa’s variant.

⁵⁴⁴ §153c again omitted, see note 543.

⁵⁴⁵ In the Old Kingdom versions is written *dw3 js*, *sw* is omitted.

(10-13) *dd-mdw (j)tm(.w)jj n=k jw=f-^{c3} 3h
jhm(.w)- (10-13) sk nb h.wt {r} s.t w3d 4*

jj n=k z3=k (10-13)jj n=k jw=f-^{c3}

*s3s=tn hr.t (10-13) ^cb=tn m znk.w wbn(10-13)
=tn m 3h.t m (10-13) b(w) 3h=tn jm*

(12) *dhw.tj (10-13)jz hwn (10) ntr.w jmn.t (10-13)
3h.w=sn (10-13)js jj rf jw=f-^{c3} (10-13) 3h
jhm(.w)-sk*

*db3 [m jnp.w hr wsr.t=f] hn.tj q3 jmn.tj jp=f
jb.w shm=f m h3.tjw*

(10-13) *mr[=f] ^cnh=f sw ^cnh=f (10-13) mr=f
mwt=f sw mwt=f*

(10-13) *dd-mdw (j)tm(.w)jj n=k jw=f-^{c3} 3h
jhm(.w)- (10-13) sk nb h.wt {r} s.t w3d 4*

To be recited: Atum, Iufaa has come to you, a blessed spirit, an imperishable star, lord of the affairs of the place of the four papyrus columns.

Your son has come to you, Iufaa has come to you.

May you travel through the sky, may you become united in darkness, may you shine on the horizon, in the place where you are glorified.

Thoth, go, hasten to the gods of the west and their blessed spirits, (announcing) that Iufaa has come, a blessed spirit and an imperishable star.⁵⁴⁶


Equipped [on the neck⁵⁴⁷ as Anubis⁵⁴⁸], who is at the head of the western mound, when he inspects the *jb.w*-hearts, when he assumes power over the *h3.tjw*-hearts.

The one whom [he] wishes to live, he will live, the one whom he wishes to die, he will die.

To be recited: Atum, Iufaa has come to you, a blessed spirit, an imperishable star, lord of the affairs of the place of the four papyrus columns.

⁵⁴⁶ §153c again omitted, see note 543.

⁵⁴⁷ I. e. wearing an amulet of Anubis.

⁵⁴⁸ All the versions of PT write only , so the alternative reading as *s3b*, “jackal”, is also possible, except for the case of Menekhibnekau, where the name of Anubis is clearly written. The variant of Iufaa is unreadable.

jj n=k z3=k⁽¹⁰⁻¹³⁾ jj n=k jw=f-³

Your son has come to you, Iufaa has come to you.

*š3s=tn hr.t⁽¹⁰⁻¹³⁾ ʕb=tn m znk.w wbn⁽¹⁰⁻¹³⁾
=tn m 3h.t m⁽¹⁰⁻¹³⁾ b(w) 3h=tn jm*

May you travel through the sky, may you become united in darkness, may you shine on the horizon, in the place where you are glorified.

*(13) dhw.tj⁽¹⁰⁻¹³⁾ jz hw n⁽¹⁰⁾ b3.w j3b.t⁽¹⁰⁻¹³⁾
3h.w=s n⁽¹⁰⁻¹³⁾ js jj rf jw=f-³ (10-13) 3h
jhm(.w)-sk*

Horus, go, hasten to the *bau* of the east and their blessed spirits, (announcing) that Iufaa has come, a blessed spirit and an imperishable star.⁵⁴⁹

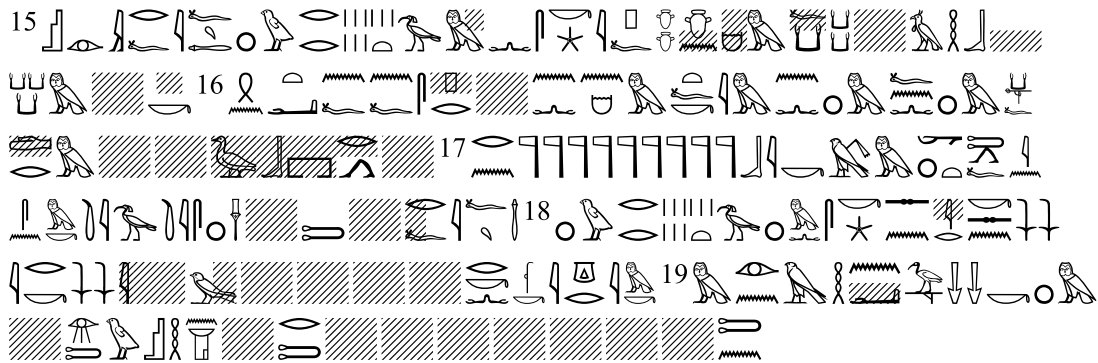
*(14) r-³(j)tm(.w) jj n=k z3=k jw=f-³ s³ [n]=k
sw šn n=k sw m-hnw ʕ.wj=k z3=k [pw] n
d.t=k d.t*

Ra-Atum, your son Iufaa has come to you; lift him to you, enclose him in your arms, for he is your son of your body forever.

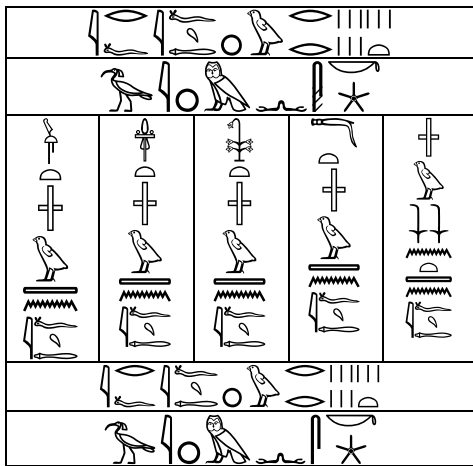
In this spell, Iufaa joins Atum in the sky (in other words, he joins the sun god on his eternal journey), and other gods are asked to act as heralds of the deceased, announcing his arrival among the blessed spirits (*akhu*) and the imperishable stars in all four cardinal directions: Thoth (for Seth) and Nephthys in the south, Osiris and Isis in the north, Thoth in the west and Horus in the east. At the same time, it is proclaimed that Iufaa has power over life and death, over the gods of the south, north and west and over the *bau* of the east. In the last section of the spell, Ra-Atum is asked to embrace Iufaa as his bodily son.

⁵⁴⁹ §153c again omitted, see note 543.

PT 218



15 16 17 18 18



(15) *wsjr jj rf jw=f-⁵³ hwrr psd.t 3h* Osiris, Iufaa has come, a fledgling⁵⁵¹ of the
(j)h⁵⁵⁰m(.w)-sk Ennead, a blessed spirit and an imperishable
 star.

jp=f jb.w [nh]m[=f] k3.w [n]hb[=f] k3.w m He will control *jb.w*-hearts, [take a]way *kau*
[tn.t=f] {k}<nb(.t)> and [g]ive out *kau*, as everything [that he
 distinguishes]

(16) *šn.t.n=f n=f s[p]r[.n=f]* and that which he associates with him(self)
 and the one who pe[tit]ions [him].

⁵⁵⁰ The sign *h* might be written above *m* – the black colour is partly visible, but the sign, if any, is unreadable.

⁵⁵¹ The word *hwrr* is unclear (see TLA Lemma 115230). Often, it has a calf-determinative. Translation “fledgling” is, according to Allen 2005: 34, as this makes good sense both in context and considering the determinative.

*nn hm.t(j)=f(j) {k}<nb> jm*⁵⁵²

There is no one who will be driven back from (it).

nn mwt=f nn mwt k3=f [d]r m[wt=f r=f

He will not die, his *ka* will not die, [his] d[ea]th will be dri[ven] away [from him].⁵⁵³

dd gb pr m] (17)r<3> n psd.t

Geb has spoken, and (it) came from] the mouth of the Ennead:

bjk m-ht jt=f.j.n=sn mk.tj b3.tj sh[m].t[j]

“O falcon, after he had seized (power),”⁵⁵⁴ said they, “you are protected, powerful and mig[hty].”

[jj r]fjw=f-ε3 (18)hwrr psd.t 3h (j)hm(.w)-sk

[Sur]ely Iufaa [comes], a fledgling of the Ennead, a blessed spirit and an imperishable star,

*zn [j]r=k znn jr=k nn [jr=k] w[r jr=k w3d r=k
nhm hm] r=k n tr=k⁵⁵⁵ jgr jm {k}⁵⁵⁶*

who has surpassed [y]ou, who continues to surpass you, who is more tired [than you], who is gre[ater] than you, who is more prosperous than you, who roars louder] than you, (for) your time there no longer exists.

*(19) m<k> jr.(t.) n hrw⁵⁵⁷ hn[ε] dhw.tj sn.wj=k
hm rm tw*

Behold that which Horus an[d] Thoth had done, your two brothers, who are not able to mourn you,

⁵⁵² OK versions do not have *jm*, and this clause is connected with the following one.

⁵⁵³ The Old Kingdom versions, but also Senwosret (Carrier 2010: 2944–2945) and Padiamenope (Carrier 2010: 3214–3215) have *n hm.tj=fj nb n t=f n t k3=f dr t=f r=f*, “There is no one who shall be turned back without his bread and without the bread and the bread of his *ka*, his bread being held away from him”(W). Here similarly as in Menekhibnekau, *t* “bread” has been reinterpreted as *mwt* “death”, and the entire passage was given a wholly different meaning. The lacuna is emended according to Menekhibnekau’s version (see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 233f.)

⁵⁵⁴ This is written the same in the OK versions and in Menekhibnekau and Iufaa, probably with omission under relevance, with the object of *jtj* being clear to the ancient Egyptian reader.

⁵⁵⁵ It is not clear if the sign is \curvearrowright or \curvearrowleft ; thus, it is left according to the meaning of the text.

⁵⁵⁶ The sign *k*, belonging to the next column and word, was erroneously written at the end of this column, probably because of confusion with the common phrase *jm=k*.

⁵⁵⁷ The OK versions, and also Padimanope and CG 41002, have Seth. Menekhibnekau has Horus, like Iufaa (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 234)

<i>3s.t hn<^> nb.t-hw.t [jnq] r=t[n jnq r=tn ^b r=tn ^b r=tn]</i>	Isis and Nephthys, [do unite, do unite, do purify, do purify!] ⁵⁵⁸
<i>(15-19) jj rf jw=f-^3 hwrr psd.t (15-19) 3h (j)hm(.w)-sk</i>	Surely Iufaa comes, a fledgling of the Ennead, a blessed spirit and an imperishable star.
<i>(15) jmn.tjw jmj.w t3 n(j) jw=f-^3</i>	The westerners who are on earth belong to Iufaa.
<i>(16) j3b.tjw jmj.w t3 n(j) jw=f-^3</i>	The easterners who are on earth belong to Iufaa.
<i>(17) sm^c.wtjw jmj.w t3 n(j) jw=f-^3</i>	The southerners who are on earth belong to Iufaa.
<i>(18) mh.tjw jmj.w t3 n(j) jw=f-^3</i>	The northerners who are on earth belong to Iufaa.
<i>(19) jmj.w nn.t n(j) jw=f-^3</i>	Those who are in the nether-sky belong to Iufaa.
<i>(15-19) jj rf jw=f-^3 hwrr psd.t (15-19) 3h (j)hm(.w)-sk</i>	Iufaa comes, a fledgling of the Ennead, a blessed spirit and an imperishable star.

In this spell, Iufaa comes to Osiris and is announced to him as an imperishable star and a blessed spirit, as in the previous spell to Atum. He is protected, purified and mighty; he has power over both the minds (*jb.w*, “hearts”) and potentials (*k3.w*)⁵⁵⁹ of men, is mightier than the gods, and death can have no power over him, and he has control over the inhabitants of all the earth and the nether-sky.

⁵⁵⁸ The final part of the spell is written in a tabular form underneath its min text, like in the version of Menekhibnekau (see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 233). The text in the table is written from right to left, like the main text in columns. For better orientation in the text, the direction is left from left to right in the transcription to correspond with the main text.

⁵⁵⁹ For this interpretation of *ka*, see Nyord 2019: 150–203.

10.3. The bottom from the feet, the Pyramid texts 219 and 220 (*s3h.w* liturgy A1 continued), columns 1-19

The last text of the bottom is written from the opposite side of the sarcophagus, i. e. from the feet of the deceased (western side) towards his head, and is written from left to right. Unfortunately, the text is very corrupted, and many signs, in some cases including the entire columns, are unreadable. Although the text is very fragmentary, it consists of two spells, judging from its preserved parts. The first one, covering columns 1-12, is a fragment of PT 219; the second one is an excerpt of PT 222. The *s3h.w* liturgy A1 thus continues here in the opposite direction.

PT 219 (§ 179a/180a(?) – 193c)

The text covers the first 12 columns of the decoration of the sarcophagus, running from left to right. Most of the spell is written in columns, except for the repeated part: “He will live, and Iufaa will live. He will not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish. He will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down. He will get away, and Iufaa will get away”, written horizontally, covering the entire 12 columns. The spell is very corrupted and was partly reconstructed according to the parallel versions of the Old Kingdom and the Late Period, especially the contemporary variant of Menekhibnekau.

(1-12) [*ʕnh=f*]=<=f> *ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3 nn mwt=f n* <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
m(wt) jw=f-ʕ3 n sk=f n sk jw=f-ʕ3 [n nhp=f n not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
nhp=f jw=f-ʕ3] nhp=f nhp jw=f-ʕ3 perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not
 be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast
 down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get
 away,

(3) [*hr.j-tp*] *sp3.wt=f* [chief] of his nomes.⁵⁶²

(1-12) [*ʕnh=f*]=<=f> *ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3 nn mwt=f n* <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
m(wt) jw=f-ʕ3 n sk=f n sk jw=f-ʕ3 [n nhp=f n not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
nhp=f jw=f-ʕ3] nhp=f nhp jw=f-ʕ3 perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not
 be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast
 down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get
 away.

(4) [...*k3-*] *htp* [...] The Satisfied [*ka*].⁵⁶³

(1-12) [*ʕnh=f*]=<=f> *ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3 nn mwt=f n* <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
m(wt) jw=f-ʕ3 n sk=f n sk jw=f-ʕ3 [n nhp=f n not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
nhp=f jw=f-ʕ3] nhp=f nhp jw=f-ʕ3 perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not
 be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast
 down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get
 away.

(5) [...] *tz.[tj] jnq.tj* [...]] who is in the chest, who is in the net.⁵⁶⁴

(1-12) [*ʕnh=f*]=<=f> *ʕnh jw=f-ʕ3 nn mwt=f n* <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
m(wt) jw=f-ʕ3 n sk=f n sk jw=f-ʕ3 [n nhp=f n not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
nhp=f jw=f-ʕ3] nhp=f nhp jw=f-ʕ3 perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not

⁵⁶² The entire phrase (§ 182a) reads: *m rn=k n jm.j ʕnd.t hr.j-tp sp3.wt=f* – “In your name of One who is in the Andjet-nome, chief of his nomes”.

⁵⁶³ The entire phrase (§ 183a) reads: *m rn=k n jm.j hw.t srq.t k3-htp* – “In your name of One who is in the temple of Selket, the Satisfied *ka*.”

⁵⁶⁴ The entire phrase (§ 184 a–b) reads: *m rn=k n jm.j sh-ntr jm.j k3p dbn.tj tz.tj jnq.tj* – “In your name of One who is in the divine booth, who is in the censuring, who is in the box, who is in the chest, who is in the net”. Traces of some signs before *tz* are visible, but it is not possible to say which ones.

be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

(6) [...(?)]⁵⁶⁵

[...(?)]

(1-12) [^cnh=f]<=f> ^cnh jw=f-^c3 nn mwt=f n
m(wt) jw=f-^c3 n sk=f n sk jw=f-^c3 [n nhp=f n
nhp=f jw=f-^c3] nhp=f nhp jw=f-^c3

<He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

m rn=k n jm.j s3h tr=k r⁽⁷⁾p.t⁵⁶⁶ tr=k] r t3 wsjr
p{št}<hr>⁵⁶⁷ hr=k m33=k jw=f-^c3 mtwt=k pr
jm=k spd

[...In your name of *One who is in Orion*, your season being toward the sky and your season being] toward the earth.⁵⁶⁸ Osiris, turn your face and see Iufaa, your seed, who emerged from you, being effective.

(1-12) [^cnh=f]<=f> ^cnh jw=f-^c3 nn mwt=f n
m(wt) jw=f-^c3 n sk=f n sk jw=f-^c3 [n nhp=f n
nhp=f jw=f-^c3] nhp=f nhp jw=f-^c3

<He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get away.

(8)[...]z3.t=k htm.tj jm=s

[...] your daughter, you being equipped with it.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁵ The paragraph 189a should be here: *m rn=k n jm.j hđ p3 j^cr*, or *p3^cr* – “In your name of One who is in the Mansion of the Mace, the risen one” (for the comment on the meaning of *p3^cr*, see Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 243, note 1052; and here, note 417). Similarly, as in the 2nd column, there is no trace of text left, thus, it is not possible to say which /if any signs were written here.

⁵⁶⁶ It is possible that the preposition *r* was also written in the 7th column. The signs are not readable, but the space is big enough maximally for two horizontal signs.

⁵⁶⁷ The mistake is based on the phonetic equivalence of *š* and *h* and the confusion of \approx with \equiv , two similar signs. The same mistake also occurs in Menekhibnekau (Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 236 and 243). In the second variant of PT 219 on Iufaa’s sarcophagus, this part of the epithet does not occur, see chapter 9.2.4.

⁵⁶⁸ Or “at the sky” and “at the earth” (see also the translation of Allen 2005: 37), see also note 418.

⁵⁶⁹ The whole part (§ 189 a–b) should be read: *m rn=k n jm.j hw.t-wr-jh.w^cwj=k h3 h.t z3.t=k htm.tj jm=s* : “In your name of One who is in the Mansion of the Great Cattle, your arms being around the mail, your daughter, you

(1-12) [$\epsilon nh=f$] $\leq=f$ $\epsilon nh jw=f^{-\epsilon} nn mwt=f n$ <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
 $m(wt) jw=f^{-\epsilon} n sk=f n sk jw=f^{-\epsilon} [n nhp=f n$ not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
 $nhp=f jw=f^{-\epsilon}] nhp=f nhp jw=f^{-\epsilon}$ perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not
 be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast
 down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get
 away.


⁽⁹⁾[...z3(?)⁵⁷⁰]. $t=k \dot{h}tm.tj jm=s$ [...] your [daughte]r, you being equipped
 with it.

(1-12) [$\epsilon nh=f$] $\leq=f$ $\epsilon nh jw=f^{-\epsilon} nn mwt=f n$ <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
 $m(wt) jw=f^{-\epsilon} n sk=f n sk jw=f^{-\epsilon} [n nhp=f n$ not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
 $nhp=f jw=f^{-\epsilon}] nhp=f nhp jw=f^{-\epsilon}$ perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not
 be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast
 down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get
 away.

⁽¹⁰⁾ $h_3 h.t z_3.t [=k] \dot{h}tm[.tj] jm=s$ (...your arms)⁵⁷¹ being around the meal,
 [your] daughter, you being equip[ped] with it.

(1-12) [$\epsilon nh=f$] $\leq=f$ $\epsilon nh jw=f^{-\epsilon} nn mwt=f n$ <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
 $m(wt) jw=f^{-\epsilon} n sk=f n sk jw=f^{-\epsilon} [n nhp=f n$ not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
 $nhp=f jw=f^{-\epsilon}] nhp=f nhp jw=f^{-\epsilon}$ perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not
 be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast
 down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get
 away.

being equipped with it” (see Allen 2013, II: PT 219 and also the commented translation of the variant of Menekhibnekau, Landgráfová – Bareš – Míčková 2022: 244). The space at the beginning of the column is small (maximally, $h.t$ might be originally there); and it is not possible to tell if there were any text in the previous column after spd .

⁵⁷⁰ There does not seem to be enough space for the entire  sign. It might be written in the previous column, together with the rest of the formula (§ 188 a–b): $m rn=k n jm.j dp \epsilon.wj=k h_3 h.t z_3.t=k \dot{h}tm.tj jm=s$, but no signs are visible there, see also the previous note. It is also possible that this paragraph preceded the previous one, as in Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. The order of the sentences here was taken from the variant of Menekhibnekau because the Late Period versions often correspond (often including mistakes, see, e.g. note 567).

⁵⁷¹ The entire phrase (§ 190a-b) is: $m rn=k n jm.j wn.w rs.j mh.tj \epsilon.wj=k h_3 h.t z_3.t=k \dot{h}tm.tj jm=s$.

(11) [jr].t jšn h.t=f hr=s [jfh n=k] s(j) s3=k [... ey]⁵⁷² and your belly will be round under
[hr.w ċnh=k jm=s] it, your son [Horus will release] it [for you,
so that you may live through it].

(1-12) [ċnh=f]<=f> ċnh jw=f-ċ3 nn mwt=f n <He> [will live] and Iufaa will live. He will
m(wt) jw=f-ċ3 n sk=f n sk jw=f-ċ3 [n nhp=f n not die, and Iufaa will not die. He will not
nhp=f jw=f-ċ3] nhp=f nhp jw=f-ċ3 perish, and Iufaa will not perish. [He will not
be cast down, and Iufaa will not be cast
down]. He will get away, and Iufaa will get
away.

(12)[...] n jw=f-ċ3 qs.w [=k qs.w=f zj=k zj [...]of Iufaa,⁵⁷³ [your] bones [are his bones.
jw=f-ċ3 zj=k] m3ċ-hrw z[j]j[w=f-3ċ m3ċ-hrw] When you go, Iufaa goes, when you depart],
being justified, I[ufaa] dep[arts, being
justified].

The first part of the spell, which main motif is the shared fate of Osiris and the deceased, who is presented as the family member of the Heliopolitan Ennead, is omitted here. The text begins in the second part, where Osiris is addressed by several different epithets and his and Iufaa's fate are again equated. At the end of the text, parts of the deceased's body are identified with those of Osiris and proclaimed that both will live and prosper; for a closer comment on this text, see chapter 9.2.4., where the other, a more complete variant of PT 219, is commented.

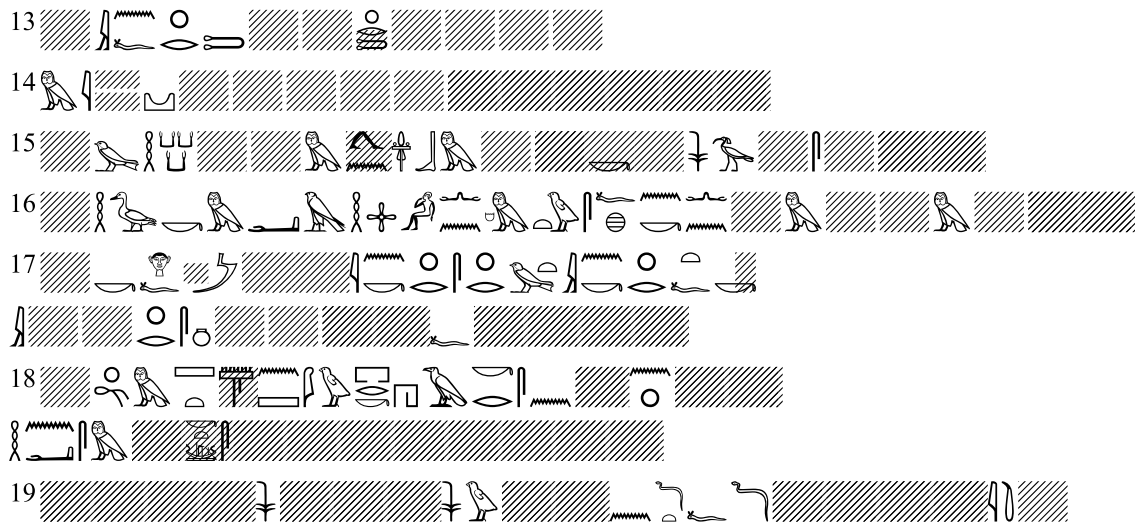
PT 222 variant (?)

Unfortunately, the last spell of the bottom of the sarcophagus is very corrupted and poorly visible. Judging from its fragments, it could be misinterpreted and/or excerpted part of Pyramid Texts spell 222, but considering the poor state of the signs, it is difficult to be sure. The fragments of PT 222 also occur at the bottom of the western side of the sarcophagus (see chapter 9.2.5.), also in a very bad state. However, it does not seem that these two spells (or excerpts of them) belong together – each of them is a different part of the original spell, and, mainly, the


⁵⁷² The entire phrase (§ 192 a-b) reads: *m rn=k n jm.j njw.t š.w wnm.n=k jr.t jšn h.t=k hr=s jfh n=k s(j) s3=k hr.w ċnh=k jm=s.*



⁵⁷³ The phrase (§ 192 a-b) starts with *d.t=k d.t n N*, “your flesh is his flesh”, and then the part with bones follows.

direction of writing as well as its arrangement in space differs (they are written in different columns; thus the text does not make a single unit).



- (13) [...] *jj.n=f hr=t* [...] *h[r=t ...]* [...] He has come before you [...] bef[ore you...].⁵⁷⁴
- (14) *m j[n.]t (?)* [...] [...] in/from the valley (?) [...].
- (15) [...] *wr(t)-hk3.w* [...] *m^cn(?) m j3b m [...k* [...] Great of Magic [...] turn(?) from
...] sw 3h [...] *s[...]* [...] east(?)/in ceasing(?) [...] him/south/Upper
 Egypt⁵⁷⁵, mighty(?) [...].⁵⁷⁶
- (16) [...] *htm=k m^c hr.w hwnj nn hm.tw* [...] you are equipped from the hand of Horus
sfh.n=k nn [...] *m [...]m [...]*⁵⁷⁷ Hewenti,⁵⁷⁸ that what you have released will
 not be destroyed, not [...].

⁵⁷⁴ According to notes of L. Bareš, the text could speak about the goddess, since among other not many clear signs, there appears the determinative of , but the sign is not visible anymore.

⁵⁷⁵ The sign  can also be .

⁵⁷⁶ This could be corrupted, misunderstood or re-interpreted § 204 a – c from the Pyramid Texts spell 222: *htm n=k tw m wr.t-hk3.w sth jm.j nb.w nb t3-šm^c.w n fh.tj n=k n j3b.tj n=k m tn jr=k b3.tj s^hm.tj r ntr.w šm^c.w 3h.w=sn jst* – “provide yourself with the Great of Magic, (even) Seth dwelling in Nubet, Lord of Upper Egypt, nothing is lost to you, nothing has ceased for you, behold, you are more renowned and more powerful than the gods of Upper Egypt and their spirits!” (translation after Faulker 1969: 50).

⁵⁷⁷ This part is probably a misunderstood (and/or corrupted) (§ 206 a–b) from the Pyramid Texts spell 222, which reads: *htm n=k tw m hr.w hwnj n hm fh.tj n=k n hm j3b.tj n=k* “equip yourself as Horus, being young, indeed nothing is lost to you, nothing has ceased (?) for you” (translation after Faulkner 1969: 50).



⁵⁷⁸ For this form of Horus, see LGG V: 273.



(17) [...] *k hr=f m3* [...] *jj*⁵⁷⁹ *.n=k hr=s hr wr.t* [...] before him/his face, see (?) [...] You
jj.n=k hr jt.j=k [...] *jj* [*.n=k?*] *hr snw* [...] have come before her, before The Great one,
 you have come before your father, [you have]
 come before [...].

(18) [...] *h(?) m št3*⁵⁸⁰ *n šw pr=k h3=k r=sn* [...] secret/image(?) of Shu (?). May you
 [...] *nh?* [...] *hn^c ms* [*kt.t...*]⁵⁸¹ ascend and descend to them [...] together
 with the night-barque [...].


(19) [...] *sw ... sw* [...] *n d.t=f d* [...] *tj* [...] [...] him [...] him [...] of his [own?] body
 [...].⁵⁸²

This text is in a very bad state. Judging from its fragments, (some of) its main motifs are the coming of the deceased before the individual deities and proclaiming his might, power and ability to move according to his wishes and accompany the gods.

⁵⁷⁹ The sign looks like  and not , but it is probably corrupted or not clearly visible anymore.

⁵⁸⁰ The determinative looks more like  than , but the text is poorly preserved, and because of the damage, there is not much to judge from the context.

⁵⁸¹ There is a similar phrase in the Pyramid Text spell 222 (§210a): *pr=k h3=k h3=k hn^c nb.t-hw.t snk.w mskt.t* – “ascend and descend, descend with Nephthys, sink into darkness with the night-barque“ (translation after Faulkner 1969: 50). The previous part with Shu appear in §208 c as : *sfh=k^c b.w=k m šw.w šw* - “may you wash away your impurity in the lakes of Shu“. However, none part of the text corresponds exactly with the text of Iufaa (or the text is too corrupted to be certain).

⁵⁸² PT 222 ends with a sentence (*jtm.w sj^c n=k N pn šn n=k sw m-hnw^c .wj=k z3=k pw n d.t=k d.t* “Atum, make this N ascend to you, encircle him in your arms, (because) he is your son of your body“. The text of Iufaa is too corrupted to say if the part is corresponding or not. According to notes of L. Bareš, the sign  should be read at the end of the column, but only a trace of the sign is visible nowadays.

11. CONCLUSIONS

“His Majesty found it as a work of the ancestors, (but) worm-eaten and not known from beginning to end. So His Majesty let [this text] to be copied anew, [so it became] more beautiful than it had been before.”

- The Memphite theology, 2

The decoration of the inner side of Iufaa’s outer sarcophagus is quite a unique textual corpus. Although decorated sarcophagi of the Late Period are preserved, none is equivalent to the one of Iufaa. The (inner) anthropoid sarcophagi (for their decoration generally see e. g. Buhl 1959, Leitz – Mahrous – Tawfik (eds.) 2018, Leitz 2021) as well as the “rectangular” sarcophagi (for examples see Manassa 2007), if decorated, usually contain excerpts from well-known textual corpora, such as the Book of the Dead or various kinds of the Underworld books, or at least texts known from contemporary funerary literature and tomb decoration; unusual or unknown texts appear only in small numbers, and they are usually relatively short. In the case of Iufaa, that fact is valid only partially. Although many of the spells can be identified, and several have parallels in older material and /or contemporary tombs, the significant part of the texts is unknown (so far) from any other source.

The decoration of the inner side of the sarcophagus can be divided into four/five different units, including the bottom and except for the lid, which remained unfinished probably because of Iufaa’s untimely death. Each of these units represents various aspects of the afterlife and stresses different motives and religious backgrounds. Each of them thus can be read as a closed, thematically separate section, representing one side of the successful transition into the afterlife; however, all of them mainly ensure protection of the deceased, providing him with everything he needs in the realm of the dead and presenting his knowledge of secret and sacred things, allowing him to live forever among the gods, or even to be identified with them.

The known part of the texts contains mainly an extensive variant of the Pyramid Texts offering ritual and *s3h.w* liturgy A1. These texts appear on the lower part and bottom of the sarcophagus. The rest of the decoration contains texts without any known parallels. The spells around the head are focused on protecting the deceased, identified with the sun god, by the Fiery goddess, presented as the *uraeus* on his forehead. The sides of the sarcophagus are covered with texts praising various, mainly protective deities and also demonstrating Iufaa’s

knowledge of the different myths and rituals. The northern side focuses on the Fiery or Distant goddess, represented as Sekhmet and Hathor, the protective group of gods called the Lords of Shednu, and praising the defeat of Apophis. The southern side mentions several creation and aetiological myths and rituals related to them, connected with the Heliopolitan and Memphite religious background.

The question then arises of how to “read” the sarcophagus, if from the head to the feet of the deceased or in the opposite direction. Considering the fact that the head of the deceased is situated towards the east, one would expect decoration to be directed towards the eastern side as to the final point of the deceased’s journey through the underworld, i. e. to the rising sun. The decoration of the walls of Iufaa’s burial chamber seems to confirm this hypothesis: while the western wall contains *s3h.w* texts and also the description of the primordial snakes (Langráfová – Janák 2021: 180–206), the northern (and partly eastern) wall thematises the purification of the deceased (Langráfová – Míčková 2020: 183–207) and the southern wall his embalming (Langráfová – Míčková 2021: 359–369), the eastern wall focuses on praising of the rising sun, rebirth and resurrection (Langráfová – Janák – Míčková 2021: 347–357),⁵⁸³ after avoiding all dangers and getting all necessities for the eternal life.

However, in the case of the sarcophagus, the direction of the decoration is not so straightforward to recognise. Although the lower part of the texts focuses more on “subsistence” topics, i. e. providing the deceased with everything he needs, such as sustenance, clothing, jewellery, unguents, insignia of power etc., while the upper areas of the walls and the space around the head of the deceased focus more on Iufaa’s sacred knowledge, his protection by different deities (especially the sun’s eye) and also his identification with the (sun) god(s), several problems occur. At first, one cannot decide which of the wall should be read first, the northern or the southern. The motives of these textual units are different, but, on the other hand, they are spatial mirrors of each other – both sections cover the exact number of columns, which, among others, suggests that they should be ideally “active” together – together they represent various sides of the sacred knowledge and protection. Moreover, all these texts, as well as the texts from around the head of the deceased, are read from the head to the feet (i.e., column 1 starts on the forehead of the deceased and the text then continues “downward”), including the southern side, written in a retrograde direction. Another fact that needs to be mentioned is that

⁵⁸³ Most of the mentioned articles focus primarily on the general motives of the decoration of the particular part of the tomb or some examples of the texts representing the presented motives—the publication of all texts from the burial chamber of Iufaa is in preparation.

the part of the offering ritual continues on the bottom of the sarcophagus, starting from the upper part and continuing downwards, while the continuation of the *s3h.w* A1 liturgy is read in the opposite direction, i. e. from the feet of the deceased. After considering these facts, I decided to present the texts here in the direction of reading, i. e. from the head of the deceased to his feet; the texts from the bottom are then presented at the end as a separate chapter because, although they are connected thematically with the decoration of the lower part of the sarcophagus, they are a spatially different unit. They also differ by way of writing: the signs are only written in ink, while the other parts of the decoration are carved in a sunk relief. However, the possibility remains to re-arrange the reading sequence later, after a detailed analysis of all the texts from Iufaa's tomb together.

The unknown texts from the inner side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus are unique also in their motives and content. On the first side, many of them are not typical genres of funeral literature. There are plenty of (aetiological) myths, lists of the manifestations of a single deity, "encyclopaedical" descriptions of the groups of gods, hymns without explicit connections with the afterlife, or ritual instructions connected with a concrete festival(s). The content of these texts is thus more similar to priestly manuals or handbooks, preserved from the Late and Ptolemaic Period but typically appearing on a different media – papyri.⁵⁸⁴ It is, therefore, possible that some of the texts from the tomb of Iufaa were originally parts of such mythological or ritual handbooks. Using the texts, which were originally parts of the (temple) rituals and then were adapted for the funerary sphere, is a common practice of the Late Period; moreover, there is at least one example of a preserved parallel from the tomb of Iufaa. The Purification ritual, written on the northern and partly on the eastern wall of Iufaa's burial chamber, is partially preserved on papyri (published as pBerlin P 1342, Schott 1957: 46–92, Quack 2013: 115–158), scenes related to it also appear in the Ptolemaic temples. It is supposed that it might originally be a ritual taking place during the coronation of the king (Landgráfová – Míčková 2020: 184–185). Similarly, the "Snake encyclopaedia" from the western arch seems to be a handbook or compendium of *hrp-srq.t* priest (Landgráfová – Janák 2021: 180–181). Similar examples are also found on Iufaa's outer sarcophagus. The text dealing with the Lords of Shednu, appearing on the northern side of the sarcophagus, reminds of the priestly handbooks both by its content and form. The described deities typically occur in such types of texts (although their depiction also appears on sarcophagi of the sacred bulls of Horbeit, but without the accompanying text),

⁵⁸⁴ As examples of such ritual handbooks can serve e. g., p. Jumilhac (Vandier 1956), Myths and legends of the Delta (p. Brooklyn 47.218.84, Meeks 2009), or papyrus Salt 825 (Derchain 1965) and many further.

and the structure of the spell accompanying them again resembles that of the aforementioned compendia. Similarly, the lists of the deities, named on the southern side of the sarcophagus, remain the similar lists appearing in the priestly handbook or temple walls. The already mentioned aetiological myths, occurring several times on the southern side of the sarcophagus, are also typical features of this genre, explaining the origin of certain phenomena, epithets or cultic practices. Several texts also focus on the cosmogony and description of the world's arrangement and state of things before the world was created. All these texts fit well with the motifs of the decoration of Iufaa's tomb, where the special knowledge of the deceased is often stressed, but they do not occur in (contemporary) tombs. One then has to ask what was the origin of these texts and also, what was the reason why Iufaa decided to have his tomb decorated in such an unusual way.

Since the used texts are not a standard variant of decoration of tombs, neither are preserved among the (so far) known religious texts, it seems that they were chosen on purpose from an unknown textual corpus. Although the texts are very diverse and each has its specifics, plenty share the stressed topics. One of the crucial motives is the strong identification of the deceased with the sun god, which can be traced in the contemporary tomb (see e. g. Book of the Dead spell 42, appearing quite often, or, for example, the protective spell from the top of the lid of Menekhibnekau, see Landgráfová – Bareš – Mičková 2022: 145–155, with a parallel on the outer side of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus). The deceased is not just the one who praises the sun and can accompany the sun god in his nightly journey, but he puts himself directly in the position of the deity, which strengthens his power, protection and also his continuous rebirth and regeneration. In the texts of Iufaa's outer sarcophagus, the identification of the deceased with the sun god is stressed mainly through the relationship with the sun's eye goddess, his daughter and wife, protecting him from danger and repelling his enemies. This motif is well connected with another important topic: the texts related to the new year and the epagomenal days. This period of danger, followed by a successful renewal, parallels the resurrection and access to eternal life after death. Many spells in Iufaa's tomb are focused on naming the different beings connected with this period of the year, appeasing them, praising them in their benevolent variants, and asking them for protection. Except for their grace and protection, by naming and describing them, the deceased proclaims his knowledge of them and thus has the power to command them and act as their master. The repelling of evil generally plays an important role, as we can see, for example, in the long text praising Ra's victory over Apophis, written twice on the sarcophagus. Of great importance are also the Heliopolitan and Memphite religious

backgrounds, especially concerning cosmogony and cosmology. Again, the deceased puts himself into the position of the one who knows the secrets of the gods and of creation; moreover, by carving these texts on the wall of his eternal dwelling, he assures the world's potential to be recreated and renewed again, whatever happens. The link to Heliopolis is not surprising – this religious centre plays an essential role throughout the tomb of Iufaa, where the city is often mentioned as the place where the named deities dwell or where the rituals, as well as mythological events, take place. The Memphite area and connection to Ptah suggest the relationship to more or less contemporary religious thoughts about creation through the power of speech and ideas of the creator god, and generally, the power of (sacred) speech and (divine) mind, which, obviously, is necessary to the decoration of the tomb serves its purpose.

Before suggesting a conclusion concerning the origin and way of choosing these texts, the specifics of the spells from the known textual corpora must also be mentioned. As said above, most of them are Pyramid Texts spells connected with the Offering ritual or *s3h.w* liturgy, accompanied by several associated spells. Since these spells were transmitted throughout and used in the funerary texts from the Old Kingdom onwards and are usually similar to each other and repetitive, usually there are not many significant changes in them. However, one peculiarity must be mentioned – not their content, but their position. In contemporary tombs, these spells usually occur on the walls of the burial chamber, in the tomb of Iufaa, they appear on the sarcophagi, while the burial chamber is decorated almost entirely by unknown, unique texts.⁵⁸⁵ It thus seems that Iufaa wanted to keep the standard, traditional decoration in his tomb, but more important was for him to add specific texts covering most of the decoration. The standard texts, assuring the provision and protection of the deceased by the common spells, thus cover only a part of the entire decoration. The hieroglyphs in Iufaa's tomb are also generally of a tiny scale (compared with contemporary tombs). These facts together show that Iufaa wanted to cover any possible space in the tomb with the texts, from the significant part very specific ones, which should help him with his transition into the afterlife and transformation into the blessed dead or/and god.

Considering the unusual nature and peculiarity of all of these texts, it seems that Iufaa, or the person responsible for the decoration of his tomb, had to have access to the place where texts of this type were kept, which might be a temple library or archive. Taking into account

⁵⁸⁵ The same situation can be seen on the Coffin Texts spells, where those, common in the Late Period, are in all contemporary tombs written on the walls of the burial chambers (see Gestermann 2005: 1–2), while Iufaa has all of them on his sarcophagi.

that Iufaa could afford such a tomb and his possible relation to the other owners of the shaft tombs from the Abusir necropolis, who held important ranks and offices, he must be a member of an influential and wealthy family. Iufaa himself, based on his carnal remains, suffered from a severe disease and probably did not play an active role in the royal or priestly circles. However, this disease seems crucial for his tomb's unique decoration. The dangerous beings from whom he wanted to be protected are often, among others, the deities/demons spreading illnesses, especially during the turn of the year, and his aim to be protected from illnesses, diseases and state of being bedridden is mentioned several times. This suggests that he wanted to be protected from his illness (and illnesses generally) in the afterlife and magically assure that his life after death would be better than his life on earth. This leads, among others, to the conclusion that the individuals could "compose" the decoration of their tombs according to their ideas and wishes and that they can obviously choose from the plenty of texts and representations if they could afford it.

Further research of particular parts and motifs of the presented texts might be helpful for their more profound understanding. Hopefully, in the future, some parallels to these texts will be found, which could help to make some still obscure passages clearer, whether in the contemporary tombs, papyri with ritual and mythological handbooks or on the walls of the (Ptolemaic) temples. However, the presented material represents a unique textual corpus, revealing many challenging, exciting and essential information about the textual tradition, religious background and thinking of the Late Period and generally the Egyptian religion and culture.

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15. THE LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The list of abbreviations used in the text

BD = Book of the Dead
CT = Coffin Texts
D = Dendera
E = Edfu
LÄ = Lexikon der Ägyptologie
LGG = Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen
PT = Pyramid Texts
TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae
Wb = Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache
WbDrog = Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogenennamen

The list of abbreviations used in bibliography

ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK)
AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia
ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE)
AeUAT = Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments
AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AnOr = Analecta Orientalia
AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament
APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
BA – Bibliotheca Aegyptia
BAR IS – British Archaeological Reports International Series
BdE – Bibliothèque d'Étude
BIFAO – Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BEStud = Brown Egyptological Studies
BN = Biblische Notizen
BNS = Bulletin of Nabataean Studies
BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève
DAWW = Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse
CNI = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications
DAIK – Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
DemStud = Demotische Studien
ENiM = Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne
ET – Etudes et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences
GM – Göttinger Miszellen

GO = Göttinger Orientforschungen
 GOF – Göttinger Orientforschungen
 Gr.Md. = Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter
 HAeB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge
 HES = Centre des Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IVe Section de l'École pratique
 des Hautes Études, II: Hautes Études Orientales
 JAC = Journal of Ancient Civilizations
 JARCE – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
 JEA – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
 JES = Journal of Egyptological Studies
 JfAC – Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
 JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies
 JKAW – Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt
 MAeS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
 MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
 (IFAO) du Cairo (Berlin/Cairo)
 NouvClio = La nouvelle Clio
 OBO – Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
 OLA – Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
 OM = Orientalia Monspeliensia
 OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
 OR – Orientalia
 PAM = Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean
 PAe – Probleme der Ägyptologie
 RdE – Revue d'Égyptologie
 RE = Rites Égyptiens
 RecTrav – Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et
 assyriennes
 SAK – Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
 SAOC – Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation
 SHR = Studies in the History of Religions
 SPBD Studies – Saite through Ptolemaic Book of the Dead Studies
 VIAe = Veröffentlichungen des Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität
 Wien
 YES = Yale Egyptological Studies
 USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology
 ZÄS – Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
 ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik