

THE GUARDIANS OF MENEKHIBNEKAU: CHAPTER 144 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN THE SHAFT TOMB OF MENEKHIBNEKAU AT ABUSIR

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ABSTRACT

Although the Saite-Persian shaft tomb of Menkehibnekau at Abusir is more conservative in its decoration programme than that of Iufaa, it nonetheless contains several interesting and unusual features. One such element of decoration is Chapter 144 of the Book of the Dead with its vignette on the southern (entrance) wall of the burial chamber. While the placement of Pyramid Text snake spells at such locations for apotropaic/guardian functions is well known, demonic gate-guardians have so far been found only here. The vignette, moreover, uses the three-dimensional feature of the entrance to the burial chamber as the depiction of its "gates," thus stressing even more the dual function of the BD 144 demons as both underworld gate guardians and guardians of the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

THE SHAFT TOMB OF MENEKHIBNEKAU

The shaft tomb of general Menekhibnekau¹ is one of the three hitherto explored large tombs on the Saite-Persian cemetery in the northwestern part of the Abusir necropolis. It is located to the south of the tomb of Iufaa² and roughly contemporaneous with it (the entire Abusir shaft tomb cemetery apparently having been built within a short period of about 50 years).³

DECORATION PROGRAM AND TEXTS

While the decoration of the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau is less extensive than that of Iufaa⁴ and consists basically of the standard program of the coeval shaft tombs, it still contains several interesting and unusual elements, such as the personifications of the hours of day and night⁵ and the guardian demons with Chapter 144 of the Book of the Dead, which is the topic of the present study.

BD 144 IN THE SHAFT TOMB OF MENEKHIBNEKAU

Chapter 144 of the Book of the Dead, with its accompanying vignette, covers the entire south (entrance) wall. It is divided into two horizontal registers, with the top register containing the demons of gates 1–3 and the lower one the demons of gates 4–7. The sections pertaining to each gate are divided from one another by vertical lines and have a uniform setup: under the identification of the gate in a line of text at the top are three demons (standing, sitting, or squatting), with their titles and names inscribed in a column of text before each of them. The text of the chapter is inscribed in 33 columns under the vignette, around the arched entrance leading to the burial chamber. The very bottom part of the wall has been left blank.

THE VIGNETTE

In the following section, the images of the demon

guardians and their accompanying texts are described and analyzed in detail.



FIGURE 1: The first gate of BD 144 in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

The guardians of the first gate have the following forms: a standing ram-headed man, a seated man holding a kid, and a standing baboon-headed man holding a stalk with an ear of corn in his hand. The text reads:

'r.t tpj.t rn n jr.j-'\]=s shd-\hr.w '\Š\]-jr.w jr.j=s smt\[6\]
smj jm=s swh-\hrw\[7\]

The first gate. The name of its doorkeeper is "One with inverted faces, Numerous of forms," of the one who guards it, "Hearer," and of the one who reports in it, "Roaring of voice."



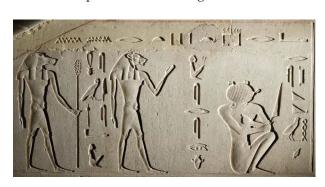
FIGURE 2: The second gate of BD 144 in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

The guardians of THE SECOND GATE have the following forms: a seated man with a ram's head, a hippopotamus standing Tweret-like on its hind legs, holding a dagger, and a standing baboon-headed man holding a stalk with an ear of corn in his hand. The text reads:

ZEIZZUZZUNƏNNI NI

r.t sn.nwt rn n jr.j- s=s dwn-h.t jr.j=s skd-hr smj t s=s

The second gate. The name of its doorkeeper is "He with extended forehead," of the one who guards it, "Watchful of face," and of the one who reports in it, "Burning one."



 $\mbox{\sc Figure}$ 3: The third gate of BD 144 in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

The guardians of THE THIRD GATE have the following forms: a man with a turtle in place of the head, a standing man with the head of a lion, and a standing baboon-headed man holding a stalk with an ear of corn in his hand. The text reads:

The third gate. The name of its doorkeeper is "Eater of putrefaction," of the one who guards it, "He with alert heart," and of the one who reports in it, "Great one."



FIGURE 4: The fourth gate of BD 144 in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

The guardians of THE FOURTH GATE have the following forms: a standing ram-headed man, a standing man, and a standing baboon-headed man holding a stalk with an ear of corn in his hand. The text reads:

'r.t 4.t rn n jr.j-'\]=s hsf-hr '\Š\]-hrw jr.j=s rs-hr smj jm=s hsf jd

The fourth gate. The name of its doorkeeper is "Repulsive of face, Many-voiced," of the one who guards it, "Alert of face," and of the one who reports in it, "Punisher of the Angry one."



FIGURE 5: The fifth gate of BD 144 in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

The guardians of the FIFTH GATE have the following forms: a seated Bes-faced man holding two animal shanks in his hands, a standing man with the head

of a cow, and a standing baboon-headed man holding a stalk with an ear of corn in his hand. The text reads:



 $r.t \ 5.t \ rn \ n \ jr.j- = s \ nh \ m \ fnt(.w) \ jr.j=s \ bw \ smj$ $jm <= s > znb-hr \ khb \ jt^9$

The fifth gate. The name of its doorkeeper is "He who lives on worms," of the one who guards it, "Burning one," and of the one who reports in it, "Destructive of face, Raging of onslaught."



FIGURE 6: The sixth gate of BD 144 in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

The guardians of THE SIXTH GATE have the following forms: a standing ram-headed man, a standing man with the head of a lion, and a standing baboonheaded man holding a stalk with an ear of corn in his hand. The text reads:

r.t 6.t rn n jr.j- $=s > k^{10}-t khb-\underline{h}rw jr.j=s jnj-\underline{h}r smj jm=s mdz-\underline{h}r s>-p.t$

The sixth gate. The name of its doorkeeper is "Attacker of bread, Violent of voice", of the one who guards it, "Face-bringer", and of the one who reports in it, "Sharp-faced, guardian of the sky."



FIGURE 7: The seventh gate of BD 144 in the burial chamber of Menekhibnekau.

The guardians of THE SEVENTH GATE have the following forms: a ram-headed man, a standing ram-headed man, and a standing baboon-headed man holding a stalk with an ear of corn in his hand. The text reads:

r.t 7.t rn n jr.j-=s mds <=s > n jr.j =s <math>-hrw smj jm = s hsf hmj.w

The seventh gate. The name of its doorkeeper is "He who crushes em," of the one who guards it, "Loud-voiced," and of the one who reports in it, "Punisher of attackers."

THE VIGNETTE OF BD 144 OF MENEKHIBNEKAU IN CONTEXT OF OTHER ATTESTATIONS OF BD 144V

Menekhibnekau's representations show all three guardians for every gate, each identified by a name, although they do not exactly correspond to any known representation of gates and guardians in the known vignettes of BD 144.11 The range of these representations is very wide, but they can be divided into basic groups according to the number and nature of the guardians represented and the presence (and form) or absence of representations of the individual gates. The database of the Totenbuchprojekt¹² contains 107 papyri of BD 144 with vignette. Three main types (each with subvariants) can be identified: Vignette Type I consists of a row of standing or striding demons with no gates represented, vignette Type II shows 7 gates (each with a demon inside) and 1 or 2 (other) demon(s) standing behind

each gate, and vignette Type III shows 7 gates usually in its upper part, divided from the demons below them, which are usually in pairs, by the identifications of the gates and guardians. The subvariants manifest in differing numbers of demons and types of their heads, the exact nature of the gates represented (usually their frieze), and the relative position of the vignette and chapter text. The 107 attestations are distributed among these three types somewhat unevenly, with a slight but clear preference of Type I (29% are of Type I, 18% are of Type II, 16% of Type III, and 13% cannot be identified due to damage of the papyrus). It is also interesting to look at the historical distribution of the vignette types. TABLE 1 shows the situation for the 76 attestations on papyri.

The table clearly shows that on papyri, vignette Type III, i.e., the arrangement of gates in the upper part of the chapter text and the demons (usually in pairs) below, represents the early version of the vignette: of the 17 New Kingdom papyri with BD Chapter 144V recorded in the Totenbuchprojekt database, 12 have vignette Type III, 1 vignette Type I, and in 4 cases the nature of the vignette cannot be ascertained due to damage. Vignette Type I appears to be the simplified, shortened form (without gates), which could be employed at any time when required, as it is attested from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. Vignette Type II represents the late type, appearing (on papyrus) in the Late Period at the earliest and culminating in the Ptolemaic Period. The papyrus versions show a development from a bound arrangement (in vignette Type III, the gates have to stand in an ordered form next to each other, the whole vignette forming a tall rectangle) to a freer one (the gates of vignette Type II can be arranged in many different forms and can fill all kinds of available space). For the mummy wrappings, the situation is similar: out of the 21 examples which could be checked in the Bonn Totenbuchprojekt archive,¹³ 12 vignettes are of Type I, 4 are of Type II, and 5 are so damaged that the vignette type could not be determined with certainty. Since 17 of these are Ptolemaic, 3 date to the Late Period, and 1 between the Late and early Ptolemaic Periods, the absence of Vignette Type III corroborates the evidence of the papyri. The even greater prevalence of Type I than in the case of the papyri may be explained by the greater difficulty in drawing more complex shapes on the bandage, as well as by greater space (specifically height) restrictions. ¹⁴ Perhaps this

TABLE 1: Temporal distribution of vignette types on papyri (source: Totenbuchprojekt Bonn archive < http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de >, accessed 28 June 2017).

	I	II	III	UNCLEAR
New Kingdom	1ª	_	12 ^b	4°
Third Intermediate Period	1 ^d	_	1 ^e	1 ^f
Late Period	4 g	_	_	2 ^h
Late Period/Ptolemaic	4^{i}	4 ^j	_	_
Ptolemaic	19 ^k	14 ¹	-	8 ^m
Roman	_	14 ⁿ	-	_
Σ	29	19	3	15

Notes

- ^a P. New York Amherst 16.
- P. London BM EA 10489, P. Hannover 1970.37 (P. Brocklehurst 2), P. Triest 12089 a–d, P. Kairo CG 51189, Martin Schøyen Collection (MS 1638), Oslo (formerly), P. Leiden T 2 (SR), P. London BM EA 10477, P. London BM EA 9913, P. Mailand, Ospedale Maggiore (P. Busca), P. Paris Louvre N. 3074, P. Privatsammlung Varga, P. Turin 8438.
- P. London BM EA 9900, P. London BM EA 9953 A, P. Moskau I, 1b, 1060 A (A+B) und B, P. Princeton Pharaonic Roll 5.
- d P. London BM EA 10014.
- P. Kairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980).
- P. London BM EA 10554 (P. Greenfield).
- P. Köln P. Colon. Aeg. 10207, P. London BM EA 10558, P. Vatikan 38611 (P. Vatikan 54), P. Vatikan 48832 (P. Vatikan 1, N. 16).
- ^h P. Kairo J.E. 95841 (S.R. IV 939) [1], P. Paris Louvre N. 3091.
- P. London BM EA 10539 + 10700 + 10733, P. London BM EA 9912, P. London BM EA 9944, P. Privat MacGregor.
- P. Chicago OIM 9787 (P. Ryerson), P. Leiden L.XII.2, P. New York MMA 35.9.20, P. St. Petersburg 3531.
- P. Berlin P. 10477, P. Berlin P. 10478 A-N, P. Cologny CV, P. Hildesheim RPM 5248, P. Kairo J.E. 32887 (S.R. IV 930), P. Leiden T 1 (CI), P. London BM EA 10097, P. London BM EA 10098, P. London BM EA 10479, P. Mailand E. 1023, P. Manchester Hieratic 3, P. Paris Louvre N. 3079, P. Paris Louvre N. 3081, P. Paris Louvre N. 3084, P. Paris Louvre N. 3144 + N. 3250 + N. 3198, P. Paris Louvre N. 5450, P. Privatsammlung Paris 3, P. Turin 1791, P. Wien Vindob. Aeg. 65.
- P. Berlin P. 3149 + 14376, P. Detroit 1988.10, P. Dublin MS 1669, P. Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen I, P. Kairo CG 40029 (J.E. 95837, S.R. IV 934), P. Paris Louvre N. 3129 + E. 4890 B, P. Lausanne 3389, P. Leiden T 16 (AMS 41), P. Wien ÄS 3862 (3856-58, 3864, 3866-69) + 10159, P. London BM EA 10257, P. New York Amherst 34, P. Paris Louvre N. 3088, P. Paris Louvre N. 3089, P. Paris Louvre N. 3248.
- P. Kairo J.E. 95859 (S.R. IV 958), P. Leiden T 17 (AMS 19), P. Paris Louvre N. 3090 + N. 3206 + N. 3198, P. Paris Louvre N. 3151, P. Vatikan 38598 (P. Vatikan 57), P. Vatikan 38602 (P. Vatikan 28), P. Wien ÄS 3852 (No. 6), P. Chicago OIM 10486 (P. Milbank).
- P. Paris Louvre N. 3279.

is also the reason for the presence of a special variety of vignette Type I on mummy wrappings, not seen on papyri: 7 (?)¹⁵ pairs of standing demons, each pair following a symbolic representation of an opened door-jamb.¹⁶

However, the situation becomes somewhat more complex when we look at the vignettes of BD 144 found in monumental context (see TABLE 2).¹⁷

Most of the monumental examples feature vignettes of Type I, but, interestingly, the earlier examples show variations. The vignettes of TT 353 and TT 41 show the "mummy-wrapping" variant of vignette Type I, i.e., standing demons following "gates" represented by opened door jambs. Perhaps even more interesting is the vignette of the Abydos temple of Ramesses II, 18 which represents a transitory variant with features of all three vignette types: the chapter is presented in a table of sorts, the upper half of which contains seven rectangles filled in part with text and in part with one squatting demon per rectangle (the future gates with squatting demons of Type II). The entire tabular setup of the image corresponds to the usual setup of vignette Type III,

TABLE 2: Monumental attestations of BD 144V.

ATTESTATION ID	DATE	Owner	VIGNETTE Type
TT 353 ^a	18th Dyn.	Senenmut	I (variant)
TT 41 ^b	19th Dyn.	Amenemope	I (variant)
Abydos temple ^c	19th Dyn.	Ramesses II	I/II/III
QV 66 ^d	19th Dyn.	Nefertari	I
Block Cairo JE 88131 ^e	22nd Dyn.	Sheshonq	I (variant)
Tanis ^f	22nd Dyn.	Osorkon II	III
Sarcophagus CG 29315 ^g	Ptolemaic	Djehutiirdis	II
Dendera temple ^h	Ptolemaic– Roman		I

Notes

- Saleh 1984, 77; photo by Karl H. Leser at < https://www.maat-ka-ra.de/german/personen/senenmut/sen_t353.htm >, accessed 3 May 2017).
- Assmann 1991, 145–146 and pl. 64.
- ^c Abdelrahiem 2006, 14–15.
- ^d Hawass 2006, 241–245.
- e Badawi 1957, pl. VII.
- ^f Roulin 1998, 245–246.
- g Maspero 1914, 78-101 and pls. XXVII-XXIX.
- h Cauville 1997, 344–346 and pl. 192.

whereas the 7 pairs of standing demons in the lower part of the table correspond to one of the most usual variants of Type I. Perhaps we are seeing the birth of both vignette Type II and the "mummy wrapping" variant of Type I in these early monumental examples. The reasons that triggered these changes are unclear, but they might lie both in the spatial aesthetics of tomb and temple walls and the impossibility of directly transferring a (papyrus) original onto a stone surface.¹⁹

But let us return to the vignette of Menekhibnekau, the setup of which seemingly does not correspond to any of the three types identified here. While the demons are depicted in clearly delimited groups of three and one of the three is often seated or squatting, no gates are represented. However, this apparent inconsistency can be resolved when the entire composition of the wall is considered: the guardian-groups are arranged around a real "gate" of sorts, the entrance to Menekhibnekau's burial chamber, which they guard alongside their respective gates of the underworld.²⁰ Menekhibnekau's vignette thus can be considered to have a single, three-dimensional representation of a gate, which is to be "read" seven times. Table 3 shows the resulting situation.

With its three-dimensional representation of the gate(s), Menekhibnekau's vignette of BD 144 falls well within the range of the innovative monumental variants. At the same time, this unusual representation of the gate(s) ensures that the demons serve not only as the guardians of netherworld gates but also as guardians of (the tomb of) Menekhibnekau.

THE TEXT OF BD 144 OF MENEKHIBNEKAU

Unlike the vignette, the text of the chapter, inscribed on the southern wall of the burial chamber of

TABLE 3: Overview of features of vignette types and the vignette of Menekhibnekau.

	I	II	III	MENEKHIB- NEKAU
Gates	_	+	+	+ (3D)
Demons per Gate	2	3	2	3
Seated Demons	_	+	+	+
Demon Heads	standardized	varying	standardized	varying

Menekhibnekau, is a relatively standard composition.²¹ As it contains several interesting features and has not been published so far, a preliminary translation is included here alongside the treatment of the vignette.

(1) $\underline{d}d\text{-}mdw^{22}$ j r.w 7.t jpw jr.w r.wt hr wsjr s.w r.wt=sn (2) j smj.w hr(.t) t3.w n wsjr r6 nb wsjr mnh-jb-nk3.w pn rh tn (3) rh rn=tn

To be recited: "O you 7 gates and you who watch over Osiris, who guard your gates! O you who report the affairs of the lands²³ to Osiris daily! This Osiris Menekhibnekau knows you and knows your names.

ntf ms m r^3 -st 3 .w dj $\{t\}$ (.w) s 3 h n $\{=k\}$ <nb> 3 h.t s 5 h wsjr mnh-jb-nk 3 .w pn (4) m p mj b wsjr šsp wsjr mnh-jb-nk 3 .w pn k 3 j m r^3 -st 3 .w

He is one who was born in Rosetau, to whom was given the transfiguration of <the lord> of the horizon. This Osiris Menekhibnekau is noble in Buto as Osiris is pure. This Osiris Menekhibnekau receives acclaim²4 in Rosetau.

When the gods are led through the horizon as the suite behind Osiris, this Osiris Menekhibnekau is one of them as their leader. This Osiris Menekhibnekau is an *akh*, lord of *akhu*. The *akh* whom this Osiris Menekhibnekau made, it is he who shall exist.²⁶

wsjr mnh-jb-nk3.w pn(hr) jr.t 3bd smj (8) m smd.t

This Osiris Menekhibnekau performs the monthly (new-moon) festival and reports at the half-monthly (full-moon) festival.

 $j \ dbn \ wsjr \ mnh-jb-nk³.w \ pn \ < hr> jr.t \ hr.w \ jr.j-`$ $\underline{d}hwtj \ m \ < g>rh \ \underline{d}³=f \ (9) \ p.t \ m \ m³`-hrw \ dd \ sw³ \ wsjr \ mnh-jb-nk³.w \ pn \ m \ htp \ skd=f \ m \ wj³ \ (10) \ n \ r`$

O, this Osiris Menekhibnekau encircles the Eye of Horus,²⁷ an assistant of Thoth at night! May he cross the sky in triumph! Cause that this Osiris Menekhibnekau may pass in peace as he sails in the barge of Re!

 $mk < .t > wsjr mnh-jb-nk^3.w pn rdj.t (j)n wr jr.t (j)n$ $\% hr m^3$.t $bw.t wsjr mnh(11)-jb-nk^3.w pn hb$

The protection of this Osiris Menekhibnekau is that which has been given by the Great and made by the Mighty because of *ma'at*. Annihilation is *bwt*²⁸ to this Osiris Menekhibnekau.

mk.t wsjr mnh-jb-nk³.w pn mk.t $hr.w-sms.w-r^{c}$ (12) jr.t n=f jb=f nn ndr (13) wsjr mnh-jb-nk³.w pn (14)

 $n < n > hsf = f hr \ rr.wt \ (15) \ wsjr \ mnh-jb-(16) \ nk^3.w$ pn \ pr \ rw.tj

The protection of this Osiris Menekhibnekau is the protection of Hor-the-eldest-Re,²⁹ which his heart has made for him. This Osiris Menekhibnekau shall not be seized, he shall not be held back at the portal, for this Osiris Menekhibnekau is one whom Ruti equipped.

(17) $wsjr \ mnh-jb-nk^3.w \ pn \ (18) \ šms(.j) \ n \ hn.tj-jmn.tjw \ (19) \ m \ hr.t-hrw \ jw \ \ \ (20)h.w=f \ m \ sh.t-htp \ (21) \ m-m \ rh.w-h.t \ (22) \ \{j\}m-(23)m \ jr.w-h.t \ n \ wsjr \$

This Osiris Menekhibnekau is a follower of Khentyimentu in the course of the day. His acres are in the Field of Offerings among the knowledgeable ones, and among those who perform ritual activities for Osiris.

wsjr $mn\underline{h}$ -jb-nk3.w pn $s\check{s}$ jr.j- c n $\underline{d}\underline{h}wtj$ m-m <jr>.w $\underline{h}tp.w$ jw (24) $w\underline{d}$ jnpw jm.j $\underline{h}tp.w$ wsjr $mn\underline{h}$ -jb-nk3.w pn m c =f nn j \underline{t} sw m c =f jn jmj.w (25) \underline{h} 3 \underline{k}

This Osiris Menekhibnekau is an assistant scribe of Thoth among those who make offerings. Anubis, who is with the offering, assigned <the offerings of> this Osiris Menekhibnekau in his hand. 'There is no one who shall seize it from his hand,' say the plunderers.

This Osiris Menekhibnekau traverses in the secluded area of the horizon of heaven.

This Osiris Menekhibnekau announces Re at the portal of the horizon, and the gods jubilate over him at approaching this Osiris Menekhibnekau. God's scent pertains to him, the evil one shall not reach him, the guardians of the gates shall not overthrow him.

wsjr mnh (28) $jb-nk^3.w$ pn st^3-hr m-hnw h hr p.t zhm ntr r nw $sb^3.w$ (29) ph.n wsjr mnh- $jb-nk^3.w$ pn jm=f m-ht hw.t-hr.w

This Osiris Menekhibnekau is secret of face within the palace in heaven, the sanctuary of the god at these gates, which this Osiris Menekhibnekau has entered behind Hathor.

This Osiris Menekhibnekau is one who makes way, lifts up Maat <to> Re and repels the power of Apep. This Osiris Menkehibnekau is one who pierces the firmament, punishes the stormy one and nourishes the crew of Re.

s'r wsjr mnh-jb-nk3.w pn htp.w r b(w) hr=f rdj.n wsjr < j>r wj 3 =f sm=f nfr jr (32) w3.t n wsjr mnh-jb-nk3.w pn zs 4 =f

This Osiris Menkehibnekau lifted offerings to the place that is under him, when Osiris caused his barge to make its beautiful course. Make way for this Osiris Menekhibnekau, so that he may pass!

jw hr n wsjr mnh-jb-nk³.w pn wr=f m wrr.t (33) ntf nb ntr.w³¹ mnh-jb-nk³.w pn htt m ³h.t wr js hr=tn hr=tn <n>hs=tn jr w³.t n nb=tn mnh-jb-nk³.w pn m³°-hrw

The face of this Osiris Menekhibnekau is great with the Wereret-crown. He is the lord of gods. This Menekhibnekau is a Baboon³² in the horizon, indeed one great over you. May you fall, watchers! Make way for your lord, this Menekhibnekau, justified!"

Alongside the vignette, the text of Chapter 144 ensures that Menekhibnekau is protected and allowed transfiguration and a safe passage into the next life. He proclaims that he knows the guardians depicted over the text and demands them to grant him passage. He proclaims to be fully transfigured, purified and able to defeat anyone who might threaten him, including Apep, and take up his place in the following of Osiris and on the barge of Re. The entire composition of Chapter 144 of the Book of the Dead of Menekhibnekau has thus found an ideal placement on the entrance wall of the burial chamber, where the entrance serves both as a threedimensional representation of the underworld gates guarded by the demons, and a real passage between this world and the next.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The work was supported from European Regional Development Fund-Project "Creativity and Adaptability as Conditions of the Success of Europe in an Interrelated World" (No. CZ.02.1.01/0.0/0.0/16_019/

0000734) and by the Charles University Progress project Q11 - Complexity and resilience: Ancient Egyptian civilisation in multidisciplinary and multicultural perspective. The author would like to thank Ladislav Bareš for continuous support and Silvia Einaudi and Louise Gestermann for information on ongoing projects (Padiamenope and Montemhat).

ABBREVIATIONS

LGG IV Leitz et al. 2002a LGG V Leitz et al. 2002b

TLA Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae < http://aaew .bbaw.de/tla/>

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Notes

- ¹ Bareš and Smoláriková 2011.
- Bareš and Smoláriková 2008.
- ³ Bareš and Smoláriková 2011, 81–82.
- ⁴ The inscriptions of the shaft tomb of Iufaa are still being studied and analyzed by the Czech team and their full publication is in preparation. For partial studies see: Bareš et al. forthcoming; Janák and Landgráfová 2017; Landgráfová et al. 2017; Landgráfová and Míčková forthcoming.
- Bareš 2009; for an online edition of the hours of the day of the Stundenritual, of which Menekhibnekau's version only includes small excerpts for each hour, see Erhart Graefe's Das Stundenritual < http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/forschen/aeg/proj/laufend/stundenritual .html > (accessed 31 May 2017); a complete study of the hours of the night is being prepared by Kenneth Griffin, see Griffin 2017.
- The name varies between *smt* "Hearer" and *smtmt* "Eavesdropper," see Abdelrahiem 2006), 5.
- This is unusual; the name usually appears as h?

- *hrw* "Loud-voiced" or variants (Abdelrahiem 2006, 6).
- The name of this demon differs greatly, but the meaning is usually close to "Cursing one" (Abdelrahiem 2006, 7).
- ⁹ Lemma 3d, TLA lemma 342
- Lemma *jkj*, TLA lemma 32420.
- The names and especially the representations of the guardians are far from constant across the attestations of BD 144; see Lucarelli 2010, 87.
- Totenbuchprojekt Bonn < http://totenbuch.awk .nrw.de > (accessed 31 May 2017).
- The two examples from the Simonian collection (Simonian 2 and 4) could not be checked.
- See, for example, the mummy wrappings of Hor, Kockelmann 2008, pls. 1–12. In the case of Hor, the height varies between 6 and 18.7 cm, see Kockelmann 2008, 55. The vignettes of Hor show also that wrapping height was indeed a problem for the ancient Egyptians, or at least for the maker of this particular copy, as the tops of the vignettes are sometimes missing due to the copyist's mistaken estimation of available space, see Kockelmann 2008, 175.
- ¹⁵ The vignette is never completely preserved.
- M. Cairo S. V. IV 690 a, M. Turin 1870, M. Memphis 1994 4.17.
- Parts of the guardian-demon sequence of the Book of the Dead (BD 144–147) are frequent in monumental context, but the exact setup of BD 144 is relatively rare; see Lucarelli 2010, 86; also Saleh 1984, 77–81.
- ¹⁸ For a recent photograph and line drawing of the vignette, which is located at the entrance to chapel G of the temple, see Iskander and Goelet Jr. 2015, 309–310.
- Compare, for example, the frequently tabularized funerary and ritual texts on the tomb and sarcophagus walls of the shaft tomb of Iufaa with the "plaintext" papyrus versions; see Coppens et al. forthcoming.
- In the same manner, these guardians are employed to guard other areas in underworld or funerary contexts; see Lucarelli 2010, 89-91.
- Compare now with Quirke 2013, 324–329. The chapter is especially frequent in Late and Ptole-

- maic Periods, Quirke 2013, 324.
- 22 <u>dd-mdw</u> appears at the beginning of every column and thus performs merely a decorative (and perhaps partially iterative) function here. It is thus not transliterated or translated in the remainder of the text.
- Probably "two lands" is meant here, as in P. Nu, 23 (t³.wj). There is great confusion here in the various versions of the Book of the Dead, and besides t³.wj and t³.w, ⑤.wj, "the two doorjambs," appears frequently (e.g., P. Iahtesnakht, Verhoeven 1993, 275 and n. 5; P. Turin Museo Egizio 1791).
- The various versions of BD 144 differ greatly in the writing of this word, other interpretations include $k^3y.w$ "others," see Verhoeven 1993, 275 and n. 8. Quirke 2013, 325, reads "reverence" in line with our present interpretation.
- Written in a very unusual way, with *sn* (T22) signs instead of *šn* (V7), probably due to misreading of a hieratic version.
- This meaning is confirmed by the CT 1042 version of this section, where it is followed by "the *akh* whom this N denounces, he is not existent" (in the translation of Sherbiny 2017, 191).
- ²⁷ Earlier versions of BD read *dbn wsjr N hr jr.t hr.w* (see e.g., P. Nu; Quirke 2013, 325); in the CT the eye of Horus is in the hand of Thoth (Sherbiny

- 2017, 191). The Saite versions are rather consistent in having the deceased circulate the eye of Horus, i.e., *dbn wsjr N jr.t hr.w*; see Verhoeven 1993, 275 and n. 14.
- For the nature of *bw.t*, see, e.g., Paul J. Frandsen ("Certain forms of loud voices and access to the sacred") in Frandsen 1998, 975–1000, esp. 996–999.
- ²⁹ *LGG* V: 290: *hr-smsw* as Amun-Ra or Ra-Harakhty, exactly this connection not present; there is a *hr-wr-r*°, *LGG* V: 251, of which one attestation is written ambiguously and can be read either as *hr-wr-r*° or *hr-smsw-r*°). Alternatively Horus, the eldest of Re.
- This is the simplest possible emendation, but perhaps one should emend *mj* <*hr.w m*> *dsr* ... "traverses, like Horus, the secluded area...."
- Or this is the determinative, and a word is missing. Alternate versions have *nb wsr.t.*
- See *LGG* IV, 813. This word is problematic in the other attestations of this BD chapter. In P. Nu, it is *hr* "to be content" (Quirke 2013: 327); P. Iahtesnakhte has *h*3.*tj* "jubilating" (Verhoeven 1993, 107*), which U. Verhoeven interprets as erroneous writing of *hr* (Verhoeven1993: 277 and n. 4). While here very clear, the word *htt* "baboon" is probably a reinterpretation of a word that became corrupt through recopying.