

ones”, are the enemies of the sun god and Osiris, defeated by the divine baboon and the lion of Re, even if this latter keeps distance (*nwd*) from the turmoil.

As in CT 548, the response of the sun god and Baba to the rebels is slow but implacable: even if they are not punished at once, they will be hit, in a way or another, by his ferocious power. The god is present and acts, even if he seems to be indifferent to evil actions.

New metaphors concerning the horns are also added in the Book of the Dead recension, in order to reinforce the concept of loss of dignity.

Metaphors on the Horns of Khepri and the Deceased

BD 93 considers the hypothesis that the deceased is taken to the east *m nwh.t-hnw.ti* “by binding of horns”, that is, by constraint, by force. When the horns, symbol of power, dignity, majesty, and prestige, are bound, the deceased is humiliated and subdued, taken by force through them to desecrated land.

In CT 548, to indicate the violation of the horns, the verbs “smite” (*hw*) and “cut off” (*šꜥ*) are used. Another metaphor used in the Coffin Texts, *ndb/db ꜥb.wy* “neutralize the horns”, with the meaning of violating the majesty and dignity of the god and the deceased, is maintained.

In P. of Panedjem, the horns are removed: “if the rebels perform an evil mutilation on me, by bringing back to me (*m ḥsī nꜥi*) the horns, (...)”. The same concept appears in P. of Ankhsetaset: “if they ferry me to the east, and the rebels perform an evil mutilation on me, by bringing back the horns, (...)”.

As in CT 548, in the later recension of the Book of the Dead the violation of the dignity of the deceased results also in a wound to the solar eye, which is indicated with new terms.



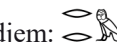
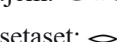
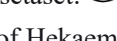

Sores/Fishes/Pellets/Dead Particles on the Solar Eye = Sunspots



As known, for the ancient Egyptians the deities and the dead could influence, positively or negatively, life on earth. Conversely, humans on earth could

support the deities and the dead with offerings and rituals, or disturb them. Vandalism and violation of the sacredness of the corpse of the deceased would have disturbed the deities. Consequences in case of abduction of the deceased concern also the solar eye. In the Book of the Dead recension, the wound to the solar eye is indicated with various terms:

- P. of Any, negative construction: “Then fishes will not fall on the Eye of Tebi”.
- P. of Any, negative construction: “Then sores will not appear indeed on the eye of Atum, who will not destroy”.
- P. of Panedjem: “Then fishes will fall on the eye of Horus”.
- P. of Ankhsetaset: “Then fishes will fall on the eye of Seth”.
- Linen roll of Hekaemsaf: “Then dead particles will appear indeed on the eye of Atum, the Destroyer”.
- P. of Iufankh: “Then pellets will appear indeed on the <eye> of Atum, the Destroyer”.
- P. of Iufankh, negative construction: “Then no pellets will appear indeed on the eye of Atum”.

The harm to the solar eye is indicated with the following terms:

- P. of Any:  *rmw.w* “fishes”.
- P. of Any:  *bnn.wt* “sores”.
- P. of Panedjem:  *r{r}m.w* “fishes”.
- P. of Ankhsetaset:  *rm.w* “fishes”.
- Linen roll of Hekaemsaf:  *bnn.w* “dead particles”.
- P. of Iufankh:  *bnn* “pellets”.⁹³

In the linen roll of Hekaemsaf, from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the word *bnn.w* is written with the determinative , hieratic substitute for the sign of the enemy , with probable meaning of “dead particles”. This determinative

⁹³ Erman and Grapow 1971, vol. 1, 460 (9-13). Malcom Mosher translates *bnn/bnn.t* “styes” around the eye, or “pellets”: Mosher 2018, 18, 25, 30.

appears in later attestations of the spell, for example in P. New York MMA 35.9.20, Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period.⁹⁴

As previously assumed, the lesion of the solar eye presumably indicated the phenomenon of the sunspots, considered a consequence of acts of looting and desecration. Sunspots are temporary phenomena on the sun's photosphere that appear as dark regions. Reduced surface temperature of these regions is caused by concentrations of magnetic field flux, which hinder convection. Huge sunspots can occur, as those in figure 2.

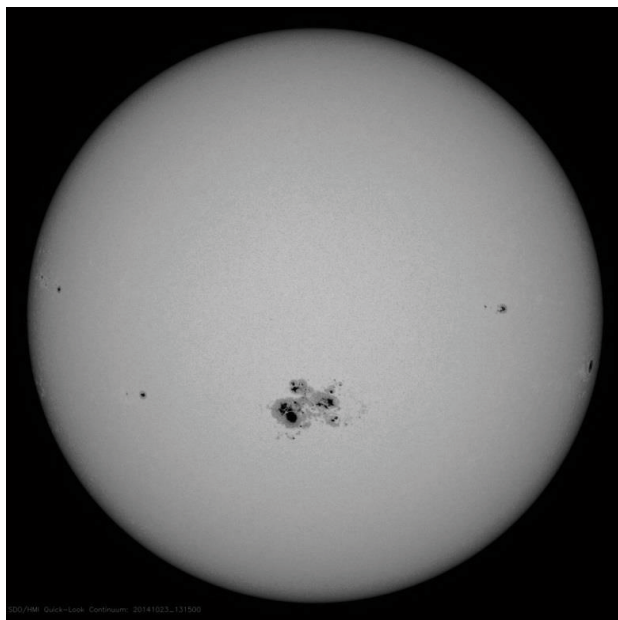


Fig. 2. Sunspots. Image from NASA's Solar Dynamic Observatory, Oct. 23, 2014. © NASA.

In favorable meteorological conditions, they can be seen at naked eye at dawn or sunset, when the direct observation of the sun can be made safely. Sunspots

⁹⁴ Mosher 2018, 18 n. 13, 20 fig. 93-1-4.

can last for a few days or even a few months. They could be seen by the ancient Egyptians as “sores”, “fishes”, “pellets”, or “dead particles”.

The epithet “the Destroyer” may imply consequences as drought and famine. The fierce epithets suggest that the sun god would react to the wounds inflicted to him: “eye of the Destroyer”, “eye of Atum, the Destroyer”, “eye of Atum, the Fierce one”, and even “eye of Seth”.

In P. of Any, if the deceased is not taken to the east, “sores will not appear on the eye of Atum, who will not destroy”.

Seth is associated to the destructive power of the sun’s rays in PT 574, §1487a-b:

šwꜥk hr tpꜥk wsir hsf 3.tꜥk stš.

“Your sunshade is over your head, Osiris. Your rage has been barred, Seth”.⁹⁵

To indicate the desecrated land where the deceased is assumed to be led by rebels, the term “fields”, instead of “tomb”, is used in the Book of the Dead recension.

Fields of Decapitation of the Gods = Burial Place in Desecrated Land

In the recension of the Coffin Texts, the deceased is led “to the tomb of decapitation (*h3.t hsk*) of the gods”. In BD 93, the deceased is led or comes “to **the fields** (*3h.wt*) of decapitation of the gods”. The expression “tomb/fields of decapitation of the gods” is apparently referred to the practice of looting funeral equipment, including statues of deities, in periods of social unrest.

The deceased is led by coercion to desecrated land. In P. of Any, and P. of Iufankh, there is the variant “to my fields”, instead of the more common “to the fields”, presumably to indicate that the arable land near the town where the deceased leaved is the new burial place of the corpse, where the rebels vandalize the burial equipment they have seized.

In the linen roll of Hekaemsaf: “then dead particles will appear indeed on the eye of Atum, the Destroyer. Because they **despoil** me; because I am ferried to

⁹⁵ Sethe 1908, vol. 2, 314; Allen 2005, 181 (Pepi I spell 516).

the east; because the festival of the rebels is celebrated on me; because mutilation is made on me evilly”.

In P. of Iufankh: “then pellets will appear indeed on the <eye> of Atum, the Destroyer, because I am **despoiled** (‘*wn.w*’). ”.

New terms make reference again to the concept that the dignity of the afterlife cannot occur without a tomb and burial equipment. The deceased is “despoiled”, left without the protection of amulets.

As previously indicated, “to ferry a man to the east” implies also a cosmic association: it is symbolic of the inversion of the direction of the sun in its circuit, as the deceased, identified with the sun god, would enter the netherworld in the east. This concept is made explicit in a papyrus of the Ptolemaic Period.

The Variant of BD 93 in P. of Iryturu

In P. of Iryturu, Chicago OIM 10486 (plate 9), the “paradox of divine superiority” is formulated explicitly in cosmographic terms. With the transportation to the east of the sun, the direction of its circuit would be inverted, as the solar cycle implies the exit of the sun from the netherworld in the east, and its entrance in the west.

Since the sun god would enter the netherworld in the east only if he were seized, this occurrence is paradoxical, given his superiority over enemies. Therefore the deceased, who is identified with the sun god, will not be seized to be ferried to the east. The west is the entrance of the netherworld and the necropolis, and, for extension, the netherworld itself. It is where the corpse of the deceased lies, as the corpse of Osiris.

The lions of Re and Tefnut will not intervene directly to avoid the abduction of the deceased and the turmoil. They will keep distance. It is the knowledge of the spell that will protect the deceased from that occurrence. This concept is written in red ink at the end of the spell.

The vignette of BD 93 is also intended to convey the main concept of the spell, that is, that the deceased will not be ferried to the east from the necropolis.

Vignette of BD 93

In the variant of BD 93 in P. of Iryturu, the ferryman is mentioned: “O the one who brings to him the ferryboat: travel for him to the road of the west. He will not be seized, so that he is ferried to the east”. The name of the ferryman is not indicated, but his common depiction in the vignettes of BD 93 with the head turned back suggests that he is Mahaf, “He who sees behind”,⁹⁶ known also as Herefhaf, “He whose head is behind him”.⁹⁷ The former appears as ferryman of the deceased in PT 359, CT 397, and BD 99A, while the latter is mentioned with that title in PT 270,⁹⁸ and as one of the judges of the dead in BD 125B.⁹⁹

The ferryman’s boat is oriented toward the east, whose ensign appears commonly next to the prow (plate 7, 8, and 9). Numerous vignettes, for example in P. Iufankh (plate 8), show the deceased worshipping the god.¹⁰⁰ In P. of Any (figure 3 and plate 4), linen roll of Hekaemsaf (plate 7), and other sources, the deceased invites the ferryman to go, extending an arm in front of him.¹⁰¹

One may wonder if the ferryman in the vignette of BD 93 is setting a trap to the deceased, trying to lead him/her to the east from the west. This should be ruled out, as his attitude toward the righteous is benevolent. The deceased worships or salutes the god who transported him/her to the west. In P. of Iryturu, the ferryman is invoked to travel “for him to the road of the west”. The offering pillar with round bread and lotus flower on top, often depicted within the boat,¹⁰² for example in P. of Iufankh (plate 8), is symbolic of offering goods and paraphernalia loaded on the funeral boat.

⁹⁶ Leitz 2002, vol. 3, 201-202.

⁹⁷ Leitz 2002, vol. 5, 303.

⁹⁸ Allen 2005, 50, 430.

⁹⁹ Among the 42 gods of the “negative confession”, Herefhaf is often depicted with his head turned back, for example in P. of Any: Faulkner 1998, pl. 31. He is portrayed also with the head of an animal facing backwards: Leitz 2002, vol. 5, 303. With the head of a cobra facing backwards, he protects with other deities the sides of the inner coffin of Udjasemataui, Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Swiss private collection: Siegmann 2012, 5 fig. 9, 8 fig. 13-14.

¹⁰⁰ Mosher 2018, 37-38.

¹⁰¹ Mosher 2018, 34-35.

¹⁰² See attestations in Mosher 2018, 34-35, 37-38.



Fig. 3. Vignette of BD 93, P. of Any, London British Museum EA 10470.

Facsimile by the author.

In the vignette of BD 99A (figure 4),¹⁰³ the ferryman of the solar barge leads the deceased out of the netherworld, toward the eastern sky. The normal direction of the sun in its circuit is implied, from the eastern netherworld to the day sky. The figure in the barge probably represents the *ba*-soul of the deceased, destined to the solar rebirth in the east.

The vignette of BD 1 shows the funeral procession, with the coffin of the deceased in the funeral boat dragged by men toward the necropolis. A detail of the vignette in P. of Iufankh is shown in figure 5.¹⁰⁴ A ferryman is depicted at the stern of the boat, while a **human headed lion** wearing the double crown with ram horns stands on a standard at the prow.

In the vignette of BD 93, the ferryman returns to the east, after transporting the corpse of the deceased to the necropolis. The spell is aimed at avoiding that the mummy is seized and travels from the necropolis to the east, where the funeral came from. That the deceased will never do that inverse travel is declared with words and with a drawing. The vignette indicates the position in the west of the corpse of the deceased as eternal destination. In texts from the New Kingdom onward on the embalming ritual, the formula *b3zk m p.t h3.tzk m*

¹⁰³ See also De Cenival 1992, 72.

¹⁰⁴ Lepsius 1842, pl. I-II.

dw3.t, “your *ba*-soul in the sky, your corpse in the netherworld”, is of common occurrence, often inscribed repeatedly.¹⁰⁵ The corpse must remain in the netherworld, as the *ba*-soul travels freely in the day sky, joining to the corpse at night.

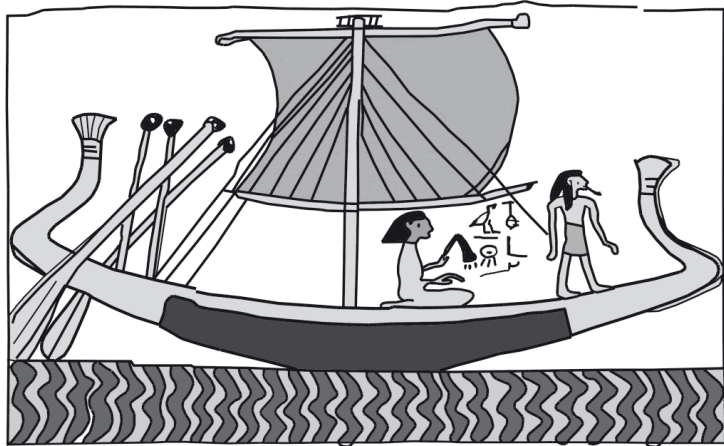


Fig. 4. P. of Neferwebenef, Paris Louvre N 3092, vignette of BD 99A.

Facsimile by the author.

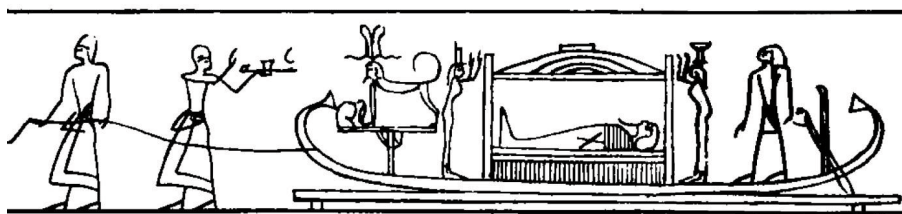


Fig. 5. Funeral procession. Detail of the vignette of BD 1 in P. of Iufankh, P. Turin 1791. Facsimile after Lepsius (1842).

¹⁰⁵ On the formula “your *ba*-soul in the sky, your corpse in the netherworld”, and its variants: Herbin 1994, 81-83; Assmann 2001, 120-131; Töpfer 2015, 39, 72, 85, 154, 157, 259.

A metaphoric image is proposed with the vignette of BD 93. As other rhetorical figures in the spell, the underlying idea requires an effort to be accessed.

Metaphors and Structure of the Spell

A metaphor, in general terms, establishes a similarity between two linguistic constructions: an abstract entity (the topic or tenor) is represented by a more concrete entity (the vehicle).¹⁰⁶ As rhetoric and aesthetic instruments, metaphors are often used in ancient Egyptian literary works, where different types of figurative constructions can be identified.¹⁰⁷ Funerary texts make also use of metaphors and other rhetorical figures, whose intended meaning can be difficult to be accessed.

The sentence “to be ferried to the east” is an example of spatial, path-based metaphor.¹⁰⁸ It can be considered the opposite of the expression “to join the land (*zm3-t3*) in the west”, metaphor for “to be buried in the necropolis”.¹⁰⁹ Numerous funerary sources of the Old Kingdom show the sentence “May he join the land in the beautiful west in peace” (*zm3-t3ʒfr imn.t(i)t nfr.t m htp*).¹¹⁰

Some metaphors are more hidden. For example, the expression “phallus of Re” is recursive: might > lion > phallus. The figurative meaning is related to a relevant feature of the thing being described. As previously mentioned, BD 17 allows to decode the metaphor, as it states that “the lion with the white(-toothed) mouth and the broad head” is the phallus of Osiris or Re.

The following is a list of metaphors in CT 548 and BD 93:

- “Ferry a man to the east from the necropolis” = abduct a mummy.
- “Phallus of Re” = powerful lion.
- “Things of inert persons” = circumstances of death.
- “By binding of horns” = by constraint, action of force.

¹⁰⁶ Di Biase-Dyson 2016, 47. Di Biase-Dyson 2017, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Examples in Di Biase-Dyson 2017, 3-4.

¹⁰⁸ Examples of spatial metaphors in the wisdom literature: Di Biase-Dyson 2016, 52-62.

¹⁰⁹ On *zm3-t3*: Erman and Grapow 1971, vol. 3, 448-449; Faulkner 1991, 226.

¹¹⁰ E.g.: Hassan 1941, 80 fig. 69, 81.