Abgadiyat

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Advisory Board

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The manuscript must be submitted in three copies for refereeing purposes. The Journal of *Abgadiyat* follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, with some modifications as cited below.

Final Submission

1- The final text (following amendments recommended by the editor or referees) must be provided on disk preferably CD, using MS Word, composed in 14 point font for Arabic and 12 point font for other languages.

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4 The Journal of *Abgadiyat* does not use titles such as Dr, or Prof. in text or notes or for authors.

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6- Use single quotation marks throughout. ‘ ’

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9- The ‘_’ dash between dates, page references, etc. (1901/02, 133–210) is an en-dash not a hyphen.

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CITATIONS should take the form of:

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J.D. Ray, 'The Voice of Authority: Papyrus Leiden I 382', *JEA* 85 (1999), 190.

- Cite subsequently as: Ray, *JEA 85*, 190.

Article or chapter in a multi-author book

I. Mathieson, 'Magnetometer Surveys on Kiln Sites at Amarna', in B.J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, *EES Occasional Publications* 10 (London, 1995), 218-220.

- Cite subsequently as: Mathieson, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, 218-220.

A.B. Lloyd, 'The Late Period, 664-323 BC' in B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 279-346.

- Cite subsequently as: Lloyd, in Trigger, *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*, 279-346.

Monographs

E. Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), 35-38.

- Cite subsequently as: Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 35-38.

D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein,* V. *Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab periods* (London, 1998), 140.

- Cite subsequently as: Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein*, V. 140.

Series publication

W.M.F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, *BSAE* 12 (London, 1906), 37, pl.38.A, no.26.

- Cite subsequently as: Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 37, pl. 38.A, no. 26.

Dissertations

Josef W. Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 45-55.

- Cite subsequently as: Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III,* 45-55.

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Introduction

During the past five years, the *Abgadiyat* journal has appeared in order to bridge the existing gap in the fields of writings and scripts studies. This gap was not on the local level only, but as well as on the regional level; wherein there was no practical or precise journal concerning the affairs of writings and scripts in the world across the ages. *Abgadiyat* carries the most important goals of the Center for Studies of Writings and Scripts, including the increase of the number of rare specialists among writings and inscriptions that need to be studied and to spreading the consciousness of writings and inscriptions on the level among the non-specialists. Perhaps, this is the main reason for considering the Delegation of Antiquities in the High Council for Universities for *Abgadiyat* as a regional journal.

This issue, specifically, is considered one of the most important issues why *Abgadiyat* is published, and we are greatly pleased — as a team working on the revision of the Journal — when a number of researchers competing in publishing their research within issues in the Journal; where the team revising the Journal came across a number of research from different countries and from all universities. As a result, we helped in upgrading the scientific level of *Abgadiyat*.

Also among the fundamentals that *Abgadiyat* emphasizes is the support of young researchers to publish their research in the Journal. It is known to all that one of the goals of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina is to encourage and support young researchers in all research and practical fields. Thus, the Journal has received research investigations from a number of young researchers, who are hoped to meet the criteria, after the Council of Practical Specialized Ruling has approved their research and recommend their research with the ability, quality and readiness for publishing.

Following the research of the Journal, he finds a great diversity in the research topics that the Journal displays. Despite everything, it carries one goal, the interest in inscriptions and writings; displayed is research dealing with different perspectives. These perspectives include research from the linguistic, historical, and artistic perspectives; leading to a balance to all the axes of practical research.

The sixth issue of *Abgadiyat* overflows with a group of valuable research concerning inscription of the ancient Egyptian language; whether they were found in the Sarabeet al-Khadem, Wadi al-Hammamat or Wadi al-Jawasis areas, or those that date to the second era of transition, or concern administrative nicknames in ancient Egypt, or what some papyri dealt with in writing about the afterlife according to Ancient Egypt, or the efforts of some researchers in the field of the ancient Egyptian language, such as Professor Ahmed Kamal Pasha and his linguistic dictionary concerning the writings from the Coptic age that were dealt with from the artistic perspective stating the shape of icons, from the historical perspective stating the first Copts who wrote in Arabic, and concerning the writings in the Islamic age which dealt with the writings on homes in Damascus during the

Ottoman Era, and inscriptions on rare Islamic coins and writing compositions, such as the royal monogram in the Modern Age, and inscriptions on some mosques.

From here, we can state that this issue might grant the opportunity for young researchers to publish their research, and present a serious, practical study to continue the path the Center of Writings and Scripts had begun nine years ago.

Ahmed Mansour
Deputy Director of Calligraphy Center
Bibliotheca Alexandrina

The Seven Gatekeepers, Guardians, and Reporters in
The Book of the Two Ways and in P. MMA 35.9.21

الحراس السبعة لبوابات العالم الآخر كما ورد في بردية P. MMA 35.9.21 وكتاب الطريقين

Eltayeb Sayed Abbas

ملخص:

يتناول هذا البحث سبعة حراس لبوابات العالم الآخر كما هو وارد في بردية 35.9.21 P. MMA، وكتاب الموتى فصل 144، وكتاب الطريقين. وتدور الفكرة الرئيسية للبحث حول أن هؤلاء الحراس السبعة موجودون في النصوص الدينية المصرية منذ عصر الدولة الوسطى في نصوص التوابيت. وظلَّ هذا الاستخدام خلال الدولة الحديثة في نصوص كتاب الموتى وظهر في نصوص العصر البطلمي في بردية 35.9.21 P. MMA. كما يتناول الباحث كيفية انتقال النص Textual Transmission من فترة لأخرى، وما التغيرات التي طرأت على النص نتيجة ذلك وكيف للنص الديني الواحد أن يُستخدم في أكثر من سياق سواء أكان نصًّا جنازيًّا أم نصًّا يستخدم في طقوس المعابد.

This paper deals with seven gatekeepers, guardians, and reporters in P. MMA 35.9.21, in *BD* 144 and their earlier antecedents in *the Book of the Two Ways*. The main issue is that P. MMA represents a coherent vision of the seven gates, that derives from a tradition stretching back to *the Book of the Two Ways*, and which is also reflected in *BD* 144. The paper also considers the textual transmission of the text corpus, and how a mortuary text can be easily transposed into a temple liturgical text.

In his recently published book, Smith[1] argues that the ritual which occupies the first seventeen columns of the Papyrus P. MMA 35.9.21 was intended for performance in the cult of Osiris.[2] The Papyrus belongs to someone called Imuthes; it is written in hieratic script, and dates to the early Ptolemaic Period.[3] The occasion of performance is the Divine Night (*nṯrjt*), a term which designates the night which extends from 25th to the 26th of the month of Khoiak and precedes the day of the procession of the *henu* Barque in the Festival of Sokar.[4]

The divine night (*nṯrjt*) in P. MMA 35.9.21 was a night full of rituals, recited for Osiris who is then lying on his bier. The priests enter to the place in which the body of the god lies, and perform their recitations until the procession of the *henu*-Barque takes place the next morning. The aim of these recitations is to resurrect the dead god by ritualistic means. These priests in P. MMA 35.9.21 are called *šmsw nmjt r-gs wsjr* 'attendants of the bier at the side of Osiris', occurring in line 1/5.[5] In the ritual cycle of the Sokar Festival, this night corresponds to the night before the burial procession in the mortuary cult.[6] For the deceased, these recitations are designated by Assmann as moral mummification and their aim is to mediate the passage from the status of being dead to the status of being an *ȝḫ*.[7]

The original place for the performance of this ritual in P. MMA 35.9.21 would have been either the temple of Osiris, or a shrine or a room dedicated for him in one of the main temples. The text here locates the place of performance in the House of Shentayt (line 1/6). Shentayt was a name given to Isis as a mourner of Osiris.[8] Shentayt is derived from the verb *šn* 'to protect by circling', a clear reference to the wife and widow of Osiris, Isis.[9] It also designates a number of buildings attested in some Egyptian sources. For instance, the chapels on the roof of the temple of Dendera where the mysteries of Osiris took place were called Shentayt.[10]

The purpose of the papyrus as its title shows is to lead Osiris to rule in the nome of the Silent Land. Lines 7/15-8/15 form an episode in a ritual in which Osiris is transferred to a solar barque and is conveyed to a series of seven underworld gates. At each one of these gates, Osiris is accompanied by Anubis, who addresses the gatekeepers and asks them to open for Osiris and for Osiris Imuthes likewise. This part of the ritual, according to Smith, is modeled on Chapter 144 of *the Book of the Dead*, in which the deceased is supposed to pass through seven gates.[11]

The seven gatekeepers in P. MMA 35.9.21 are a late representative of a tradition that is traceable to BD 144 and *the Book of the Two Ways*. The relationship between the seven gatekeepers in BD 144 and their earlier antecedents in *the Book of the Two Ways* is well known,[12] but the significance of their relationship with P. MMA 35.9.21 throws new light on the relationship between temple and mortuary ritual, and the textual history of ritual texts.

In each of these sources each gate is protected by three beings; a gatekeeper (*jrj-ʿȝ*), a guardian (*sȝwtj*), and a reporter (*smjw*). So, for instance, at the first gate the BD 144 spell says: 'One with inverted face and manifold forms is the name of the first gate' (*sḥd-*

ḥr-ʿš3-jrw jrj ʿrrjt tpjt); 'Eavesdropper is the name of its guardian' (*smtw rn n s33 sj*), and 'Shouter is the name of the reporter in it' (*hwt-ḥrw rn n smj jm.s*).[13] P. MMA 35.9.21 lists the names of the gatekeepers, guardians and reporters one after the other. In the sixth gate in P. MMA 35.9.21, the scribe only gives the name of the gatekeeper omitting those of the guardian and reporter.[14] As Smith notes these sources do not always agree as to the precise form of the names. Also in *the Book of the Dead* spell 144, the text begins by listing the seven gates, their keepers, guardians, and reporters, and ends with a common address to them enumerating the deeds of the deceased and calling on them to make way for their lord Osiris. P. MMA 35.9.21 repeats the address and command to call each gate individually, 'Open to Osiris and Osiris Imuthes at each gate'.[15]

1. The Gatekeepers

Book of the Two Ways	Book of the Dead Chapter 144	P.MMA 35.9.21
sẖd- ḥr- ʿš3- jrw CT VII, 436h (spell 1108)	*sẖd-ḥr-ʿš3-jrw*	*s3w-ḥrw-ʿš3-jrw*
dwn-ḥ3t CT VII, 416a (spell 1100)	*dwn-ḥ3*	*dwn-ḥ3t=f*
wnm-ḥ3t-pḥwy=f CT VII, 423b(spell 1102)	*wnm-ḥw3(3)t nt-pḥwj*	*wnm-ḥw3w-pḥwj=f*
ẖsf-ḥr-ʿš3-ẖrw (B1L) CT VII, 426d (spell 1103)	*ẖsf-ḥr-ʿš3-ẖrw*	*ẖsf-ḥr-ʿš3-ẖrw*
ʿnḫ-m-fnṯ CT VII, 437f (spell 1109)	*ʿnḫ-m-fnṯ*	*ʿnḫ-m-fnṯw*
jkn t kh3 ḥr CTVII, 439a (spell 1110)	*jkn-t-kh3-ẖrw*	*kkt-ti*
mds-sn (B9C) CT VII 420a (spell 1101)	*mds-sn*	*sẖd-ḥr-mds-ḫ3t=sn*

2. The Guardians

Book of the Two Ways	Book of the Dead Chapter 144	P.MMA 35.9.21
smt CT VII, 296i (spell 1044)	*smt*	*z3w-mtwt* line 7,16
spd ḥr CT VII, 296g (spell 1044)	*sḳd-ḥr*	*mtwtj* line 7,17
rs-ḥr CT VII, 296f (spell 1044)	*rs-ḥr*	*rs-ḥr* line 8,1
rs-jb CT VII, 296e (spell 1044)	*rs-jb*	*rs-jb* line 8,2
3šbw CT VII, 296d (spell 1044)	*3ḫbw*	*3šb* line 8,3

jnj-ḥr CT VII, 291d (spell 1041)	*jnj-ḥr*	found damaged line 8,4
ꜥꜣ-ḫrw CT VII, 292a (spell 1041)	*ꜥꜣ-ḫrw*	*ꜥꜣ-ḫrw* line 8,5

3. The Reporters

Book of the Two Ways	**Book of the Dead Chapter 144**	**P.MMA 35.9.21**
ꜣhj-ḫrw CT VII, 287d (spell 1038)	*hw(t)ḫrw*	*jhꜣm-ḫrw* line 7,16
ꜣsb CT VII, 288c (spell 1039)	*ꜣsb*	*ꜣsb* 7,17
wꜥꜣw CT VII, 288f (spell 1038)	*wꜥꜣw*	waAw line 8,1
ꜥꜣ-ḥr-ḫsf-ꜣtw CT VII, 309a (spell 1056) /331c (spell 1069)	*ꜥꜣ-ḥr-ḫsf-ꜣd*	*ꜥꜣ-ḥr-ḫsf-ꜣdw* line 8,2
db-ḥr-khꜣꜣt CT VII, 320a (spell 1062)	*db-ḥr-khꜣꜣt*	*nb-ḥr-nšnj-ꜣt* line 8,3
mds-ḥrj CT VII, 309b (spell 1057)	*mds-ḥrj*	found damaged 8,4
ḥsf-ḥmw CT VII, 286d (spell 1037)	*ḥsf-ḥr*	*ḥsf-ḥm.ww* line 8, 5

The Gatekeepers, Guardians, and Reporters in *the Book of the Two Ways*

These seven gatekeepers, guardians and reporters are first attested in *the Book of the Two Ways*. In this book the deceased performs a journey to reach the abode of Osiris. In this journey the deceased approaches the gatekeepers, guardians, and reporters of different places of passage. The knowledge of their names was crucial for the deceased to pass safely.

One of the most important features of *the Book of the Two Ways* are the maps showing the landscape of the netherworld, with points of entry and gateways leading the deceased to different destinations in the netherworld. There are also rites connected with these passages to allow the deceased to proceed safely on the ways of the land of Rosetau. The rites performed in front of or within these gateways initiate the deceased

into the afterlife, and were marked by a number of barriers in his journey to the netherworld.

The major concern of the texts which consider *the Book of the Two Ways* and its topography is the act of passing, but not mapping the landscape of the underworld. In all Egyptian funerary texts with maps, the texts do not make explicit the relationships between the different geographical locations of the underworld, but in all cases the deceased should be initiated to attain the knowledge to pass safely through the obstacles of the netherworld.[16] Unlike *BD* 144 and P. MMA 35.9.21, the gateways do not follow each other in *the Book of the Two Ways* instead the gatekeepers' names occur in the lower half of section VIII in the long version A in Lesko's edition, Coffin Texts spells 1108-1100-1102-1103-1109-1101-1110.[17] *The Book of the Two Ways* also gives the

names of the guardians (*s33 sj*), and reporters (*smjw*). These occur within the Upper and Lower Ways, in sections III and IV in Lesko's edition, Coffin Texts spells 1041 and 1044 in all four versions.

The Textual Transmission

According to Smith, the ritual in the first seventeen columns in the P. MMA 35.9.21 is unique since it incorporates material found in texts written for the benefit of non-royal individuals.[18] It is a collection from different sources of different periods. One of these sources is *BD* 144, which has a long history of transmission. It was found inscribed on the western roof chapel of the temple of Dendara.[19] A similar version *of Book of the Dead* chapter 144 was also found in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.[20] The Abydos example is well illustrated with the images of the gatekeepers, guardians and reporters. In all these versions of the *BD* 144, the deceased is conveyed to a series of seven gates of the underworld, and in which he approaches seven gatekeepers, guardians, and reporters. Smith developed the argument further: *BD* 144 might have been the source upon which the ritual in P. MMA 35.9.21 has been modeled.

In *the Book of the Two Ways*, the gatekeepers, guardians and reporters are not listed one after the other as in P.MMA 35.9.21 and *BD* 144, but occur in different locations on the composition protecting the bends and sections of *the Book of the Two Ways*.[21]

According to Lesko, there are two basic plans for *the Book of the Two Ways* (the long A and the short C). BIBe which was published by Shack-Schackenburg[22] is a representative of the short plan and the other coffins published by lacau are representative of the long version.[23] The two versions have sections III-V in common but are different in the rest. Lesko proposed two other versions and called them versions B and A-B. 'Version B is given a central position since its form is the same as that of A

but its texts are often closer to those of C when parallels occur. The coffins with A-B version often show affinities to one or the other version within the text of a spell, but even in their choice of spells it is possible to demonstrate the existence of this group'.[24]

The two main versions the long A and the short C did not come from a single archetype, but from two different sources. Each version is a unit by itself with separate introduction and different orientation. Lesko argues that there should have been two sources existing which utilized some of the same material. Since all of the coffins come from el-Bersha, the workmen who produced them seem to have had two plans certainly on papyri. *The Book of the Two Ways* comes in these four different textual versions. These four versions are divided in nine sections. The layout of *the Book of the Two Ways*, according to Lesko can be best described as an image with two main bands. The shorter C version opens with Lesko's section II, an image of a ground plan of a palace and shrine with high walls of darkness and flame. These features take up most of the upper band of text. The long A version starts with a description of the rising sun on the eastern horizon, indicating perhaps the sky based nature of this section of the text. The deceased here is about to board a solar or a lotus barque of Re to begin his or her journey (*CT* spells 10291030). In both versions the next section contains the actual two pathways: one blue, upper way, and the other a darker lower way, which comprises sections III and IV respectively. These two pathways are separated by a red band representing the Lake of Fire.[25] However, the two pathways meander and wind around in their sections. In some cases, we see multiple paths and areas surrounded by paths crossing the main ways. These features represent geographical landscapes that the deceased has to cross.[26]

Lesko argues that the C version is the oldest, and the other three versions were modeled on it. Consequently, the order of the seven gatekeepers, guardians and reporters in this version might have

been the model for the other versions. He developed the argument further. The aim of the deceased's journey in the C version is to see Osiris, as stated in the introduction to *CT* spell 1131. It was thus fundamental that the deceased knows the names of the gatekeepers and demons. In the other three versions, the aim is to join the barque of the sun god Re. Lesko also thinks that chapter 144 was not modeled upon this part of *the Book of the Two Ways*.[27]

Lesko's argument is open to debate. The corpus of *BD* 144 and the spells in *the Book of the Two Ways*, and P. MMA 35.9.21 are remarkably close, both in content and layout, but the physical process of the textual transmission is unclear. The three different versions of the same passage relating the seven gatekeepers, guardians, and reporters occur within ritual texts. It is far difficult, if not impossible, to give a specific date for the beginning of the insertion of the seven gatekeepers, guardians and reporters within ritual texts. The fact that the custom of written ritual texts started as early as the Old Kingdom does not mean that there were no rituals performed before this time. So, arguing for a specific date for the origin of a specific ritual text is often futile. How was the text transmitted? It is likely that there was a specific manuscript which replaced the texts on the coffin floor and was used by the scribe:[28] a service book, as is shown held by the ritualist in the scenes of the Old Kingdom tombs, as he performed a ceremony. Another possibility is that there might have been an archival text, which might have been kept to be used as a basis for fixed literary tradition, and in which seven gatekeepers, guardians and reporters occur. It is characteristic that Egyptian ritual books are bits and pieces, collected from different sources, contexts or traditions, and re-used on various occasions, so that a working layout might have been used in different occasions.[29] This is suggested by the fact that one text or different sections of a text placed on a certain type of monument can be driven from different categories of source as is the case of P. MMA 35.9.21.

By examining the papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty which have *BD* chapter 144, Munro found that there are three different versions with different order of the gatekeepers, and there are even different variants in the same version.[30] On the other hand there is coherence in the order of the guardians and reporters in the same papyri, particularly the names of the guardians. So, arguing that the Papyrus of Nu is the origin upon which *the Book of the Two Ways* was modeled, as Lesko and Waitkus argue,[31] is futile.

Concerning their order within *the Book of the Two Ways*, it is obvious that the gatekeepers should be ordered from *CT* spell 1100-1103 and then from 1108-1110,[32] but this logical order does not exist in *the Book of the Two Ways* as shown in the previous table. It can be argued here that the textual transmission of the seven gatekeepers within *the Book of the Two Ways* has been done on two stages which make it more complicated to argue for a specific way of how these texts were transmitted in t*he Book of the Two Ways* and in *the Book of the Dead*.

The texts in *the Book of the Two Ways*, as so often with mortuary literature,[33] are so badly and carelessly written on different coffins that they could not be read as a ritual from the coffin itself. The texts on the coffin floors symbolized the ritual, perhaps replaced it, but could not serve as an aid to performance, since the texts are practically unreadable as written.[34] The verbal custom of ritual text in Egypt goes beyond the time span of the end of the Old Kingdom, the time when the coffin texts were recorded. So, archival copies of these texts represent a continuous textual tradition which must have existed as individual ritual episodes and were used, reused and modified.

The mortuary texts in *the Book of the Two Ways* and the liturgical text in P. MMA 35.9.21 belong to what are known as the *sꜣḫw* texts. These texts are meant to mediate the passage of the deceased to become an *ꜣḫ*.

s3ḫw are liturgies to be recited aloud from papyrus rolls.[35] They were transmitted in writing, and recited from written copies. In their function as recitation literature, writing of these texts served only as an aid to memory, and the actual communication act was the verbal performance.[36] These texts were not read but sung. Here the mortuary liturgy in *the Book of the Two Ways* and in P. MMA 35.9.21 was preserved in the framework of ritual writing, and could be performed verbatim in the cult over and over again. The texts were both preserved in writing and kept in the memory of the lector priests who performed, and transmitted in use, generation after generation, for ages.[37]

To conclude, the ritual context in *the Book of the Two Ways* and in P. MMA 35.9.21 is exactly the same. The deceased in *the Book of the Two Ways* is equipped with the recitations of the spells which mediate his passage to become one of the followers of Osiris. It is the recitations of these texts that mediate the deceased's passage by the gatekeepers and through the gates of the Underworld. The same holds true for the deceased Imuthes in P. MMA 35.9.21, whose name occurs with that of the god Osiris on various occasions within the text. Osiris in P. MMA 35.9.21 and the deceased in *the Book of the Two Ways* are equally equipped with the recitations of the *s3ḫw* which mediate their passage to be an *3ḫ*. The passage itself is central to that transformation. Temple liturgical text in P. MMA 35.9.21 and the mortuary text in *the Book of the Two Ways* enable the deceased and Osiris to escape the realm of death and join the realm of the *3ḫw* in the netherworld. The divine night which precedes the procession of the *henu*-barque was the night in which all the ritual intended to awake Osiris are recited, and the awakening from it provides a parallel, but different metaphor for the passage of transformation. The recitations of the same texts were also carried out in the night which precedes the procession of the deceased to his tomb.

Assmann then makes a direct comparison between the procession of the deceased to his tomb and the processions of the Sokar and Osiris festivals. He argues that the night which precedes the processions of the deceased and the god was full of rituals recited for them before the procession takes place in the next morning. The deceased, who is equated with Osiris in the procession to his tomb, appears like a god in his festival procession.[38]

The core corpus of this part of the ritual which deals with the seven gatekeepers, guardians and reporters might have been expanded, modified, explained in different ways in *the Book of the Dead* and in later period in P. MMA 35.9.21, but the core vision of the gatekeepers, guardians and reporters already existed in *the Book of the Two Ways*: used, reused, mined and adapted throughout the Egyptian history. The use of the text corpus relating the seven beings guarding or protecting the gates of the netherworld in the early Ptolemaic Period as in P.MMA 35.9.21 is not a mere survival of archaic and exotic, essentially without meaning. It is, rather, evidence of a cultural continuity and enduring theological vision.[39]

Notes

1   I would like to thank Prof. C. J. Eyre and Dr. R. Enmarch for their comments, valuable advices, and for revising my English. Of course I am responsible for the final version. M. Smith, *Traversing Eternity: Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2009), 67-95. Smith, 'The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land', *RdE* 57 (2006), 217-232.

2   The papyrus was published by: J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès Fils de Psintaês: Au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New-York (Papyrus MMA 35.9.21)*, (New York, 1999).

3   Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 67.

4   J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2005), 266.

5   Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès*, 1-15.

6   J. Assmann & M. Bommas, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, vol. I, *Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches*, Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische

Klasse 14 (Heidelberg, 2002) 20-1; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 267.

7   Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 263-4.

8   Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 68.

9   S. Cauville, 'Chentayt et Merkhetes, des avatars d' Isis et Nephthys', *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 21-2.

10 Cauville, *BIFAO* 81, 24-54; Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 68.

11 Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 70.

12 H. Schack-Schackenburg, *Das Buch von den Zwei Wegen des seligen Toten* (Lepizig, 1903); E.A.W. Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day 2*, Books on Egypt and Chaldaea 30 (1910), 218-24; H. Grapow, 'Zweiwegebuch und Totenbuch', *ZÄS* 46 (1909), 77-80; W. Waitkus, 'Anmerkungen zu der Verteilung der Dämonennamen aus TB 144/147 im Zweiwegebuch', *GM* 62 (1983), 79-83; E. Hermsen, 'Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits: das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie', *OBO* 126, Freiburg and Göttingen (1991), 135; B. Backes, 'Das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch: Studien zu den Sargtext-Sprüchen 1029-1130', *ÄA* 69 (Wiesbaden, 2005), 297-304.

13 G. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu, Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum I* (London, 1997), pl. 74, col. 1-2.

14 Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 70.

15 Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 70; Goyon, *Le Papyrus d'Imouthès*, 7/15-8/15.

16 S. Quirke, 'Measuring the Underworld', in D. O'Connor and S. Quirke (eds.), *Mysterious Lands: Encounters with Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), 173-5.

17 L.H. Lesko, 'Some Observations on the Composition of the Book of the Two Ways', *JAOS* 91 (1971), 33-43.

18 Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 69.

19 Smith, *Traversing Eternity*, 74.

20 M. Abdelrahiem, 'Chapter 144 of the Book of the Dead from the Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos', *SAK* 34 (2006), 1-16.

21 For the names of the gatekeepers, guardians and reporters in the different versions, see: Waitkus, *GM* 62 (1983), 82.

22 H. Schack-Schakenberg, *Das Buch von den Zwei Wegen des seligen Toten* (Leipzig, 1903).

23 P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antèrieurs au Nouvel Empire*, Vol. I-II, Catalogue general ègyptiennes du Musèe du Caire (Cairo, 1904-1906).

24 Lesko, *JAOS* 91 (1971), 34.

25 Hermsen, *Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, 135.

26 Lesko, *JAOS* 91 (1971), 33-43; P. Robinson, 'As for them who know them, they shall find their paths: Speculations on the Ritual Landscapes in the Book of the Two Ways', in D. O'Connor and S. Quirke (eds), *Mysterious Lands: Encounters with Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), 146.

27 L.H. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways* (Berkeley, 1972), 138; The same has been said by W. Waitkus, *GM* 62 (1983), 82.

28 That is why for instance the coffin is described by Willems as a ritual machine since it carries all texts necessary for a performance of a ritual on or for a deceased; H. Willems, 'Chests of Life', *MVEOL* 25 (Leiden, 1988), 148-160.

29 That is can be applied on Papyrus Harkness which is a collection of different sources dating to different periods; M. Smith, *Papyrus Harkenss, MMA 31.9.7* (Oxford, 2005), 34-37.

30 I. Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie. Kriterien ihrer Datierung* (London, 1987), 172-175 and 231-237.

31 Lesko, *Book of the Two Ways*, 134; Waitkus, *GM* 62, 82.

32 Backes, *Das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch*, 299.

33 C. J. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn: A Cultural and Literary Study* (Liverpool, 2002), 14.

34 J. P. Allen, 'The Funerary Texts of King Wakhare Akhtoy on a Middle Kingdom Coffin', in E. F Wente and J. H. Johnson (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes, SAOC 39* (Chicago, 1976), 25; Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 17.

35 Assmann & Bommas, *Totenliturgien I*, 20-25.

36 Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 244-245.

37 Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 250.

38 Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 267.

39 Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 20.