

Mansoura University Faculty of Tourism and Hotels

# Concepts of Calves in Funerary Texts of Ancient Egypt

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## Abstract

The Ancient Egyptians showed special care and interest towards calves. They understood their importance in their agricultural society where the future of the herds depended largely on these young animals. From the religious point of view, calves had their symbolic significance. Some funerary texts refer to a religious aspect that was given to the calf. Spells of the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts made reference to the calf with different connotations. In the Book of the Dead, the calf appears in the vignettes of two Chapters (1 and 109). The research aims at analyzing these texts in order to interpret the calf's funerary and religious significance.

**Keywords:** Religious beliefs, ancient Egypt, funerary books, calf.

الملخص:

. أظهر قدماء المصريين عناية خاصة واهتماماً بالعجول. لقد فهموا أهميتهم في المجتمع الزراعي المصري حيث يعتمد مستقبل القطعان بشكل كبير على هذه الحيوانات الصغيرة. من وجهة النظر الدينية، كان للعجول أهميتها الرمزية. تشير بعض النصوص الجنائزية إلى وضع العجول في الديانة المصرية. أشارت تعاويذ نصوص الأهرام ونصوص التابوت إلى العجل بدلالات مختلفة. كما يظهر العجل في كتاب الموتى في المقاالمناظر المصاحبة للفصلين (1 و109). يهدف البحث إلى

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## Introduction

Ancient Egyptians depended on animals in order to provide them with their nutritional needs. Cattle were among the dominant sources of nutrition in Egypt, especially the calves. They were valued by the Egyptians and had a prominent role in their lives. On the other hand, these young animals were mentioned and referred to in funerary texts and books of the afterlife. The present research is therefore an attempt to understand the concepts the Ancient Egyptians had about the calf in the religious and funerary thoughts and beliefs. In these contexts, the calf no doubt took up a different aspect; it was not merely the animal depicted in the daily-life scenes showing its birth, feeding, etc. In the religious beliefs, the calf came to manifest various ideas that deserve to be studied. The research will investigate spells of the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead, in order to analyze the funerary aspect of calves.

## A. The Calf in the Pyramid Texts:

The calf is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts in seven spells no: §27, 225, §771, 1029, 1348, 1533, 1865.

**1- Spell (§ 27)**, the king's mouth is compared to that of the calf:

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 $irt(y) r^{c} ms.f im^{1}$  "Your mouth is the mouth of a sucking calf on the day it was born"<sup>2</sup>. According to Faulkner, this spell points out to the purity of the king's mouth; it is pure and uncontaminated as that of a young calf. Therefore, the king himself may be identified with the calf<sup>3</sup>.

**2- Spell (§225)** is concerned with the danger of snake bites which threaten the calf:

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"One snake is enveloped by another when is enveloped the toothless calf<sup>5</sup>. Blackman and Fairman have explained that this spell is related to an ancient Egyptian custom which is still practiced in modern Egypt, according to which calves and donkeys are tethered near the threshing-floor in order to eat. They were thus threatened by the bites of snakes<sup>6</sup>.

The following four spells, §771, §1348, §1533 and §1865 mention the calves and the herdsmen; the king might have been considered a herdsman guarding his calves (his people):

<sup>1</sup> K. Sethe, Die Altägyptischen *Pyramidentexte* I (Leipzig, 1960), §27d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Faulkner, 1969. 7. no. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sethe, 1960, §225 a-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Faulkner, 1969, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A. Blackman and H. W., Fairman, The Significance of the ceremony *Hwt Bhsw* in the Temple of Horus at Edfu", *JEA* 36, 1950, 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sethe, 1960, §771a-b.

mniw.k h3 bhsw.k "O king Meri-Re, hnty-irty will guard you, (even he) your herdsman who looks after your calves"

#### 4- Spell §1348

pth.s sw m-m hntyw-š Mniww bhsw is: "The celestial serpent has placed him (the king) at her side, she drops him down among the *hntyw-š* as calf-herds "<sup>10</sup>. Allen translated *hntvw-š* as "those who are at the fore of the lake"<sup>11</sup>

5- Spell \$1533 d(w).n.k sn m-<u>h</u>nw 'w(y).k mniw bhsw.k is <sup>12</sup>, "you take them into your embrace (as) the herdsman of your calves"<sup>13</sup>, sn might refer to persons who were named in an omitted part of the text<sup>14</sup>

dw.k bhs.k is mniw.k is <sup>15</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Faulkner, 1969, 140.

<sup>9</sup> Sethe, 1960, vol.II. §1348 a-b.

<sup>10</sup> Faulkner, 1969, 211.

<sup>11</sup> J. Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (Atlanta, 2005), 173

<sup>12</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* II, §1533b.

<sup>13</sup> Faulkner, 1969, 234; cf. Allen, 2005, 184.

<sup>14</sup> Faulkner, 1969, 234.

<sup>15</sup> Sethe, 1960, vol. II. §1865 a-c.

"You will lie down within his arms to the limits of your outflow for he is both your calf and your herdsman" <sup>16</sup>. **7-Spell §1029** refers to the calf as the sun, it reads:

According to this spell, the sky was compared to the cowgoddess Hesat, and the new-born sun which appears in the sky was thought to be a calf <sup>19</sup>. Hence, the calf was here identified with the sun.

#### B. <u>The Calf in the Coffin Texts</u>:

There exists only one spell in the coffin texts that mentions the calf; spell (§159), entitled: Going in and out from the Eastern Gates of the Sky among the Followers of Re, knowing the Souls of the Easterners<sup>20.</sup> In this spell, the calf is considered one of the "Souls of the Easterners". The solar character of the calf in this spell is the same as the theme already discussed in the Pyramid Texts (§1029), where the calf is identified with the sun. The spell itself reads:

- <sup>16</sup> Allen, 2005, 268.
- <sup>17</sup> Sethe, 1960, vol. II, §1029 a-c.
- <sup>18</sup> Allen, 2005, 133.
- <sup>19</sup> Hopfner, Th., Der Tierkult der Alten Ägypter, (Wien, 1913), 72.
- <sup>20</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. I (Warminster, 1973), 137.
- <sup>21</sup> A. De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. II, OIP vol. XLIX (Chicago, 1938), 371-372.

## hr 3hty pw bhs hwrr ntr dw3y pw

"It is the Horizon-dwellers who reap it, 9 cubits long in the presence of the Souls of the Easterners, who are Harakhti, the *hwrr* calf and the Morning Star"<sup>22</sup>.

## C. <u>The Calf in the Book of the Dead:</u>

The calf appeared in the vignettes of two spells: spell §1 and spell §109. It was only mentioned in the texts of the latter.

## 1. <u>Vignette of spell § 1 of the Book of the Dead:</u>

Chapter 1 of the Book of the Dead discusses the funeral procession and the "Opening the Mouth" ceremony. Part of the vignette shows an attendant who takes the foreleg severed from a still-bleating calf to the priests responsible for carrying out the rite of "Opening the Mouth" of the deceased (Papyrus of Ani) (fig. 1),or to the offering table in front of him (Papyrus of Hunefer)<sup>23</sup> (fig. 2). The priests usually take the severed leg, still warm, and run to the mummy, as seen on the papyrus of Hunefer<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Faulkner, 1973, vol. I, 137-138. Faulkner, 1969, 46) admits the translation of *hwrr* is doubtful. The Wb mentions it is a designation for the calf, without giving a meaning for the word. *Wb* III, 248, 2; *Wb* I, 469,10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Faulkner, 1990, 38, 54; J. Assman, Deathland and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (London, 2005), 324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> M. Hammam, The Symbolism of the Foreleg (*hpš*) Amputation in Ancient Egypt as an Offering, *Journal of the Faculty of Tourism and Hotels*, University of Sadat City, vol.4, Issue(2/1), December. 2020, 45.



fig. 1 Papyrus of Ani, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Faulkner, 1990, 38.



Fig. 2. Papyrus of Hunefer, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the British museum EA 9901.5 <u>https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\_EA</u> 9901-5

Various representations of the amputation of the foreleg of

a living calf during a funeral were seen in Theban tombs during the New Kingdom  $^{25}$  offering the foreleg of the calf to the deceased and using it as a tool for the opening of the mouth might help in "preserving the life of the deceased"<sup>26</sup>. Furthermore, the ceremony of the opening of the mouth is thought to have a stellar setting 27. It is believed that presenting the foreleg to the mummy after the mouth has been opened is a reference to the constellation that the foreleg occasionally resembled <sup>28</sup>. It is important to note that the word "hps" in the Ancient Egyptian language has two meanings: foreleg  $\stackrel{\textcircled{\mbox{\footnotesize $\square$}}}{=}$   $\stackrel{29}{\sim}$  or constellation of Great Bear  $\stackrel{\frown}{\times} \stackrel{\circ}{D}$  <sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, the sign  $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$  (the foreleg) is used as a determinative in the word "*mshtyw*" which means:  $\texttt{M} \cong \texttt{M} \cong \texttt{M} \cong \texttt{M}$  "The Great Bear" (Lit. The Foreleg)<sup>31</sup>; *msht* msht "Constellation of the Plough" <sup>32</sup>. On the  $\mathbb{A} \cong \mathbb{A}^{-}$  is the name of the adze other hand, *mshtyw* used in the Opening of-the-Mouth Ceremony <sup>33</sup>. The animal's severed foreleg might have served as a tool that allowed the deceased to transform into an everlasting soul

- <sup>27</sup> Ikram, 1995, 43, no. 2; Hammam, 2020, 47 ff
- <sup>28</sup> Ikram, 1995, p. 84.
- <sup>29</sup> R. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford, 1962), 189; A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (London, 1973), 464. (F 23-24); Wb III, 268 (4-7).
- <sup>30</sup> Faulkner, 1962, 189; *Wb* III, 268(9).
- <sup>31</sup> Gardiner, 1973, 464 (F 23-24); Wb II, 149 (3-4).
- <sup>32</sup> Faulkner, 1962, 118.
- <sup>33</sup> Faulkner, 1962, 118; *Wb* II, 149 (2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> S. Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 69 (Leuven, 1995), 50; Hammam, 2020, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Hammam, 2020, 44.

that now lives in the sky alongside other souls and stars. Thus, the foreleg represents the Great Bear constellation.

## 2. <u>Vignette of spell § 109 of the Book of the Dead:</u>

This spell (§109) is almost identical with spell §159 of the Coffin Texts. It is also entitled: Spell for knowing the Souls of the Easterners<sup>34</sup>:  $(mm) \in \mathbb{R}^{34}$   $(mm) \in \mathbb{R}^{34}$   $(mm) \in \mathbb{R}^{34}$   $(mm) \in \mathbb{R}^{34}$ 

The spell itself ends with a sentence which is parallel to that of the coffin Texts. It reads: "I know the Souls of the

Easterners, they are Horakhty, the sun-calf and the Morning star" <sup>36</sup>. The vignette is depicted on tomb walls and papyri as follows:

#### Depiction of the vignette on tomb-walls:

The vignette appears in four tombs of Deir El-Medineh [TT1, 2, 290 and 292].

1- Tomb of Sennedjem (TT1): The scene representing the vignette of spell \$109 figures in the burial chamber, on the vaulted ceiling (Fig. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> D. Arnold, *Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir El-Bahri* (New York, 1979), 102; Th. Allen, *The Book of The Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago, 1974), 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Naville, E., *Das Egyptische Totenbuch (Der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie)*, vol. II (Berlin, 1886), 120, line 1.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Austin, 1990), 102.



Fig.3 The tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1). 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, pl. XXII.

A spotted calf is shown walking between two trees. On the back of the calf is a mummified god with a human head, an enormous collar, and an Osirian beard. The Morning Star, which Easterners believe to be one of their souls, is most likely this divinity. Bruyère draws attention to the fact that this deity appears in some papyri with a star on its head, which was once supposed to represent Sirius, the Star, whose rising coincides with the sun rising at dawn in the summer<sup>37</sup>. The falcon-headed Re-Horakhty-Atum is following the calf. He is seated on a blue base in the form of the  $m3^{c}$ -sign. He is wearing a sun disc with a cobra.. The caption reads:

in R<sup>c</sup>-H<sup>r</sup> 3hty town b t3wy Iwn <sup>38</sup>, "Words spoken by Re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> B. Bruyère, *La Tombe No. 1 de Sen-Nedjem à Deir El Medineh*, MIFAO 88 (Le Caire, 1959), 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> M. Saleh, Saleh, M., Das Totenbuch (in den Thebanischen

Horakhty-Atum, lord of the two lands (of) Heliopolis". This caption, according to Bruyère, shows that spell §109 is based on the Heliopolitan cosmogony <sup>39</sup>.

**2- Tomb of Khaabekhnet (TT 2):** Khaabekhnet was the son of Sennedjem. The scene is depicted on the ceiling of the burial chamber <sup>40</sup> (Fig. 4).



Fig.4 The tomb of Khaabekhnet (TT 2) 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Bruyère *Khaabekhnet*, pl. III.

Khaabekhnet is seen worshipping two mummified deities sitting on the back of a white calf on a kind of plate. One of them is holding a knife, and the sign "k3<sup>L</sup>" is placed above his head, the other holds the feather of  $m3^{\circ}t$  and his head is surmounted by his name "Hw" = 1.1. Since both of the two words mean "food"<sup>41</sup>, the two mummified figures were interpreted as being personifications of food sustenance

Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Bruyère, 1959, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> PM I<sup>1</sup>, p. 6 (TT. No. 2); B. Bruyère, B., Tombes Thébaines de Deir El-Medineh à décoration monochrome, MIFAO 86, (Le Caire, 1952), 29-30, pl. III.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Faulkner, 1962, 164, 283. Gardiner, 1973, 580, 597; Wb III, 44 (11-14); Wb V, p. 91(4).

which is necessary for the deceased <sup>42</sup>. This has led Bruyère to speculate that one of these two personifications may have also been the mummified figure carried on the back of the calf in Tomb No. 1. Hu or ka <sup>43</sup>. The calf in this tomb is depicted eating some herbs emerging from a vase in front of him. A caption is inscribed in front of Khaabekhnet, it reads:  $\times \int dw_3 ntr sp 4$ : "Adoring the god four times". **3- Tomb of Iri-Nefer (TT 290):** Iri-Nefer also served under Ramses II as a servant in the Place of Truth at Deir El-Medina<sup>44</sup>. The deceased and his wife are shown on the south wall of the burial chamber in front of a calf which is surmounted by a sun disc between two trees (fig. 5).



Fig. 5 The tomb of Iri-Nefer (TT 290). 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Saleh, *Totenbuch*, 58, Abb. 68.

The inscription appearing between the sun disc and the calf's body reads <sup>(45)</sup>:

<sup>42</sup> Bruyère, 1952, 30.

- <sup>44</sup> Bruyère, B., *Tombes Thébaines: La Tombe d'Ari Nefer*, MIFAO 54 (Le Caire, 1925), 152; PM I<sup>1</sup>, 372(6); Saleh, 1984, 58.
- <sup>45</sup> Saleh, 1984, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Bruyère, 1952, 29-30.

4- **Tomb of Pashedu (TT 292):** Pashedu was a servant in the Place of Truth during the reign of Sethi I to Ramses II <sup>47</sup>. The scene is on the vaulted ceiling of the chapel. Re-Horakhty is carried by a calf between two sycamore trees in the scene. Unfortunately, the scene is in a very bad state of preservation <sup>48</sup>.

It has been noticed that all of the scenes are from private tombs at Deir El-Medineh and are from the 19th Dynasty, especially the reign of Ramses II. The vaulted ceiling of the burial chamber features scenes from TT 1, 2, and 265, while TT 290 depicts the scene on the south wall of the burial chamber; TT 292 depicts it on the chapel's vaulted roof. The deceased is not present in TT 1 or 292's scenes. In TT 2, he is represented alone with his hands raised in praise, whereas in TT 290, both the deceased and his wife are shown with the same expression. The spotted calf in TT 1 is seen with a mummified god on its back. Similar to the two gods in TT 2, this deity is either the embodiment of the star Sirius, of food sustenance, or of the Morning Star. The calf in TT 2 and 290 is white. In the first, (Hu) and (Ka),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Saleh, 1984, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> PM I<sup>1</sup>, 374-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Saleh, 1984, 58.

who are regarded as personifications of food nourishment, are carried on a tray. The calf travels by itself in the latter. In TT 292, Re-Horakhty is carried by the calf. The sun-disc appears in two tombs (TT 1 and 290), it is depicted between the two trees. TT 2 is the only tomb in which the scene lacks any trees. The other three scenes all feature images of trees. The calf is portrayed in front of them as though he was passing between them, and the sun-disc is situated between the points of the two trees.

The sun, shown in the form of a calf, was the offspring of Nut, the Celestial Cow, and the sycamore was its sacred tree<sup>49</sup>. Indeed, part of spell §109 says: "I know those two trees of turquoise between which Re goes forth"<sup>50</sup>. Taking into considerations that spell §109 is entitled: "Spell for knowing the Souls of the Easterners" and that the spell itself identifies these souls as beings: Re-Horakhty, the "hwrr" calf and the Morning Star, it is clear that the vignette from TT1 is likely the only one where all three "souls" appear. The unifying element that appears in all of the scenes is the calf. It should be observed that Sethe has considered the three souls to the Easterners: Re-Horakhty, the calf and the morning-star as a triad<sup>51</sup>. Žabkar has explained that in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead, some groups of souls  $(B_{3w})$  were arranged in triads 52

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Bruyère, 1959, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Faulkner, 1990, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> K. Sethe, "Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte", ZÄS 59, 1924, p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> L. Žabkar., "Ba", LÄ I, col. 589.

## **Depiction of the Vignette on Papyri: 1- Papyri dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty:**

**a-** The papyrus of Neferrenpet<sup>53</sup> (fig. 6) offers the best illustration of this vignette. The deceased appears to the right worshipping Re-Horakhty. A spotted calf is seen behind him (white body with red lines). It is surmounted by a statue of a seated god. The "Souls of the Easterners" stated in the texts are thus represented by these three figures. Two sycamore trees (*nht*), surmounted by a sun-disc, are seen on the left<sup>54</sup>



Fig.6 Papyrus of Neferrenpet, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Speleers, *Nefer-Renpet*, 28. <u>https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/immortality-</u> <u>bombshell-4000-year-old-20560216</u>

<sup>53</sup> L. Speleers, L., Le Papyrus de Nefer Renpet. Un Liure des Morts de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie aux Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles (Bruxelles, 1917), 28.

<sup>54</sup> Speleers, 1917, 28.

## b- The papyrus of Nebseny:

(the British museum EA 9900,8)<sup>55</sup> the deceased is also seen on the papyrus of Nebseny standing adoring to Re'-Horakhty and the spotted calf  $^{56}$ . On the other side, Milde believes that this figure is a god who is adoring Re'-Horakhty rather than Nebseny<sup>57</sup>. This interpretation is based on what is written in the caption above this figure:  $\exists \neq \underline{\mathfrak{A}} \overset{\odot}{\longrightarrow} .$  Milde translates it as:  $n\underline{t}r \ dw3 \ r^{\circ} \ n\underline{b}$ : the god who daily worships  $\operatorname{Re'}^{58}$ . However, the sign  $\frac{1}{2}$  might be a determinative to "*ntr-dw*<sup>3</sup>". Accordingly, the caption could be translated as: *ntr dw3 r<sup>c</sup> nb*, "the Morning star of everday". In front of this figure, the spotted calf is designated as:  $\longrightarrow$  bhs hwrrty The "hwrrty" calf. The young animal is facing to the left. Consequently, it appears as though the calf and the human figure are worshipping the third deity. Re'-Horakhty $^{\odot}$   $\gg$   $\equiv$  is the name of the sitting falcon-headed deity (fig. 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y EA9900-8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Faulkner, 1990, 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet, Egyptologische Uitaven VII (Leiden, 1991), 216. (London BM 9900/8); S. Quirke, Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum (London, 1993), 89; J. H. Taylor, Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (London, 2010), no. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Milde, 1991, 216.





Fig.7 Papyrus of Nebseny, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Faulkner, 1990, 104; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\_EA990 0-8

c- Papyrus Reinisch<sup>59</sup>: The three deities (H orakhty, the calf and the Morning Star) are represented as mumiform gods. The three gods on the right are the ones that spell 109 is concerned with. They are (from right to left): the Morning star  $\exists \star n\underline{t}r \ dw3$ , who is human-headed and bearded; the sun-calf  $\vdots$   $\vdots$   $bhs \ hry$ ", who is calf-headed and the last one "Horakhty"  $b \otimes \Box h \ hr-3hty$  (Fig.8).

<sup>59</sup> G. Thausing and T. Kerszt-Kratschmann, Das Grosse Ägyptische Totenbuch (Papyrus Reinisch) (Cairo, 1969), pl. XII.

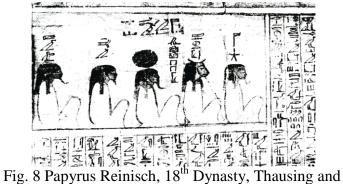


Fig. 8 Papyrus Reinisch, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Thausing and Kerszt-Kratschmann, 1969, pl. XII.

There is a large vignette about the two Chapters (BD §116 and 109) which shows six deities squatting behind each other, they are designated as: 1.125 From "*ntrw mfk3tyw*": The Turquoise Gods <sup>60</sup>; this title relates to the place where the sun is born every day between two sycamores of turquoise<sup>61</sup>.

There exist other papyri with unusual depictions of "Souls of the Easterners", as **the Papyrus of Nebqed** (Louvre 3068) (fig. 9), where Nebqed is depicted adoring three ibisheaded gods <sup>62</sup>.

- <sup>60</sup> Milde, 1991, 216.
- <sup>61</sup> Milde, 1991, 210.
- <sup>62</sup> Milde, 1991, 216; S. Quirke, Going out in Daylight: "prt m hrw": The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: "translation, sources, meaning" (London, 2013), XIX; P. Dorman, Compositional Format and Spell Sequencing in Early Versions of the Book of the Dead, *JARCE* 55 (Cairo, 2019), 19-54, fig. 1; L. Medini, Collèges Divins Hermopolitains, Questionner Le Sphinx, Mélanges Offerts à Christiane Zivie-Coche, BdE 154, IFAO, (Le Caire< 2021), 479-501, 492, note 63.

https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010003125.



(fig. 9) The papyrus of Nebqed,the Louvre museum 3068, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010003125

## 2- Papyri dating to the Late Period:

- **a- Papyrus** Gatseshen<sup>63</sup>, the three deities are ibisheaded as in Papyrus Nebqed.
- b- The Greenfield Papyrus of Nesitanebtishru<sup>64</sup>, (fig. 10) the deceased is shown kneeling and adoring before several registers. The first register shows a horizon between two trees. The lower register depicts the sun-calf preceded by a divinity holding a scepter<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> E. Naville, Papyrus Funéraires de la 21<sup>e</sup> Dynastie, vol. II: Le Papyrus hiératique de katseshni au Musée du Caire (Paris, 1914). (P. Cairo 4886); Milde, 1991, 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Budge, W., *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London, 1912), pl. 29; Quirke, 1993, 145; Taylor, 2010, no. 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Milde, 1991, p. 216.



fig. 10, The greenfield papyrus, the British museum EA 10554. 26<sup>66</sup>

c- Papyrus of Louvre 3248: (Fig. 11a, b)<sup>67</sup>. A boat is depicted heading to two sycamore trees. A calf, resembling a bull, is standing on a pedestal on the boat; he is surmounted by a star, maybe alluding to his celestial or solar nature. Re-Horakhty is shown behind the calf as a falcon-headed deity sitting on a

base. He is holding a scepter and his head is surmounted by a solar disc and a miniature sailing boat. An individual with a human body and a serpent's head stands at the



conclusion. It keeps the boat's oar.

<sup>66</sup> https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\_EA10554-26

67 P. Barguet, Le Livre des Morts (Paris, 1967), 143. To be noted that the papyrus is attested to the Ptolemaic period according to the Louvre official website.



Fig. 11, a, b, The papyrus of Louvre 3248<sup>68</sup>, Barguet ,1967, 143.

According to Saleh, this figure represents the deceased himself<sup>69</sup>, this might be taken into consideration because this figure could be "Nehebu-Kaw," the serpent-headed god of Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasya). His religion has been documented in the Pyramid Texts since the Old Kingdom, and his name signifies "one who harnesses the spirits." He was regarded as a divinity that helped the monarch who had died and intervened on his behalf<sup>70</sup>.

To conclude, it is obvious that although the text of Chapter §109 identifies the "Souls of the Easterners" as Horakhty, the calf and the Morning Star, the vignettes of the chapter has not followed any rule in depicting these three souls.

## **Conclusion:**

Funerary texts are one of the main sources of the analysis of the Egyptian religion and mythology.

Calves were valued by the Egyptians and had an essential role in the life of the Egyptian, as a vital source of nutrition. They were also mentioned and referred to in funerary texts and books of the afterlife.

Of the seven spells which mention the calf in the Pyramid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> <u>https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010378789</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Saleh, 1991, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> R. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2003), 224.

Texts, four mention the calves and the herdsmen, in a reference to the concept of the king being considered as a herdsman guarding his calves (people). In spell 1029, the solar aspect of the sun was alluded to.

Furthermore, spell 159 of the Coffin Texts also focuses on this solar aspect of the calf, listing it among the "Souls of the Easterners".

In the Book of the Dead, spell no.1 discusses the funeral procession and the "Opening the Mouth" ceremony where the calf's foreleg might have had a specific religious symbolism; whereas the second spell (109) identifies the calf as one of the Souls of the Easterners. It is therefore aligned with the spell of the Coffin Texts.

The vignette of this spell is depicted on tomb walls and on papyri that date to the New Kingdom and to the Late period.

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