The Dying Sun: An Iconographical Analysis of the Solar Barque at Sunset in the Cosmological Books of the New Kingdom

JoLynne Minnick

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THE DYING SUN: AN ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SOLAR BARQUE AT SUNSET IN THE COSMOLOGICAL BOOKS OF THE NEW KINGDOM

by

JoLynne Minnick

A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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Major: Art History

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Dedication

For my family
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Abstract

This thesis will investigate scenes of sunset found in the ancient Egyptian cosmological books, which appeared as a new form of mortuary literature in the New Kingdom. Although the texts of these compositions have been thoroughly treated in scholarship, an iconographical survey of the diachronic and synchronic changes to the solar barque featured in the compositions has not. First, I will provide an overview of the cosmological books, and discuss the necessary background information including the lifecycle of the solar deity and the setting of the cosmological books. Next, I will provide a thorough discussion of the nine scenes of sunset that appear in the cosmological books. This will include an identification of the key figures and features on the solar barque, as well as a translation of any accompanying annotations that mention the solar barque. Finally, I will offer an iconographical analysis of the notable synchronic and diachronic variations.
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## List of Abbreviations

**Journals and Series**

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<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Coffin Texts</td>
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<tr>
<td>HdO</td>
<td>Handbook of Oriental Studies</td>
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<td>PT</td>
<td>Pyramid Texts</td>
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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The ancient Egyptian cosmological books appeared as a seemingly new and distinctive genre of mortuary literature\(^1\) over the course of the New Kingdom (Dyns. 18-20, c. 1539–1077 BCE).\(^2\) During that period, the cosmological genre occurs primarily in the royal tombs from the Valley of the Kings, appearing occasionally also in temple contexts and non-royal tombs.\(^3\) Unlike earlier collections of individual mortuary spells (Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead), the cosmological books included mostly fixed content, assembled following clear templates, which featured continuous illustrations of the divine realm and its inhabitants, as opposed to isolated vignettes.\(^4\) The present thesis will investigate the iconography of one segment of illustrated narrative: the scene depicting the solar barque at sunset. This scene occurs


\(^2\) Dates in the present volume follow Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David Warburton, eds. *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, HdO 83 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 490–495, “Chronological Table for the Dynastic Period.”


\(^4\) See discussion in Hornung, *Afterlife*, 26. When illustrations did occur in those earlier corpora, they appear as adjuncts to the texts; the cosmological genre, by contrast, employs texts mostly as descriptive annotations to the accompanying images, which are therefore given primacy (J.A. Roberson, personal communication, 2-14-2021).
in multiple cosmological books, which makes it an ideal candidate for exploring both diachronic
and synchronic changes. In the interest of time and length of the present work, my investigation
will focus on royal exemplars from the Valley of the Kings, which are generally well-preserved
and readily available for study through modern publications and photographs.

**Research Objectives**

The remainder of the present chapter will provide an overview of the cosmological
corpus in the New Kingdom and its prior scholarship. In chapter 2, I will discuss the major
themes of the cosmological books including the lifecycle of the solar deity, the Duat, the forms
of the solar deity, and briefly the names of the solar barque. In chapter 3, I will discuss the nine
scenes of sunset in the cosmological books, including the greater context of the books in which
they appear, the identity and function of the figures depicted on the solar barque, a translation of
the annotations and any other accompanying texts, and the relationship to the themes discussed
in Chapter 2. Finally, Chapter 4 will include my analysis of any notable synchronic variation
among the different compositions, as well as any notable diachronic variations evident in
different dynasties. I will also offer suggestions for further research.

**Overview of the Cosmological Corpus in the New Kingdom**

The corpus of New Kingdom cosmological books includes six so-called “Books of the
Netherworld” and the two so-called “Books of the Sky,” which depict the nocturnal and diurnal
solar journey, respectively, as templates for the afterlife of the deceased. The earliest attested

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5 For a convenient overview of post New Kingdom sources, see Hornung, *Afterlife*, 169–179; for Twenty-First
dynasty mythological papyri, see Alexandre Piankoff and Natacha Rambova. *Mythological Papyri* (New York:
Bollingen Foundation, 1957); for Theban funerary papyri, see Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban
Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10s Centuries B.C.* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoek & Ruprechṭ Göttingen,
1989); for a detailed discussion of the Late Period sarcophagi versions, see Colleen Manassa, *The Late Egyptian

6 Excluded here are those related compositions that Roberson describes as “etiological” treatises, which focus
primarily on explanations of celestial phenomena (Roberson, “Funerary Books,” 319–321) and which—critically for
Netherworld Book was known to the ancient Egyptians as the “Book of the Hidden Chamber” (šš n ḫ.t jmn.t), but is known better to modern scholarship by the generic title Amduat (jmj-dws.t, “that which is in the divine realm”). Fragments of the Amduat are attested first in KV20, the tomb of Thutmose I (c. 1493–1483 BCE), usurped later by his wife Hatshepsut (c. 1473–1458 BCE). The earliest complete copy of the book occurs in the sarcophagus chamber of Thutmose III (c. 1479–1425 BCE), and the book occurs frequently in royal tombs for the remainder of the New Kingdom. The Amduat was the first composition to depict the entirety of the solar deity’s nocturnal journey, which was divided into twelve “hours,” depicted as a series of caverns or other netherworldly locales, through which the solar barque would pass on its journey from sunset to sunrise.

The next attested netherworld composition, known today as the Enigmatic Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (BOSU), appears first during the Eighteenth dynasty, on the second gilded
shrine of Tutankhamun (c. 1334–1324 BCE), with related scenes and texts appearing later in the
tombs of Ramesses V/VI and Ramesses IX.10 Unlike the other cosmological books, the
hieroglyphic texts from the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity were written almost entirely in the
so-called cryptographic script, potentially complicating their interpretation and analysis.11 Unlike
the Amduat, the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity was divided into two equal halves, focused
primarily on the beginning and end of the sun’s nocturnal journey, with relatively little emphasis
on the solar barque.

The Book of Gates (ancient title unknown)—so-called for its depiction of towering
netherworld gates, guarded by giant serpents—was the last cosmological book to appear during
the Eighteenth dynasty, with some of its hours decorating the sarcophagus chamber walls in
KV57, the tomb of Horemheb (c. 1323–1295 BCE).12 The first complete version occurs on the
alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I (Dyn. 19, c. 1290–1279 BCE), found in his tomb, which also
included selections from the book on the walls.13 The book remained popular for the remainder
of the New Kingdom, appearing only rarely in complete form. Like the Amduat, the Book of
Gates was divided into twelve “hours,” in which the solar barque was given central prominence.

The next two netherworld books, the Book of Caverns and the Books of the Earth, both
appear first in the Nineteenth dynasty at the Osireion, also known as the Cenotaph, of Seti I at

10 Darnell, Enigmatic, 6.

11 See discussion in Darnell, Enigmatic, 1–3, with additional references; more recently, see now J.A. Roberson,
Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom: A Lexicon of New Kingdom Cryptography (Berlin and Boston: De

12 Erik Hornung and Theodor Abt, The Egyptian Book of Gates (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications,
2014), 7.

26.
Abydos. Like the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, these later netherworld books were divided into two equal halves, with relatively fewer representations of the solar barque than the Amduat or Book of Gates. The two halves of the Book of Caverns were sub-divided into three smaller caverns each, for a total of six major divisions. The Books of the Earth appeared in a variety of different forms, including both ad hoc arrangements and more formal templates, all of which drew from a common pool of scenes and texts. Both compositions occur together in the same tombs for the remainder of the New Kingdom, including the Nineteenth dynasty tombs of Merneptah (KV8) and Tawosret (KV14), as well as the Twentieth dynasty tombs of Ramesses IV (KV2), Ramesses V/VI (KV9), Ramesses VII (KV1), and Ramesses IX (KV6).

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18 Both texts are found in the sarcophagus chamber; however, flooding has ruined much of the decoration except for high on the walls and ceilings (“KV 08 Merneptah,” *Theban Mapping Project*, American Research Center in Egypt and the American University in Cairo, 2020–2021).

19 Both texts are found in the first sarcophagus chamber J1 (“KV 14 Tausert and Setnakht,” *Theban Mapping Project*, American Research Center in Egypt and the American University in Cairo, 2020–2021).

20 The text is found in corridor D and corridor K (“KV 02 Ramesses IV,” *Theban Mapping Project*, American Research Center in Egypt and the American University in Cairo, 2020–2021).


The final netherworld book, known today as the *Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques* (AOTSB; ancient title unknown), is, in many respects, the most unusual. The book consists of an extremely concise, bipartite diagram of the cosmos, featuring the shrine of Osiris, awakened from death by his son Horus, in the lower half (representing the Duat), with an image of the solar deity’s day barque and night barque, prow-to-prow, representing the sky and the two lands of Egypt, dominating the upper half. Like most of the later (Ramesside-era) cosmological books, the AOTSB occurs first in the Nineteenth dynasty Osireion at Abydos, with later occurrences in the Twentieth dynasty tombs of Ramesses V/VI (KV9) and Ramesses IX (KV6).

The two so-called “Books of the Sky” are also known only by their modern titles, the *Book of the Night* and the *Book of the Day*. Unlike the Books of the Netherworld, the Books of the Sky depict the solar journey occurring in or across the anthropomorphic body of the sky goddess Nut instead of through the subterranean caverns of the Duat. Similar events occur during the solar deity’s journey, but the chthonic aspects and locales of the Books of the Netherworld are mostly absent in the Books of the Sky. The Book of the Night occurs first in the Osireion at Abydos, with later attestations in the Twentieth dynasty royal tombs of Ramesses IV

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25 Two attestations occur after the New Kingdom: the tomb of Sheshonq III at Tanis (NRT5) from the Twenty-Second dynasty, and the tomb of Mutirdis at Thebes (TT410) from the Twenty-Sixth dynasty (Roberson, *Awakening*, 1 and plates 4–5).

The Book of the Day is attested in two tombs in the New Kingdom, Ramesses V/VI (KV9), which has two depictions, as well as a condensed version in the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV6).

**Literature Review**

Although many of the cosmological books were known prior to the Twentieth century, serious scholarly investigation of their texts and images was quite limited until fairly recently. Early drawings of the Book of Gates and the Books of the Earth show up in *Description de l'Égypte*, but the first written reference to the cosmological books appears in the thirteenth

---

27 An incomplete version of the text is on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber next to the Book of Nut (“KV 02 Rameses IV,” *Theban Mapping Project*, American Research Center in Egypt and the American University in Cairo, 2020–2021).


29 A condensed version of the text is on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber (“KV 06 Rameses IX,” *Theban Mapping Project*, American Research Center in Egypt and the American University in Cairo, 2020–2021).

30 Examples of non-royal tombs using the Book of the Day exist from the Third Intermediate Period to the Twenty-fifth dynasty (747-656 BCE). From the Late Period are texts referring to the daytime hours, but there is no explicit connection that would classify them as the Book of the Day. Additionally, hymns from the temple of Edfu share a similar theme to the Book of the Day (Hornung, *Afterlife*, 116).

31 In corridor D, corridor G, and pillared chamber F, the Book of the Day is positioned above the Book of the Night on the ceiling with only one depiction of Nut accompanying both texts. In the sarcophagus chamber the two texts are side-by-side on the ceiling with the accompanying Nuts positioned back-to-back (“KV 09 Rameses V and Rameses VI,” *Theban Mapping Project*, American Research Center in Egypt and the American University in Cairo, 2020–2021).

32 This text is found next to the Book of the Night on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber (“KV 06 Rameses IX,” *Theban Mapping Project*, American Research Center in Egypt and the American University in Cairo, 2020–2021).

33 Roberson, *Earth*, 3. Some books, such as those preserved in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI, have been known to Greek tourists, et al., since late antiquity (Alexandre Piankoff and Natcha Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* 2 vols. (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1954), vol. 1, 7–8).


letter of Jean-François Champollion from Egypt where he notes the architecture and systematic
decoration of the known royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Throughout the 19th century,
the Books of the Netherworld and the Books of the Sky were recorded by early Egyptologists as
they discovered the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Early translations of the text
appeared as they were discovered. However, these early efforts were marred by incomplete
editions of the books, which therefore lacked proper context, as well as the preliminary stages
of the decipherment of Egyptian itself. By the end of the Nineteenth century, the Amduat, in
particular, had begun to receive wider recognition through the translations and discussions of
E.A. Wallis Budge. Nevertheless, those popular works suffered from Budge’s idiosyncratic
approach to the language and his particular cultural biases. An important turning point from
early to modern scholarship came with the hieroglyphic edition of the texts from the Osireion at
Abydos, uncovered by Frankfort’s excavations from 1902–1903. However, full translations of
most of these inscriptions would not appear for nearly half a century.


38 A thorough discussion of the early publications of the cosmological texts and the royal tombs can be found in Erik Hornung, Afterlife, 169-179.


40 Hornung, Afterlife, 31.

Modern scholarly research on the cosmological books began in the 1950s and 1960s with the publications of Alexandre Piankoff, Erik Hornung, and their contemporaries. These new treatments of the books published the texts in accurate editions, with emphasis on the comparison of parallel sources from different tombs and different dynasties, coupled with more modern approaches to Egyptian grammar and its translation. Many of these publications, particularly Hornung’s treatments of the Amduat and Book of Gates, remain the standard text editions to the present day.

Over the past thirty years, all of the remaining cosmological books have been published in modern editions, with extensive philological commentary and critical apparatus, taking into consideration virtually all sources and parallels presently known to scholarship. Cosmological books that have received comprehensive monographic treatment in this period include the Book of the Night, Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, Books of the Earth, Book of the Day,

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AOTSB,49 and Book of Caverns.50 However, regarding the last volume, it is important to note that the extensive commentary and analysis, which Daniel Werning presents, does not include a complete hieroglyphic edition, for which the publications of Piankoff in BIFAO, from nearly a century ago, remain the standard scholarly editions.51

In addition to the primary publications sketched above, numerous secondary works have also appeared over the past three decades. Notably, Hornung’s treatments of the Amduat and Book of Gates have now received translations into English, with running hieroglyphic annotations and accompanying illustrations.52 However, while these works are convenient for quick reference, they do not reproduce parallel sources, and were never intended to replace the standard text editions for scholarly research. More recently, John Coleman Darnell and Colleen Manaasa Darnell have published a comprehensive English translation, with accompanying illustrations, of all the netherworld books, excluding the Books of the Sky and AOTSB.53 The Darnells’ translations are comprehensive and authoritative, and include also insightful essays providing overviews of the individual books as well as the genre as a whole.54


CHAPTER 2: Major Themes of the Cosmological Books

By the New Kingdom, solar hymns and litanies openly referenced the crucial role that the solar deity played in creation. As early as the Pyramid Texts, the sun itself was associated with Atum, the original creator god in the Heliopolitan creation myth, and was often referred to under the combined name Re-Atum. The Heliopolitan creation myth focuses on the creation of the Ennead beginning with the first god Atum, who arose from the primordial waters, Nun, onto the first mound of creation. From Atum came the siblings Shu and Tefnut, who in turn created Geb and Nut. The children of Geb and Nut make up the final four members of the Ennead:

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Seth, Nephthys, Osiris, and Isis. Some of the earliest references to the Ennead and the Heliopolitan creation myth can be found in the Pyramid Texts, which also have references to other creation myths.

Atum’s initial rising out of the primordial waters began the process of creation and was considered synonymous with the first sunrise. Sunrise is the beginning of the twenty-four hour solar cycle, with its diurnal and nocturnal phases, which is the main narrative of the New Kingdom cosmological books. In depicting the solar deity’s journey, the cosmological books reference themes of rebirth, death, and regeneration through the lifecycle of the sun, as well as depicting the nature of the Duat, the divine realm through which the solar deity travelled.

The Solar Cycle

Jan Assmann divides the twenty-four hour solar cycle into four phases: rising (Aufgang), transit (Überfahrt), landing (Landung), and nocturnal journey (Nachtfahrt). Throughout these

15 See, for example, PT 600 where the beginning events of the Heliopolitan creation myth are recited (James P. Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 269).
17 The perpetual rebirth of the solar deity each morning at sunrise is a constant renewal of the first sunrise at the beginning of creation, which was also a renewal of time (Erik Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many, John Baines trans. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 161–162).
phases he has identified two major motifs: movement across the sky and regeneration, vis-à-vis birth and death. Although Assmann’s designations are a modern convention, they do create a useful outline for discussing the solar cycle.

The twenty-four hour solar journey begins at sunrise (Assmann’s “rising” phase) when the gates of the eastern horizon are opened to allow the solar deity to exit the netherworld. At sunrise the solar deity is depicted as a scarab named Khepri (ḥprj), which is derived from the ancient Egyptian term hpr meaning “to become, arise,” and boards the day-barque, mandjet (m nd.t), to begin his diurnal journey. During the diurnal journey, depicted in the Book of the Day and the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, the solar deity travels across the sky (p.t, personified in the Book of the Day as the goddess Nut) from sunrise in the

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19 Assmann focuses his motif of movement on the two solar barques and the diurnal and nocturnal journeys. Each barque travels in a single direction, west for the day-barque and east for the night-barque, which he believes is a representation of the cosmic time and the perpetual cycle of the solar journey (Jan Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, trans. Anthony Alcock (London and New York: Kegan Paul, 1995), 50).


21 As early as the Pyramid Texts the sun was associated with the scarab during the diurnal journey. See, for example, PT 606 (Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 226–227). The young solar deity may also be depicted as a child making him one of the few ancient Egyptian deities to be depicted as a child (Hormung, *Conceptions of God*, 145).


23 Wb III, 260.7–8.

24 Wb II, 48.1–8.

25 In her article on the solar barques, Elizabeth Thomas discusses how the mandjet is often paired with the mesektet. When paired together, the mandjet is always portrayed facing west in the direction it travels during the diurnal journey. In the same way the mesektet faces east in the direction it travels to return the solar deity to sunrise. This places the two barques prow-to-prow, just as they are depicted in the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques. When depicted together, the entirety of the solar cycle can be found in a single image. See, Elizabeth Thomas, “Solar Barks Prow to Prow,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 42 (1956), 65-79.
east to sunset in the west. “Eastern bas” in the form of “baboons” (jfn.w) or “sun-apes” (jmj.w-htt, lit. “those who are in jubilation”), praise the solar deity as he is (re)born at sunrise.

After sunrise the solar deity sails through his diurnal journey on the mandjet (Assmann’s “transit” phase), where he has transformed into his falcon-headed form named Re (Rā), or sometimes Re-Harakhty (Rā-Hr-šḥ.ty). The solar deity’s travels across the sky are the oldest attested and longest enduring idea for the solar journey as is evident in many of the spells of the Pyramid Texts. During the diurnal journey, the solar deity was said to face familiar enemies, such as his triumph over Apep that occurred at midday. By defeating his enemy, the solar deity triumphed over chaos, allowed Ma’at to continue, and solidified his rule over the cosmos.

At the end of the diurnal journey is sunset where the now aged solar deity arrives at the western horizon (Assmann’s “landing” phase). Sunset is a moment of death for the aged solar

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26 Assmann, Solar Religion, 47; for the designation jmj.w-htt, see Wb II, 504.12.


29 Leitz, Lexikon IV, 630–632.

30 Assmann, Solar Religion, 49.

31 See, for example, PT 473 (Allen, Pyramid Texts, 127–128) which details the sun’s ferrying across the sky. Additionally, in his treatment of the Pyramid Texts, Allen categorizes spells into groups referring to leaving the horizon and entering the sky.

deity, when he becomes a “transfigured being” (jm$hj$j), and changes into his nocturnal ram-headed form named Atum. The solar deity also boards the night-barque, mesektet (mskt.t), in preparation of his nocturnal journey where he will travel west to east, either through the netherworld, as depicted in the Books of the Netherworld, or through the body of the sky goddess Nut, as depicted in the Book of the Night. “Western bas” in the form of jackals greet the solar deity at the gates of the western horizon, and they have the duty of towing the solar barque through sunset into the netherworld.

In the nocturnal journey (Assmann’s final phase), the solar deity maintains his ram-headed form of Atum. He travels through the netherworld on the night-barque where he gives

33 Osiris is another Egyptian deity that faced death and was depicted in mumiform; however, unlike the solar deity, his death was never explicitly expressed in ancient Egyptians texts (Hornung, Conceptions of God, 152–153). The death of the solar deity is already alluded to in the Coffin Texts (see, for example, Spell 1100 (Adriaan de Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts 7, Texts of Spells 787–1185 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 416–419; Faulkner, Coffin Texts III, 157), and is a prominent part of the cosmological books. Although the “death” is not permanent, it is a crucial step in the solar cycle as it allows for the eventual regeneration and rebirth of the solar deity at sunrise (Hornung, Conceptions of God, 160).

34 The term jm$hj$j (or jm$hj$w) was used to describe the deceased and the relationship the deceased had with the “great god” (nTr aA) beginning in the Old Kingdom. By becoming a jm$hj$w, the deceased was able to freely pass from one domain to the next, the same way the solar deity needed to pass from the land of the living into the netherworld to continue on to his nocturnal journey. See, James P. Allen, “Some aspects of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom,” in The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004, Miroslav Bára ed. (Prague: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2006).

35 The depiction of the aged solar deity is in direct contrast with the young solar deity of the morning. Much like the previous forms of the solar deity, the identification of the nocturnal sun with Atum is referenced already in the Pyramid Text. See, for example, PT 606 which is the same spell that refers to the sun as a scarab. Additionally, PT 606 mentions the sun’s disappearance at night as Atum, which references the solar deity’s nocturnal journey (Allen, Pyramid Texts, 226–227).

36 Wb II, 150.10–16.

37 The Book of the Night and the Book of the Day both feature the “western bas” towing the solar barque. In the Book of the Night, jackals are shown towing the solar barque to sunrise (Gilles Roulin, Le Livre de la Nuit: Une composition égyptienne de l’au-delà, 2 vols. (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 1996), plates 18–19), and in the Book of the Day jackals stand in front of a procession that tows the solar barque towards sunset (Marcus Müller-Roth, Das Buch vom Tage (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2008), plates 16 and 21).

38 In the cosmological books, even when in his ram-headed form the solar deity is not always labeled as Atum. In the Amduat he is captioned as “Flesh” (jwf) (Wb I, 51.17), while in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity the ram-
life, in the form of breath, light and hearing, to the blessed dead for the time he is there. During the sixth hour, in the deepest part of the netherworld the solar deity unites with Osiris, which allows the solar deity to continue his journey towards regeneration at sunrise. In her discussion of the solar deity’s regeneration, Silvia Wiebach-Koepke examines the Amduat and Book of Gates due to their extensive depiction of the nocturnal journey. Wiebach-Koepke identifies a secondary cycle in the nocturnal journey where “two generations of Khepri” travel through the Upper and Lower Duat to visit the temporary burial place of Osiris in the fifth hour before rejoining with the solar deity at the final burial place of Osiris in the sixth hour. The nocturnal headed solar deity is named Re (John Coleman Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2004), 200). The Book of the Night combines the two by captioning the solar deity as the “Flesh of Re” (jwf R’w) in the second through eleventh hours, and as “Re, who is in the center of the Mehen” in the twelfth hour (Roulin, Nuit I, 79–80, 119, 148, 168, 192–193, 215, 244, 275, 298, 317, 331). In the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques the solar deity is labeled Atum; however, he is depicted with a human head rather than a ram’s head.


40 Both the solar deity and Osiris were associated with Egyptian concepts of time: cyclical time (nHH) for the solar deity, and constant/eternal time (Df) for Osiris. These two concepts of time merged just as the two deities do during the nocturnal journey, perpetuating time forward. The solar deity’s descent into the netherworld to Osiris was also seen as a ba reuniting with its corpse, illustrating the sought after destiny for the deceased (Suzanne Onstine, “The Relationship between Re and Osiris in the Book of Caverns,” Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Journal 25 (1995), 67–68; Assmann, Solar Religion, 62).

41 For the full discussion on regeneration in the solar cycle, see Silvia Wiebach-Koepke, Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration: Zur Systematik der Lebensprozesse in den Unterweltbüchern (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007).

42 See discussion in Wiebach-Koepke, Sonnenlauf, 67–73.

43 Silvia Zago in her discussion on Wiebach-Koepke’s regeneration cycle notes that neither the Amduat nor the Book of Gates separate the netherworld into an upper and lower portion. This concept is more widely used in the later Books of the Netherworld, which are not as extensive in their depictions of the nocturnal journey (Silvia Zago, Conceptualizing Life after Death: The Evolution of the Concept of Duat and Related Notions in Egyptian Funerary Literature (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2019), 265–266). For a discussion on the concept of the Upper and Lower Duat see the section on the Duat in this chapter.

44 Wiebach-Koepke, Sonnenlauf, 166–169.
journey of the solar cycle ends where the cycle began, with the solar deity being reborn as Khepri at sunrise.

**The Duat**

In the cosmological books there are two settings for the nocturnal and diurnal solar journeys: the netherworld below the earth and the body of the sky goddess Nut. In the present thesis, the ancient Egyptian word Duat \((\text{dw}_3t\text{t})\)\(^{45}\) will be used throughout to refer to the netherworld where the solar deity travels during his nocturnal journey in the Books of the Netherworld. However, it is important to note that the ancient term Duat includes both the chthonic and celestial realms.\(^{46}\) As the setting of the Books of the Sky, the goddess Nut will be referred to by name.

The word Duat dates back to the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts (Dyns. 5–8, ca. 2321–2118 BCE).\(^{47}\) The Duat of the Pyramid Texts is celestial,\(^{48}\) and it was the deceased king’s desire to join the celestial sphere.\(^{49}\) Additionally, already present in the Pyramid Texts, was the wish to be where the solar deity is and to travel with him through the celestial sphere.\(^{50}\) Beginning with the Coffin Texts of the Middle Kingdom (Dyns. 11–12, c. 1980–1760 BCE) the term Duat takes on a

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\(^{45}\) Wb V, 415.3–9; Erik Hornung, “Dat,” \(\text{LÄ I}, 994–995.\)

\(^{46}\) Zago, Concept of Duat, 15.


\(^{48}\) Zago, *Concept of Duat*, 414. However, there are some spells that refer to the Duat being below the earth (Allen, “Cosmology,” 23–25). For a divergent interpretation of the Duat in the Pyramid Texts see with caution, Joanne Conman, “It’s about Time: Ancient Egyptian Cosmology,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 31 (2003), 33–71.

\(^{49}\) See, for example, PT 563 where the sky’s doors are opened to allow the king to ascend and be received by Nut (Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 173–174).

chthonic association as the spells focus on the dangers below the earth that the deceased must travel through.\textsuperscript{51} This is especially true for the Book of Two Ways, which offered a depiction of the landscape of the Duat.\textsuperscript{52}

Beginning in the New Kingdom with the Books of the Netherworld, the Duat takes on a completely chthonic nature as the compositions focus on the nocturnal journey of the solar deity. In the Amduat, with its twelve-hour division of the nocturnal journey, the Duat is a mix of fertile fields, arid deserts, and dark caverns. The first hour begins in the liminal space of the horizon\textsuperscript{53} where the solar deity travels to the gates of the netherworld, which is immediately followed by the Fields of Wernes and the Waters of Osiris in the second and third hours respectively.\textsuperscript{54} The fourth and fifth hours are called the Realm of Sokar where the solar barque must be towed across the desert sands in order to continue the nocturnal journey.\textsuperscript{55} The deepest part of the Duat is found in the sixth hour where the solar deity joins with Osiris as part of his regeneration. This cavern is filled with the primordial waters of Nun,\textsuperscript{56} which remains a constant waterway through


\textsuperscript{52} The depiction of the Duat in the Book of Two Ways is in no way as expansive as what can be found in cosmological books; however, even here the deceased still wishes to join with the solar deity on his barque. See, Peter Robinson, “’As for them who know them, they shall find their paths’: Speculation on Ritual Landscapes in the Book of the Two Ways,” in \textit{Mysterious Lands}, David O’Connor and Stephen Quirke eds. (London: University of College London Press, 2003) 139–159; Stephen Quirke, “Measuring the Underworld” in \textit{Mysterious Lands}, David O’Connor and Stephen Quirke eds. (London: University of College London Press, 2003), 161–181.

\textsuperscript{53} The horizons connect the celestial realm and the chthonic Duat, and in CT Spell 18 (Adriaan de Buck, \textit{The Egyptian Coffin Texts 1: Texts of Spells 1–75} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 53d–54j) the horizons were also seen as part of the Duat (Faulkner, \textit{Coffin Texts I}, 11).

\textsuperscript{54} Hornung, \textit{Texte}, 174 and 270–271.

\textsuperscript{55} Hornung, \textit{Texte}, 347–348 and 389.

\textsuperscript{56} Hornung, \textit{Texte}, 456.
many of the succeeding hours. The seventh hour is referred to as the “Cavern of Osiris,” and is where the solar deity must confront the serpent Apep. From the eighth to the eleventh hours the Duat consists of dark caverns. The twelfth hour is the last cavern of the Duat and is just before the eastern horizon. Here, the emphasis is on the rebirth of the solar deity as Khepri who flies through the gates of the eastern horizon to sunrise. When these gates close behind the solar deity, the Duat is left in darkness until he returns at sunset once again.

Although similar to the Amduat with the twelve-hour division of the nocturnal journey, the Book of Gates emphasizes the arid environment of the Duat and continuously mentions its dark and subterranean setting. Like the Amduat, the first hour of the Book of Gates is a liminal space that exists between the Duat and the land of the living. A “Lake of Fire” is featured in the third hour, while a “Lake of Life” and a “Lake of Uraeai” is found in the fourth hour. The fifth hour is probably the least arid, with the text referencing cultivated fields found in this portion of the Duat. The Judgement Hall of Osiris is found between the fifth and sixth hours. The sixth hour is dedicated to the union of Re and Osiris like the Amduat, except for the Heliopolitan setting. The damned are punished in the seventh and eighth hours, and the drowned are found in Nun in the ninth hour. The tenth through twelfth hours are where the solar deity fights Apep

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57 Hornung, Texte, 523.

58 Interestingly, within the text, the confrontation is said to occur in the Duat and Apep’s place is in the sky (Hornung, Texte, 529).

59 Zago, Concept of Duat, 282.

60 Hornung, Pforten I, 56, 97–98, and 103.

61 Hornung, Pforten I, 161.


63 The text references the BenBen-stone, which was the first mound of creation that came out of the primordial waters at Heliopolis (Hornung, Pforten I, 230–234).
and prepares for his rebirth at sunrise. The concluding scene of the Book of Gates adds an additional explanation for the nature of the Duat with its depiction of the god Osiris. Here Osiris is depicted bent over himself at the top of the scene with the caption “It is Osiris. He encircles the Duat” (*Wsr pr šnj-f dw3.t*). This implies that, at least in the Book of Gates, the Duat was considered an enclosed space.

The Book of Caverns begins with the solar deity entering into the “Western Lands” making the entire nocturnal journey take place in a subterranean setting full of mystery and darkness. As reflected in the modern title, the Duat is structured as caverns in the two halves of the composition. The two halves of the Book of Caverns likely reflect the concept of an Upper and Lower Duat; although Silvia Dago also posits the idea that it could refer to the western and eastern halves of the nocturnal journey. However, she acknowledges that the emphasis of the Upper and Lower Duat that is found in the later Books of the Netherworld makes more sense in how the term “Duats” (*dw3.ty*) is used throughout the text. The concept of an Upper and Lower Duat is already present in the Coffin Texts, and is similarly reflected in the Books of the Earth. The Upper and Lower Duat are mentioned the most in the texts of the Books of the Earth.

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66 Zago, *Concept of Duat*, 296.


68 Zago, *Concept of Duat*, 305.

69 Zago, *Concept of Duat*, 305.


71 Zago, *Concept of Duat*, 327.
where the Duat is described as being in the “mysterious earth, the hidden realm of darkness.” Full summary of the nocturnal journey, and the nature of the Duat, is shown in the tomb of Ramesses IX. Emphasis is placed on the body of Aker, which was believed to be the place of the solar deity’s regeneration as shown in Scene 5 from the tomb of Ramesses V/VI. In addition to Aker, both Nun and Tatenen are associated with the rebirth of the solar deity in the Duat. The Books of the Earth also have references to the goddess Nut, which Zago believes could either be the “nether-sky” referring to the Upper Duat, or the actual celestial realm as found in the Books of the Sky.

The setting of the Books of the Sky is completely celestial as the diurnal and nocturnal journeys are set in or across the body of Nut. Due to this change there are relatively few mentions of the chthonic Duat in the Book of the Night, but shared between the celestial and chthonic such as the inherent darkness of the nocturnal journey. The Book of the Day, with its focus on the diurnal journey, completely abandons all references to the chthonic Duat except for

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73 Aspects of the Duat described in the text include its location below the earth and the darkness that can only be banished by the light of the solar deity (Roberson, *Earth*, 400–403 (Text 12)).


78 See, for example, Roberson, *Earth*, 310–311 (Text 1 and 2), and 400–403 (Text 12).


80 Zago believes that by setting the nocturnal and diurnal journey in/ across Nut the additional aspect of the inherent divinity of the goddess is included in the journey (Zago, *Concept of Duat*, 411).

81 See the introduction to the Book of the Night where the new focus of the nocturnal journey is also stated, which is for the solar deity to judge and provide for the inhabitants of the Duat (Roulin, *Nuit I*, 26).
the ending where the solar deity is said to enter the Duat at the western horizon to begin his nocturnal journey.  

With the understanding that many of these cosmological books existed contemporaneously with each other in the New Kingdom, the dual nature of the Duat as both chthonic and celestial may appear contradictory. However, even in the spells of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts there were references to both spheres, so both are equally valid when describing the Duat. Even so, as mentioned above, for clarity in the present thesis the ancient term Duat will be used to refer to only the chthonic realm.

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82 Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 269.
CHAPTER 3: Scenes of Sunset

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the moment of sunset marks the beginning of the nocturnal solar journey as the solar deity reaches the western horizon. In this liminal space the solar barque changes from its diurnal form, *mandjet*, to its nocturnal form, *mesektet*, and the solar deity takes on his aged, ram-headed form, as Re-Atum. This moment of “death” for the solar deity allows him to enter into the Duat and travel on his nocturnal journey, where he will revive the blessed dead, join with Osiris in the deepest part of the Duat, and be reborn again at the end of the night at sunrise. As the starting point of the nocturnal solar journey, most of these scenes will be found at the beginning of the cosmological books.¹ The discussion of the cosmological scenes depicting sunset will be done in the order that the cosmological books first appeared during the New Kingdom.

**Amduat**

Each hour of the Amduat is separated into three registers, except for the first hour which has four.² The middle register depicts the waterway that runs throughout the Duat, while the upper and lower registers represent its shore.³ These shores are occupied by rows of various

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¹ The only exception is the Book of the Day, with its depiction of the diurnal solar journey, where the moment of sunset is found at the end of the composition. Additionally, the Book of Caverns is excluded from this discussion since the composition does not feature the solar barque at the beginning of the nocturnal journey.


³ This is true for all hours of the Amduat except for the fourth and fifth hours where the solar deity travels through the Realm of Sokar.
deities who praise the solar deity as he sails to the gates of the Duat at the end of the hour. This includes solar baboons, goddesses, gods, and serpents.  

The moment of sunset occurs in the first hour of the Amduat where the solar barque is shown at the beginning of the second register (of four) from the top above a section of water (Appendix B, Scene SB-1). The solar barque is in its papyrus form with a sickle-shaped stern. In front of the stern are two rudders, while a long solar mat extends from the prow down to the water line. Two gods stand at the bow of the solar barque, Wepwawet (wpjw w3wt) and Sia (sja, lit. “Perception”). A goddess crowned with horns and a solar disk, “Mistress of the Barque” (nbt w3j), stands directly behind them. The ram-headed solar deity, labeled jwf, “flesh” stands crowned with a solar disk and uraeus inside a shrine at the center of the barque. Behind the

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6 There are multiple terms used to refer to this decoration on the prow of the solar barque. These include reed mat, solar mat, propulsion mat, and *Treibtafel*. In the present thesis the decoration on the prow will be referred to as a solar mat due to its association with the solar deity and his barque (Katja Goebs, “Expressing luminosity in iconography: features of the solar bark in the tomb of Ramses VI,” *Göttingen Miszellen* 165 (1998), 59).

7 The solar mat is missing from the solar barque in the tomb of Ramesses VI where the solar barque is shown in just the papyrus form with the stern and prow in the shape of lotus blossoms (Alexandre Piankoff and Natacha Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* 2 vols. (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1954), plate 74).


12 There are two shrines that are often depicted in ancient Egyptian art: the *pr- wr* (Upper Egyptian shrine, lit. “great hour”) and the *pr-nw* (Lower Egyptian shrine). Associated with the goddesses Nekhbet (Leitz, *Lexikon IV*, 301–303) and Wadjet (Leitz, *Lexikon II*, 269–273) respectively, both shrines had some mortuary associations by the New Kingdom. The *pr- wr*, which was the shrine that housed the cult statue of the god in the temple, was used to house royal funerary statues to symbolize the deceased king’s divinity. The is recognizable for its sloped roof and cavetto cornice. In contrast, the *pr- nw*, recognizable for its arched roof and side posts, was a model for royal sarcophagi.
solar deity stands the falcon-headed “Horus of Fragrance” (\(Hrw-hknw\)), with four additional gods at the rear of the solar barque: “Bull of Ma’at” (\(Kz\ Ms’t\)), the “Vigilant One” (\(Nhs\)), “Hu” (\(Hw\), lit., “speech”), and “Controller of the Barque” (\(hrp\ wjs\)). All of the male deities are shirtless and wear knee-length kilts. The goddess, “Mistress of the Barque,” wears a sheath dress.

A second papyrus barque, featuring so-called “lotus blossoms” for the prow and stern, appears in the third register from the top, directly behind the barque from the second register (Appendix B, Scene SB-2). In the third register, the solar deity appears in his morning form, as the scarab Khepri (\(Hprj\)), flanked on either side by kneeling, praising figures of Osiris (\(Wsjr\)).

from the Old Kingdom. In the New Kingdom, the \(pr-nw\) was illustrated in the third chapter of the Book of Gates where they housed deities of the Duat. Although the shrine that houses the solar deity in the cosmological texts is not captioned either of these, based on shape it is likely that the solar deity is housed in a \(pr-wr\) shrine during his nocturnal and diurnal journey (Richard H. Wilkinson, Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 140–143).

13 Hornung, Texte, 130; Leitz, Lexikon V, 277–278.
15 Leitz, Lexikon IV, 267–268.
17 Hornung, Texte, 130; Leitz, Lexikon V, 948.
18 Consistently throughout scholarship, these solar barques are described as having the terminals of the prow and stern end in the shape of a “lotus blossom” despite the barque itself being made from papyrus. Throughout the remainder of this chapter “lotus blossom” will be used to describe this shape for the prow and stern. Possible issues with this terminology will be addressed in the following chapter in the analysis of the iconography of the solar barque.
19 For the iconography of this scene see, Hornung, Amduat, 26; for the text see, Hornung, Texte, 136–137.
20 Leitz, Lexikon V, 713–716.
21 Hornung, Texte, 136–137.
The text that accompanies the solar barque scenes mentions the two Ma’at goddesses who tow the solar deity in his night barque (msk.\textit{tt}) through the gateway of this region on the path of Wernes\textsuperscript{22}, which is 120 river-lengths, or roughly 300 miles\textsuperscript{23}. In the second half of the register, the text references the solar deity transforming into his ram-headed form as he passes through the gateway\textsuperscript{24}.

**Book of Gates**

Similar to the Amduat, the Book of Gates is separated into twelve hours with the moment of sunset in the first hour. Here the solar barque appears in the middle register in its papyrus form with the prow and stern shaped like a “lotus blossom” (Appendix B, Scene SB-3).\textsuperscript{25} Only two deities accompany the solar deity on the solar barque: Sia (sj2, lit., “Perception”)\textsuperscript{26} at the bow, and “Magic” (hk3w)\textsuperscript{27} at the stern, before the two rudders. Both are shirtless with knee-length kilts. The solar deity assumes the form of a scarab in the center of the solar barque. The scarab is placed inside of a solar disk that is surrounded by a serpent biting its own tail. Although uncaptioned, Hornung attributes this serpent to the Mehen serpent that was seen in the Amduat protecting the solar deity, and who protects the ram-headed solar deity throughout the rest of the Book of Gates\textsuperscript{28}.

\textsuperscript{22} The field of Wernes are depicted in the second and third hour of the Amduat (Hornung, \textit{Texte}, 174).

\textsuperscript{23} Hornung, \textit{Texte}, 126–129.

\textsuperscript{24} Hornung, \textit{Texte}, 133–136.


\textsuperscript{26} Hornung, \textit{Pforten I}, 3.


\textsuperscript{28} Hornung, \textit{Pforten II}, 36.
In addition to the solar barque, this scene of sunset has two hills on the left representing the “horizon” (sḥt).²⁹ Files of deities fill the upper and lower registers, while two poles rest above and below the solar barque: A jackal-headed pole accompanied by two kneeling, male figures — personification of the “Duat” (dwst) and “Desert” (zmjt)³⁰ — appear upside down, above the solar deity.³¹ Directly below the solar barque, a ram-headed pole accompanied by identically named, kneeling, male figures, appear in the expected orientation (i.e., heads up). All four kneeling figures are shirtless with knee-length kilts. The accompanying text is a conversation between the solar deity and the deities that line the shores of the Duat with no mention of the solar barque.³²

**Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques**

The night boat, at the moment of sunset, in the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques appears more or less consistently in each of its three attestations from the New Kingdom.³³ Each side of the lower section is lined with rows of deities which surround the central scene of the shrine of Osiris that has the reclining mumiform body of Osiris inside.³⁴

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³¹ When the sun drops below the horizon, it was believed to continue in this downward motion as it entered into the Netherworld. This inversion (sḥd) is then reversed upon entering the Netherworld. Within the Netherworld, it is only the damned who are shown inverted. For full discussion, see John Coleman Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2004), 426–448.


³⁴ The exact number of rows of deities varies between versions of the tableau. At Abydos, four rows of five deities are preserved on the right of Osiris’s shrine, and two rows of four deities survive to the left. Another row of four deities partially survives below the two surviving rows with enough room for another possible row to match the four rows on the right (Roberson, *Awakening*, plate 1). In the tomb of Ramesses V/VI, four rows of five deities survives to the right of Osiris’s shrine, but the rows of deities to the left of the shrine are severely damaged (Roberson,
Another figure, usually captioned as Horus (Hrw),\textsuperscript{35} stands in front of the shrine to awaken his father Osiris.

The upper section focuses on the morning and evening (Appendix B, Scene SB-4), at the eastern and western horizons respectively, which are oriented prow-to-prow. This is the first cosmological book to feature both barques prow-to-prow in the same scene; however, similar orientations are attested.\textsuperscript{36} Similar to the lower section, rows of deities stand on either side of the upper section,\textsuperscript{37} and a large, winged solar disk stretches across the top of the tableau. The left side of the upper section has four rows of deities. Above the deities is the caption “The eastern horizon” (\textit{št.t jšbt.tt}),\textsuperscript{38} placing this half of the upper section at the setting of sunrise, while the rows of deities are referred to as the “gods of the northern sky.”\textsuperscript{39} The morning solar barque is in front of the row of deities, with a sickle-shaped stern like the evening solar barque. The prow is decorated with a solar mat with a swallow standing on the solar mat.\textsuperscript{40} The crew of the morning

\textit{Awakening}, plate 2). The tomb of Ramesses IX only has two rows of five deities to the left of the shrine with the right side no longer extant (Roberson, \textit{Awakening}, plate 3).

\textsuperscript{35} Roberson, \textit{Awakening}, 56–57.

\textsuperscript{36} Similar orientations of the solar barque in the cosmological books can be found in the ending scene of the Book of the Night, at the moment of sunrise, where the two barques are facing each other with solar mats and sickle-shaped sterns, as well as in the introduction of the Book of the Day, also depicting sunrise, where the morning and evening barques face each other in the register below the barque of Shu. Both of these pairings lack a depiction of the solar deity. Elizabeth Thomas believes that depicting the solar barques prow-to-prow symbolizes the two directions that the solar deity travels in order to complete his twenty-four hour journey. For a full discussion, see Elizabeth Thomas, “Solar Barks Prow to Prow,” \textit{Journal of Egyptian Archaeology} 42 (1956), 65-79.

\textsuperscript{37} Similar to the lower section, the tableaus found in Abydos and the tomb of Ramesses V/VI share the same number of deities with four rows of three deities (Roberson, \textit{Awakening}, plates 1–2). The tomb of Ramesses IX differs by having only two rows of three deities on the left and two rows of four deities on the right (Roberson, \textit{Awakening}, plate 3).

\textsuperscript{38} Roberson, \textit{Awakening}, 83.

\textsuperscript{39} Like the gods of the southern sky on the right side, each row of deities has their own captions. For full discussion on these captions and the variations see, Roberson, \textit{Awakening}, 84–88.

\textsuperscript{40} Of the New Kingdom attestations of this composition, only the tomb of Ramesses V/VI includes the seated figure and swallow on the prows of the solar barques. At Abydos and in the tomb of Ramesses IX the prows of the solar barques are only decorated with solar mats and additional faunal decoration (Roberson, \textit{Awakening}, plates 1–3).
solar barque is similar to the evening barque with a goddess standing at the bow, the deceased once again in the middle, and the daytime solar deity Re-Harakhty (R-Ḥr-šḥ.ty) at the stern. Above the right rows of deities is the caption “The western horizon” (šḥ.t jmn.tt), while the rows of deities are referred to as the “gods of the southern sky.” This places this half of the tableau at the western horizon which is the setting at sunset. In front of these rows of deities is the evening solar barque with a sickle-shaped stern. The prow of the evening barque is decorated with a solar mat with additional reeds on top. Resting on the solar mat is a seated figure with its hand placed at the mouth. The crew of the evening barque includes an unnamed goddess at the bow, the deceased standing in the middle of the barque, and the nighttime solar deity Atum (Tm) at the stern. Above the stern of the solar barque is the short annotation “Atum, great god, lord of the sky, the chief who unites the two lands, who rests in the Evening Barque, in the Land of the Dead” (Tm ณา rt 5 nb p.t ḫṛj-tp smz-t3 ḫtp m (M)skt.t m Mšnw).

Books of the Earth

At present eighty scenes from tomb walls, sarcophagi, burial equipment, and papyri are identified as belonging to the Books of the Earth corpus. Of the eighty unique scenes, only five

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41 Only the tomb of Ramesses V/VI identifies this goddess as Ma’at (Roberson, Awakening, 111).

42 Roberson, Awakening, 105.

43 Roberson, Awakening, 101.

44 Roberson, Awakening, 78.

45 Each row of deities are given their own caption. For full discussion of these captions and the variations between attestations see, Roberson, Awakening, 79–82.

46 Roberson, Awakening, 93–94.

47 Roberson, Awakening, 89.

48 Roberson, Awakening, 89.

feature the presence of the solar deity on his barque, with three referencing the moment of sunset, Scene 1 and Scene 5.

Scene 1, which Roberson titles conventionally as “Aker beneath the Solar Barque 1,” (Appendix B, Scene SB-5) is a tripartite tableau depicted only in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI, and the only scene from the Books of the Earth featuring the solar barque on the left wall of the sarcophagus chamber. Its presence on the left wall mark it as the opening scene of Books of the Earth in this tomb, and thus the beginning of the nocturnal solar journey at sunset. Carved into the top register of the wall, the left side of this tableau is dominated by the large, kneeling figure of the king dressed in a short kilt, broad collar, and nemes headdress. The kneeling king faces the right portion of the tableau, which is separated into two registers. The bottom register features a large, winged scarab holding a disk supported by two figures of the king dressed in a short kilt and nemes headdress. The wings of the scarab are held up by the figures of Nephthys and Isis on the left and right respectively. A short annotation is featured beneath the winged scarab: “The Dual King, (Ramesses VI)|, he elevates Re” (jw njsw.t bj.tj (Ramesses VI) | tw3-sf R°).

The top register is centered on the solar barque, which rests on the back of the human-headed double sphinx Aker. The figure of Aker has chthonic associations, offering a reference to the Duat where the solar deity travels on his way to sunrise. The human heads are tilted down to accommodate the solar barque, and two uraei with human arms support the hull of the solar barque. The solar barque is in papyrus form with the prow and stern shaped like a “lotus

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50 Scenes featuring the solar barque include: Scene 1, Scene 2, Scene 3, Scene 5, and Scene 20. Scene designation and titles follow Joshua Roberson, *Books of the Earth* (Roberson, *Earth*, 12–14).


blossom.” The ram-headed solar deity, crowned with a solar disk, stands carrying a was-scepter in the center of the barque facing the right. The solar deity is flanked on the left by the scarab-headed Khepri (Hprj), and on the right by the baboon-headed Thoth (Dhwty).  

Scene 5, which Roberson titles “Aker Group 3,” is centered in the fourth register of the right wall of the sarcophagus chamber in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI. Considerably one of the most complex scenes from the so-called “Aker Group,” the scene features both the morning and evening (Appendix B, Scene SB-6) forms of the solar barque with the double lion Aker, showing the full extent of the nocturnal solar journey in a single image. The body of Aker is not shown, but the space it would fill is representative once again of the Duat that the solar barque needs to travel through. The open space of Aker’s “body” is filled with multiple figures centered on the arms of Nun that lift the solar disk from Aker in the center of the scene. Three mummiform figures, captioned “Watery one of Nun” (mw(jw) Nnw), flank either side of the arms representing the blessed drowned in the Duat.

The god Tatenen (Tsn-tmn) raises his arms to accept the evening solar barque on the right side of the scene referencing the barque’s entrance into the Duat at sunset. The evening solar barque is angled down as it prepares to enter the body of Aker and is in papyrus form with a sickle-shaped stern. The prow of the evening barque is decorated with a detailed solar mat on its

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55 For the iconography of this scene see, Roberson, Earth, 145–154; for the text see, Roberson, Earth, 374–375.

56 Other attestations of the scene include: the funerary papyri of Djedkhonsuiusankh (for text see, Roberson, Earth 405) and Khonsumes (for text see, Roberson, Earth, 408–410); tomb of Pedamenopet (TT33) (for text see, Roberson, Earth, 426); tomb of Padineith (TT197); tomb of Horira’a (Saqqara, Lepsius 23); sarcophagus of Nakhtnebef (for text see, Roberson, Earth, 440–441); and possibly the tomb of Mutirdis (TTTT410) (Roberson, Earth, 145).

57 Roberson, Earth, 146.

58 Roberson, Earth, 145.
prow, and a seated figure sits in a crescent on top of the solar mat. In the center of the evening barque stands the solar deity in scarab form with a ram’s head. Two ba-birds flank the left and right of the solar deity, captioned as the “Ba of Khepri” (b3 Hprj) and the “Ba of Atum” (b3 (J)tm) respectively.\(^5\)

On the opposite side of the scene, the god Nun (Nnw)\(^6\) stands with his arms raised to support the morning solar barque as it leaves Aker’s body at sunrise. Similar to the evening solar barque, the morning barque is tilted upward as it emerges from Aker in papyrus form with a sickle-shaped stern. A detailed solar mat decorates the prow with a swallow standing in the crescent on top of the prow. The ram-headed scarab form of the solar deity stands in the middle of the barque with the same two ba-birds, captioned as the “Ba of Khepri” (b3 [Hprj]) and the “Ba of Atum,” (b3 (J)tm) on either side of him.\(^6\)

The text that accompanies Scene 5 does not specifically reference the solar barque; however, it mentions that the solar deity is traveling past “the one who guards the west,” as well as what the solar deity says to the “mysterious goddesses who are in the west.”\(^6\)

**Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity**

The Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity include a unique depiction of the solar barque at sunset, which is not seen in any other cosmological book.\(^6\) The attestation of the solar barque

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\(^{5}\) Roberson, *Earth*, 145.

\(^{6}\) Roberson, *Earth*, 145.
found on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI appears in the middle register as part of a larger scene (Appendix B, Scene SB-7).\textsuperscript{65}

At the left side of the scene, a ram-headed bird, crowned in a solar disk, stands on a stela with praising arms raised towards the large disk on its right. John Coleman Darnell translates the accompanying annotation inside the stela as “Khepri, who travels inverted, who gives birth to the five (epagomenal) days” (\textit{Hprj n\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde shdw ms hrw 5}).\textsuperscript{66} To the immediate right of the stela is an annotation which Darnell translates as “Re entering within the west” (\textit{\textk\textk R\textasciitilde m-hnt imn.t}),\textsuperscript{67} marking this stela as the entrance to the Netherworld, identifying this depiction of the solar barque at sunset.\textsuperscript{68} On the left and right of the base of the stela are signs that reference the course of the sun through the sky. Darnell offers possible translations: “the (solar) star, who enters and who goes out (from) the Netherworld” (\textit{\textk\textk pr (m) dA.t})\textsuperscript{69} on the left, and “the (solar) star, who goes around/enchants the Netherworld” (\textit{sb\textasciitilde pr\textk A dA.t})\textsuperscript{70} on the right.

To the right of the stela is a large disk with a ram’s head (captioned “the clothed one” (\textit{Hbs}))\textsuperscript{71} emerging from its top and a scarab holding a solar disk from its bottom. To the right of the scarab’s head is an annotation, which Darnell translates as “The King, the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of Heaven, Nebmaatre Beloved of Amun, is in heaven, driving away the

\textsuperscript{65} For the iconography of this scene, see Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, plate 15; for the text see, Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, 189–195.

\textsuperscript{66} Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, 189.

\textsuperscript{67} Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, 191.

\textsuperscript{68} Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, 189.

\textsuperscript{69} Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, 191.

\textsuperscript{70} Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, 191.

\textsuperscript{71} Darnell, \textit{Enigmatic}, 192.
darkness” (wnn nsw.t nb-Ts.wy nb t(s) Nb-Mr.t-Rr mry-imn m p.t d(r)=f kkw). Darnell translates the cryptographic annotation on the lower left side of the disk as reading “Re, who enters and goes forth (from) the Dat” or “Re, who goes forth and who enters (into) the Dat” (Rr `q pr (m) ds.t). Darnell posits that the two possible translations were intentional, referencing both the scarab emerging from the bottom of disk, which itself references the event of sunrise at the end of the nocturnal journey, and the ram-headed solar deity entering into the Duat on his barque in this same scene.

The solar barque is depicted in front of the large disk with a large serpent for the keel. The deck of the solar barque consists of an elongated body which terminates at either raised end in a bearded, human head with upraised, praising arms. The deck’s underside is decorated with twelve stars, possibly symbolizing the other stars that travel past the horizon with the sun at sunset. The heads of the conjoined figure are captioned Isis ((I)s.t) and Nephthys (Nb(.t)-hy.t) on the left and right respectively. The ram-headed solar deity stands in the center of the solar barque with a ram-headed ba-bird at his feet, facing him. At the bow, a male figure, captioned as the “West” (Imn.t), stands, bent at the waist, with his arms extended toward the boat’s prow (i.e. the head labeled as Nephthys). At the stern of the barque, a prone figure, wearing a skull

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72 Darnell, *Enigmatic*, 192.
74 Darnell, *Enigmatic*, 194.
cap, lifts his head above the head of the barque labeled as Isis. This prone figure is captioned as “Tekemy” (Tkmy).  

**Book of the Night**  
The moment of sunset is actually depicted in the second hour of the Book of the Night. In the second hour, the solar barque appears in the middle register in its papyrus form with a sickle-shaped stern (Appendix B, Scene SB-8). The prow of the solar barque is decorated with an elaborate solar mat that extends down almost to the ground line of the register with blossoms and reeds at the top. The ram-headed solar deity, crowned with a solar disk, stands at the center of the barque in a shrine surrounded by the Mehen serpent. Accompanying the solar deity in his shrine is a female figure, Ma’at (Mz’t), in front of the solar deity, and the male figure of the king behind him. A bearded, male figure stands at the bow of the solar barque, captioned Sia (sj’z, lit., “perception”), with a papyrus clump with small falcons in front of him. Another

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76 Similar prone figures with upraised heads (differently adorned) appear in the earlier Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity from the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun (Darnell, *Enigmatic*, 123–130, Plates 10b and 11), as well as in the Book of the Awakening of Osiris (Roberson, *Awakening*, 11–12 and 64–75), and the Book of the Earth (Roberson, *Earth*, 262–265).


78 Preceding the second hour is what Gilles Roulin defines as the introduction to the Book of the Night. This introduction only survives at Abydos where it is inscribed on the arms of the anthropomorphic body of Nut. For a full discussion of the introductory text see, Gilles Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit: Une composition égyptienne de l’au-delà*, 2 vols. (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 1996), 26–32.

79 For the iconography of this scene see, Roulin, *Nuit I*, 78–81 and plate 1; for the text see, Roulin, *Nuit II*, 13–19.


81 In the tomb of Ramesses V/VI the king figure behind the ram-headed solar deity is omitted, and the solar deity is accompanied only by Ma’at (Roulin, *Nuit I*, 81).

82 Roulin, *Nuit I*, 78–79.
bearded, male figure stands at the stern, captioned Hu (hw, lit, “speech”), with the $sms$ hieroglyph behind him.

The text that accompanies this scene specifically mentions the opening of the doorway at the west for the solar deity. Gilles Roulin translates the beginning as “Se coucher en vie par la majesté de ce dieu, répandre clarté et lumière dans les ténèbres, ouvrir la porte du ciel à l'Occident.” The text goes on to instruct the crew to tow the solar barque to “arriver à la première porte.”

**Book of the Day**

The moment of the solar barque at sunset in the Book of the Day spans across multiple scenes. Unlike every other cosmological book where sunset occurs at the beginning of the composition, with its focus on the diurnal solar journey the Book of the Day features sunset at the end. Both of the attestations of the text found in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI feature the scene of sunset; however, they differ slightly in iconography. Sunset begins with the last depiction of the solar barque in Section 4 of the Book of the Day.

In the attestation of the Book of the Day on the corridor ceiling, the solar barque is in papyrus form with a sickle-shaped stern and solar mat decorating the prow (Appendix B, Scene SB-9a). The solar mat reaches down to the water line and does not have any additional

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84 Roulin, *Nuit I*, 41.

85 Roulin, *Nuit I*, 41.

86 Designations of sections, scenes, and barque numbers follow Marcus Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2008).

87 For the iconography of this scene see, Müller-Roth, *Tage*, plate 14–16; for the text see, Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 254–256.
decorations. Two rudders are shown at the stern of the solar barque, and a *udjat-eye*\(^{88}\) decorates the hull underneath the figure of Geb (*Gb*).\(^{89}\) The crew of the solar barque is smaller than in other depictions of the composition. A goddess, “Siaret’” (*S.:ry.t*),\(^{90}\) stands at the bow with her arm stretched out to the prow, with the god Geb standing behind her.\(^{91}\) The falcon-headed Horus (*Hr. w*)\(^{92}\) stands behind Geb, followed by an anonymous male figure.\(^{93}\) Next is the “Mistress of the Barque” (*Nb. t-wjs*),\(^{94}\) followed by another falcon-headed figure “Horus who Praises” (*Hr. w-ḥkn. w*).\(^{95}\) The “Elder Magician” (*Hkš-sms. w*)\(^{96}\) complete this front line of deities. The solar deity captioned Re (*R⁵*)\(^{97}\) appears in his falcon-headed form, crowned with a solar disk, standing inside

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\(^{88}\) Although the *udjat-eye* is only a decoration on the bow-slope of the solar barque, there is possibly significance to its placement. In her treatment of solar mats and the terrestrial marsh, Elizabeth Thomas connects the placement of the *udjat-eye* on the bow-slope to the frogs that are sometimes depicted in this same area or at the bottom of the solar mat. Seti I was the first to combine the frog and the solar barque in his temple at Abydos where small frogs can be seen at the front of the bottom of the solar mats. A similar scene can be found in a vignette of the Book of the Dead Chapter 15, as well as in later depictions. At some point in Egypt’s history the frog took on a celestial role and became a symbol of *wlm-ḥḥ*—or “one who repeats life.” Considering the solar deity’s own journey of rebirth and continual life, the combination of the two does not seem unusual (Elizabeth Thomas, “Terrestrial Marsh and Solar Mat,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 45 (1959): 42, 45).

\(^{89}\) Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 254.

\(^{90}\) Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 254; Leitz, *Lexikon VI*, 194. Siaret occurs in two other cosmological books from the New Kingdom. In the seventh hour of the Amduat she stands in a similar gesture, and in the second hour of the Book of the Night she stands in the top register with no special gesture. Whether Siaret was an independent goddess or a pseudonym for another goddess remains unknown (Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 86–87).

\(^{91}\) The goddess “Isis” (*Is.t*), who is usually placed next to Geb in the Book of the Day, is omitted from Müller-Roth’s list of the crew (Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 255).

\(^{92}\) Müller-Rother, *Tage*, 255.

\(^{93}\) Both the figures of the “Bull Ma’at” (*Kt-Mš.t*) and “Wepwawet” (*Wpj. w-w3. wt*) are missing from the image. This anonymous figure could possibly be one of the two missing crew members that are included in Müller-Roth’s list (Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 255).

\(^{94}\) Müller-Rother, *Tage*, 255.


\(^{97}\) Müller-Roth, *Tage*, 256.
a shrine. Behind the solar deity are two figures at the stern: Hu (Hw, lit., “speech”) and Sia (Sjs, lit., “perception”). All of the gods are shirtless and wear knee-length kilts and each of the goddesses wears a sheath dress.

In front of the solar barque is a large kneeling figure of the king, shirtless with knee-length kilt and nemes headdress, with his arms raised, praising the solar deity on his barque. Behind the kneeling figure of the king is a long line of figures standing on the underside of the water. The figures are holding a long tow rope that is attached to the bow of the solar barque in order to pull it towards sunset. The procession of figures is led by the deceased king crowned in a solar disk. At the end of the Book of the Day, the registers compress onto the middle register where a solar disk rests at the mouth of the sky goddess ready to be swallowed. A single boat sails on either of the diagonal lines, and on the upper portion a gazelle head floats in the water. Four jackals stand on either side of the water line, referencing the “western bas” who welcome the solar deity into the underworld.

The version of the sunset scene found in the sarcophagus chamber (Appendix B, Scene SB-9b) is similar to the one found on the corridor ceiling; however, it lacks some of the features. The solar barque is still in its papyrus form with a solar mat on the prow with no additional decorations, but, instead of the usual sickle-shaped, the stern ends in a “lotus blossom.” The solar crew is reduced from the corridor depiction. Geb stands at the prow,

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98 Müller-Roth, Tage, 256.


100 Müller-Roth, Tage, 257, plate 15–16.

101 Müller-Roth, Tage, 259–260.

102 For the iconography of this scene in the sarcophagus chamber, see Müller-Roth, Tage, Plate 21.
followed by a standing goddess crowned in horns with a solar disk and the “Elder Magician.”103 Interestingly, above the goddess is the caption for “Horus who Praises,” but his figure was not depicted. Behind the “Elder Magician” is the solar deity standing in his falcon-headed form, crowned in a solar disk, inside of a shrine. A single figure stands in front of the rudders of the solar barque with the captions for Hu and Sia about it. All of the gods are shirtless with knee-length kilts and the goddess wears a sheath dress. The figure of the king, shirtless with knee-length kilt and nemes headdress, kneels in front of the solar barque, but the large processional line of figures led by the king is omitted. Behind the kneeling figure of the king, the registers converge like in the corridor depiction, ending in a large solar disk resting before the mouth of Nut. Two jackals stand behind the king, and a single boat rests on the converging register lines.

The scene of sunset is found in the fourth section of the Book of the Day, which is accompanied by three separate texts. The first text mentions that it is the tenth hour where the solar deity boards the night barque and crosses over into the West.104 The second text takes place during the eleventh hour. Here the night barque is towed towards the western horizon and descends into the west.105 Finally, in the twelfth hour, although not explicitly depicted in the images,106 mentions the death of the solar deity,107 referencing the aging of the sun that occurs throughout the diurnal journey.

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103 Müller-Roth, Tage, 255.
104 Müller-Roth, Tage, 261.
105 Müller-Roth, Tage, 266.
106 Müller-Roth, Tage, 489.
107 Müller-Roth, Tage, 269.
CHAPTER 4: Analysis of Research Corpus and Conclusion

Although depictions of the solar barque at sunset appear in multiple cosmological books throughout the New Kingdom, there is surprisingly little variation in how the solar barque itself was portrayed.¹ Greater variations are found in the crew that sails the solar deity on his nocturnal solar journey, and the text that accompanies the sunset scenes. The following discussion on these iconographical changes and similarities will be addressed first in the changes to the solar barque itself, then changes to the crew, and finally the text.

Analysis of the Solar Barque

Iconographic changes to the solar barque are all related to changes in the form of the craft itself. Five of the ten depictions discussed in Chapter 3 (SB-1, SB-4, SB-6, SB-8, and SB-9a) assume the form of a papyrus boat with a sickle-shaped stern and a solar mat draped over the prow. In four scenes (SB-2, SB-3, SB-5, and SB-9b),² the solar barque is similarly depicted in papyrus form with the terminal of the prow and stern shaped like a so-called “lotus blossom.”³ The final depiction (SB-7) is unique among the corpus of barque scenes at sunset, in that it shows the solar barque in serpentine form with the head of the serpent at the prow and its tail at the stern.

The pairing of the sickle-shaped stern and the solar mat on the prow of the papyrus solar barque is the most common form found in scenes of sunset. These two iconographical features

¹ For a table of the iconographical features across the cosmological texts see, Appendix A, Table 2.
² SB-9b from the Book of the Day is unique for its pairing of the solar mat with the lotus blossom stern.
³ See discussion of the so-called “lotus blossom feature” at p. 45–47 below.
are linked consistently, although they appear in more of the later (Ramesside-era) Books of the Netherworld and the Books of the Sky, namely the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques, Books of the Earth, and the Book of the Night. Prior to the Nineteenth dynasty, this form of the solar barque occurs only in the first hour of the Amduat (SB-1).

The exact material of the solar mats, which appear draped over the prows of this group of solar craft, remains unknown. However, Elizabeth Thomas believes that the mats were made from *Phragmites communis*, which is a common reed found throughout the Delta and along the Nile Valley.⁴ The *Phragmites communis* is a perennial water plant that grows along the marshes of the Nile, although it has been known to grow in drier areas as well.⁵ In ideal locations, the *Phragmites communis* can grow up to five meters above the water line, but this varies among various subtypes.⁶ The *Phragmites communis* blooms between October to December and its stalks are typically vibrant red in color.⁷ Depictions of fishing and fowling scenes in tomb settings feature the *Phragmites communis*,⁸ and evidence exists for the stalks being used to make arrows, while the leaves were used to make soft mats.⁹

The iconographical role that the solar mat plays in the cosmological books is similarly unknown. However, Katja Goebs suggests that the presence of the solar mat on the barque’s prow represents the solar deity’s luminosity,¹⁰ as well as his transformation when traveling

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⁶ These subtypes include: *isiacus*, *stenophyllus*, and *mauritianus* (Täckholm, *Flora*, 210-211).
⁷ Täckholm, *Flora*, 211.
through the liminal space of the horizons. Although the discussion focuses on the event of sunrise, Goebs notes that the Book of the Night shows the greatest iconographical changes to the solar mat after the seventh hour when the solar mat begins to grow larger and wider, blossoming at the top with each passing hour. If the solar mats were in fact made from *Phragmites communis* as Thomas suggests (thus, also Goebs), then, as the solar barque approaches sunrise, the prow of the envisioned mythical craft would become increasingly red in color as the mat gets bigger.

The ancient Egyptian term that Egyptologists have translated as “red” (*dšr*), like the other core colors used in ancient Egypt, was originally (and frequently thereafter) connected to real-world objects. The color red had both positive and negative connotations in ancient Egypt. Negatively, red symbolized, e.g., enemies of Egypt, the enemies of order, and the “red land” of the desert, which was the domain of the god Seth. A significant positive association of the color

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11 Goebs (“Luminosity,” 65) makes an additional iconographic connection for the solar mat to the royal kilts found in artistic depictions of kings and the swallow that is associated with the morning barque. The royal kilts in question, referred to as the “Lower Egyptian” costume by Diana Craig Patch, consists of a beaded apron that was worn over the king’s kilt and featured an amulet of a swallow with a solar disk (Diana Craig Patch, “A ‘Lower Egyptian’ Costume: Its Origin, Development, and Meaning,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32 (1995), 94-96). The beadwork of the “Lower Egyptian” costume is similar to the shape and structure of the *Phragmites communis* creating a solar link for the king. Additionally, the swallow amulet attached to the costume has long been associated with the solar deity not only as a decorative addition to the prow of the daytime solar barque, but in many other artistic renderings of the king. Evidence for the Lower Egyptian costume has been found on mummies, notably the mummy of Tutankhamun where the carnelian swallow was incorrectly connected with a gold bracelet instead of the beaded apron (See, Bart R. Hellinckx, “Tutankhamun’s Carnelian Swallow with Sun Disc: Part of a Garment?” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83 (1997), 109-125), alluding to the deceased king’s anticipated “tying” with the solar journey (Goebs, “Luminosity,” 65).


red was its connection to the sun, particularly where the red and yellow solar disks represented the night and day sun respectively.\textsuperscript{16}

Although Katja Goebs focuses on the events of sunrise,\textsuperscript{17} the red coloring of the solar mat could be applied to the events of sunset. If the yellow solar disk was representative of the daytime sun, then the solar disk at sunset, much like the solar deity, would transform into its nighttime form—i.e. the red solar disk. The presence of the solar mat on the prow of the barque at sunset could therefore refer to the red solar disk, and potentially also its luminosity or radiance, at the beginning of the night. In contrast to the Book of the Night, the Book of the Day, which does not feature the solar mat in every hour of the diurnal solar journey, depictions of the solar mat draped across the prow decreases in size and does note blossom as the barque approaches sunset.\textsuperscript{18} Similar “non-blossoming” solar mats are shown in the first hour of the Amduat (SB-1), Scene-5 from the Books of the Earth (SB-6), and the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques.\textsuperscript{19} This decreasing “luminosity” could reference the dimming

\textsuperscript{16} In the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, solar disks that decorated the entrance of the tomb were often yellow, while within the tomb the solar disks were red. This transition from daytime to nighttime sun reinforced the idea of the sun traveling into the Duat as it moved along the tomb’s axis (Richard H. Wilkinson, “Symbolic Orientation and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs” In Valley of the Sun Kings: New Exploration in the Tombs of the Pharaohs, Richard H. Wilkinson ed. 74–81 (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition, 1995), 76). However, there are exceptions to this rule, one of which is the Nut ceilings found in the royal tombs (Richard H. Wilkinson and Richard A. Wilkinson, “Symbolic Location and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs and their Decoration,” Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt 31 (1994), 83).

\textsuperscript{17} Goebs further posits that the vibrant red color of the solar mat could mimic the brightness and color of the sun as it rises above the eastern horizon (Goeb, “Luminosity,” 64).


\textsuperscript{19} From the New Kingdom, only the attestation of the AOTSB in the tomb of Ramesses VI depicts what could be considered blossoming at the top of the prow. The version of the composition from the Osireion is not as elaborate as Ramesses VI, and the version in the tomb of Ramesses IX lacks any additional decoration on top of the solar mat (Joshua Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques: Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2013) plates 1–3).
light of the sun at sunset, but also the eventual death the aged solar deity faces as he approaches the western horizon.

On top of the solar mat on the prow of the solar barque is the additional decoration of a seated figure, which is present in three of the five scenes.\textsuperscript{20} Although the seated figure has been identified as either a child or an adult male figure, there is a general scholarly consensus that the seated figure represents most likely the solar deity himself. In his discussion of Scene 5 in the Books of the Earth from the tomb of Ramesses V/VI, Joshua Roberson notes that the form of the seated figure is identical to the “speaking man” hieroglyph but notes also that, in other compositions, this figure seated on the prow may be represented by the “child” hieroglyph.\textsuperscript{21} He briefly mentions possible reasons for the figure’s hand lifted to the mouth as an indication of the figure’s role of lookout for the solar barque as it descends into the Duat or for the recitation of spells.\textsuperscript{22} Katja Goebs indicates that the use of the child figure could refer to the solar deity’s eventual rebirth at sunrise, in line with her theory of luminosity on the prow of the solar barque, as signified by with the solar mat.\textsuperscript{23} The child figure is often referred to as the “Sun/Solar Child”


\textsuperscript{22} Roberson, \textit{Earth}, 151.

\textsuperscript{23} Goebs, “Luminosity,” 60.
by scholars when placed on the prow of the solar barque as a direct representation of the solar deity.\textsuperscript{24}

The papyrus form of the solar barque with the terminals of the prow and stern shaped like a so-called “lotus blossom” is one of the most common forms that the solar barques takes throughout the cosmological books, with thirty-three of the sixty-one total depictions (54\%) being depicted in this form. It appears most often in the Books of the Netherworld with twenty-eight depictions; however, the majority of these depictions around found outside of the scenes of sunset and are outside the scope the present study. In ancient Egypt, lotuses were representative of life and had strong connections to creation and regenerative powers.\textsuperscript{25} Similar to the scarab beetle, the lotus had solar connections through creation myths where the solar child was born from a lotus blossom that rose out of the primeval waters.\textsuperscript{26} The image of the solar deity emerging from a lotus referenced the sun’s first emergence at creation, as well as the daily emergence in the morning at sunrise.\textsuperscript{27}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} Although often associated with the scarab Khepri, the solar deity may also be depicted as a child, as he possibly is on the prow of the evening solar barque. In addition to the evening solar barque in the opening of the Book of the Day, although not on the solar barque, the solar child is shown seated, with his hand at his mouth, inside a solar disk attended to by goddesses. The solar child can also be seen in Vignette 17 of the Book of the Dead in a solar disk seated between the horns of the divine cow (Erika Feucht, “Verjöngnung und Wiedergeburt,” \textit{Studien zur Altcnägyptischen Kultur} 11 (1984), 401-419). The solar child was also connected with the king, who often wished to equate himself with the solar child in order to acquire his powers and knowledge (Manfred Görg, \textit{Die Barke der Sonne: Religion im alten Ägypten} (Germany: Herder, 2001), 104).
\item \textsuperscript{25} Izak Cornelius, “The garden in the iconography of the Ancient Near East: a study of selected material from Egypt,” \textit{Journal of Semitics} 1 (1989), 221.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Pyramid Text 249 (see, James P. Allen, \textit{The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts} (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 42); Coffin Text Spell 80 (see, Raymond O. Faulkner, \textit{The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts} 3 vols (Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1973), 83–87); and Book of the Dead Chapter 15 (see, Stephen Quirke, \textit{Going out in Daylight: prt m hrw, the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead} (London: Golden House Publications, 2013), 41).
\end{itemize}

45
Although the majority of scholarship refers to the terminals as so-called “lotus blossoms,” there is another possible explanation for the shape of the prow and stern. Like many of the real-world boats in ancient Egypt, the solar barques were made from papyrus bundles. As part of the construction the papyrus bundles were gathered and bound together at the ends, and a section of papyrus was left above the bound portion in order to keep the cords from unraveling. This would create the unfurled shape at the prow and stern that is seen in SB-2 from the first hour of the Amduat. This same unfurled shape — which is clearly distinct from the iconographic form of a lotus blossom — can be found throughout the early Books of the Netherworld, and is easily seen, e.g., in all of the hours from of the Book of Gates. The larger

28 In addition to the discussed scenes of sunset, this form of the solar barque occurs in all depictions from the Book of Gates (for images, see Erik Hornung, Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits 2 vols. (Genève: Editions de Belles-Lettres, 1979); the concluding scene of the Book of Caverns (Alexandre Piankoff, Le Livre des Quérerts (Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1946), plate CXXI); Scenes 2, 3, and 20 from the Books of the Earth (Roberson, Earth, 135, 139, and 189); and depictions from Sections 1, 2, and 3 from the Book of the Day (Marcus Müller-Roth, Das Buch vom Tage (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2008), plates 7–11).

29 I would like to thank Dr. Patricia Podzorski for her observations and contributions to the following discussion.

30 Reed boats are prevalent in ancient indigenous societies across the world, and in some cases are still used presently. Geographically close to Egypt are the Marsh Arabs from Iraq who continued to actively use reed boats until their decline in the 1990s (Hassan Partow, The Mesopotamian Marshlands: Demise of an Ecosystem (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Environment Programme, 2001), 17). Although largely autobiographical, Wilfred Thesiger’s publication on his time with the Marsh Arabs describes the manufacturing and use of the reed boats in the marshlands. See, Wilfred Thesiger, The Marsh Arabs (Boston: E. P. Dutton, 1964). In South America the Uros people around Lake Titicaca in Peru continue to create reed boats called balsas (Charles B. Heiser, Jr., “The Totora (Scirpus californicus) in Ecuador and Peru,” Economic Botany 32 (1978), 223–225).

31 See Appendix B, Scene SB-2.

32 Richard Wilkinson, Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 120–121. For a three-dimensional example, see the bust of Tutankhamun as Nefertem (Carter 8) found in his tomb, KV62, in the Valley of the Kings (Zahi Hawass, King Tutankhamun: The Treasures of the Tomb (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 16–21). Also from the tomb of Tutankhamun is the small golden shrine (Carter 108) which depicts Ankhsenamun offering a lotus flower to the seated Tutankhamun (Hawass, King Tutankhamun, 59–63). There is only one distinctive depiction of a lotus in the Books of the Netherworld. In the concluding scene of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity from the tomb of Ramesses IX a lotus flower is depicted on the table of offerings that the king is offering to Osiris (John Coleman Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2004), plate 39).

33 See Appendix B, 11.
shape of the terminals found in SB-5 and SB-9b are more similar to papyrus stem hieroglyph (Gardner’s M13) than the lotus flower hieroglyph (Gardner’s M9).\footnote{A. H. Gardner, 	extit{Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs} (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 480.} Although papyrus does not have the same solar associations as the lotus,\footnote{Emma Brunner-Traut, “Lotos,” in 	extit{Lexikon der Ägyptologie III}, Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, eds. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), 1091–1096.} it did possess geographical and celestial associations,\footnote{The ancient Egyptian term for papyrus, \textit{wꜣḏ}, is the same for the color green (Quirke, “Colour,” 188). Papyrus was additionally the plant that represented Lower Egypt, which could connect to the solar mat’s connections to Lower Egypt and the ‘Lower Egyptian Costume’ worn by the king. Papyrus stems were believed to hold up the sky, which is seen in the papyriform columns found in Egyptian temples (Wilkinson, 	extit{Egyptian Art}, 122–123).} which could have been suggested in the use of papyriform terminals on the solar barque. Furthermore, given that the solar craft assumes the form of actual papyrus boats, it is reasonable to assume that their iconography reflects also real-world manufacture of such vessels, such that the boats’ terminals represent merely the lashed ends of papyrus stalks, as opposed to lotus blossoms. The latter plant, while attractive from a symbolic and mythological perspective, appears somewhat dubious from the perspective of iconography.

The final scene of sunset (SB-7) is unique to the present corpus, in its portrayal of the solar barque in serpentine form.\footnote{Although the attestation in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI is relatively late in the New Kingdom, the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, as mentioned in Chapter 1, first appear during the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, as previously mentioned, the first attestation of the composition from the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV 62, does not feature any depictions of the solar barque.} This is not the only time the solar barque appears in a serpentine form in the cosmological corpus. However, those other three attestations, which also differ greatly in appearance, do not occur at sunset and have therefore been excluded from detailed consideration here.\footnote{The other forms of the solar barque in serpentine form occur in the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity found in the tomb of Ramesses IX, as well as the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat. In these depictions the form of the solar barque is made from a serpent’s body and both the prow and the stern end in serpent’s heads. All of these scenes reference events of the nocturnal journey that occur in the middle of the night, deep in the Duat.} Nevertheless, looking at these other attestations may offer insight
into the reasoning for depicting the solar barque this way. In the fourth and fifth hour of the Amduat, the solar barque takes on a serpentine form to travel through the Realm of Sokar. Throughout the desert landscape are serpents that are depicted with wings and legs, which Erik Hornung interprets as a metaphor for the speed that they travel across the sands. By transforming the solar barque into a serpent during these hours, the solar barque can travel through this dangerous section of the Duat just as quickly, and the presence of haulers in front of the barque emphasize this point. When looking at the unique depiction of the solar barque in serpentine form at sunset, the sense of speed found in the Amduat hours does not seem as apparent in the text that accompanies the image even though sunset is a crucial moment in the solar journey.

Another possible reason for the serpentine form of the solar barque is the protective aspect that serpents held in ancient Egypt. In the cosmological books, the solar deity confronts the serpent Apep who resides in the deepest part of the Netherworld.

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40 The presence of haulers in front of the solar barque could also illustrate how the barque has left the water and must be pulled across land. Serpents are “land creatures” in the Duat, thus when the solar barque needed to be pulled across the land it turned became a snake (J.A. Roberson, personal communication, 2-16-2021).

41 Serpents are prominently featured throughout the Duat in the cosmological books with a variety of possible meanings. In the Books of the Netherworld, some serpents symbolized time and eternity, as in the twelfth hour of the Amduat where the solar deity travels through a large serpent in order to be reborn at sunrise. Additionally, in both the Amduat and the Book of Gates serpents are depicted devouring hours, which are then reborn again. For a full discussion see, Amber Ward, *Time After Time: An Iconographical Analysis of Images and Time and Eternity in the New Kingdom Netherworld Books*, (MA thesis, University of Memphis, 2017).

42 This confrontation with Apep is the setting for the attestation of the scene with the solar barque from the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity in the tomb of Ramesses XI. For a full discussion of this scene, see, Darnell, *Enigmatic*, 276–373.
of chaos whose goal is to disrupt the solar journey by swallowing the waters of the Duat. On the solar barque, the addition of the Mehen serpent in the earlier Books of the Netherworld (Amduat and Book of Gates), from the Eighteenth dynasty, and the two Books of the Sky, from the Nineteenth and Twentieth dynasty, acted as an additional layer of protection for the solar deity from Apep and the other dangers of the solar journey. In his discussion of the iconography of the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, John Coleman Darnell does not offer an explanation for the specific serpentine form of the solar barque. However, given the protective associations of serpents in the cosmological texts, as well as the importance of sunset in the solar journey, the serpentine form found in SB-3 could act as a protection for the solar deity as he travels through the liminal space of the horizon.

**Analysis of the Solar Crew**

The crew that sails on the solar barque at sunset changes not only between compositions, but also between depictions found within the same cosmological book. These changes include both the number of figures who accompany the solar deity, ranging from two to nine figures, as

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43 In contrast to Apep, fire spitting serpents inhabiting the shores of the Duat punish the damned and protect the solar deity (Hornung, “Iconography,” 1719), similar to how the uraeus protected the king (S. J. Watson, “Death and cosmology in ancient Egypt,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 17 (1991), 167).

44 The threat of Apep goes back to the Coffin Texts and the Book of Two Ways where the solar deity was said to be wounded by the serpent but is eventually victorious. Later, the god Seth, who joins the solar crew to protect the solar deity, is the only member of the solar crew who is able to withstand the stare of Apep and battles it. (J. F. Borghouts, “The Evil Eye of Aposis,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973), 116).

45 The Mehen serpent was previously seen in the Book of Two Ways where it was a point of transition during the journey of the deceased on their way to resurrection. Additionally in other Coffin Texts, Mehen-boards were seen as a place of ordeal for the deceased to traverse before final judgement. The movement of the deceased across the serpent from tail to head is similar to how the solar deity travels in the twelfth hour of the Amduat towards his own rebirth, showing a continuity in thought. (Peter A. Piccione, “Mehen, Mysteries, and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), 49-50).


47 For discussion on the configuration and description of the solar crew in each composition see previous chapter.
well as the identity of the figures.\textsuperscript{48} Interestingly, it is the first and last scenes of sunset, in the first and last cosmological books, that feature the largest solar crew, while all of the other scenes of sunset greatly reduce the crew to only two figures accompanying the solar deity.

In the Amduat’s depiction of sunset, Scene SB-1 features eight figures in addition to the solar deity: Wepwawet, Sia, “Mistress of the Barque,” “Horus of Fragrance,” “Bull of Ma’at,” the “Vigilant One,” Hu, and the “Controller of the Barque.” In contrast, Scene SB-2, from the same compositions, in the register directly below SB-1 reduces the crew to only two kneeling figures of Osiris on either side of the solar deity, whose form has changed to the scarab Khepri. This reduction of the crew continues throughout the majority of the scenes of sunset. In the Book of the Gates only Sia and “Magic” accompanying the solar deity in Scene SB-3. From the Book of Gates and in Scene SB-4 from the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, an unnamed goddess figure and the deceased stand on the solar barque with the solar deity. Both depictions from the Books of the Earth show only two additional crew members with the solar deity: Thoth and Khepri in Scene SB-5, and the “\textit{Ba} of Khepri” and the “\textit{Ba} of Atum” in Scene SB-6. In the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, Scene SB-7, depicts “West” and “Tekemy” with the solar deity on the solar barque.

The Book of the Night, Scene SB-8, increases the solar crew up to four figures with Sia, Ma’at, the king, and Hu standing on the solar barque.\textsuperscript{49} With one of the scenes of sunset in the Book of the Day, Scene SB-9a, the solar crew is increased to approximately the same size as in Scene SB-1 from the Amduat. Here a total of nine figures accompanies the solar deity from prow to stern: Siaret, Geb, Horus, an anonymous male figure, “Mistress of the Barque,” “Horus who

\textsuperscript{48} For a table showing the changes of the solar crew throughout the cosmological books see Appendix A, Table 3.

\textsuperscript{49} The four person crew is true except for the attestations of the Book of the Night found in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI where the figure of the king is omitted from inside the shrine with the solar deity and Ma’at.
Praises,” “Elder Magician,” Hu, and Sia. Interestingly, the solar crew is reduced in Scene SB-9b with only Geb, a standing goddess figure, “Elder Magician,” and a single male figure that has both the names Hu and Sia written about it.

A larger study is required to fully understand the variations in number and identities of the solar crew, which would include more scenes from the cosmological books than just scenes of sunset, as well as looking into any special roles the figures of the solar crew have while the solar deity travels on his journey. However from the present thesis, the figures of Sia and Hu stand out for having been consistently depicted in both the earlier Books of the Netherworld (Amduat and Book of Gates) and the two Books of the Sky. The later Books of the Netherworld have the most variation with only the solar deity (in any of his forms) being the one constant throughout the scenes.

Analysis of the Text

The annotations and texts that accompany the nine scenes of sunset in the cosmological books do not always mention the solar barque; however, in many cases there is an emphasis on the solar deity traveling to the western horizon and references to the events that take place at sunset. The annotation from the Amduat, Scenes SB-1 and SB-2, is one of the two texts to mention the mesktet by name,50 with the other being the short annotation above the stern of the solar barque in the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, Scene SB-4.51 The Amduat text also references the region where the solar deity travels, and his transformation into

50 “this god in the night barque” (nTr pn m (M)skt.t) (Erik Hornung, Texte zum Amduat 2 vols. (Genève: Editions de Belles-Lettres, 1987), 126).

51 “Atum, great god, lord of the sky, the chief who unites the two lands, who rests in the Evening Barque, in the Land of the Dead” (Tm nTr ṣ nb p.t hṛj-tp sīm-wy htp m (M)sk.t m Mṭrw) (Joshua Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques: Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2013), 89).
his nocturnal ram-headed form. The Book of Gates, Scene SB-3, leaves out any mention of the solar barque. Instead words spoken between the solar deity and the deities that line the shores of the Duat.

In the Books of the Earth, Scene SB-5 only features a short annotation identifying the king in the scene, and Scene SB-6, while not mentioning the mesktet specifically, mentions the solar deity traveling into the west.\(^{52}\) This same emphasis on the solar deity being in the west is found in the annotations from the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity, Scene SB-7,\(^ {53}\) as well as in the Book of the Night, Scene SB-8.\(^ {54}\) The Book of the Night also mentioned the solar deity arriving at the first gate into the Duat. The three texts from the Book of the Day, Scene SB-9a/b, distinctly reference three events that occur during sunset: the transfer of the solar deity to the night barque, the towing of the night barque to the western horizon, and the death of the solar deity at the end of his diurnal journey.\(^ {55}\)

**Concluding Remarks and Suggestions for Further Research**

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the diachronic and synchronic changes to the solar barque in scenes of sunset throughout the cosmological books in the New Kingdom. Considering the fact that the cosmological books appeared over a period of three dynasties, there was an expectation to find an evolution in depictions of the solar barque from the

\(^{52}\) “What Re says at the Place of Destruction when he goes forth, traversing the one who guards the west” (\(ddw\ R’ \ r\ htny.t\ pr-f\ sp-f\ ss(s)\ y\ jmnt.t\)) (Joshua Roberson, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2012), 374).

\(^{53}\) “Re entering within the west” (“\(k\ R’\ m-hnt\ inn.t\”) (John Coleman Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2004) 191).


\(^{55}\) Marcus Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2008), 261–269.
Eighteenth dynasty with the first attestation of the Amduat to the Twentieth dynasty with the Book of the Day. However, when the ten scenes of the solar barque at sunset were observed they showed a consistency in the forms that the solar barque takes on at sunset.

By far the most consistency was found in the five scenes that shared the iconographical features of the solar mat paired with the sickle-shaped stern. This pairing appears in both the earliest scene of sunset (SB-1) in the Amduat and one of the last scenes (SB-9a) from the Book of the Day. In addition to sharing form, both scenes also feature the greatest number of crewmembers that accompany the solar deity on his journey. The consistency between the earliest and latest scenes of sunset hints at the possibility of an expect or traditional way to depict the aged solar deity dying at sunset.

The motif of the dying god is not limited to ancient Egypt where both the solar deity and Osiris were believed to have “died.” However, unlike Osiris, the solar deity was reborn each morning after his journey through the Duat, which allowed time to continue forward. The link between the dying god journeying into the netherworld and time is also found in ancient Mesopotamia with the god Dumuzi. The primary consort of the goddess Inanna (Ishtar), Dumuzi failed to properly mourn his wife’s passing when she entered into the underworld. Upon her return to the land of the living Inanna allows demons to drag Dumuzi to the underworld as her replacement. Eventually, Inanna allows Dumuzi to spend half of the year with her and half of the year in the underworld, which explains the changing of the seasons. Roman legionaries

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57 The connection between time spent in the underworld and the changing seasons can also be seen in the Greek myth of Persephone and Demeter from the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Here Persephone’s time in the underworld with Hades coincides with the months of winter. For an English translation of the hymn, see Rhoda A. Hendricks, *Classical Gods and Heroes: Myths as Told by the Ancient Authors* (New York: Morrow Quill, 1974), 42–50.
brought the Syrian solar deity *Sol Invictus*\(^5^8\) into the empire, and by the second century C.E. the cult had a significant following. One of the significant beliefs surrounding *Sol Invictus* was that even though he submitted to darkness at sunset, much like the solar deity in Egypt *Sol Invictus* was always reborn at sunrise and triumphed over darkness.\(^5^9\)

Returning to the iconographical changes of the solar barque, the most diachronic changes occur within the scenes of sunset found in the later Books of the Netherworld. These compositions, most of which first appear during the Nineteenth dynasty, show all three form variations in the scenes of sunset. Both SB-4 from the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques and SB-6 from the Books of the Earth have the pairing of the sickle-shaped stern with the solar mat, and SB-5 from the Books of the Earth depicts the prow and stern ending in the lashed ends of papyrus stalks. Finally, SB-7 from the Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity depicts the solar barque in serpentine form at sunset.

In addition to the diachronic changes, the cosmological books (excluding the Amduat and the Book of the Day) saw significant synchronic changes with a large reduction in the solar crew and the most variation in identified crew members. The Book of Gates and later Books of the Netherworld limit the crew to two figures, none of which are repeated throughout the four compositions. Similar to what is mentioned above with the forms of the solar barque, the return to a larger solar crew is found in the Book of the Day, which has not been seen since the Amduat. Three figures (Hu, Sia, and “Mistress of the Barque”) are shared between both compositions. The similarities between the first and last cosmological book could be viewed as a

\(^{5^8}\) Originally scholars separated *Sol Invictus* from the solar deity of the Republic *Sol Indiges*, but scholars have begun to move away from this clear distinction (S.E. Hijmans, *Sol: the sun in the art and religions of Rome* (PhD dissertation, University of Groningen, 2009), 621).

return to the expected depiction of the solar barque at sunset after the many changes that occurred between the two.

The scenes of sunset account for only nine of the sixty-one total depictions of the solar barque in the New Kingdom cosmological books, which leaves room for many opportunities of further study. The next step in studying these depictions could begin by addressing scenes of the solar barque outside of scenes of sunset. Two other important events that occur during the nocturnal solar journey are the union of the solar deity with Osiris in the depths of the Duat and the event of sunrise. Approaching both of these events in a similar manner to the present study could offer greater insight to how the solar barque changes between these important moments. Additionally, since both sunrise and sunset are moments of transition and transformation, a comparison between the two would be beneficial. Such research would also allow for further testing of Katja Goebs’s theory of luminosity as the iconographical meaning of the solar mat if other scenes of sunrise favor that form of the solar barque. Eventually, a much larger and in-depth study of the diachronic and synchronic changes to all of the representations of the solar barque throughout the cosmological books would allow for a better understanding of how the solar barque changes throughout the solar journey.
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APPENDIX A: Tables

Table 1: Attestations of the Cosmological Books in the Valley of the Kings and the Osireion at Abydos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tomb Number</th>
<th>Attributed</th>
<th>Cosmological Book(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KV1</td>
<td>Ramesses VII</td>
<td>Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Books of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV2</td>
<td>Ramesses IV</td>
<td>Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Books of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV4</td>
<td>Ramesses XI</td>
<td>Book of Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV7</td>
<td>Ramesses II</td>
<td>Amduat, Book of Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV8</td>
<td>Merneptah</td>
<td>Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Books of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV11</td>
<td>Ramesses III</td>
<td>Amduat, Book of Gates, Books of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV14</td>
<td>Tawosret/Setnakht</td>
<td>Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Books of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV15</td>
<td>Seti II</td>
<td>Amduat, Book of Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV16</td>
<td>Ramesses I</td>
<td>Book of Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV17</td>
<td>Seti I</td>
<td>Amduat, Book of Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV20</td>
<td>Thutmose I/Hatshepsut</td>
<td>Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Books of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV22</td>
<td>Amenhotep III</td>
<td>Amduat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV23</td>
<td>Ay</td>
<td>Amduat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV34</td>
<td>Thutmose III</td>
<td>Amduat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV35</td>
<td>Amenhotep II</td>
<td>Amduat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV47</td>
<td>Siptah</td>
<td>Amduat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV57</td>
<td>Horemheb</td>
<td>Book of Gates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KV62</td>
<td>Tutankhamun</td>
<td>Amduat</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 2: Iconographical features of the evening/nighttime solar barque in the New Kingdom cosmological books.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Stern</th>
<th>Solar Mat</th>
<th>Seated Figure</th>
<th>Shrine</th>
<th>Mehen</th>
<th>Solar Deity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB-1 (Amduat)</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>Sickle</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB-2 (Amduat)</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scarab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB-3 (Book of Gates)</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Scarab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB-4 (AOTSB)</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>Sickle</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB-5 (Books of the Earth)</td>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>Lotus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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APPENDIX B: Catalogue of Images


9: Scene SB-9a from Section Four of the Book of the Day on the corridor ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI. Marcus Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2008).
10: Scene SB-9b from Section Four of the Book of the Day on the sarcophagus chamber ceiling in the tomb of Ramesses V/VI. Marcus Müller-Roth, *Das Buch vom Tage* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 2008).