

# The Ritual of the Hours of the Day on the inner vault of the *qrs*w-coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty from Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** In 1932–1933, a shaft tomb with several funerary ensembles of a family of Late Period priests of Montu was found on the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Among them was the *qrs*w-coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty, which is the first coffin to date containing a version of the Rituals of the Hours of the Day and the Night with excerpts from the daily hymns to the sun-god on the inner vault of the lid. The texts for the Ritual of the Hours of the Day, written in cursive hieroglyphs, are here represented as standard hieroglyphs, with destroyed or illegible parts supplemented, followed by comments and translations. The coffin contains three hymns unknown from other sources. Finally, there are some remarks on the transmission of this important text in general and on the series of private funerary texts divided into 24 hours and representing their corresponding deities.

**Keywords:** Nespaqashuty, Deir el-Bahari, Ritual of the Hours of the Day, Ritual of the Hours of the Night, Hours-as-frame, Dynasty 25

Three sets of coffins and other funerary objects of Nes(pa)qashuty,<sup>1</sup> Padiamonet, and a lady called Heresenes were discovered in 1932–1933 (Bruyère 1956; for the family and dates, see Elias 1993: 261–271, 382–383; Sheikholeslami 2010: 382–383) in a shaft tomb in front of the mortuary Chapel of Hatshepsut on the upper terrace of her temple at Deir el-Bahari (for the tomb, see Szafráński 2011). Sheikholeslami (2010: 376–392) discussed the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty, which con-

1 The spelling “Nespaqashuty”, as used in the *Stundenritual* website, has been modified here to conform to the spelling (Nes(pa)qashuty) used in other papers about his burial equipment in this volume [Editor's note].

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All the digitizing in the article is by the author.

tains parts of the Rituals of the Hours of the Day and the Night on the inner side of its vaulted lid [Figs 1, 2]. This publication included a photograph taken in 2009 (Sheikholeslami 2010: 387, Fig. 5). In 2018 we were able to locate the coffin in the Carter House Magazine's restorers room. The inner anthropoid coffin and the mummy are currently on display in the Luxor Museum; the outer anthropoid coffin is in the Luxor Museum magazine.

The Hours of the Day are each presented over seven columns of text, written in cursive hieroglyphs in a standard direction, that is, not in retrograde as is often the case. Columns 5–7 are always shorter than the others in order to leave space for the depiction of a standing god-

dess, who is shown facing left (towards the head end of the *qrs*w-coffin), arms lowered along the body, and a sun-disk on the head. The colors are as follows:

- border lines and hair/wig, originally painted blue, but in many cases changed to dark-green (due to oxidation);
- skin, blue (originally?), now green;
- hieroglyphs, black;
- garments, red;
- sun-disk, red.

In the illustrations of the Hours of the Day presented here [Figs 3–14] the preserved or readable signs are given in outline, the restored ones in black. The four sides of the coffin must have become detached when it was removed from the shaft or later. In 1956 at the latest, they



Fig. 1. Outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty from Deir el-Bahari (After Bruyère 1956: Pl. 1)

were put back together again using new posts at the four outer corners [see Fig. 1]. It seems that the original posts, which projected inside the lid from the main surface, were decorated. This can clearly be seen with the Twelfth Hour, in which parts of the inside decoration of the foot end of the coffin lid, that is, the face which is at right angle to the main decoration, was painted white and contains

traces of a green (originally blue) column-separator line (see Sheikholeslami 2010: Fig. 5, page 387). For parallel texts used below for restoring destroyed sections, see <http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/forschen/aeg/proj/laufend/stundenritual.html>.

Remarks on text structure are found below. The sigla used for the sources are presented in Table 1.



Fig. 2. Outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty, inner vault, detail of the Ninth and Tenth Hour of Day (Photo C. Sheikholeslami)


Table 1. List of siglae and types of objects for the Hours of the Day (for details, see <http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/forschen/aeg/proj/laufend/stundenritual.html> under "Einleitung")

Owner of text	Sigla	Type of object
(Karnak)	–	(Temple)
Hatshepsut	H	Temple
Tuthmosis III	Th	Temple
Seti	S	Private statue
Nebsumenu	Nb	Private tomb
Ramesses III	MH	Temple
Ramesses VI	R	Royal tomb
Nedjemet	N	Papyrus
Katseshni	K	Papyrus
Osorkon II	O	Royal tomb
Amenirdis I	A	Chapel
Nespakashuti	Ne	Private coffin
Padiamaunet	Pad	Private coffin
Karakhamun	Kar	Private tomb
Ramose	Ra	Private tomb
Harwa	Ha	Private tomb
Muthetepti	Tb Af	Papyrus
Petamenophis	Pm	Private tomb
Monthemhet	M	Private tomb
Ibi	I	Private tomb
Psametich	Psa	Private tomb
Pabasa	Pb	Private tomb
Padihorresnet	P, P2	Private tomb
Padibastet	Pa	Private tomb
Scheschonk	Sch, Sch2	Private tomb
Anchnesneferibre	An	Sarcophagus
Pestjenfi	Ps	Private tomb
Bokenranf	B	Private tomb
Tauher	Ta	Private coffin
Edfu	E, E2	Temple
Philae	Ph	Temple
P.Strasb2	PStr2	Papyrus
Armant	Ar	Temple
Dendera	D1	Temple
Dendera	D2	Temple
Tebtynis	Teb	Papyrus




## FIRST HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> [Words to be spoken: First Hour of the Day. “The One who causes Re to appear ...] Khepri? [...]” <sup>(2)</sup> is her name. It is the hour [of the rising of] Re in the region of the horizon [and of the awakening] of the perfection. <sup>(3)</sup> She stands for Maat. [Words to be spoken by [title] Nes(pa)qa[shuti], [triumphant]. <sup>(4)</sup> Rise, please, Re, [come into being, please, Khepri], Ruti, who comes forth <sup>(5-6)</sup> out of the dawn. The gods of the horizon [adore (you)] when [you] are appearing <sup>(7)</sup> in these your transformations.

Col. 1: The upper two thirds are destroyed, but the missing parts can be restored with the aid of parallels. In the lower half, the sign  seems certain. Since col. 2 begins with *rn=ś*, the name of the hour in col. 1 must have been extended with a phrase containing ... *hpr* ...

Col. 2: The shape of the group *rs* is still recognizable in front of *nfirw* near the bottom.

Col. 3: It ended surely with the title(s) and name of Nes(pa)qashuty [*m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw*], but the exact form is unclear.

Col. 4: At the end there seems to be enough space for more signs than just ; the filling of this gap remains obscure however.

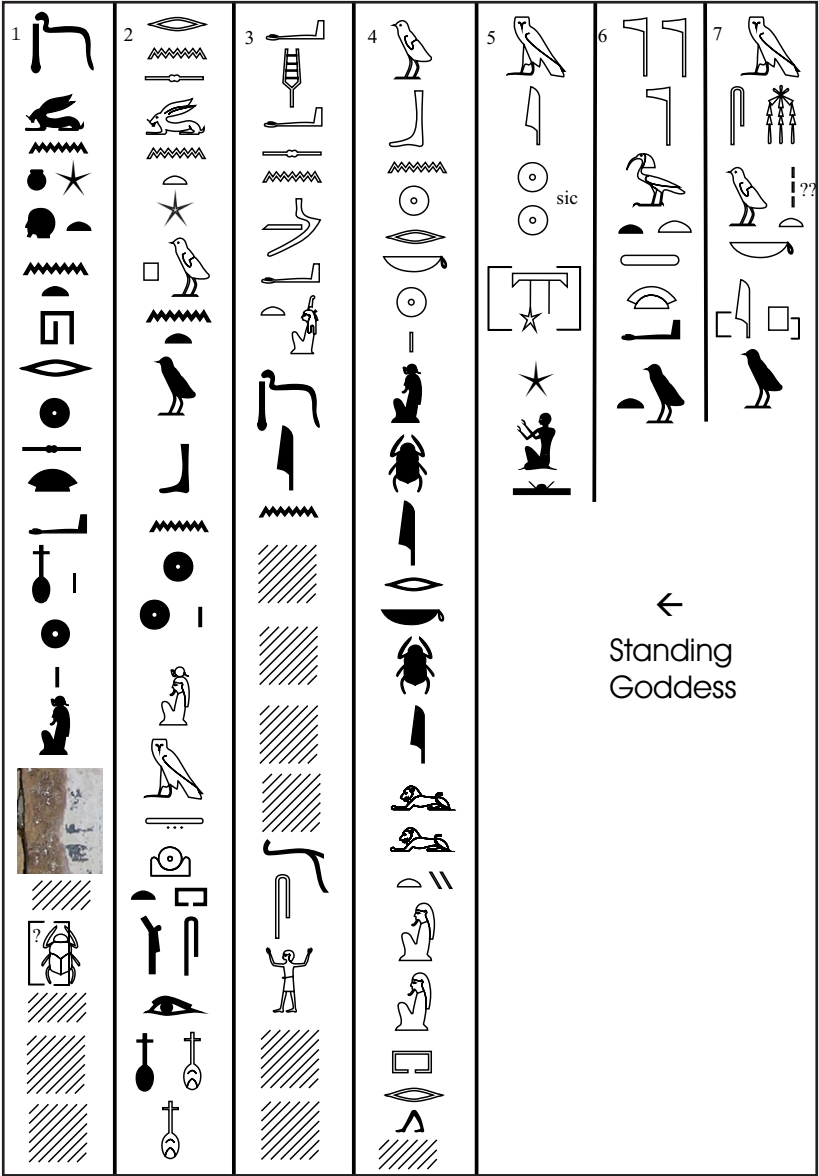


Fig. 3. First Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## SECOND HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: {by the} Second Hour [of the Day]. "... *n tw* ... [she] who expels darkness". <sup>(2)</sup> It is the hour of [practising jubilation and adoration] of Re when <he> comes forth. <sup>(3)</sup> She stands for Hu. [Words to be spoken by the Prophet of [Mon]tu, Lord of Thebes, Nes(pa)qashuty. <sup>(4)</sup> Lo (he who), appears, [who appears with] his *Mehenet*-serpent, who comes forth within <sup>(5)</sup> the wings [of the Phoenix in] <sup>(6)</sup> the horizon. [Appear, please,] Re, <sup>(7)</sup> light up, please, Re, shine [...].

Col. 1: The text missing in the middle cannot be restored with the parallels that are available. After *hsr kkw* in cols 1–2, one does not find the expected *rm=š*. Therefore, after [*hrww*] in col. 1, the text continued with a variant name for the hour or with a misplaced *wnwt pw*-phrase like in the Tenth Hour. For the former, E has the variant name *ššmt*, for the latter, R(ameses VI) and Ra would suggest: *wnwt pw njt m<sup>c</sup>-hrw*. At the beginning of col. 1, after *čt -mṭww*, the scribe carelessly wrote an unnecessary *in*, "by". [The hours are not speakers contrary to the hours in the Ritual of the Hours of the Night].  
Col. 7: The last verb was probably *pšč*, "to shine".



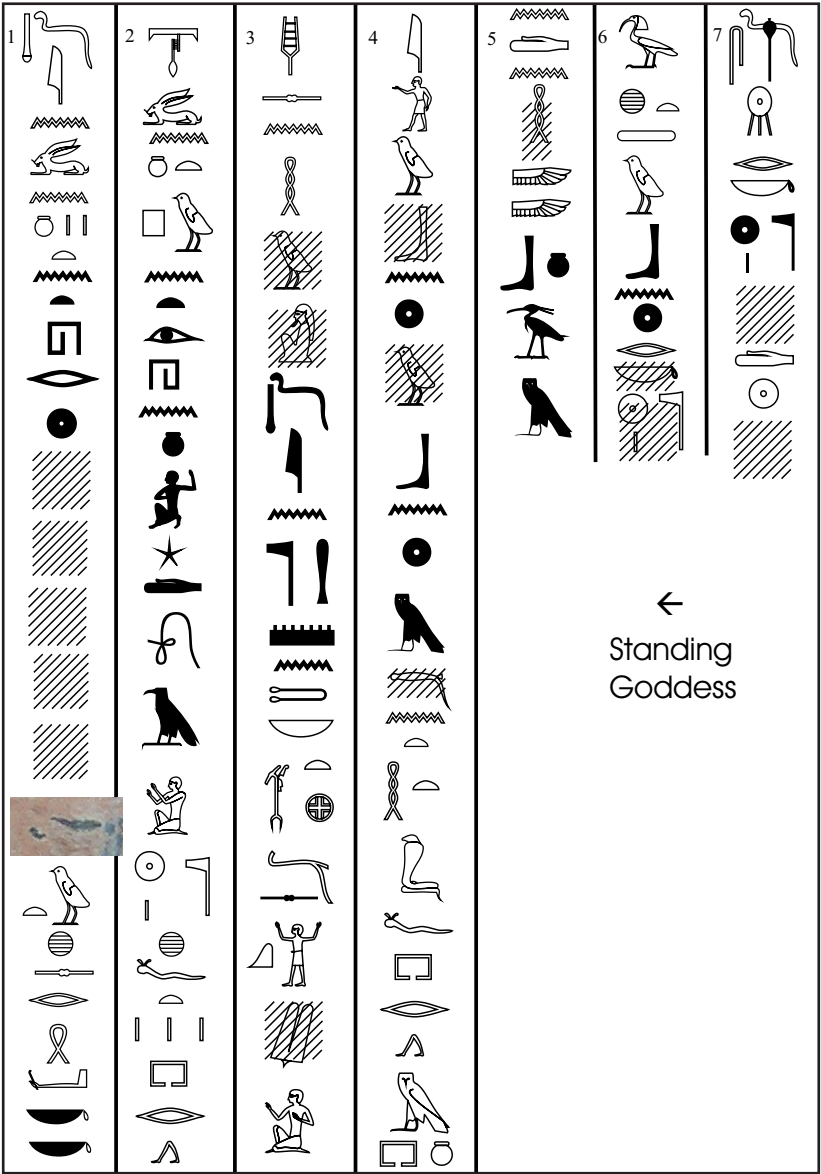


Fig. 4. Second Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty


### THIRD HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: {by the} Third Ho[ur of the Day.] “She who is [seeing] millions” is her name. She stands for Sia. Words to be spoken: The Prophet of <sup>(2)</sup> Montu, Lord of Thebes [Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant. Words to be spoken:] Awake in peace, primeval one, who has created(?), <sup>(3)</sup> Re, who came forth [from the field of Ruti], high regarding [his *Mehenet*-serpent, who appears] <sup>(4-5)</sup> at the front of the [horizon, to whom the gods] are coming in ad[oration], who is [greeted] by those [who are at the] <sup>(5-6)</sup> supports of heaven, he who is great [as for the *Werr*]eret-crown, Lord ... <sup>(7)</sup> ..., Osiris of the God’s Father (and God’s) beloved [Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant].

Col. 1: The name of the hour can be restored based on parallels. The *in* after *çt-mtww* is a mistake, as in the Second Hour.

Col. 2: The name of the coffin’s owner is to be added after the title. The phrase at the bottom: *pwtj ir(j)=f?* is unclear in the parallels also.

Cols 3–5: The restored phrases follow the parallels.

Col. 6: The destroyed sections cannot be completed because the parallels do not have a phrase that would contain the first sign  of col. 7.

Col. 7: The owner’s name must have followed the title.

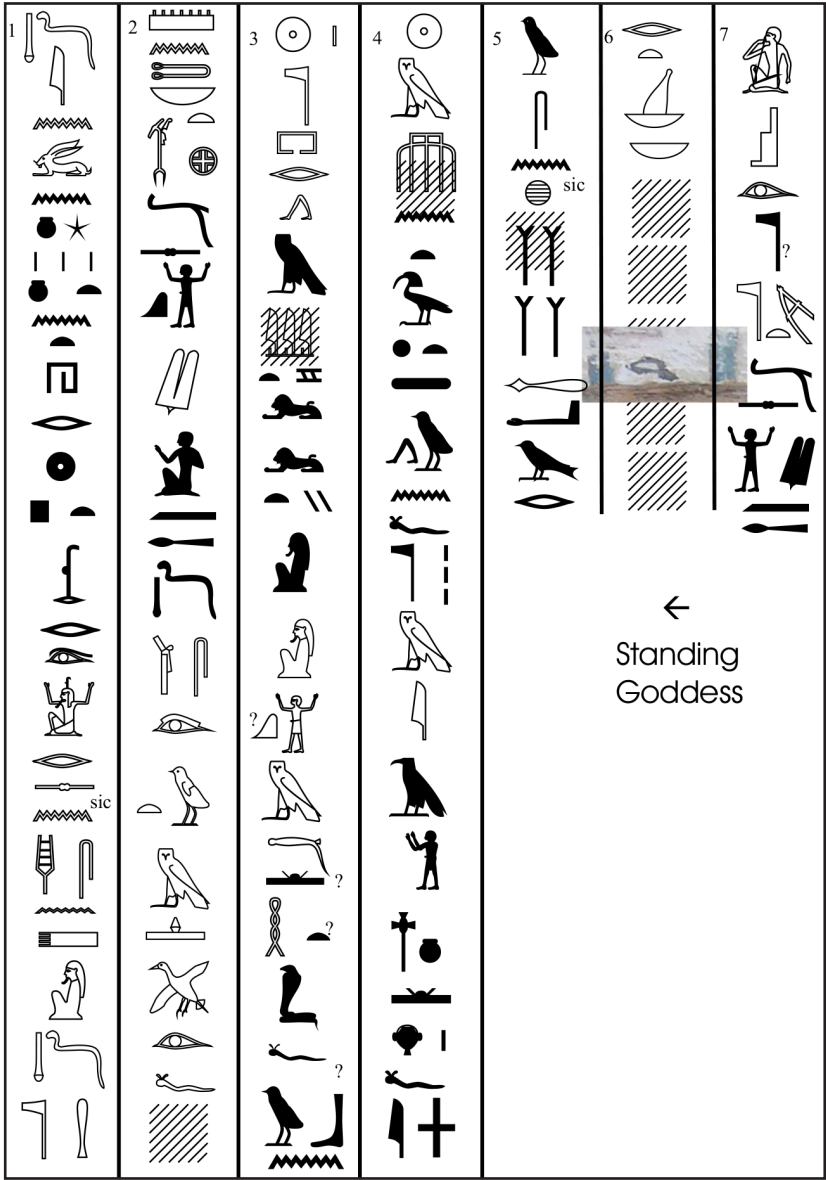


Fig. 5. Third Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## FOURTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Fourth Hour of the [Day. “Shining] in appearance“, is her name. She stands for the *Asbet*-serpents.

<sup>(2)</sup> Words to be spoken: The God’s Father (and God’s) Beloved Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant [... barge of Re(?) ...] four times. Rise, <sup>(3)</sup> rise, shine [...] (when?) you [illuminate] the sky (*pt*), after you had [traversed(?)] the heaven (*hrt*) (when?) you rise. <sup>(4)</sup> Your son(?) [...] Horus, like the son [of ...] <sup>(5)</sup> when you traverse the sky [...]

<sup>(6)</sup> things, without <sup>(7)</sup> your enemies being able(?) to arise. Stand up(?) [...]

Col. 1: The destroyed beginning of the hour’s name can be restored based on parallels.

Cols 2–7: This hymn has no parallels to date. Thus the destroyed or unreadable parts in this translation are guesswork more or less.

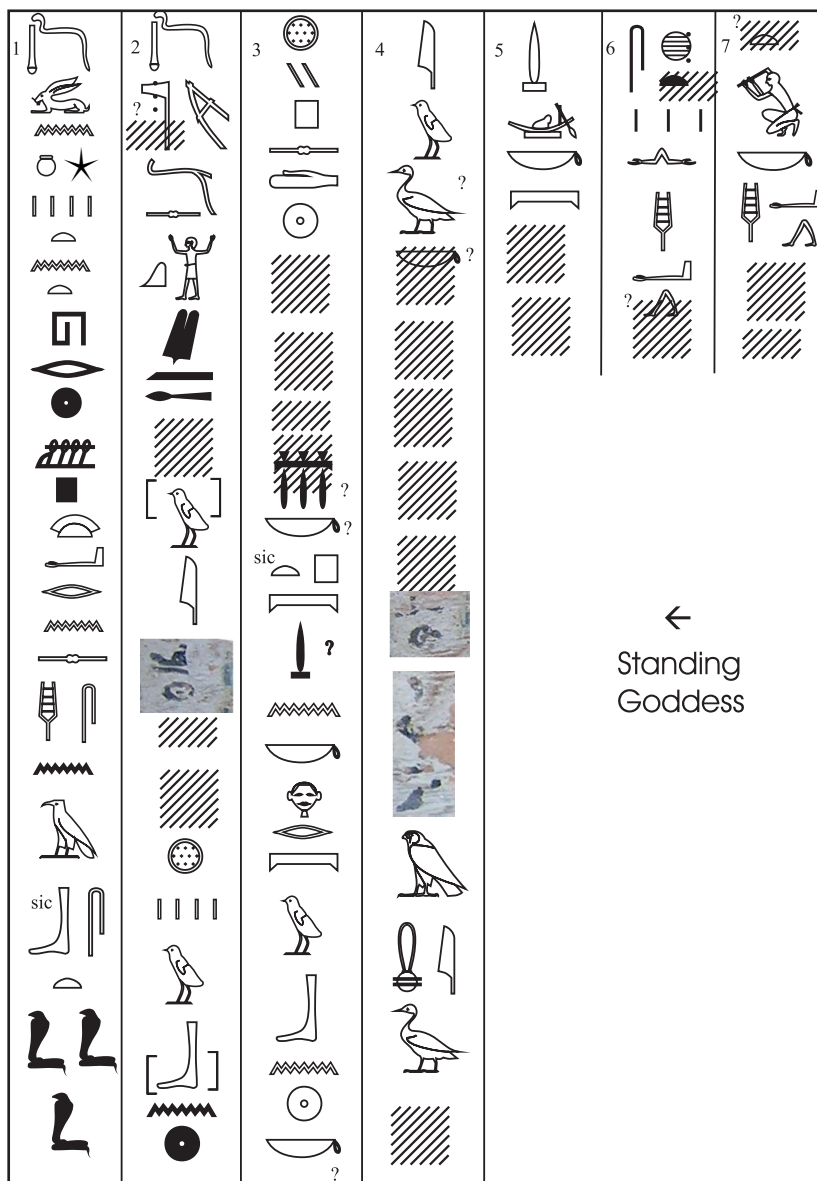


Fig. 6. Fourth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## FIFTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Fifth Hour [of the Day]. She stands for Saret. Words to be spoken: Appear, Re, gold [of the gods]. <sup>(2)</sup> The two openings (of the Nile) are opened for him, the caverns are unclosed [for] him by [his] *uraei*. <sup>(3)</sup> Ma[at] arises for him [made possible by] his [en-nead]. Adoration [to you, Re.] Your [nose (?)] is kissed <sup>(4)</sup> in order to live. [May you] receive [Maat], [may] your heart [be content] in your field of turquoise. May you [come] <sup>(5)</sup> forth, The Ba of Osiris being [...] <sup>(6)</sup> in [...] <sup>(7)</sup> [...] with(?) it [...].

Col. 1: The name of the hour was omitted.

Cols 2–5: The completed parts follow parallels.

Cols 5–7: The missing parts cannot be reconstructed from the parallels.

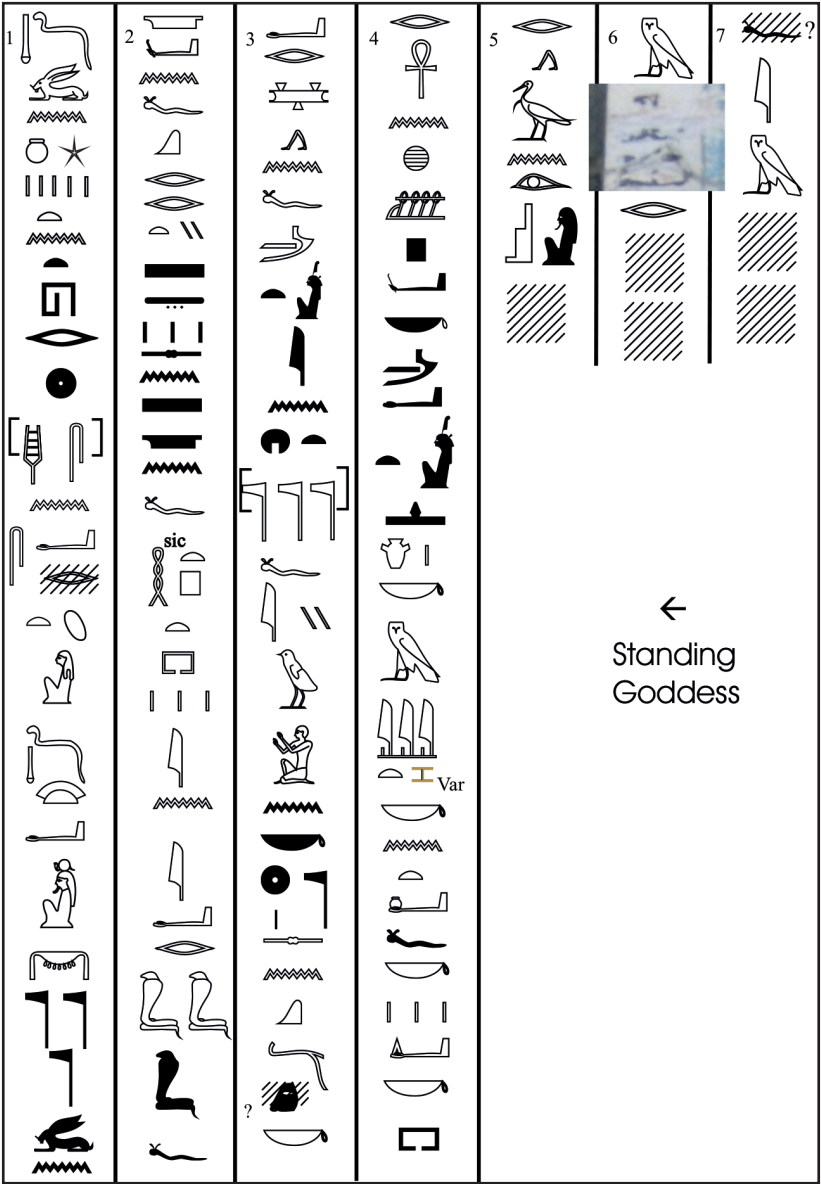


Fig. 7. Fifth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty



## SIXTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Sixth Hour [of the Day]. [“Standstill”, (= “Noon”)] is her name. She stands for Nehes. Words to be spoken: Stand (still), <sup>(2)</sup> Re. [Your] perfection exists [You are triumphant with] the gods who are in your barge. Jubilating <sup>(3)</sup> when they see you <as> [king of the gods]. Isis, the great one, she is glorifying (you) by her (magical) spell, being powerful <sup>(4)</sup> by her [magic], being “sharp”, being powerful of *ba*-power, Lady of the universe, being august <sup>(5)</sup> in shapes. [May she (?)] give [...] <sup>(6)</sup> every beautiful and pure [thing], what [heaven] gives [and] <sup>(7)</sup> earth [creates] for the Osiris of the God’s Beloved Nes[(pa)qashuti, triumphant.

Col. 1: The name of the hour can be completed because of the determinative ☉.

Cols 1–7: The hymn in some parallel sources is inserted into the Seventh Hour, first version. The restored parts are not problematic.

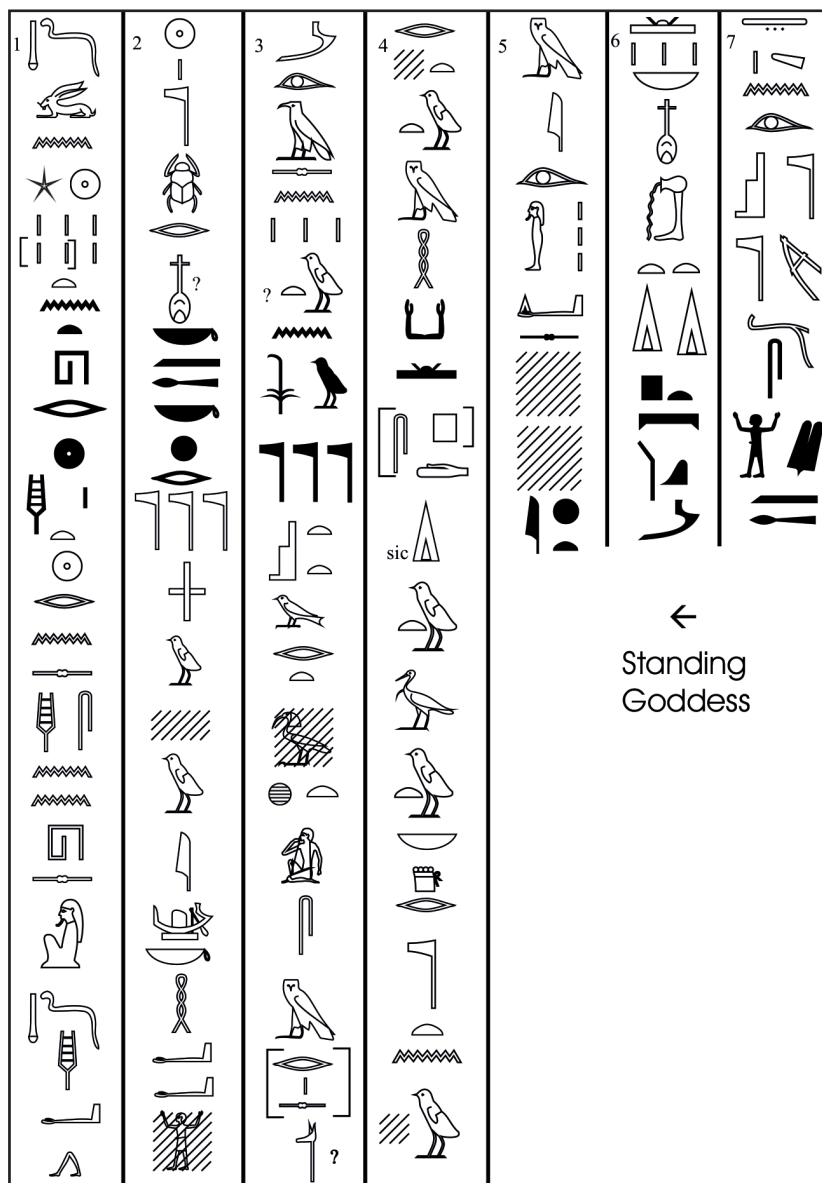


Fig. 8. Sixth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty


## SEVENTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Seventh Hour of the Day. “[...]” is her [name]. She stands for Horus. Words to be spoken: Re appears after he has mounted his throne, <sup>(2)</sup> after he has seen both his eyes (and) [his] *Werreret*-crown, with whom he [has ruled] every land. May you be bright, may you rise, <sup>(3)</sup> may the hearts [of the gods] be opened for you, mayest thou be powerful, may you be respected with your *śśm(t)*-serpent <sup>(4)</sup> and (with) <the gods> within your followers. Perfect [You]th, striding wide, who is being reborn <sup>(5)</sup> daily. May [you] protect [the Osiris of] the God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved <sup>(6)</sup> Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant, from all [evil] things <sup>(7)</sup> in the necropolis.

Col. 1: The name of the hour is destroyed.

It should be *śwt-ib*. Nevertheless, the destroyed space is very small.

Cols 1–5: The hymn in some other sources is inserted into the Sixth Hour, first version.

Col. 3: The *ś* of *śśmt=k* is also missing in source P. The *m* before it is written with a cursive .

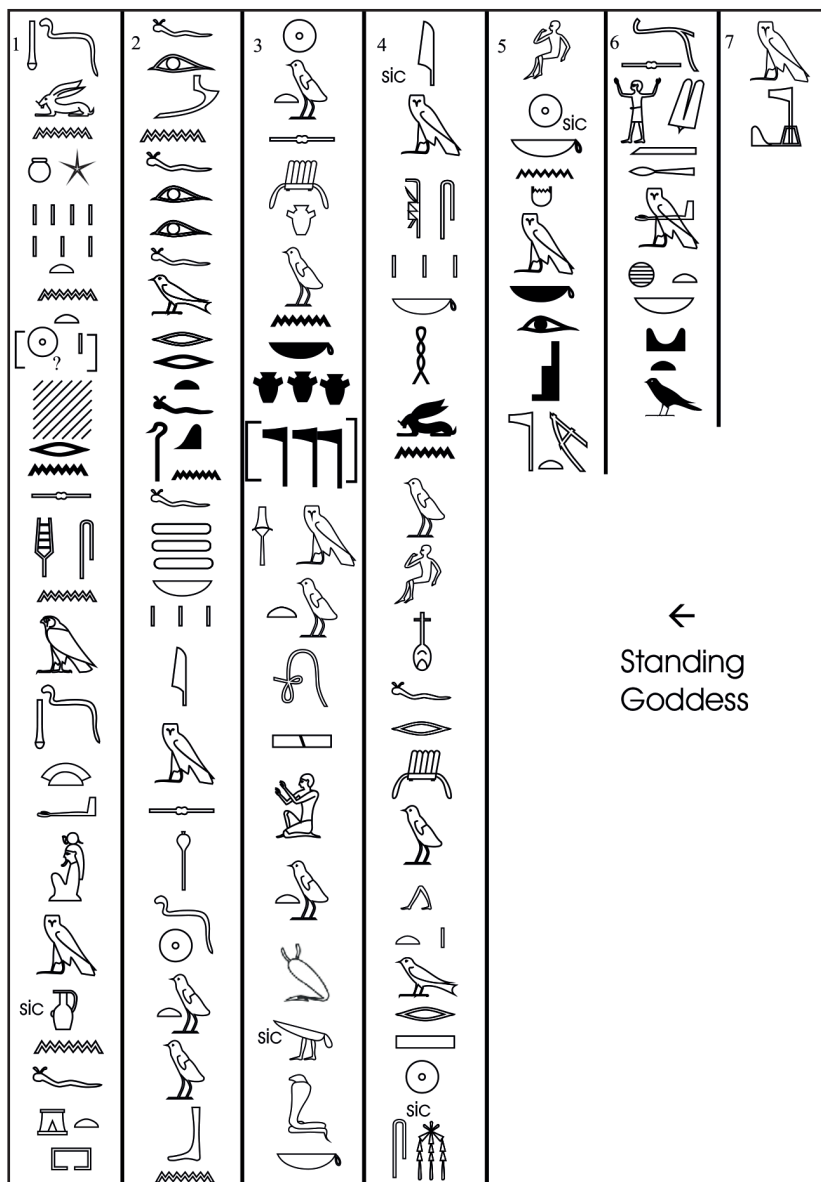


Fig. 9. Seventh Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## EIGHTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Eighth Hour of the Day. [“Lady(?)” of eternity”, variant reading: “She who is jubilating”, is her name. She stands for Khonsu. Words to be spoken: Lo, <sup>(2)</sup> Re. Lo, he who is shining, your [...] until your hours, who come into existence for you, Re, who come into existence for you Re, <sup>(3)</sup> come, shining one [...] Great god, come you shining (on) the earth <sup>(4)</sup> with your form as a Shining-one, Khepri in your form as <sup>(5)</sup> a Shining-one. Protect the Osiris of the <sup>(6)</sup> God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant, <sup>(7)</sup> son of the God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved Pami, triumphant.

Col. 1: The name of the hour was probably [nb(t)] *nḥḥ*. It continues with *ky ǧt: ḥ<sup>cc</sup>(t)*, that is, the regular name of the hour here is given as a variant.

Cols 1–5: The hymn is unknown to date.

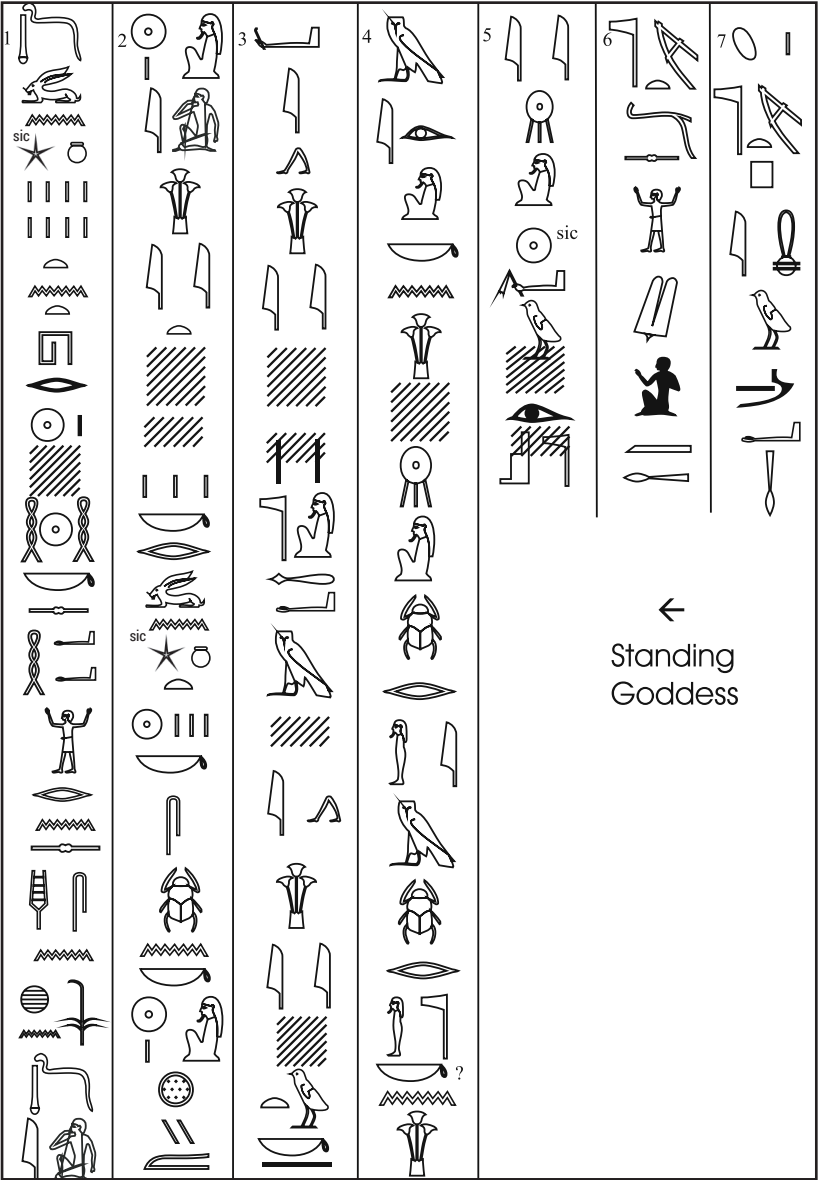




Fig. 10. Eighth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty


## NINTH HOUR OF THE DAY


<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Ninth Hour of the Day. “Mistress of Life”, is her name. She stands for Isis, the Great, the God’s mother. <sup>(2)</sup> Words to be spoken: Lo Re, living of forms, child who came forth from Mehenet-Weret, <sup>(3)</sup> when existence did not yet exist in [... a Horus (or: a falcon)?] of form, Lord of the House of the falcon. Your heart belongs to you, your heart belongs to you. Both your <sup>(4)</sup> feathers belong to you, One who is flying (*ḥp(y)?*) (or The living-one, shining-one, who comes into existence?), both your feathers are meant for flying with <sup>(5)</sup> them. You are coming into being as a child every day. <sup>(6)</sup> Raise <yourself> Osiris of [title] Nes(pa)qashuty, <sup>(7)</sup> triumphant, son of the God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved Pami, triumphant.


Cols 2–5: The hymn is currently unknown.








I am very grateful to Alexandra von Lieven for a fruitful discussion of the issues (concerning cols 2 and 4).

Col. 2: What is read as *hy* “child” with , resembles more a  *tp*, but it would not make sense.

Cols 2–3: *n hpr hpr* has to be emended to (negative *n* ) *n hpr{r}* <*t*> *hpr*. It makes no sense, if the sign before *hwt-bik* is read as a basket with handle (*k*). The dot at this point may be accidental.

Col. 3: Below *hpr* there is perhaps a  *m*. The two coffin planks are somewhat dislocated as the column separators show. The gap between them may

have been bigger by a few millimeters. There are perhaps three signs below that *m*. The sign  may stand for *bik* “Falcon” or *hrw* “Horus”. Nevertheless, one would expect a participle or an adjective.

Col. 4: The sequence of signs    (+  *r*) is the most difficult issue in this hymn. Alexandra von Lieven (personal communication) has kindly provided the following comment: “Ich vermute eine Kryptographie von der Art, wie Ryhiner (1977) und Morenz<sup>2</sup> (2008: 2402–2446) sie unter dem Etikett “pantheistisches Trigramm” behandelt haben. Derartige Schreibungen sind ihrer Studie nach mindestens ab der 3. Zwischenzeit belegt. Sie nennt zwei, wobei das eine (  )<sup>3</sup> zwei Elemente mit dem hiesigen gemein hat. Vielleicht gab es weitere, die bloß seltener bezeugt sind. Man könnte also “der Lebende-Leuchtende-Entstehende” bzw. auch “Leben-Licht-Entstehen” (*ḥnh-psš-hpr*) als Chiffre für Atum-Re-Chepri verstehen, also genau die Umkehrung des üblichen. Da in dem Hymnus die Betonung auf dem täglich zum Kind Werden, also der periodischen Verjüngung liegt, wäre die Jugendform als Endpunkt der Entwicklung denkbar. Das könnte zugleich erklären, warum das seltener ist, als die Variante mit dem Greis als Endpunkt.

Würde man von *ḥnh* und *psš* akrophonisch nur die ersten Konsonanten

<sup>2</sup> Reference kindly provided by Kenneth Griffin.

<sup>3</sup> (KG / EG): Another example appears in the Twelfth Hour of the Night (Griffin 2017: 120 and note 143).



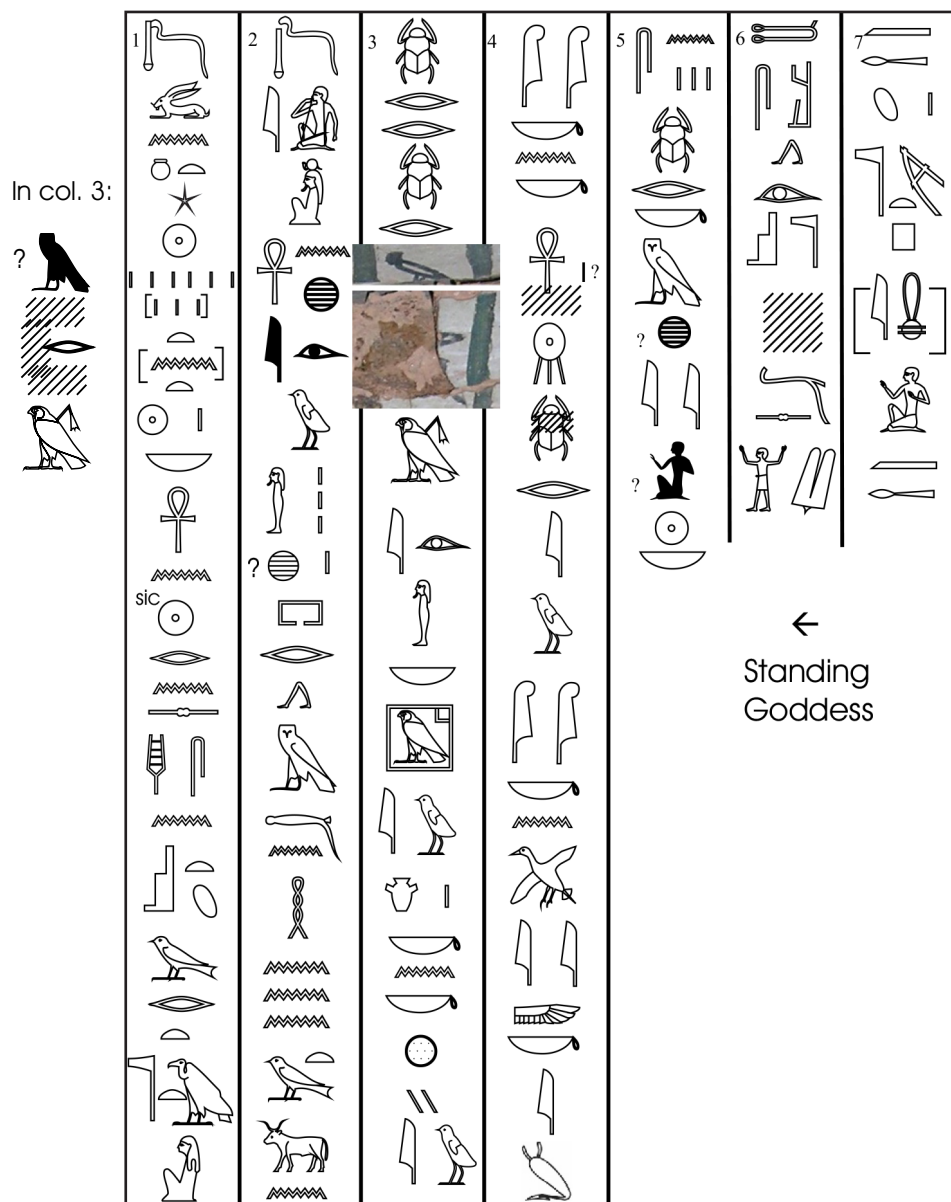



Fig. 11. Ninth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

zusammenziehen, bekäme man *p(y)*, den “Fliegenden”, der gern mit dem (zugegebenermaßen meist geflügelten) Käfer determiniert wird. Der ungeflügelte Käfer allein hat nach (Kurth: 2007: 298) mindestens im Ptolemäischen auch den Lautwert *l̥*. Man kann also auch solch eine Lesung vertreten, dann gäbe es kein Determinativ, das wäre noch plausibler. Nun ist es zwar so, dass man mit Akrophonie vorsichtig sein muss, aber mindestens fallweise gibt es das Prinzip eben doch, gerade bei solchen Gottesnamen-Kryptogrammen. In jedem Falle hätte man mit dem Verständnis als kryptographisch geschriebenes Epitheton “Fliegender” einen schönen Bezug zu den Federn und dem Fliegen, die ja auch sonst eine große Rolle im Text spielen. Versteht man die

leuchtende Scheibe als *psč*, hätte man noch durch die Hintertür ein Wortspiel mit der Ordinalzahl der Stunde. Nun könnte man gegen diese Deutung der problematischen Stelle natürlich einwenden, was denn das *r* hinter dem Käfer soll. Ich würde auch das wieder als Fehler wegemendieren. Wahrscheinlich hat der Schreiber an *hpr* mit Komplement *r* gedacht und es folglich irrtümlich eingefügt. Zum folgenden *lw* gehört es wegen der Parallelität sicher nicht und das sollte man auch überhaupt nicht direkt an die problematische Gruppe anschließen, die meines Erachtens eben nur einen Gottesnamen quasi im Vokativ enthält, parallel zum “Kind” im Anruf zuvor.”

Col. 5: *hy* “child” should be written with , but it seems that  is still visible.

## TENTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: [Tenth] Hour of the Day. It is the hour of giving needs. <sup>(2)</sup> She stands for the god who created eternity. Words to be spoken by the Prophet of Montu, Lord of Thebes, Nes<sup>(3)</sup>(pa)qashuti, triumphant: Ha[il] to you, these gods, precursors of Re, who <sup>(4)</sup> are behind <him in> the Great barge, who ferry him <sup>(5)</sup> in peace at his (right) time of dragging <sup>(6-7)</sup> the rope, the tour proceeding and him (Re) coming forth being safe, after [he] has united <himself with the primeval waters>.

Col. 1: The name of the hour is missing the *wnwt pw* xxx element, with an explanation being given instead.

Cols 3–7: The hymn in some other sources is inserted in the Eleventh Hour, first version.

Col. 7: The text ends abruptly. The parallels continue with (*hnm*).*n=f nwn*.

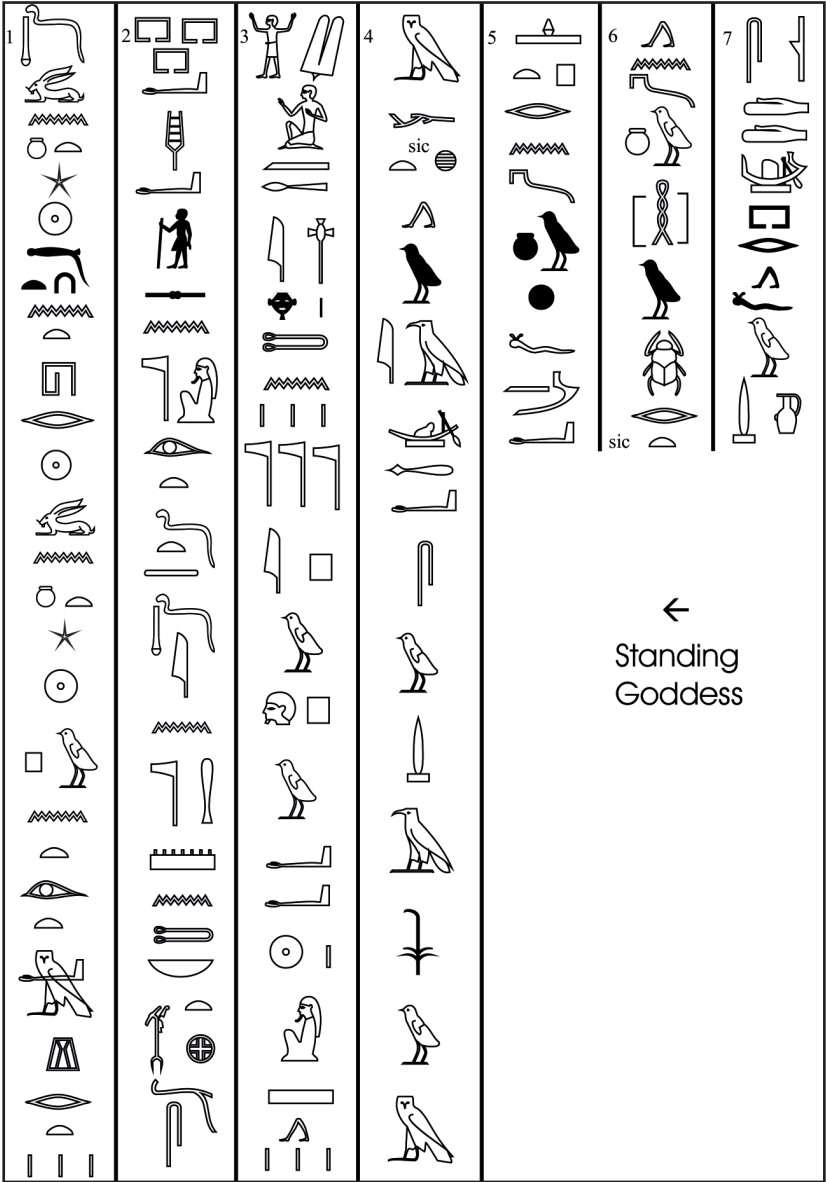


Fig. 12. Tenth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty





## ELEVENTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: [Eleventh Hour of the] Day. “Beautiful (when) seeing (her)”. It is the hour of <sup>(2)</sup> dragging the [rope] to the western horizon and the descent of the Great barge. <sup>(3)</sup> <The ways of heaven are opened for> Re, open are the two Sanctuaries of the Two lands of Atum (instead of “completely”?). Mayest you be powerful, Re, with your eye. <sup>(4)</sup> You are seeing [with it, you being alive] in your name of “Life”. Your mother will <sup>(5)</sup> embrace [you], [having cleansed] for you <sup>(6)</sup> [your bones, causing] that you be sound and that <sup>(7)</sup> [you] live, <you> having come into being <as a god> in life.

Cols 1-2: The phrase <sup>(1)</sup>*h<sup>c</sup>=s' n* is missing.



Cols 3-7: Hymn of the Eleventh Hour, second version.

Col. 3: The text begins in the middle of a phrase, that is, at the beginning of col. 3 *wn w3wt pt n* was omitted.

Col. 3: Ne seems to have used the signs  /  twice in *itrj t3wj tmw*, whereas Kar and the Ptolemaic sources give *itrj t3wj (nj) (i?)tmw* with two   “snake stelae” signs. *t3wj tmw* is attested since the Middle Kingdom as a variant for *t3 tmw* “the whole land”. It seems that in Ptolemaic times the phrase was understood as “sanctuaries of the land of Atum”. In the Pyramid Texts (PT 756-757), the opening of heaven is promised to the dead king in the presence of Re, and, he (the king) would be led through the *itrj* of heaven. This presupposes a reflection of cult-architecture of the earth in heaven. It is perhaps the case that a misinterpretation promising sanctuaries on earth there already existed in Ne. This was probably the case in E with the genitival *nj (i)tmw*, changing the adjective or old perfective *tmw* “all together” into *nj itm* “of Atum” as if the sanctuaries were to be located in heaven.

Col. 4: *in mwt=k* may perhaps be restored in front of *n mwt=k*, a *i*.

Col. 6: At the top read {=k}.

Col. 7: According to the parallels, a  and  have to be inserted: *hpr.ti m ncr m cnh*.

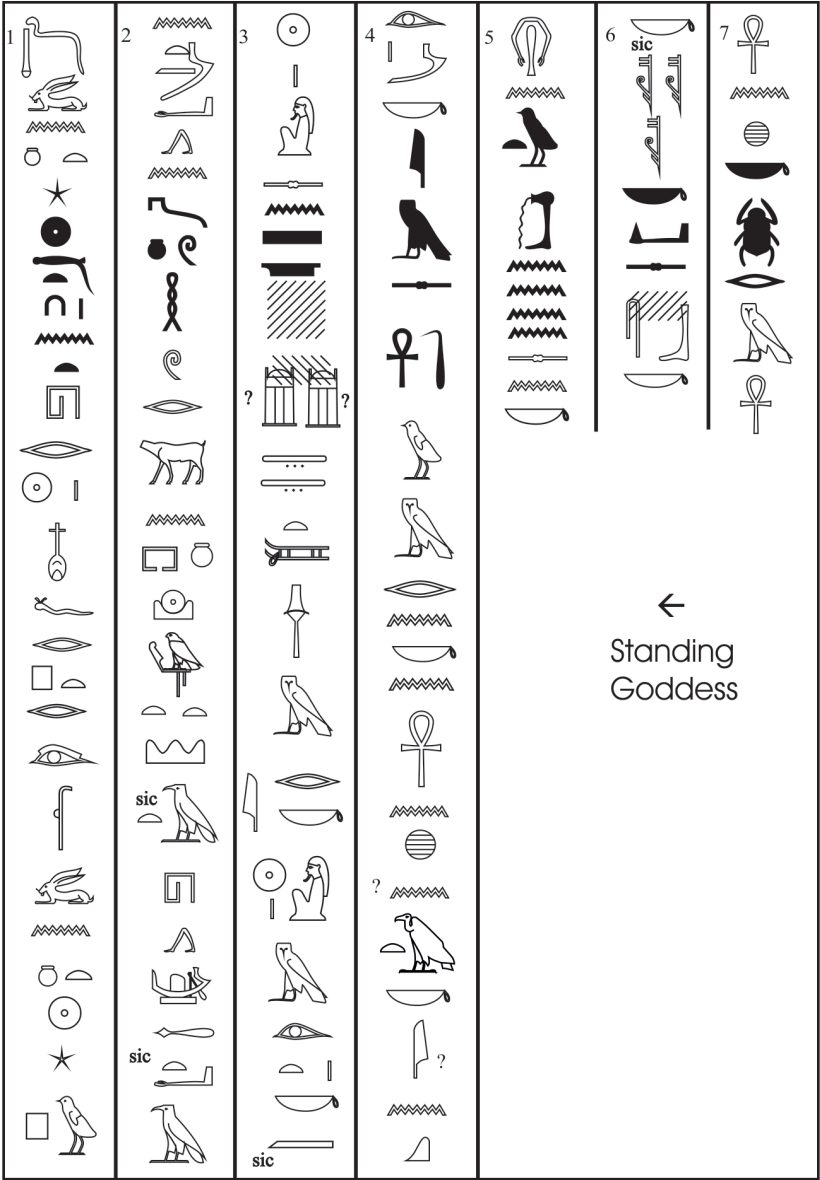


Fig. 13. Eleventh Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## TWELFTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Twelfth hour of the day. “She who is united with life”. It is the hour <of the setting of> <sup>(2)</sup> Re [in the land of life] in the western horizon. She stands for the One who gives protection in the <sup>(3)</sup> [darkness. Words to be spoken by the] God’s Father and God’s Beloved Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant: Adoration to you, Re, when you are setting <sup>(4)</sup> in [the magnificent field] of the western horizon. May you set in the field of <sup>(5)</sup> Manu, [your *uraei*] being behind you, Re. <sup>(6)</sup> [Hail to] you in [peace] <sup>(7)</sup> [Re, being united with the eye] of Atum.

Col. 1: The feminine ending of the name *hnmt nh* is written only after the *nh*.

Col. 2: A *htp* was omitted by the scribe at the beginning.

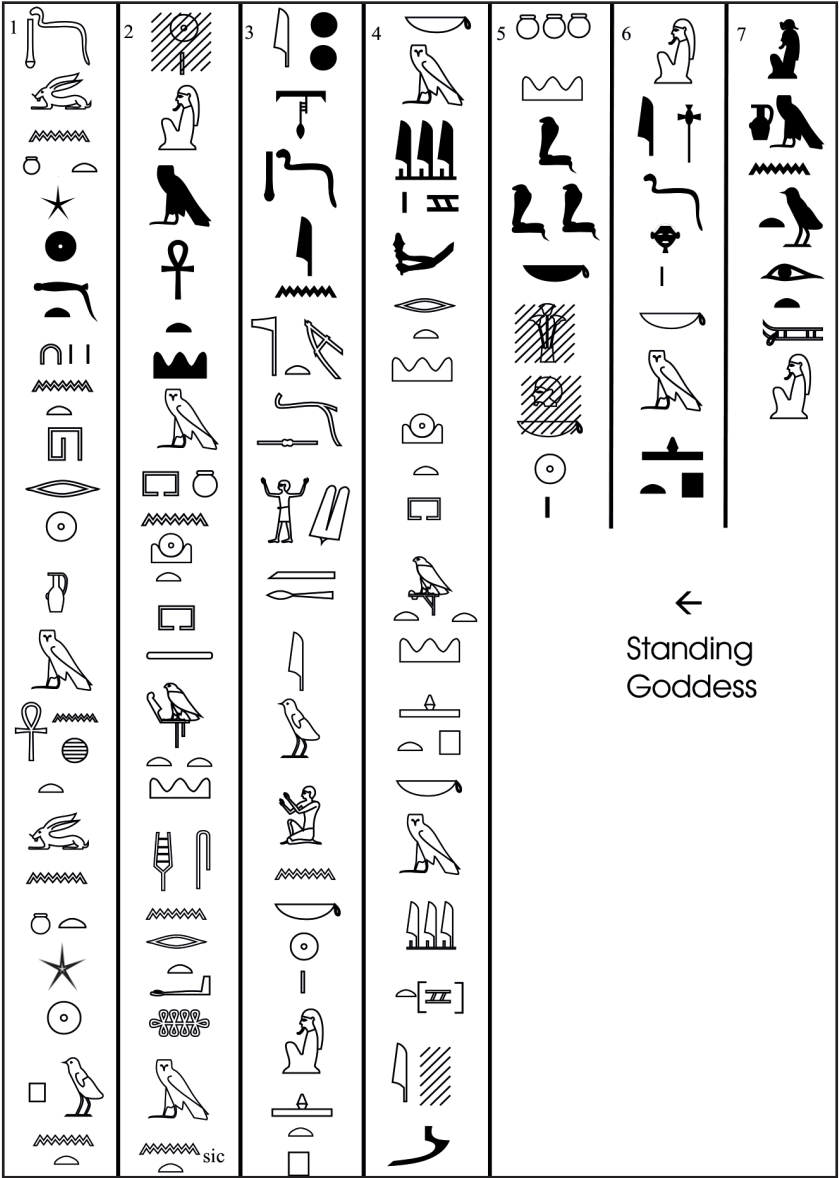


Fig. 14. Twelfth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty



## GENERAL REMARKS ON LATE PERIOD REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOURS

The coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty is the only coffin to date with fragments of a once complete set of both hymns of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day and the texts of the Ritual of the Hours of the Night. Another example, from the coffin Cairo CG 41010 (Moret 1913: 137–139), is fragmentary with only very short passages of the texts (for the Hours of the Night) preserved (no photographs currently exist). Therefore, it had not been hitherto recognized as a source for the Rituals of the Hours. Assmann and I have always maintained that the text for the Hours of the Night has nothing to do with those of the Day, simply because the former is an independent text, even in the oldest source dating from the time of Hatshepsut. The reason behind such a claim was the different layout of the vignettes accompanying the text, which contain mainly parts of chapters of the Book of the Dead. To date, there is no edition of the text. However, Griffin has just shown that the text for the Hours of the Night contains elements supplementary to those from the Book of the Dead: invocations to Osiris known from papyri as well as several *mammisi* of Ptolemaic times. The text for the Hours of the Night may now be considered as a ritual for the night parallel to that for the Hours of the Day (see Griffin 2018, in this volume, and 2017). The coffin of Heresenes from Deir el-Bahari is unfinished insofar as the texts for the night are present, but on the day

side the columns for the hymns are left empty (Sheikholeslami 2010: 382, Fig. 1). The same layout for the hours of the day and night can be found in tombs, that is, on ceilings of burial chambers, thus constituting parallels to the (vaulted) ceilings of the coffins just mentioned.<sup>4</sup> There are several other coffins with names of hours and representations of the goddesses, e.g., Brussels E586 (Delvaux and Therasse 2015: 133–135); Leiden AMM 5e (Raven 1992: 60–62); Milan E o.9.40147 (see below). This could lead to the conclusion that in these cases the decoration with the hours is an abbreviation for the Rituals of the Hours of the Day and the Night and it offers a possibility of finding more examples on the myriad (unpublished) coffins and sarcophagi existing in museums and collections around the world.

An example of this would be the third coffin from the aforementioned set, that is, the one of Padiamonet (Sheikholeslami 2010: 382, Fig. 2; the *qrs*w-coffin of Padiamonet has the text of the Twelfth Hour of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day on the exterior tympanum of its head end, C. Sheikholeslami, personal communication). It has two series of standing goddesses with sun-disks or stars on their heads and in front of them one column of text evoking the hours plus title and name of the deceased. Such an interpretation, however, may not always be correct. The hours on the three coffins from Deir el-Bahari are represented as standing

women, their arms lowered by their sides. This is in conformity with their designated function *ḥc=ś n* (see below): “She stands for (a protective god)”.


There is a sarcophagus for the ram of Mendes (Cairo CG 29792), dating to the Ptolemaic period (Gaillard and Daressy 1905: 140–141), decorated with figures of Nut and the standing goddesses of day and night. Their legends start with the names, followed by the numbers of the hours. There are no hymns, but it is possible that the Rituals of the Hours of the Day and Night were intended. On other coffins without hymns, the goddesses are shown either kneeling or standing, in adoration with raised arms, with or without sun-disks or stars on their heads. This suggests that the goddesses here had a different function.<sup>5</sup> This is explicit on the coffin Milan E 0.9.40147 (Lise 1979: Figs 39, 41),<sup>6</sup> on which the names of the hours of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day are used in more or less corrupt ver-

sions and are complemented with text. However, this is not the Ritual of the Hours of the Day (or the Night) and the goddesses are kneeling in adoration. The text is the same as on the later sarcophagi of the Napatan kings Aspelta and Anlamani (Soukiassian 1982;<sup>7</sup> Doll 1981a: 31ff.; 1981b). Here the goddesses of the hours are standing in adoration. The text starts with the name of the hour followed by *rs.tj wsīr* “Awake, Osiris ...”<sup>8</sup> followed by an address to the dead delivered by the hour introduced by *č.t* plus number of the hour. *č.t* is written like the noun for “body”. Instances of the goddess of the hour being called “body (ordinal number of the hour) of your son Horus” are known. “Body” apparently has the meaning of “embodiment”. On the night side, the counting of the hour comes after *sbh.t* “door” and the texts do not begin with a (female) hour’s name but with the name of a male god (even though women represent the hours as on the day side). The

5 Shortly before the manuscript was finished Cynthia Sheikholeslami found another very interesting Late period coffin: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. APM 08898 according to the illustration given in <http://www.bubastis.be/art/musee/amsterdam/065.html> (Haarlem 1998: No. 8898). It is a fragment of a *qrsu*-coffin. On the exterior side of the vault there are compartments with 5 + x standing goddesses for the hours of the day with sun-disks on their heads, the hands raised in adoration. There is one column of text in front of each one of them. The (female) owner of the coffin, depicted at the right end of the fragment, greets them.

6 Lise (1979: 22) gives the inventory number E 1012. For photographs and the permission to publish my remarks I am very grateful to the curator in charge of the Raccolta Egizia, Dr. Anna Provenzali and to Sabrina Ceruti. The coffin was discussed by Luca Miatello at the Second Vatican Coffin Conference in June 2017 (“The regeneration of the body like the sun god in Pefitjauauiset’s coffin in Milan”), but I have not been able to access this presentation. For the bottom of the outer coffin, see [https://sketchfab.com/models/link “Milan”](https://sketchfab.com/models/link+Milan) (reference from C. Sheikholeslami). The complete coffin was published by Miatello (2018) already after the author’s submission of a study of the interior of the lid for publication in ZÄS. The Milan-coffin and most of the coffins or sarcophagi mentioned in the following text are already mentioned *passim* in the footnotes of the article “Stundengötter” (Soukiassian 1986: 103).

7 Sabrina Ceruti drew my attention to this article.

8 Soukiassian rightly translates “Sois éveillé, Osiris N”, Doll (1981a; 1981b) always as “Be thou vigilant, Osiris ...”, erroneously taking the conventional determinative  literally.

texts end with a designation of a kind of oil, putting the texts of the Hours of the Night into a ritual context. There are even more texts in this time-frame, e.g., from a tomb at Atfieh (Daressy 1902: 171–175), where the “gods and goddesses, who are in their hours” are asked to protect the dead.

The Hours of the Day and the Night are evoked only partly using the names known from the Ritual of the Hours: inscriptions in a tomb (just mentioned) or sarcophagi Cairo CG 29305 (Maspero 1914: 166–168, Pl. 14) and Cairo CG 29315 (Maspero and Gauthier 1939: 85–88, Pl. 26). Cairo CG 29305 has the goddesses standing (sun-disks and stars on their heads), one arm lowered in front of the body, the other raised with the *ankh*-sign; on Cairo CG 29315, they are standing with a *was*-sceptre in one hand and the *ankh*-sign raised in the other. On the inner vault of the *grsw*-coffin Cairo CG 41009 (Moret 1913: 120–121, Pl. 15) the Hours of the Day and the Night are mentioned without their names, but with the goddesses standing in adoration (sun-disks or stars on their heads) and with the text “giving protection to (NN).”<sup>9</sup> In the passage of the northern door of the eastern colonnade of the temple on Philae, standing goddesses of the night are shown without the numbering of the hours, only their names being added. Kockelmann and Winter see them as protective deities because of their position within a door-passage (Kockelmann and Winter 2016: No. 62, note 2). The same will be the case in the temple of Athribis.

Originally, hour names were written within three passages in the doorways of the central axis (Leitz, Mendel, and El-Masry 2010: I, XXVI–XXVII; XXX; XXXIV; II, 436, II, 476; III, 58, 117; Teotino 2017).

On the Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Panehemisis in Vienna ÄS 4 (Leitz 2011: § 22) ten hours of night belonging to the nether-world’s doors are represented with legends and additional figures of protective gods; two hours are lacking, although there is an empty space for them. The names of the doors and gods are mostly the same as on the coffin from Milan, but the sequence is inverted: at first the name of the door, then the one for the protective god. Both names for the Sixth Hour on Vienna ÄS 4 appear on Milan in the Seventh. Since the Seventh and Eight hours are missing from Vienna ÄS 4, there is no way of knowing which of the two is in error. There was no space left for the invocations like those on the Milan or Napatan sarcophagi. Nevertheless the same sort of ritual may stand behind all of them.

To conclude, it can be said that the names of the hours were very often used as a time frame without implying that the Rituals of the Hours of the Day or the Night were alluded to. As already underlined by Assmann (1986: 105–106), Soukiassian (1986: 102–103) and Teotino (2017: 473–480),<sup>10</sup> egyptologists should be careful to distinguish the different rituals based on an hourly frame.

Another ritual not yet mentioned here is the nightly Ritual for the Pro-

9 The First and Second Hours in the Day series were referred to mistakenly as being “of the night”.

10 This article was written before I could benefit from that of Carlo Teotino (2017). I am grateful to Alexandra von Lieven and Ken Griffin for bringing it to my attention. Teotino’s conclusions are very similar to mine.

tection of the King, published by Pries (2009). The mere presence of a phrase for protection does not imply a special ritual. The previously mentioned text from the Napatan sarcophagi (Soukiasian 1982: “veillées”) is not identical to the name-giving “Stundenwachen” (Junker 1910; Pries 2011). The pattern of hourly representations is quite different on the sarcophagus Cairo CG 29306 of *Č3(j)-hr.w-p3-t3* (Thirtieth Dynasty) (Maspero 1914: 238–239), the inner vault of its lid being inaccessible today, because of the lid being placed on wooden beams too short a distance above the trough. According to Maspero’s description there are male figures standing in adoration (four for the night, three for the day) and others who are squatting mummiform (eight and nine respectively). The standing male figures (day and night) have a sun-disk in place of their heads; the mummiform hours of the night have a star atop their heads and a sun-disk in front of their feet while the mummiform hours of the day have a sun-disk on their heads and a star in front of their feet. It seems that Maspero took all the squatting figures to be female. In the text, the nightly hours are called “hours”, the daily ones “gods”. There are similar figures on ceiling G of the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1954/I: Fig. 139; II: Pls 178–180).

Another version of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk on CG 29306 is written in the first upper register on the right wall of the sarcophagus cham-

ber of Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1954/II: Pls 113, 116; I: 332; 1953: 10, 32, texts IV.X, Pl. A; Roberson 2012: 442–446, Appendix 3, Pl. 8:21–22). Here the figures of the hours (only one series) are different: 12 standing women, their arms bent in front of their bodies and seeming to touch a star on top of the sign for “shadow”. Atop their heads they bear a sun-disk from which a trickle of dots runs down onto the hands of the woman behind. Their feet point in the opposite direction with regard to their faces, meaning that the hours are looking backwards towards the solar bark. In the CG 29306-version of the book, it is said that the “hours” (night) or “gods” (day) are leading the (sun)-god along the way of the west (night) in order to let him enter into his sun-disk (day). The representations and the texts differ in the details (see Roberson 2012: 59–63, 224–225<sup>11</sup>). The figures on the ceiling of corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI were compared by Manassa (2007/I: 397–403, 293–294) with those described by Maspero. However they belong with the so-called enigmatic texts studied by John C. Darnell (2004: 176–188, 212–223, Pls 21–24) and have no links to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The (male) figures having sun-disks as heads are described as gods protecting the hours; the female ones are goddesses depicted as representations of the hours being illuminated one by one and then covered by darkness after the sun-god has passed. Yet another recently uncovered text contains 12 invocations



11 On page 224 Roberson quotes the hours from the beginning of the text mistakenly, just as Piankoff did, as “hours of Re” (correctly without “Re” in the translation on page 442). The determinative  had been carelessly added by the ancient redactor after the determinative  to *wnw.wt*, interpreting it as *rʿ.w* “Re” as is often the case in copies of the Ritual for the Hours of the Day.

Table 2. Structure of the texts of hours on the coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

Hour	wnwt	Number	Name	rn=ś	wnwt pw	ḥ <sup>c</sup> =ś n	Hymn
First	[√]	[√]	[√] + addition	√	√	–	√ N
Second	√	√	Addition + √	–	√	√	√ N
Third	√	[√]	√	√	–	√	√ N
Fourth	√	√	√	√	–	√	√ N
Fifth	√	√	–	–	–	√	√
Sixth	√	√	√	√	–	√	√ TN
Seventh	√	√	[√]	√	–	√	√ TN
Eight	√	√	√ √	√	–	√	√ TN
Ninth	√	√	√	√	–	√	√ TN
Tenth	√	[√]	–	–	√	√	√ N
Elev-enth	√	[√}	√	–	√	–	√
Twelfth	√	[√]	√	–	√	√	√ N

Key:

[√] : element destroyed in this place,

– : missing element,

Hymn √ N: Hymn supposedly spoken by Nes(pa)qashuty,

Hymn √: Hymn without an agent,

Hymn √ TN: Hymn without an agent, but with good wishes for the deceased Nes(pa)qashuty at the end,

Hymn √: owner not mentioned in this hour's text.

to Osiris as a nocturnal sun-god (Quack 2012: 64–65). To sum up, representations of hours on late coffins and sarcophagi do not automatically refer to the Ritual of the Hours of the Day and the Night.

### Structure of texts of the Hours on the coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

There was much less space available for the text on the coffins as compared to the pillars of varying size in the tombs [for the text structure, see *Table 2*].

Principally, the diverse versions of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day from Late Period tombs reveal the following structure: *wnwt* (“Hour”) – running ordinal number of the hour – *njt hrww* (“of the day”) – name – *rn=s* (“is her name”) – *wnwt pw njt* ... (explanation “it is the hour of ...”) – *ḥc=s n* (“she (the hour) is standing up for” = “she is standing for”) – hymn. The hymn is introduced as being spoken by the tomb owner (or perhaps to be sung by him?). For the most part it ends with good wishes for the deceased.

The phrase *ḥc=s n* = “she is standing for” deserves a short comment. It means that the goddess of the hour is a representative of the divine person whom she

stands for. The same form is used, too, for serpents and other animals (von Lieven 2004: 156–159, 160–162). For Alexandra von Lieven, the god evoked in this form is made visible and efficient in the serpent or the animal in question.

In another hour-text on the coffin Milan E o.9.40147 (see above), the hour is sometimes called (when addressing Osiris): “body (ordinary number of the hour) of your son Horus”. Here “body” surely means “embodiment” (Soukiassian 1982: 343ff. “forme”). But the form *ḥc=s/f n* is not the only way to express a relation to a god, as the form “(animal) (god’s name) *pw*” expressing a complete identification and still “(animal) as *hpr.w* of (god’s name)” (von Lieven 2004: 160–162, taking *hpr.w* as “manifestation”) may also be used.

The data in *Table 2* do not suggest any reason for the individual deviations from the general scheme, especially for the names of the hours being left out in the Fifth and Tenth Hours, for using longer names in the First and Second Hours, or for having two names in the Eighth Hour (the second being introduced as a “variant”).

## REMARKS ON THE HYMNS

There are many alterations in the assignment of the hymns to hours. Differing hymns are indexed with the corresponding numbers of the hours [*Table 3:A*]. Even with the oldest version of the ritual known to us, the one of Hatshepsut, doubts exist as to whether the assignment of hymns to hours had not been disturbed long before in the course of the transmission of the ritual (the copyists did not

always recognise that a model text was written in a retrograde sequence of columns). For example, the Sixth Hour in the Hatshepsut version contains parts that belong, in later versions, to the Seventh Hour. It is not clear whether the mix is the result of different redactions (editions) or traditions from a time before or after Hatshepsut. It is evident that very early there was a divergence in the

Table 3. Affiliation of hymns to hours: A – hymns in the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic–Roman period, and B – hymns without change in affiliation to an hour (for the sigla referring to sources, see Table 1)

A – Affiliation of hymns to hours from the Eighteenth Dynasty through the Ptolemaic–Roman period							
Hour	Eighteenth Dynasty	Nineteenth Dynasty	Twentieth Dynasty	Twenty-first Dynasty	Twenty-fifth Dynasty	Twenty-sixth Dynasty	Ptolemaic–Roman period
4.1	H, Th				Kar	Pb, B, Sch,** Ps	E, D
4.2						Ne	
6.1	H,* Th					P, Ps, 7,1:Ne, 8:Pb	8:E, D
6.2					Kar	Pb, Sch**	E, D, Ar
7.1				N	Kar, M	Pb, Sch,** 6,1:Ne	E, D, Ar
7.2	H: 6,1					P, Ps	
7.3	H						
8.1	H					P, Ps, B	
8.2						Ne	
9.1					Kar	Pb, An	E, D, Ar
9.2	H, Th					P, Ps, B	
9.3						Ne	
11.1	H				10: Kar	P, Sch, Ps, B; 10: Pb, Ne	E, D, Ar
11.2					Kar	Pb, Sch, Ne	E, D
12.1	H	Nb	R	K**	A, Tb Af, Kar, Pad	Pb, P, Sch, Ps, B, Ne, Ta	E, D
12.2							E, D

\* The comment to the sixth hour is given within the seventh hour just before the hymn.

\*\* Sources K and Sch are still unpublished

B. Hymns without change in affiliation to an hour							
First	H	S, Nb	R		A, Kar	I, Pb, P, Ps, Ne	E, Ph, D, Ar
Second	H				Kar	Pb, P, Sch (2x), Ps, B, Ne, Pa	E, D, Ar, PStr2
Third					Kar	Pb, P, Sch, Ps, B, Ne	E, D
Fifth	H, Th				Kar	Pm, Pb, P, Ps, B, Ne	E, D
Tenth	H					P, Ps, B	



transmission of the hymns. This resulted in a varying assignment to hours, introduction of variants for the same hour, or placing a hymn into another hour. The mix of Sixth and Seventh Hours already existed in the ritual of Hatshepsut. Further displacements must have occurred during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty at the latest, but it is equally possible that they were already present in the time before Hatshepsut, as demonstrated by the three differing versions of the hymns for the Ninth Hour: 9,1 and 9,3 were not necessarily inventions of the Late Period.

*Table 3:B* shows the hours that, to date, do not show a change in their affiliation to an hour.

### Three new hymns on the coffin of Nes(pa)kashuty

The new hymn of the Fourth Hour is so badly preserved that, for the moment, no comment is possible. The one of the Eighth Hour is replete with puns of *h3y* “light”, “shine”, or *h3ytj* “the one who is shining”. The new hymn of the Ninth Hour presents the sun-god as a child of the cow Mehenet-Weret and as a lord of *hwt-bik*, well equipped with his heart, his feathers and his wings.

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