

**THE
SYMBOLISM OF THE EYE OF
HORUS
IN
THE PYRAMID TEXTS**

by

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Summary

The 5th and 6th Dynasty *Pyramid Texts* are the earliest extensive Egyptian religious texts from a royal mortuary context. This is our earliest evidence for the Eye of Horus; the aim of this study is to establish exactly what can be learned about its early usage as a symbol and to seek any hints about its origins.

The spells mentioning the Eye of Horus are grouped by theme in the sections in Part One (eg. offering spells, ascension spells); references to the eyes of the king and other divine eyes are included for comparative purposes. There is a translation and commentary for each text; the grammar and context are evaluated. The chapters in Part Two contain discussions of the Eye of Horus' symbolism in the thematic groups. The Eye of Horus is supreme as a ritual symbol for offerings presented to the king by his son, Horus. The powers that the king gains from the Eye are the restoration of his faculties, transfiguration to a blessed spirit (*3h*) and a god; these are the general aims of the whole mortuary scenario. The king is also involved in the mythical fate of the Eye of Horus, namely its injury and restoration, as part of his ascension and integration into the afterlife. The role of other divine eyes in the *PT* and the significance attached to the king's eyes suggest strongly that the symbolic singular Eye of a god could be a succinct and transferable expression of his power. The many cross-cultural parallels of the eye as a source of power support this origin of divine eye symbolism in Egypt. The royal stature of Horus suggests why his Eye, in particular, achieved such prominence.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ADAIK: *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe.* Glückstadt: Augustin.
- ÄA: *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- AEB: *Annual Egyptological Bibliography.*
- ÄF: *Ägyptologische Forschungen.*
- AnAe: *Analecta Aegyptiaca.* Copenhagen.
- AO: *Acta Orientalia.* Copenhagen.
- AnOr: *Analecta Orientalia.*
- ASAE: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.*
- ÄUAT: *Ägypten und Altes Testament,* Wiesbaden.
- BACE: *Bulletin of the Australian Congress of Egyptology.*
- BdE: *Bibliothèque d'Étude.* Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- BES: *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar.* New York.
- BiOr: *Bibliotheca Orientalis.* Leiden.
- BIAOC: *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*
- BIFAO: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.*
- BSFE: *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie.*
- CdE: *Chronique d'Égypte.*
- CRAIBL: *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année Académie des Inscription et Belles-Lettre.*
- DE: *Discussions in Egyptology.*
- EEF: *Egypt Exploration Fund.* London.
- GM: *Göttinger Miszellen.*
- GOF: *Göttinger Orientforschungen,* Wiesbaden.
- Hommages à Leclant: *Hommages à Jean Leclant.* (ed. C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal) BdE 106.
- JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JARCE: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
- JEA: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*

- JEOL: *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch Egyptisch Genootschap*. Leiden.
- JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- JSOR: *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*.
- JSSEA: *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*.
- LÄ: *Lexicon der Ägyptologie*, (ed. W. Helck, E. Otto and W. Westendorf) 7 vols, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972- .
- MÄS: *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien*. Berlin, München.
- MDAIK: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilungen Kairo*.
- MIFAO: *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français*.
- OBO: *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Or: *Orientalia, Nova Series*, Rom.
- PÄ: *Probleme der Ägyptologie*. Leiden : Brill.
- PMMA: *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition*, New York.
- PSBA: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
- RdE: *Revue d'Égyptologie*.
- SA : *Studia Aegyptiaca*, Budapest.
- SAK: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*.
- SAOC: *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- SHAW: *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.Hist. Kl.*
- Studien Westendorf: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens. Zu Ehren W.Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*. Göttingen: Hubert & Co.
- WB: *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Berlin.
- VIO: *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen*, Berlin.

YES 3: *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*. Yale Egyptological Studies
3. New Haven : Yale University Press.

ZÄS: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to establish what we can learn about the Eye of Horus from *The Pyramid Texts*¹ as clearly and conclusively as possible. As this is the earliest source material for the Eye, this will hopefully establish, if not the origins of the concept, at least its early usage as a symbol. The Eye of Horus was one of the most popular and enduring of Egyptian symbols. The rich symbolism, closely linked to that of the other divine eyes, is attested from a wide variety of contexts: a protective amulet, an offering symbol, a feature on coffins and stelae, a measure for grain, a heavenly body or the crown. There seems to have been no apparent need to justify these multiple uses with a consistent and unified theological explanation; at least none has been preserved. The coherence is to be found in the essential qualities of the symbol itself.

There have been many attempts to define a "symbol"; but Firth's analysis in particular provides a simple working hypothesis for the study of the Eye: "the essence of symbolism lies in the recognition of one thing as standing for (re-presenting) another, the relation between them normally being that of concrete to abstract, particular to general".² Firth also discusses the problems of studying a symbol which is a product of an alien culture and thought process, the origins of which are obscured from us. Indeed, Smith states "of the origins of symbols we can assert nothing",³ the initial generation of a symbol being an act of imaginative speculation which continues to develop new associations and meanings: "a dynamic process of thought, setting ideas in motion and keeping them in motion".⁴ This study also aims, if possible, to distinguish the essential, and possibly original, qualities of the symbol from the incidental. Firth goes on to state that a symbol can only be interpreted and not solved, suggesting the dangers of merely "translating" a symbol and therefore rendering it redundant. This kind of reductionism, seen sometimes with interpretations of the Eye of Horus as the moon or the crown, ignores the enigmatic and sacred qualities of a religious symbol. The transferral of an interpretation of the Eye of Horus from one text to a different context is a dangerous process, as the essential polyvalence of its symbolism means it can readily support new interpretations -

¹ Henceforth referred to as the *PT*.

² Firth 1973 p.15.

³ Smith 1952 p.13.

⁴ Firth 1973 p.73.

as Hornung states, the concept of a god was always "under construction"⁵ - but our theories may be merely adding to the ideas connected with the Eye, although possibly in a way of which the Egyptians would approve!

Egyptian religious thought can seem initially rather alien and contradictory, a situation which reflects our inability to comprehend their perspective of life, rather than any irrationality in their thinking. Frankfort's theory of "a multiplicity of approaches"⁶ has proved especially effective for analysing Egyptian religious thought. The Egyptians seem to have had many different interpretations for a phenomenon (eg. the sky which could be seen as a cow or Nut or a waterway etc.), which were not at all contradictory but complementary, each representing a different aspect of the perceived reality. Creative speculation on religious truths meant that there was no place for a fixed dogmatic interpretation. The outwardly traditional and conservative nature of Egyptian religion may suggest that religious ideas remained relatively unchanged over the centuries; but this would certainly not have been the case.⁷ Some of the most enduring royal and divine symbols are established very early on - as we can see from the early dynastic artistic evidence⁸ - but their roles and interpretations developed. A study of symbols such as the *dd* pillar or the *nh* shows how they can feature in linguistic, ritual and decorative contexts and, moreover, that their original forms are hard to define but suggest a more practical inspiration (eg. the *nh* might be a sandal strap or penis sheath⁹) rather than a mythical context. The Eye of Horus obviously takes its inspiration from the body (whether human or bird¹⁰) which is a common source for symbolism.¹¹ The Egyptian awareness of the body as "a corporation of individual parts each of which was, to some extent, endowed with a character and independent existence of other parts"¹² is illustrated in the anatomical lists equating different parts of the body with gods, and perhaps also in the unique perspective when representing the eternal qualities of the body in art.


⁵ Hornung 1983 p.256.

⁶ Frankfort 1948a p.4ff

⁷ eg. Silverman 1989 p.29-30, Anthes 1959 p.170.

⁸ Baines 1990.

⁹ eg. Baines 1975.

¹⁰ The relation of the Eye of Horus to the *wꜥꜣt* eye shape () is a subject for further study, the Eye of Horus being treated here in its role as a literary symbol only.

¹¹ Turner 1934 p.580.

¹² Walker 1992 p.87, see also Massart 1959.

Over the last century, there have been many works that have dealt with the Eye of Horus, and the debate on its fundamental symbolism and primary influences still continues. The discussion has initially focussed on the importance of cosmic or royal concepts, although later works have emphasised the more general association of the Eye with power. The main contributions to this debate will be summarized briefly below to place this study in perspective as any work on the Eye of Horus is inevitably building on and reacting to what has gone before. The scholars discussed below have not necessarily concentrated on the Eye in the *PT* specifically; but they have generally suggested that their theories are valid for the earliest evidence.

Junker's early works on the subject proved very influential over the following years. He proposed that there was a prehistoric sky-god who was termed *Wr* and who provided evidence for a primitive monotheism in Egypt. This deity was all-seeing and had the sun and moon as eyes.¹³ Junker saw Horus as this original "Lichtgott", and the Eye of Horus thus also had a primarily celestial role.¹⁴ He viewed the myths about the Eye of Horus as a symbolic struggle between light and darkness, namely the waxing and waning of the moon. Junker's theory was modified over the years, but his interpretation of the Eye remained constant. His methodology was, however, problematic - he used the *PT* to show that ideas seen in later times were already present in the Old Kingdom; but this involved many assumptions on the Eye's celestial symbolism in the *PT* based on later evidence rather than evaluating the texts independently.¹⁵

Junker's theory was supported by Kees, who states: "die Sagen über die beiden Gestirnauge des Himmelsgottes liegen schon in unseren ältesten Quellen, den Pyramidentexten".¹⁶ Reflecting his emphasis on cult topography, Kees discusses the Eye of Horus as part of his study of early religion and the Heliopolitan beliefs which he saw as manifested in the *PT*. He sees the mysterious changes in the moon as a great incentive to imagination, and they were consequently interpreted in mythical form as the Eye of Horus. A subsequent connection with the royal insignia led to a "Mythenknäuel" which is hard for us to

¹³ Junker's theory on the term *Wr* is discussed in Hornung 1983 p.188-189 with bibliographical references. His ideas on the Eye of Horus are expressed in Junker 1917 p.134ff, a study of the myth of Onuris, and Junker 1942, a study of the god *Mhnty-(n-)Irtj*. See also Junker 1941a p.16ff.

¹⁴ Junker 1917 p.142.

¹⁵ Junker 1917 p.136.

¹⁶ Kees 1941 p.241.

interpret. Kees assumes the presence of a developed myth of the Eye of Horus at an early date and thus collects scattered allusions to the Eye which he believes form a continuous narrative. This is an unwarranted assumption on the evidence of the *PT* and is again relying on later interpretations of the Eye for the basic premise of celestial symbolism.

Schott's major work on early Egyptian religion and "myth-formation" follows the argument that there were no myths before early dynastic times, and that there are traces of their development in the *PT*. Accordingly, as illustration of this point, he reconstructs a possible historical development of the Eye of Horus' symbolism, seeing it "als altes Symbol des Königtums mit der Krone verbunden und selbst die Krone, als Teil eines Weltgottes zur Sonne erhoben, als Sinnbild von Kostbarkeit und Opfer im Ritual trägt es seinen vormythischen Glanz durch die Mythenbildung".¹⁷ He agrees with Kees that this led to a "mythical muddle". Its development was primarily influenced by historical events, such as the unification, and by the mythologizing of ritual seen in the *PT*.

Jéquier considers the solar aspects of the *PT* in his work on Egyptian religion.¹⁸ He notes the problems of comparing the *PT* with Ptolemaic texts and considers that the construction of the texts with word-play also makes assessing the significance of the Eye of Horus harder. He reaches the following conclusion: "dans tous ces textes, le caractère solaire de l'oeil d'Horus apparaît de toute évidence; il personnifie ou bien l'astre lui-même, ou bien le dieu qui l'anime, ou encore une émanation divine qui permet d'envelopper d'autres êtres et de leur communiquer les propriétés divines".¹⁹ He saw no place for lunar imagery.

Bonnet, however, adhered to Junker's view in the entry on the Eye in his *Reallexikon*: "den Ausgangspunkt bildet die Vorstellungen, daß Sonne und Mond die Augen des Licht- und Himmelgottes, also Horusauge seien".²⁰ Junker's study, based primarily on Ptolemaic evidence, seems still to have been considered as providing a solution to the symbolism of the Eye, despite the work of Schott. Rudnitzky's major work on the Eye of Horus went some way to redressing the balance.²¹ He was a pupil of Schott and built on his views concerning myth

¹⁷ Schott 1945 p.77. his study of the Eye is found at p.71-80 although it is referred to throughout the work.

¹⁸ Jéquier 1946.

¹⁹ Jéquier 1946 p.42-43.

²⁰ Bonnet 1952 p.314.

²¹ Rudnitzky 1956.

and the function of the *PT* in the mortuary ritual.²² He studied the Eye of Horus in the offering spells of the *PT* and *The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus* which seems to date at least from the Middle Kingdom, if not earlier.²³ Rudnitzky's source material consisted therefore of one basic type of spell which spanned the Old and Middle Kingdoms; he eschewed later evidence as being outside the chronological sequence of development. Rudnitzky states his aim as follows: "die grundlegende Tatsache der Gleichnissetzung allein zu berücksichtigen, ihr Verhältnis zu Symbol und Mythe nicht zu erörtern, vielmehr für ihre Formen voraussetzungslose Bezeichnungen zu verwenden".²⁴ Thus he considered the *PT* objectively, not basing his studies on the possibilities of an Eye myth or the origins of the Eye, which he believed lost, but concentrating on its technical use as a symbol which provided a very useful study. In his conclusions he agrees with Schott's theory linking the Eye with the crown. He goes further to add the idea of an assurance of life after death, provided by the continuation of the kingship. This was symbolized by the Eye of Horus as a unified expression for a political concept, whereby the king functioned as a guarantee for the well-being of the state.²⁵

The proposed associations of the Eye of Horus with the kingship were continued in the works of Anthes, who made detailed studies of Egyptian theology and the development of myth, the existence of which he assumes for the *PT*.²⁶ Anthes' work on the Eye reflects his fundamental belief in the rational thought that lay behind the complex Egyptian religious images.²⁷ He saw the presentation of the Eye of Horus to the deceased king (in his role as Osiris) as a linking motif for the myths of Osiris' death and the conflict of Horus and Seth which are generally considered as having a separate origin. Anthes recognized the multiple approaches to theological issues seen in the *PT* and the flexibility of myth, but he also saw the Eye of Horus as fundamentally connected with the royal ideology, functioning in a complex relationship with the idea of a divine *ḏt* body and the uraeus: "the zet-serpent was the Uraeus

²² Schott considered the *PT* as spells to be read at the funeral of the king in conjunction with the performance of the associated rituals: see Schott 1950.

²³ Rudnitzky (1956 p.14) considered that the text went back to the Old Kingdom even though it contains the throne name of Sesostris I.

²⁴ Rudnitzky 1956 p.13.


²⁵ Rudnitzky 1956 p.54-56.

²⁶ Anthes' ideas on the Eye of Horus are developed in the following works: Anthes 1957 (he later rejected this viewpoint), Anthes 1959 (a major work on the theology of the *PT*), Anthes 1961a (where he also considers the Eye of Re) and Anthes 1962 (actually an earlier work on the connection between the Eye of Horus, the uraeus and the term *ḏt*). His views are summarized in Anthes 1961b.

²⁷ See the comments of Hornung (1983 p.238-239).

at the forehead of the king in reality while, in the myth of Horus and Seth, it was the third Eye of Horus".²⁸ He suggested further that the Eye of Re was an imitation of the concept that originated with the Eye of Horus, and that both subsequently came to be identified with the Morning Star.²⁹

Griffiths' study of the myth of Horus and Seth came to the conclusion that it had a historical, rather than a cosmological, origin and represented the unification of the land, with the subsequent union of Horus and Seth in the king. Support for his arguments included the symbolism of the Eye of Horus as the crown which was the focus of the gods' conflict.³⁰ He considered the astral associations as a secondary interpretation of the myth under the influence of Heliopolis.

The proposed references to the Eye of Horus as the moon were summarized by Derchain in his work on lunar symbolism. He notes the prominence of solar theology, but suggests that the moon is also present throughout the *PT* in more obscure references.³¹ This assumption that the references to the moon will be obscure or unclear is problematic, as it lays the way open for rather tenuous interpretations of the Eye of Horus in certain spells which often rely again on the assumption that it stems from a lunar myth. The celestial interpretations of the Eye were taken a step further by Westendorf in his study of bent representations of the course of the sun.³² He discusses the pairs of eyes seen on stelae as part of this topic, and the Eye of Horus' celestial origin forms part of this discussion of what is mostly later archaeological evidence. He considers astronomy as a major inspiration for Egyptian beliefs which were only subsequently connected with the kingship. Westendorf uses the shape of the *Wd3t* Eye () to propose that an ancient celestial panther goddess was the original owner of the celestial Eye who became Osiris, whose name he interprets as "the seat of the Eye".³³ However, the eye shape is certainly not linked with the Eye of Horus in the *PT* and was not exclusively used as a determinative for it in later texts. His panther-goddess theory has

²⁸ Anthes 1961b p.88 (detailed analysis in Anthes 1962).

²⁹ Anthes 1961b p.89.

³⁰ The major exposition of his ideas was Griffiths 1960, see p.120 for the Eye as the crown, with a summary on p.127. An earlier work, Griffiths 1958, also draws the same conclusions (see p.191).

³¹ Derchain 1962 p.19.

³² Westendorf 1966. His views are summarized in Westendorf 1980, the entry for the Eye of Horus in the *LÄ*, which puts the emphasis back on the cosmic aspects of its symbolism.

³³ Westendorf 1987.

generally not been accepted. The most recent work on the Eye of Horus and celestial symbolism is a study by Rolf Krauss on the astronomy of the *PT*. The publication was not available for discussion here, but he apparently posits a connection between the Eye of Horus and the planet Venus.³⁴

Troy's study of the imagery surrounding the queenship also makes reference to the Eye of Horus.³⁵ Her emphasis is firmly on gender roles and sexual symbolism, so she also sees the Eye in these terms, namely as the "daughter-mother eye" or the "uterine eye and phallic uraeus", the Eye seen as having the traditionally female generative powers. The association between divine eyes and goddesses seen in later texts is not attested in the *PT*, and Troy seems to be using examples from the *PT* primarily to back up her theories, not studying the Eye of Horus' role in these texts objectively.

Assmann's major works on myth have been the cause of much revised thinking on myth in the *PT* due to his assertion that the concept of myth, by his definition requiring certain narrative qualities, was not attested in Egypt before the Middle Kingdom. This obviously has had repercussions for study of the Eye of Horus, the present work being no exception; but Assmann himself has not published any detailed analysis of the Eye.³⁶ Tobin's recent work on the nature of Egyptian myth and religion similarly places the emphasis on the "symbolicity" of Egyptian religious thought and the importance of studying the evidence of the *PT* objectively. His study of the theme of conflict includes a discussion of the Eye of Horus which he sees as primarily "a source of physical and political power and a mythologization of royal strength".³⁷

Most recently, Roeder has begun to publish the results of his research into the Eye of Horus and the terms *shym* and *b3*, only one paper on the Eye in the *PT* having been available for discussion here, but he promises future works considering later evidence too.³⁸ Roeder uses a particular methodology based on the use of "models", "horizons" and "constellations" for the study of religious texts. He emphasizes that the Eye's function in one sphere (such as

³⁴ Krauss 1992.

³⁵ Troy 1986 p.40-43, also discusses the Eye of Re on p.30-31.

³⁶ Assmann 1984 does include a short discussion of the offering symbolism (p.118) and the conflict of Horus and Seth (p.162-170).

³⁷ Tobin 1993 p.101-102.

³⁸ Roeder 1994 p.37 n.4.

the kingship or the cosmos) should not be stressed in isolation, nor should the symbolism of the Eye be transferred from one spell to another. The textual material should be studied in the smallest possible units and using the Egyptian terms where possible. He then draws together horizons, such as “the Opening of the Eyes” and “the Opening of the Way”, linking ritual acts to other “sense horizons”, such as the theme of vanquishing foes in battle. He concludes that the Eye of Horus can function on many levels, in both cult and sense horizons. He connects the Eye specifically with various terms for divine power and also notes that it could be part of the formation of new constellations. He thus continues the current emphasis on the Eye of Horus as an expression of power and shows the possibilities for interpretation of specific ritual spells.

Many of the studies of the Eye of Horus are necessarily conditioned by the wider theme of the major work in which they appear, and this has often coloured the interpretations of its symbolism. The author's viewpoint on the subject of myth in the *PT* has also been crucial - many of the older works assumed that the Eye functioned as part of a conflict myth, an assumption that is now a dangerous starting point for analysis due to the discussion initiated by Assmann on the status of myth. Another danger is the use of later evidence to give meaning to a passage from the *PT* - the theories relating to celestial interpretations have often used this methodology. On the other hand, placing the emphasis on the kingship often ignores the fact that these are essentially royal texts, and royal concepts will naturally be emphasised here, regardless of any other connotations which the Eye of Horus may have had in wider religious thought. The role of the Eye of Horus in cult is usually interpreted as secondary to one of the other themes, but necessarily forms the basis of a study of the Eye alone (as in the works of Rudnitzky and Roeder). As Roeder also points out, the emphasis should be on the text and achieving objectivity in its study. Firth's study of symbols provides a useful summary of the methodology necessary to study a symbol as objectively as possible: starting with an operational definition,³⁹ one must observe what is said about a symbol, the contexts where it is used and the effects this produces. As well as a functional and structural inquiry, the symbol must also be related to the interests and aims of the society in which it appears.⁴⁰ This work hopes to achieve these aims and also to take the discussion of the Eye's symbolism further in

³⁹ Here, any reference to an Eye or Eyes of Horus.

⁴⁰ Firth 1973 p.74.

terms of its relationship to the other divine eyes, its essential qualities as a symbol and possible, though highly tentative, origins.

The starting point must be the source material. The original *PT* were collections of spells found in the inner chambers of the pyramids of the kings Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II.⁴¹ These pyramids are all located at Saqqara, as were several of the earlier 5th Dynasty pyramids which had no texts. The *PT* also occur in the pyramids of Pepi II's queens Neit, Wedjebten and Apouit (also at Saqqara), which was a departure from the previous kingly prerogative.⁴² Later versions appear in the tomb of Aba⁴³ and the mastaba of Sesostris-Ankh⁴⁴ and in various other private and royal burial contexts right down to the Late Period, many spells also being incorporated into the *CT* and *BD*.⁴⁵ This study is restricted to the 5th and 6th Dynasty sources, excluding later material, such as the texts of Aba, to provide a clean chronological break. The exact dates for the Old Kingdom are a matter of much debate; but an approximate date for these texts is c.2341-2140BC. Although the earliest corpus dates from the late 5th Dynasty, the material may well have earlier origins. There is also the possibility that changes in religious thought occurred in this period, reflected in editing processes or alterations in the selections of spells chosen. At present, the individual pyramids await a detailed analysis, although the work of Osing and, more recently, J.P. Allen on the pyramid of Unas is most illuminating in terms of the layout of the spells in relation to their content.⁴⁶ A quantitative analysis of the different themes has proved difficult, as the texts of Teti, Merenre and Pepi II are very fragmented or lost; but the recent work of Leclant has done much to restore this material.

The standard collection of the texts remains that of Sethe, whose system of numbering spells and paragraphs is still followed. Since Sethe's publication, many new spells have been discovered, requiring additions to his sequence in order to link the different versions of the

⁴¹ The texts of the pyramid of Unas were published and translated by Piankoff 1968 and those of Pepi II by Jéquier 1936. The texts of the other kings currently await a definitive publication - see Allen 1984 p.745-748 for a bibliography of the various articles published on their content.

⁴² See Jéquier 1928 and 1933 for publication of the queen's pyramids and texts.

⁴³ Aba was one of the elusive kings of the 7th / 8th Dynasties. His pyramid was also at Saqqara and is published by Jéquier 1935. His collection of *PT* contained new material as well as versions of existing spells.

⁴⁴ Hayes 1937.

⁴⁵ See Speleers 1934 and Allen 1950 for indices and cross-references for the *PT*. The Saite *PT* are currently being researched by Patrick de Smet.

⁴⁶ Osing 1986, Allen 1994.

same spell.⁴⁷ This has led to problems, such as the discrepancy of the systems of T.G. Allen, who compiled the extremely useful cross-indices, and Faulkner, who included much new material from Neit and most of Leclant's new additions in his translation. The best study of the current state of research into the *PT* is in J.P.Allen's grammatical study of the verb.⁴⁸ He prefers T.G. Allen's additional numbers and also revises many of Faulkner's suggested sequences of spells. Although J.P.Allen's work is most useful for the divisions and sequences of spells, Faulkner's translation remains the standard English version of the *PT*, and adopting Allen's system could thus create further confusion. In this work I have generally used Faulkner's numbers but have also indicated Allen's revisions (marked with an asterisk) - although cumbersome, this seems the most useful approach. Allen also uses later texts to restore fragmented spells - these have been clearly indicated, and reservations about their validity expressed where necessary.

The spells of the *PT* are for the use of the deceased king in his afterlife, a provision similar to the other items of tomb equipment that would have been secured in his burial chambers. Their origins must surely lie in the royal theology of the Old Kingdom and the beliefs that inspired the construction of the pyramids - Kemp sees them as "a systematizing of royal court culture" which may have eliminated earlier or localized traditions;⁴⁹ thus their relationship to any "popular" beliefs is unknown. The possibility always remains that the Eye of Horus had a wider currency as a symbol which, if known, may make its role in the *PT* more readily intelligible. The spells preserved in the *PT* have been divided into broad genres, such as "dramatic" spells or "magical" spells or *s3hw*, based largely on the work of Schott.⁵⁰ Differences can thus be observed between the obvious references to ritual which mention actions, equipment and participants, and spells which deal with the afterlife and the progress of the king amongst the gods. Some are incantations against dangerous creatures, while others could be termed "hymns" or "liturgies", suggesting a use for worship. These differences will naturally affect the role of the Eye of Horus, and the spell types are distinguished accordingly throughout this work. Each collection of the *PT* was unique - some sequences of spells and their locations are preserved; but each pyramid contains an element of new material, and an

⁴⁷ The new research by Leclant has followed the useful practice of numbering lines by room, wall and column of each pyramid.

⁴⁸ Allen 1984.

⁴⁹ Kemp 1989 p.37.

⁵⁰ See Schott 1945 p.28-51.

editing process has clearly taken place. It is generally agreed that master copies of the *PT* spells must have been maintained in a temple library, particularly in view of the reuse of these spells throughout Egyptian history.⁵¹ Thompson has made the plausible suggestion that a hieratic version was made from a central collection for each pyramid, given the textual variations that occurred.⁵² One can only speculate on the authors of the *PT* - most likely priests from the Memphite region, as that was the royal residence and capital, but perhaps connected specifically with Heliopolis, given the prominence of that town and its Ennead in the texts. These were clearly intended as royal texts, but that does not preclude the use of material from other contexts.

The Eye of Horus thus first appears to us in the context of ritual and mortuary texts. It features essentially as part of the process of "mythologizing ritual", termed "sakramentale Ausdeutung" by Assmann.⁵³ The reasons for the introduction of mythical images into the ritual texts (and presumably cult practice) has been suggested as due to the loss of religious significance of old rituals which needed reinterpreting to make them efficacious;⁵⁴ but the incorporation of a newly developing royal theology may also be a reason. It is also possible that the rituals developed accordingly. The basic aim of the process of mythologizing seems to fit with Whitehead's observation that "the object of symbolism is the enhancement of the importance of what is symbolized",⁵⁵ the enhancement being effected here by the magical power of words to transfigure the deceased king through the identification of the ritual and its participants with divine counterparts. This theme is at the heart of the symbolism of the Eye of Horus in the *PT* and is discussed further in the following chapters.

The initial task for a study of the Eye of Horus in the *PT* was to collect all the relevant material and to provide a translation and commentary which reflected the current state of research on the *PT*. For many passages there are several possible translations and their different implications need to be evaluated - Goedicke has demonstrated the problems inherent

⁵¹ eg. Allen 1976 studies the texts on the coffin of *Nfri* from El-Bershah (12th Dynasty) and discusses the evidence for a master copy for the texts of the king Wahkare-Akhtoy (p.28-29). In his discussion of the *PT*, Altenmüller concludes "daß einst in den Tempelbibliotheken des Alten Ägypten ein weit größeres Textkorpus von als *PT* verwandten Sprüchen aufbewahrt wurde" (1984 col.20).

⁵² Thompson 1990 p.20.

⁵³ Assmann 1977b p.15-25, discussed by Baines 1991 p.85ff. See also Altenmüller 1972 p.64-69, Otto 1958.

⁵⁴ Assmann 1977b p.16.

⁵⁵ Whitehead 1927 p.63.

in the interpretation of the *PT* material.⁵⁶ The texts have been divided into sections according to the major themes that recur throughout the *PT*. This makes it possible to analyse the use of the Eye of Horus in specific contexts and also to highlight the contrasts among the different types of spells discussed above. It soon became apparent that material referring to other divine eyes and the eyes of the king would also be very useful as a comparison, and it has therefore been included in Sections J and E respectively. The Eye of Horus has frequently been studied in isolation, although its role often has close similarities to other references to eyes in the *PT*, and it seems highly desirable to widen the discussion to include the theme of eye symbolism generally. Other major topics, such as myth, have also been dealt with in separate chapters to draw together some of the material collected in the different sections. From this detailed textual analysis, it is hoped that the major characteristics of the Eye of Horus as a symbol will emerge, in terms of the contexts where it was considered effective, the aims it was hoped to secure and the associations evoked by its presence in a text. It has been suggested in the past that the origins of the Eye are lost to us - certainly the lack of earlier evidence and the virtual impossibility of ever reaching a core explanation for a symbol renders all theories mere supposition. However, it is hoped that this re-evaluation of the evidence will, with all due reservations, provide food for thought about the idea or belief that generated this distinctive motif.

⁵⁶ Goedicke 1991.

PART ONE

THE SPELLS:

Translation and Commentary.

SECTION A: THE OFFERING RITUAL

Sethe's version of the *PT* combined the offering rituals from the pyramids of Unas and Pepi II located on the north wall of their burial chambers. Faulkner was able to include additional material from the pyramid of Neit but his numbering system has recently been revised in places by J.P.Allen (1984 p.627ff) and his suggestions are included here (Allen's spell and line numbers are indicated with an asterisk). The offering lists have been extensively analysed by Barta (1982b col.587 - 588, fuller discussion in Barta 1963) who has identified a Type A (90 "Stichworte", starting at §16) and Type B (19 "Stichworte", inserted in Type A).

Utts 11-22: spells from Pepi II dealing with the restoration of the body (13-15), the presentation of water (16-18) and the Opening of the Mouth ritual (20-22).

A1 UTT.16

§10a irt Hr mw nmst... The Eye of Horus, water - a *nmst* jar.

The *nmst* jar was used for purification - see also §1140a, 1164b. See Cour-Marty (1994) for a study of the food and drink measurements in these spells.

A2 UTT.20

§11a [*dd mdw h3*] NN. iw.n(.i) m zhn.k ink Hr

§11b *mdd.n(.i) n.k r.k ink z3.k mry.k wp.n(.i) n.k r.k*

§12a [*hn(.i) sw n mwt.f rm.s sw hn(.i) sw n zm3t r.f*]

§12b [*hn gw r.k mh3.n n.k r.k*] ir qsw.k

§12c *dd mdw zp 4 Wsir-N. wp(.i) n.k r.k m hph irt Hr hps l*

§11a [To be recited: O] NN., I have come in search of you for I am Horus.

§11b I have struck your mouth for you, I am your son, your beloved, and I have opened your mouth for you.

§12a [I proclaim him to his mother when she weeps for him, I proclaim him to her who was joined to him]

§12b [(*hn gw?*) your mouth, for I have balanced your mouth] to your bones [for you].

§12c To be recited 4 times: Osiris-NN., I open your mouth with the (*hph ?*) of the Eye of Horus. A foreleg.

This is a spell for the Ritual of Opening the Mouth. The officiant is the son, in the role of Horus, and his actions for the deceased are described. An offering formula is appended with

the common instruction to recite four times. A property of the Eye of Horus, the *hph*, is used as the implement for the opening of the mouth. The meaning of the word *hph* is unknown but it puns with the offering, see also §79c. The offering of a foreleg is also significant in this ritual (see Bonnet 1952 p.489) and in later times the slaughtering of an ox is mentioned. The shape of the foreleg is similar to that of the adze used to open the mouth (eg. §13). See further the discussion of this ritual in Chapter 1.

Utts 23-32: a sequence of spells for the initial purifications at the start of the offering ritual preserved in Pepi II, Unas having only 23, 25 & 32.


A3 UTT.25

Title (§1644) *p3d sntr*

- §17a *zi zi(w) hn̄ k3.f zi Hr hn̄ k3.f zi Stš hn̄ k3.f*
 §17b *zi Dhwtwy hn̄ k3.f zi Dwn-ḥnw̄ (?) hn̄ k3.f zi Wsir hn̄ k3.f*
 §17c *zi hnt-irtwy hn̄ k3.f zi.t(i) dd.k hn̄ k3.k*
 §18a *h3 NN. ʿ k3.k m-b3h.k h3 NN. ʿ k3.k m-ht.k*
 §18b *h3 NN. rd k3.k m-b3h.k h3 NN. rd k3.k m-ht.k*
 §18c *Wsir-NN. di.n(i) n.k irt Hr htm hr.k im.s*
 §18d *pdpd st irt Hr r.k dd mdw zp 4: sntr ht*

Title: a ball of incense.

- §17a The one-who-goes goes with his ka, Horus goes with his ka, Seth goes with his ka,
 §17b Thoth goes with his ka, *Dwn-ḥnw̄* goes with his ka, Osiris goes with his ka,
 §17c *Hnty-irtwy* goes with his ka, may you also go with your ka!
 §18a O NN., the arm of your ka is before you. O NN., the arm of your ka is behind you.
 §18b O NN., the leg of your ka is before you. O NN., the leg of your ka is behind you.
 §18c Osiris-NN., I have given the Eye of Horus to you. Provide your face with it
 §18d so the perfume of the Eye of Horus may engulf you. To be recited 4 times: incense and fire.

This was a very popular purification spell - it occurs three times in W. and twice in N. - presumably to accompany the placing of incense on the fire. The  in §17b could be interpreted as Horus or simply *ntr* "the god" but Gardiner 1950 p.9-10 suggests *Dwn-ḥnw̄* - the god of the 18th nome of Upper Egypt, who makes up the four cardinal points with Horus, Seth and Thoth (see also §28b, 1613b). After these assertions that the king will go with his ka, the Eye of Horus is presented as incense. The verb *pdpd* is a prospective *sḏm.f* - WB I, 571 has the meaning "anhaften" but Faulkner 1962 p.97 has "diffuse (of perfume)" for *pd*, of which this is a reduplication. Bonnet 1931 p.22 sees the smoke of the incense as embracing the king like his ka.

The sequence of Utts.26-29 occurs three times in N. after different sequences of offering spells.

A4 UTT.26

§19a *Hr im Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hr.k m irt Hr pdt.n.f m st.s*

Horus within Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus into your presence. Take the Eye of Horus which he expanded by means of its perfume.

The *pdt.n.f* is a *sdmw.n.f* relative form - the subject being presumably Horus. See Chapter 1 for the phrase *Hr im Wsir* .

A5 UTT.27

§19b *dd mdw: Wsir-NN. m irt Hr htm kw m st.s*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take the Eye of Horus and provide yourself with its perfume

Htm is taken as an imperative but there is also the possibility that this might be the first person *htm(.i)*.

A6 UTT.28

§19c *dd mdw: Wsir-NN. di.n n.k Hr irt.f htm n.k hr.k im.s*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., Horus has given his Eye to you - provide your face with it.

A7 UTT.29

(Title to Utts.29 & 598: §1644b *sntr wsrw*)

§20a *dd mdw: h3 NN. pw iw.n(.i) in.n(.i) n.k irt Hr*

§20b *htm.k hr.k im.s sw(b.s tw st.s ir.k*

§20c *st irt Hr r NN. pn idr.s rdw.k*

§20d *hw.s tw m-ꜥ 3gb n ꜥ n Stš*

§21a *h3 NN. pn nhꜥ n.k irt Hr wd3t hr.k irt Hr wd3t wd3.ti*

Title: Dried incense.




§20a To be recited: O NN., I have come and I have brought the Eye of Horus to you

§20b so you may provide your face with it and so it may purify you, its perfume being upon you.

§20c The perfume of the Eye of Horus is for this NN. so it may remove your sweat

§20d and so it may protect you from the flood(?) of the arm of Seth.


§21a O NN., may the sound Eye of Horus endure with you. The Eye of Horus is sound, you are sound!

A spell for the presentation of incense, identified once again with the Eye of Horus. For the verb in §20a N.342 has  but the other versions have . The verb *idr* shows the purifying powers of the perfume (cf. §1793d-e). For 3gb WB I,22 has “Wasserfülle, überschwemmen”. The determinative  suggests sweat, an impurity against which the incense can protect the king, although Mercer 1952b p.19 suggests “violence” and te Velde 1977 p.85 n.5 connects this with Osiris' death by drowning i.e. the gushing water of the arm of Seth. All instances of this verb *nḥḥ* are discussed in the appendix. The Eye is described as *wḏ3t*, intact and sound, and the king is to achieve the same condition through the purifying powers of the incense. This is emphasised through the association of the king with the Eye which is the symbol of the incense offering. The adjective *wḏ3t* is discussed in Chapter 11.

A8 UTT.30

§21b *ḏḏ mdw Ḥr im Wsir-NN. ḥtm.k m irt Ḥr m n.k s*

To be recited: Horus within Osiris-NN., provide yourself with the Eye of Horus, take it to yourself.

As Faulkner (1969 p.6 n.1) states,  cannot be “come” despite the determinative but surely the imperative “take”.

A9 UTT.31

§21c *ḏḏ mdw Wsir-NN. pn mḥ.n kw Ḥr m irt.f tm.ti*

To be recited: O Osiris-NN., Horus has filled you with his Eye, being entire.

The verb *mḥ.n* is an emphatic *sdm.n.f* stressing *m irt.f tm.ti*, the latter being an Old Perfective which could refer to the king (2nd person) or the Eye (3rd person, feminine). In Utt.198 clearly the king is the one qualified by this term. It has similar connotations of completeness and soundness as *wḏ3* (cf. §21a).

A10 UTT.32

§22a *qbḥw.k ipn Wsir qbḥw.k ipn h3 NN. prw ḥr z3.k prw ḥr Ḥr*

§22b *iw.n(.i) in.n(.i) n.k irt Ḥr qbw ib.k ḥr.s in.n(.i) n.k s ḥr kbwy.k*

§23a *m-n.k rdw pr(w) im.k n wrḏ ib.k ḥr.s*

§23b *ḏḏ mdw zp 4: m pr.ti n.k ḥrw qbḥw bd t3 2*

§22a This libation of yours, Osiris, this libation of yours, O NN., is the one which has gone forth with your son and which has gone forth with Horus.

- §22b I have come and I have brought the Eye of Horus so your heart may be refreshed possessing it. I have brought it to you under your sandals.
- §23a Take to yourself the efflux which has come forth from you. Your heart shall not be weary possessing it.
- §23b To be recited 4 times: take what comes forth for you (at?) the voice(?). A libation and two pellets of natron.

This spell is also very popular, occurring four times in W. and N. (usually with Utt.25 - see above). The king's son / Horus is described as pouring a libation for him. The presentation of the Eye of Horus may be linked with the two pellets of natron mentioned at the end of the spell. The reference to sandals could imply that the Eye is to be seen as a form of ancient odour-eater! The later version of the spell in *CT* 64 has the variant text *hwwt.k is hr tbtwy.k* (i, 275j). The bodily fluids (*rdw*) mentioned in §23a are often identified with a libation and thus full of life-restoring properties (cf. §24); *hr.s* presumably refers back to the Eye. The voice (*hrw*) seems one of authority - Mercer 1952b p.20 suggests that this could be an abbreviation for *m3C hrw* "justified". More significantly, the phrase recalls *prt-hrw* "invocation offerings" and may well denote the same ritual act. The offering to this spell varies, presumably according to the requirements of the different ritual situations. The other versions are as follows:

- W.32a *dit qbhw mht* "Give cold water from the Delta marshes"
- W.346a *rdit qbhw* "Give cold water"
- N.260 *di qbhw mhd* "Give cold water from the Delta marshes" (𓆎 in error - see Faulkner 1969 p.6).

Utts 33-38: spells from Unas (who omits 33) and Pepi II for the ritual purification before the offering meal. These include libation (33) and the Opening of the Mouth (37-38). This is the start of the Type B offering list.

A11 UTT.36

- §28a *ntr.k ntr Hr ntr.k ntr Stš ntr.k ntr Dhwtj*
- §28b *ntr.k ntr Dwn-ꜥ nwy(?) ntr.k ntr k3.k ntr.k ntr ntr.k*
- §28c *ntr.k dd.t pn im(y)t snw.k ntrw*
- §29a *ntr.k tp r.k sw(b.k qsw.k tmiw htm.k ir(y)t.k*
- §29b *Wsir di.n(.i) n.k irt Hr htm hr.k im.s pdpd(w)*
- §29c *sntj t3w I*

- §28a Your censuring is the censuring of Horus, your censuring is the censuring of Seth, your censuring is the censuring of Thoth,

- §28b Your censuring is the censuring of *Dwn-Ḳnw*, your censuring is the censuring of your ka, your censuring is the censuring of your god.
- §28c This your own censuring is among your brothers, the gods.
- §29a Your censuring is upon your mouth so you may purify all of your bones and so you may provide what belongs to you.
- §29b Osiris, I have given the Eye of Horus to you so that you may provide your face with it, it being engulfed.
- §29c 1 pellet of incense.

See Utt.25 for the list of gods mentioned. The same form of repetition is used here to assure the king of a good censuring. The desired effects of the censuring are described in §29a and the offering of the Eye is appended again. The verb *pdpd(w)* is a participle referring back to *hr*.

Utt. 39-57: these spells also refer to the Opening of the Mouth ritual (37-43) and a small ritual meal (44-57). These spells form the Type B offering list. See Altenmüller 1967 for a discussion of an offering hymn (CT 607) that has replacement text for some of these spells.

A12 UTT.39

- §31a *W. m-n.k irt Ḳr zt.f r.s in.n(.i) n.k s (w)d(.i) n.k s m r.k*
- §31b *zrw ṢmḲw zrw T3-mḥw*

- §31a W., take to yourself the Eye of Horus for which he has gone. I have brought it to you so I may place it in your mouth.
- §31b *Zrw* of Upper Egypt and *zrw* of Lower Egypt.

The “he” in the *sgmw.f* relative form *zt.f* could be Horus but the intentions are not clear. The offering of *zrw* could be a form of incense or natron. *WB* III,463,5 has “Weihrauchkörner” and the placing in the mouth suggests natron which was chewed for purification (cf. Utt.109).

A13 UTT.43

- §33a *m irtwy Ḳr kmt ḥḡt iḡ n.k sn r mḥnt.k shḡ.sn ḥr.k*
- §33b *h3ts ḥḡ h3ts km f3it* (W.)
- mnw ḥḡ h3ts irt imnt mnw km h3ts irt i3bt* (N.)

- §33a Take the two Eyes of Horus, the black and the white one. Take them for yourself to your face so they may illuminate your face.
- §33b A white *h3ts* jar and a black *h3ts* jar, raise up. (W.)
A *h3ts* jar of white *mnw* stone, the right Eye. A *h3ts* jar of black *mnw* stone, the left Eye. (N.)

The phrase *irtwy Hr kmt ḥḏt* is the only instance of a "black" Eye in the *PT* (see Chapter 11). It is possible that the Eyes of Horus simply correspond to the colour and number of the offerings here, thus enhancing the comparison between offering and mythical object, but this utterance has also been interpreted in other ways. For example, Kees (1943 p.423) sees this as a reference to the moon when it is darkened. In the later texts the reference to the eyes is linked with the Night and Day barks and also Shu and Tefnut (*CT* vi 220). One can compare also Utts. 69 & 70 for the idea of illumination (*ḥḏ.sn*). This could well be a reference to the sun and moon but also the offering jars could be seen as reflecting light onto the face as they are raised. Barta 1963 p.81 sees a connection with the Opening of the Eyes in this mention of illumination (see Chapter 5).

A14 UTT.46

§35b *ḏd mdw zp 4 ḥtp di nsw n k3 n NN. Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr*

§35c *p3t.k wnm.k p3t nt wdn } (W.)*

..... *wnm.k p3t wḏ3t } (N.)*

§35b To be recited 4 times: a boon which the king gives to the ka of NN. Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus.

§35c Your *p3t* cake so you may eat - the *p3t* cake of the offering .} (W.)

..... so you may eat - the whole *p3t* cake. } (N.)

The *ḥtp di nswt* formula is used - Barta (1968 p.282) suggests that the presentation of the Eye of Horus could be seen as a mythological equivalent of this formula which is extremely common in private tombs of the period. They are both expressions for the same basic act of giving but a further connection is hard to ascertain. The best interpretation for *wnm.k* is a prospective *sḏm.f*. Rudnitzky (1956 p.59 n.61) discusses the problems if this is interpreted as a *sḏm(w).f* relative form. The Eye and the *p3t* cake are placed in apposition (cf. Utts.123, 201).

A15 UTT.47

§36a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ḥpt m-ḥ Stš (i)tt.k ir r.k*

§36b *wppt.k r.k im.s irp mnw ḥḏ h3ts I*

§36a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus freed from Seth which you may take to your mouth

§36b and with which you may open your mouth. Wine, a *h3ts* jar of white *mnw* stone.

See *WB* II,449 for *hpt* - “befreien von”. This offering spell uses the phrasing from the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, compare also *Utt.48* where the king is instructed to open his mouth with *mḥt im.k* (§36b) which may also be a reference to the eye (see Rudnitzky 1956 p.43 for his interpretation).

A16 UTT.51

§38a *NN. m-n.k irt Ḥr dpit.k dpt I*

NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which you may taste. A *dpt* cake.

The Eye to be tasted could literally denote the cake or refer to the acquisition of power from “tasting” the powerful mythical symbol - see Ritner (1989 p.109) and discussion in Chapter 2. A *dpt* cake is also the offering in *Utt.115* where the text refers instead to the king's eye being set in place.

A17 UTT.53

§38c *NN. m-n.k irt Ḥr zhnt.k zḥn I*

NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which you seek. Kidney suet.

Here *zhnt.k* is taken as a *sdmw.f* relative form, another possibility is prospective *sdm.f* (*zḥn.t(i).k* “so you may be sought”) and the verb *zḥn* could have the meaning “embrace”. The deceased is envisaged as seeking the Eye himself. For the offering of *zḥn* see Gardiner (1947b p.253-4) where “kidney suet” is suggested by Dawson.

A18 UTT.54

§39a *NN. m-n.k irt Ḥr hpt m-ḫ Stš nhmt n.k wp r.k im.s*

§39b *irp mnw ḥd ḥnt I } (W.)*

hnqt mnw ḥd ḥnt I } (N.)

§39a *NN.*, take to yourself the Eye of Horus freed from Seth which was rescued for you.
Open your mouth with it.

§39b Wine, a *ḥnt* cup of white *mnw* stone } (W.)

Beer, a *ḥnt* cup of white *mnw* stone } (N.)

As in *Utt.47*, this spell refers to the opening of the mouth - *wp* punning with *irp* but not with the alternative offering of *hnqt*. W. and N. differ on the offering drink but not the vessel.

A19 UTT.56

§40a *NN. m-n.k irt Hr nhmt n.k n bi3.n.s ir.k hnqt bi3t hnt I*

NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which was rescued for you. It will not be distant from you. Beer, a *hnt* cup of *bi3* metal.

The term *bi3* is the subject of a study by Graefe 1971 (he discusses this spell on p.9) where he interprets this as meteoric iron but the significance of this word is still not totally clear. See further Aufrère (1991 p.431-7).

A20 UTT.57

§40b *NN. m-n.k irt Hr htm tw im.s hnqt htm hnt I*

NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Provide yourself with it. Beer, a *hnt* cup of *htm* material.

Utts.58 - 71; these spells occur in Pepi II (minus Utt.70) and in Neit (minus Utt.63). The offerings are all items of insignia.

A21 UTT.58

§41a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ib3t.n.f im.tn im.s db3 I*


Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus with which he has danced. A *db3* garment.

The king also dances in §80. Faulkner (1969 p.14 n.1) suggests that *im.tn* was inserted in error. *WB V*, 560.8 describes the *db3* garment as a kilt with a short tail. Grimm (1990) connects *db3* and *s(i)3t* as costume elements of the pharaoh.

A22 UTT.59

§41b *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i.sns33 s s(i)3t I*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Make (yourself) know it!
A *s(i)3t* garment.

i.sns33 is the imperative of a causative verb, clearly related to *s3i* "be wise". Grimm (1990) also discusses the *s(i)3t* garment - compare §2044a  where it is fringed. It is depicted here as a bird carrying the sun disc. In Neit this utterance is followed by a repetition of Utt.652 (Nt.304) with the offering of a *hbzt* tail.



A23 UTT.60

§42a *[.....] sww.k hr irt Hr*

§42b *srs ntr (?)*

§42a [.....] upon the Eye of Horus.

§42b Divine six-weave cloth.

Nt.305 (Faulkner 1969 (*Suppl.*) p.4) has a completely different main text (which does not mention the Eye) and Allen numbers this as Utt.*60A. The text from N. is unparalleled elsewhere. The word  in §42a remains a mystery. Edel (1955 p.169) suggests  is an ideographic writing for the word "six", clearly connected with a type of cloth.

A series of spells for different kinds of sceptres:

A24 UTT.62

§43a *Wsir-NN m-n.k mw im irt Hr m sfh.k im.s*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the water in the Eye of Horus. Do not let go of it.

This shares an offering with Utt.62A. The pronoun *s* refers to the Eye - see Chapter 11 for a discussion of the water in the Eye.

A25 UTT.62a

§43b *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr m3t.n Dhwti mw imw.s mdw-Hrs db3 ...*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus in which Thoth has seen the water.

A *Hrs* sceptre and a *db3* sceptre.

Hassan (1976 p.7) calls the first sceptre a *mdw-Hr* sceptre, a form of the *mdw*-sceptre, but Faulkner (1969 p.14) has a *hrs* sceptre. The former transliteration has the advantage of providing a pun with *mw*. The repeated references to water in these sceptre offering spells are otherwise obscure.

A26 UTT.66

§46a *Wsir-NN. snht n.k irt Hr hr.k ht-sht*

Osiris-NN., make the Eye of Horus strong for yourself before you. A *ht-sht* sceptre.

Utt. 67 probably follows on :

§46b *Wsir-NN. m nhrhrw hr.k (w)d(.i) n.k sw m t.k ndsdsw.sn iwnw hr.s*

Osiris-NN., do not let your face be blind (?) for I place it in your hand for you, that which they *ndsds* (?). A *iwnw hrs* sceptre.

The *s* seems to refer to the Eye of Horus.

A27 UTT.68

- §47a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k mw imw irt Hr h3 NN. pw*
§47b *mḥ n.k ʿ.k m mdw-Ḥrs ḥtm ṯw m mdw-Ḥrs*
§47c *ḥtm.f ṯw m nṯr im.k (s)ḥḥ im.f*
§47d *z3 im.k sfḥḥw im.f mdw-Ḥrs*

- §47a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the water in the Eye of Horus, O NN.
§47b Fill your hand with the *mdw-Ḥrs* sceptre, provide yourself with the *mdw-Ḥrs* sceptre
§47c so it may equip you as a god, do not let go of it!
§47d Beware lest you let go of it! A *mdw-Ḥrs* sceptre.

This utterance is placed between Utts.62 and 63 in later versions (Aba, Wahkare-Akhtoy). It seems to be made up of two parts: §47a and §47b-d. See Utt. 62a for the mention of water as a pun on the *mdw* sceptre. The pronoun *f* refers to the sceptre and possession of the correct insignia consequently means the king can become a god. The phrase *im.k (s)ḥḥ im.k* is a negative imperative (see Edel 1964 p.575), see Edel also (1964 p.579) for *z3 im.k*, a method of negation.

A28 UTT.69

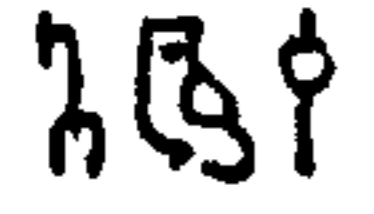
- §48a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k ḏbʿ Stš sm33 irt Hr ḥdt sm3*
Osiris-NN., take to yourself the finger of Seth which causes the white Eye of Horus to see. A *sm3* staff.

I have taken *sm33* as an active participle. The finger of Seth unusually stands for the offering of a sceptre here. This passage has been interpreted in several ways: Griffiths (1960 p.4) sees this passage as an example of “Seth's beneficent influence” on the Eye i.e. as a giver of light. B.Altenmüller (1977 col.220-1) sees Seth's finger as “eine Keule” here (and in *CT* vii 61i). Rudnitzky (1956 p.48) sees the finger as a sculptor's tool, and te Velde (1977 p.49 n.3) discusses Seth's finger as the bolt of the naos or a phallus which emits fire. The finger was an enabler in ritual (it could be used in the opening of the mouth) and this seems a possible interpretation here, recalling the opening of the eyes with the mention of a white or illuminated Eye (*ḥdt*).

A29 UTT.70

- §48b *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ḥdt ḥdt ṯp ḏbʿ Stš ḏm*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the white Eye of Horus which is illuminated upon the finger of Seth. A fine gold mace.

I have taken *shdt* as passive participle. Compare Utt.69 for Seth's finger as an enabler in illuminating the Eye. For *dʿm* Faulkner (1969 p.16) has “two lumps of electrum” but N.303 has  so Nt.317 seems corrupt.

A30 UTT.*71A (Faulkner's 71A-71E)

- *§49a *Wsir-NN. ndr n.k ʿf ʿ n hft.k dʿm*
- *§49b *Wsir-NN. m w3.f m- ʿ.k w3s*
- *§49c *Wsir-NN. dsr.ti dsr.ti hr db ʿwy.f*
- *§49d *Wsir-NN. ʿnh.ti ʿnh.ti*
- *§49e *Wsir-NNt. m-n.k irt Hr nh3t m ʿ msw.f nh3*
- *§49f *Wsir-NN. m-n.k ʿ n Nbt-hwt hwt rd.s sw ir.sn*

- *§49a Osiris-NN., seize his hand, the hand of your enemy. A *dʿm* sceptre.
- *§49b Osiris-NN., do not let him be far from you. A *w3s* sceptre.
- *§49c Osiris-NN., be holy, be holy upon his fingers. A forked staff.
- *§49d Osiris-NN., live, live! A pendant.
- *§49e Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which hung from the hand(s) of his children. A flail.
- *§49f Osiris-NN., take to yourself the hand of Nephthys, prevent lest she places it upon them. A crook.

Allen's *71A consists of Faulkner's 71A-71E (§49 - 49+5) which he treats as a unity. This composite spell illustrates some of the other types of offering symbolism which are discussed in Chapter 1. This is the only mention of the four children of Horus in the *PT* connected with the Eye of Horus.

A31 UTT.*71D (Faulkner's 57A-I)

- *§49u *in n(.i) irtwy Hr m b(w) hr.n.sn im iwnt.wy hrts*
- *§49v *m sn rd.ty n.k d.n.f sn r t3 rd nw-rd*
- *§49w *Wsir-[[NN. pn]] in.n(.i) n.k irtwy Hr iwnt.wy*
- *§49x *[[in(.i) pdt ib]] stš d(.i) n. [[k pdt]] ib Stš pdt.wy*
- *§49y *[[d.n(.i) sn n]] .k*
- *§49z *[[i ʿb n.k s]] n ndr n.k sn*

- *§49u Bring the two Eyes of Horus in the place in which they spoke. 2 *iwnt* bows, arrows.
- *§49v Take them, what is given to you. he has placed them on the ground. Bowstrings.
- *§49w Osiris-NN., I have brought to you the two Eyes of Horus. 2 *iwnt* bows.
- *§49x I bring what expands the heart of Seth, I give to you what expands the heart of Seth. 2 *pdt* bows.

*§49y I have given them to you

*§49z unite them to yourself, seize them to yourself.

Allen's Utt.*71D consists of Faulkner's 57A-I (§40+1- 40+9) which are preserved in Nt.283-291 and in N.306+15-23. A fuller version survives in CT vii 61w-y, 62bb-dd. The two eyes of Horus match the dual offering of two bows (the offerings are fragmented in Nt.283-291 so the quantities are unknown). The unspecified "they" who spoke are most probably the gods. Lines §49x-z are restored with the CT .

Utts 72-78: the presentation of the seven sacred oils, included in Unas, Pepi II and Neith. This is the resumption of the Type A Offering List. These spells are also found in CT 934 where all of the accompanying texts refer to the Eye of Horus - clearly editing has taken place. The presentation of eye-paint and cloths follows (Utts.79-81).

A32 UTT.74

§51a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i.sfkkt.nf hr.s sft*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus on account of which he (*sfkk?*). *Sft* oil.

The relative form *i.sfkkt.nf* can be interpreted in two ways. WB IV,118,5 has "jem. bestrafen", in which case the pronoun *f* refers to Seth. Faulkner suggests "suffer" (1969 p18 n.1) in which case *f* is Horus.

A33 UTT.75

§51b *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr šnmt.nf nšnm*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he has protected. *Nšnm* oil.

A34 UTT.76

§51c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr int.nf ntrw im.s tw3wt*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus by means of which he has brought the gods. *Tw3wt* oil.

N. inserts *tw3t.nf* after *int.nf* - "by means of which he has brought and sustained the gods".

A35 UTT.78

§54a *Wsir-W. in.n(i) n.k irt Hr itt.nf r h3t.k h3ft thnw*

Osiris-W., I have brought the Eye of Horus to you which he has taken to your forehead. First class *thnw* oil.

The *f* in the relative form *itt.n.f* is presumably Horus. For *h3tt thnw* and the other sacred oils see Gardiner (1947a p.116*).

A36 UTT.79

§54b *f3 hft hr.f*

§54c *dd mdw zp 4 : Wsir-NN. sdm(.i) n.k irt Hr wd3t r hr.k*

§54d *w3dw (msdmt)*

§54b Raise before his face. (Title)

§54c To be recited 4 times: Osiris-NN., I paint for you the sound Eye of Horus onto your face

§54d 1 bag of green eye-paint; (1 bag of black eye-paint).

The direction in §54b covers Utts.79 & 80. N. omits *zp 4* in §54c. The verb *sdm(.i)* refers to the ritual act of applying the eye-paint. The phrase *irt Hr wd3t* puns on the offering *w3dw*. The Eye of Horus has a double symbolism here as the offering of eye paint and as the object that is painted. The versions differ on the offering which covers both utterances: *msdmt* belongs after §55d in N. This offering of eye-paint is discussed by Troy (1994 p.352) who notes that it could be connected with a ritual slaughter.

A37 UTT.80

§55a *dd mdw: Hr im(y) Wsir-NN. pn m-n.k irt Hr wd3t*

§55b *Hr im(y) Wsir-NN. pn sdm(.i) n.k s ir hr.k*

§55c *sdm.n Hr irt.f wd3t*

§55d *h3 NN. pw sdmi(.i) n.k irt.k r hr.k wd3.t(i) m3.k im.sn (msdmt)*

§55a To be recited: O Horus who is in Osiris-NN., take to yourself the sound Eye of Horus.

§55b O Horus who is in Osiris-NN., I paint it for you on your face

§55c for Horus has painted his sound Eye.

§55d O NN., I have attached your eye to your face for you, it being sound, so you may see with them. (A bag of black eye paint).

The deceased is twice referred to as *Hr im Wsir* - the use of this phrase is discussed by Rudnitzky (1956 p.39, see Chapter 1). Horus is seen as restoring his Eye by painting it on (*sdm*). *WB* iv, 370 has two separate entries for *sdm* (.3) and *sdmi* (.12) , as does Faulkner (1962 p.257), but the verbs are obviously closely related in meaning. Troy (1994 p.358) sees the offering of black eye-paint as a pun on the means of attachment, in contrast to the green





eye-paint which invokes the idea of health. Therefore, these two offerings are consecutive functions and not parallel actions. *Wd3.t(i)* is an Old Perfective which must refer back to the Eye, placed for emphasis. There is also a change to a plural pronoun in the last line with *im.sn* - the king is to see with both eyes.

A38 UTT.81

§56a *rs.t m htp rs T3it m htp rs T3itt m htp*
 §56b *irt Hr im(y)t Dp m htp rs irt Hr im(y)t hwt-Nt m htp*
 §56c *šzpt i.irwt (?) shkrt Wr-ꜥ*
 §57a *di.t ksi t3wy n NN. pn i.mr ksw.sn n Hr*
 §57b *di.t nrw t3wy n NN. pn i.mr nrw.sn n Stš*
 §57c *hms.t hft NN. pn m ntr.f wp.t w3t.f hnt 3hw*
 §57d *h.f hnt 3hw Inpw is hnt imntyw*
 §57e *r h3t r h3t hr Wsir wnhw 2 } W.*
wnhw.wyf Hr hft hr.f } Nt.

§56a May you awake in peace! May Tait awake in peace! May She-who-is-in-Tait awake in peace!
 §56b [May] the Eye of Horus in Dep [awake] in peace! [May] the Eye of Horus in the Mansions of the Red Crown [awake] in peace!
 §56c which assumes powers (?) and who adorns the Great One of the . }
 which the weavers made and the *Wr-ꜥ* produced. }
 §57a May you cause the Two Lands to bow down for this N., like they bow down for Horus.
 §57b May you cause the Two Lands to fear this NN., like they fear Seth.
 §57c May you sit in front of this NN. as his god so you may open his way at the head of the akhs
 §57d so that he may arise at the head of the akhs like Anubis at the head of the Westerners.
 §57e To the forehead, to the forehead, before Osiris. 2 cloths. } W.
 Horus' two cloths, before his face. } N.

This spell is located after the presentation of unguents and is followed in W., N. and Nt. by purifications spells (Utts.25, 31/ 32) before the presentation of the ritual meal. The spell is addressed throughout to a female deity and the initial invocation is to Tait who was the goddess of weaving and also a weaving town - the word is discussed further in Chapter 3 in terms of its use with the Eye of Horus in cloth or garment spells. The word *T3itt* possibly denotes "she who is in Tait" and is mentioned in El-Saadly (1994 p.213). It also occurs in *CT* vi,221 and vi,411 where the word seems to be an adjective qualifying the Eye. Faulkner (1969 p.19) restores 𓆎 at the start of §56b, interpreting this as a further invocation to the Eye, but Rudnitzky (1956 p.51) keeps to the original text where there may be some confusion at this

point. N. and Nt. have  after *m htp*. Dep was a very ancient Delta town. This utterance has special connections with Lower Egypt. Jelinkova (1950 p.327-8) discusses the *hwt Nt* and states this was connected with the wardrobe of the king of Lower Egypt (his ref. Junker, *Giza* V,13-14) and not the same as the temple of Sais, thus in the 3rd Dynasty and in the *PT* this could be “la représentation symbolique des domaines royaux”. The Eye of Horus is also connected with the *Hwt-Nt* in *CT* 205 (iii, 145) and 660 (vi, 286). In §56c the relative form *šzpt* agrees with *t* i.e. Tait / the Eye. *I.irwt* seems to be a feminine plural participle - Faulkner (1969 p.19) suggests “the Working Women”, Mercer (1952b p.36-7) takes it as a gentile plural “those who belong to (the Weaving City)”. The determinative  (in N.328 only) is interpreted as a weaving woman by Junker (1938 p.212) but it may also be , the strength determinative (F3 in Gardiner's sign list). I have taken *shkrt* as an active participle with *Wr-ε* as the object - the determinative in N. () suggests some kind of carrying chair (see Faulkner 1969 p.146, Utt.438 n.2). See also Sethe (1935d p.44) discussing §811a. The *t* in §57a shows it is a continued address to a female deity which again may refer to Tait or the Eye of Horus. They are both clearly functioning in the same way in the mythologizing of the presentation of the offering. In Utt.622 §1755 the Eye of Horus is presented as cloth and has very similar effects for the king - see Chapter 3. The most likely interpretation for *ksiw.sn* is a noun (see Faulkner 1962 p.287). Edel (1955 p.240) takes this as a *sdmw.f* but Allen (1984 p.452) sees this as an infinitive. The meaning seems clear anyway.

The offering of two cloths could be napkins (Faulkner's suggestion, 1969 p.19) or possibly some form of adornment (cf. Faulkner 1962 p.63). Hornung (1983 p.35-7) discusses the two streamers found on royal headgear and also seen in a determinative for *nfr*, but apart from them there does not seem to be any form of insignia that consists of two strips of cloth. Rudnitzky (1956 p.51) suggests pieces of clothing or serviettes, cf. *WB* i 324.3 “zwei Zeugstreifen, die dem Toten als Gabe dargebracht werden”. This is also born out by Jéquier (1921 p.121) who sees the word *wnhw* as indicating something more general than “napkin”, best translated as “cloth” or “linen” (“linge”). Nt. has a slightly different offering which connects the cloths with Horus and mentions their application to the face.

Utts 82-96: the ritual meal in the Type A offering list.

A39 UTT.82

§58b *dd mdw Dhwty in(w) sw hr.s h3t*
dd mdw pr.n.f hr irt Hr di pr-hrw

To be recited: Thoth is the one who brings him(self), carrying it. An offering table.
To be recited: he has gone forth bearing the Eye of Horus. (Give invocation offerings.N.only)

Rudnitzky (1956 p.41) analyses the *htp* meal as an original part of the successor ritual and in the *RDP* Thoth presents it to Horus. The *s* refers to the offering table envisaged as the Eye of Horus. W. has *h3t* as the final offering and omits it in the middle.

A40 UTT.83

§58c *di n.f irt Hr htp.f hr.s i mi hr htp nsw*

Give the Eye of Horus to him so he may be satisfied on account of it. O come bearing a royal offering!

A41 UTT.84

§59a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr htpt.n.f hr.s htp nsw 2*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus on account of which he was satisfied. 2 royal offerings.

A42 UTT.85

§59b (Title to Utts.85-92) *w3h r t3 h3t*

§59c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr htp hr.s htp wsht 2*

§59b Place on the ground- an offering table.

§59c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Be satisfied with it. 2 hall offerings.

See Gardiner (1947b p.208*) for *Wsht*, the "Broad Hall".

A43 UTT.86

§59d *dd mdw shm n.k s hr.k hms igr prt-hrw nsw*

To be recited: Make it come back to you. Sit down now- the king's invocation offering.

This spell ends the introductory rituals of the Type A offering list. The object of the imperative *shm* is the pronoun *s* which refers to the Eye of Horus mentioned in the previous spell. There is a pun between the two imperatives *shm* and *hms*.

A44 UTT.87

§60a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i(b) n.k s ir r.k i(r) l*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Unite it to your mouth. 1 morning meal.

This is the start of the presentation of a short ritual breakfast - see Barta (1963 p.48 n.5) for a fuller version of the offering as *šns dwiw i(w-r3* "das Frühstück".

A45 UTT.88

§60b *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ḥw n.k t(i).f s twt I*
Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Protect lest he tramples it. A *twt* loaf.

The imperative *ḥw* contrasts with Utt.111 §73a where Seth's actions are in the past tense.

A46 UTT.89

§60c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr iht.n.f rth I*
Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he pulled out. A *rth* loaf.

Seth is the subject of *ih̄t.n.f*, a *sḏmw.n.f* relative form, referring to his wounding of the Eye. This is a stock phrase used with several offerings (Utts.112, 124, 141).

A47 UTT.90

§61a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr nḏs wnm̄t.n Stš im.s dšrt I*
Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Little is that which Seth has eaten of it.
A jar of strong ale.

I have taken *nḏs* as an adjective (following Faulkner 1969 p.21). This is a sentence with adjectival predicate in the form adjective + subject (the relative form here). This utterance has been interpreted in a variety of ways, the problem being the lack of a feminine ending on *nḏs*. For example, Helck (1971 p.90) has "Nimm dir das Horusauge, das verkleinert (*nḏs*) wurde, da Seth von ihm gegessen hat". Eating (*wnm̄*) the Eye is discussed in Chapter 2.

A48 UTT.91

§61b *Wsir-NN., m-n.k irt Hr ih̄h̄mt.n.sn r.f ḥnms I*
Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which they have (*ih̄h̄m?*) from him.
A jar of *ḥnms* beer.

(cf. Utt.147). The meaning of *ih̄h̄mt.n.sn*, a *sḏmw.n.f* relative form, is uncertain. It may be related to *ih̄m*, "extinguish, annul" (Faulkner guesses "reft", 1969 p.21). It is not clear to whom *sn* refers, Rudnitzky (1956 p.44) suggests a robber band of Seth's people.

A49 UTT.92

§61c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr f3(i) n.k s ir hr.k f3(i)t t hnt*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Raise it to your face. The raising of a hnt bowl of bread.

The verb *f3(i)* is either an imperative or possibly *f3.(i)*. Here the raising of the mythical Eye to the face (to restore it?) is identified with the raising of a bowl of bread. This spell is unusual in having a direction as well as an offering. (See Schott 1945 p.32 n.2)

A50 UTT.93

§62a *f3i hr.k Wsir f3i hr.k h3 NN. pw z(w) 3h.f*

§62b *f3i hr.k NN. pw w3š spd*

§62c *m3.k n prt im.k hs sht(w) im*

§63a *ili kw NN. wp.k r.k m irt Hr*

§63b *dwi.k k3.k Wsir is hw.f kw m-t dnd nb ni tm*

§63c *NN. šzp n.k t.k pn im irt Hr*

§62a Raise your face, Osiris, raise your face, O N. whose akh goes.




§62b Raise your face, O W., be strong and alert

§62c so you may look at what has come forth from you - excrement which was moulded therein.

§63a Wash yourself, N., so you may open your mouth with the Eye of Horus

§63b so you may call upon your ka, namely Osiris, so he may protect you from all wrath of the dead.

§63c W., take this bread of yours which is / by means of the Eye of Horus

The version in N. has an initial *f3it hft hr.k*, suggesting an offering is being presented to the king as in A49. The king, who is described as someone whose akh-form is on the move (*z(w)*), is told to look up and to look lively (by the imperatives *w3š* and *spd*). He is to witness that all excrement (*hs*) has been removed from his body, followed by a reference to purification by washing (*ili*) - W. has  cf. N. . This washing was a preliminary to the opening of the mouth, for which the Eye of Horus could be a symbol of the instrument used - the aims of the ritual are discussed further in Chapter 2. The results of this are that the king can summon (*dwi.k*, prospective *sdm.f*) Osiris, his ka or divine essence, for protection. N. has  "the ignorant" instead of *tm* but the dead seem more likely here, given Osiris' role as their leader. The final line refers to the offering of bread which is termed *im irt Hr*: Faulkner (1969 p.21 n.2) takes this as *imy* of equivalence, whereby the Eye of Horus would be equated with the

bread. Another possibility is that the king can now take his bread by means of the Eye, referring back to its role in the opening of the mouth. N. has the following direction at the end: *w3ḥ r t3 m b3ḥ.f*.

A51 UTT.94

(Title: *di šbw* Give food offerings)

§64b *ḏd mdw h3 Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr nšbšbt.n.k ḥr.s šns I*


To be recited: O Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus on account of which you have (*nšbšb* ?). A *šns* loaf.

This is the start of the *šbw* meal. The *sḏmw.n.f* relative form *nšbšbt.n.k* puns on the offering and the title. The suggestions for the meaning of this verb include the following: Faulkner (1969 p.22) has “with which you have refreshed(?) yourself” based on *WB* II,338,20 “sich laben an (*ḥr*)” ; Rudnitzky (1956 p.43) has “gelabt (?)” which he sees as referring to the earthly life of the deceased. Utt.117 also has an offering of a *šns* loaf but with a different text: the king is to take “what should be on you” (*tpi.k*, §75a).

A52 UTT.96

§64d *Wsir-NN. m-n.k (i)swtyt(?) irt Hr swt I*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the representative of the Eye of Horus. A *swt* -joint.

See Faulkner (1962 p.30) for  *iswt(y)* ; in his translation, Faulkner (1969 p.22 n.1) has *(i)sw t(w)t* “the full equivalent of” but compare also *WB* IV,60 *swtyt* “vollen Ersatz”. This seems to be an explicit statement of the symbolism between the Eye and the offering. The meat offered to the deceased is the representative of the Eye of Horus presented to Osiris. These implications are discussed in Chapter 1.

Utts 97-107: Pepi II inserts these spells into the Type A offering list at this point. Additionally,

Utts.26-29 and 598 are inserted between Utts.105B and 106.

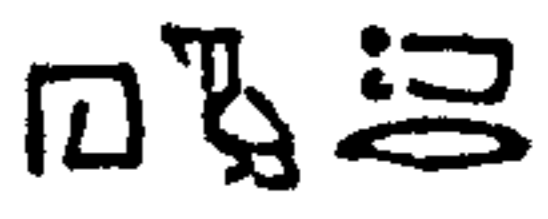
A53 UTT.97

§65a Title to Utts.97-99 : *(w)dr (f i3b*


§65b *ḏd mdw Wsir-NN. irt tn tw n(y)t Hr dbḥt.n.f m-t Stš*

§65a Place at his left hand.

§65b To be recited: Osiris-NN., this is this Eye of Horus which he demanded from Seth.

Utterances 97-99 are linked by a common title and offering. The offering is  *h3tr* which is an unknown item (possible related words include *h3ts*, a jar, or *WB II,482* has *h3tt* “art Gebäck”). It could well be some kind of food as it occurs in a list of food offerings. For the construction *irt tn tw n(y)t Hr* see also Utts.598 and 757.

A54 UTT.98

§65c *dd mdw Wsir-NN. rdi.n n.k Hr irt.f m C .k*
 To be recited: Osiris-NN., Horus has placed his Eye in your hand.
 is surely an error for *rdi*.

A55 UTT.99

§66a *dd mdw Wsir-NN. h3 di.n(.i) n.k irt Hr di n(.i) C .k di(.i) n.k s*
 To be recited: O Osiris-NN., I have given to you the Eye of Horus. Give me your hand so I may give it to you.

A56 UTT.101

§67c *dd mdw Wsir-NN. iw.n ndt kw irt Hr....*
 To be recited: Osiris-NN., she who protects you has come. Take the Eye of Horus...

The active participle *ndt* may refer to the Eye or to any of the goddesses that take a maternal, protective role towards the king. This is part of a sequence of Utts.100-2 with a lost postscript.

A57 UTT.*105A

*§68i *iw.n(.i) rth(.i) tw hw(.i) mh.k*
 *§68j *Ws[ir.....*
 *§68k *.....] NN. pw iw ndt kw.....*
 *§68l *.....] NN. pw di.n[.....irt Hr nhh.s] n.k hr.k*
 *§68m *Wsir di.n[.....irt] Hr hr.k [nhh].s n.k hr.k hr.k*

*§68i I have come so I may restrain(?) you and so I may protect lest you fill / drown(?)
 *§68j Osiris....
 *§68kO NN., she who protects you.....
 *§68lO NN., [I] have given [the Eye of Horus to you] so it may endure with you.
 *§68m Osiris, [I] have given [to you the Eye] of Horus so it may endure with you, with you!!

The only version of this spell is N.392+4-9 and it has been renumbered by Allen (1984 p.672). The references to the Eye of Horus are all restorations. The phrases with *nḥḥ* are discussed in the appendix. §*68k is clearly similar to §67c.

A58 UTT.106

Title: §1644c *iwnt*

§69a *ḏd mdw h3 NN. pw ink z3.k ink Ḥr*

§69b *iw.n(.i) in.n(.i) n.k irtwy Ḥr n(y)t ḏt.f*

§69c *ndr sn iwn n.k sn*

§70a *[i]ḥb.n(.i) n.k sn dmd.n(.i) n.k sn tm(t)y*

*§70b *[[wd.n]] sn Ḥr tp rdwy NN. pn*

*§70c *sšm.sn NN. [[p]]n [[r qbḥw ḥr Ḥr r pt <ḥr> ntr]] 3*

*§70d *[[nd.sn]] NN. pn m ḥftyw.f nb*

Title: A *iwnt* bow.

§69a To be recited: O NN., I am your son, I am Horus.

§69b I have come and I have brought to you the two eyes of Horus which belong to his body.

§69c -Take them and join them to yourself -

*§70a Completely have I assembled them to you and completely have I joined them to you.

*§70b Horus [[has placed]] them upon the feet of this NN.

*§70c so they may guide this NN. [[to the firmament with Horus, to the sky with the great god]].

§70d [[and so they may protect]] this NN. from his enemies.

Allen (1984 p.672) restores the version in N. with texts from Wahkare-Akhtoy and *CT* vii 61z-dd. He also renumbers Faulkner's §70b and §71a as *§70b-d. The presentation of two eyes is also seen in Utt.71D with the offerings of two bows - Allen's version has a singular eye. The eyes are stressed as being of Horus' *ḏt* body - the king is then told to join them to himself - *WB* i,53 has "vereinigen, sich gesellen" for *iwn*. This is also termed as *iḥb* and *dmd*, emphatic *sḏm.n.f* forms, stressing *tm(t)y*. This could be an adverb or Old Perfective agreeing with *sn*. Possession of the eyes means guidance (*sšm*) and protection (*nd*). Faulkner (1969 p.23) interprets this spell as the presentation of sandals, presumably due to the mention of feet. Jacq (1989 p.109) also sees the spell as entirely dedicated to the identification of sandals with the Eye of Horus.

A59 UTT.107

*§71a *[[Ḥr im Ws]]ir NN. in.n(.i) n.k irtwy Ḥr pḏt ib.f*

*§71b *iḥb [[n.k sn ndr n.k sn*

*§71c *Wsir-NN. pn in.n(.i) n.k irtwy Ḥr pḏt ib.f*

- *§71d *iʿb n.k sn ndr n.k sn*
- *§71e *h3 NN. ink Hr*
- *§71f *iw.n(i) in.n(i) n.k irtwy Hr pdt ib.f*
- *§71g *iʿb.n(i) n.k sn ndr n.k s<n>]]*

- *§71a [[O Horus in Osiris]] NN., I have brought the Eyes of Horus to you which expand his heart.
- *§71b Unite [[them to yourself, seize them to yourself.
- *§71c O Osiris-NN., I have brought the Eyes of Horus to you which expand his heart.
- *§71d Unite them to yourself, seize them to yourself.
- *§71e O NN., I am Horus.
- *§71f I have come and I have brought to you the Eyes of Horus which expand his heart.
- *§71g Unite them to yourself, seize them to yourself.]]

This spell is found in N.408-409+[3] and Nt.292, both versions being very fragmented. Allen (1984 p.673) has restored the spell with texts from Wahkare-Akhtoy and the CT vii 58c-f, 62a-g. Only the reference to the Eyes of Horus in *§71a is preserved in Nt., all others are later restorations. This can be compared with Utt.*71D (*§49w-z).

Utts 108-171: the Type A offering list continues here with initial purifications followed by the Great Meal. The sequence is preserved in W., N., Nt. and Wd.

Utt.108 may refer to the Eye of Horus with an unspecified pronoun:

§72a *Wsir-NN. iʿb n.k mw im.s* Osiris-NN., unite to yourself the water in it.

A60 UTT.109

§72c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr bdt r.f*
 §72d *bd 2*

§72c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which purifies his mouth.
 §72d 2 bowls of natron

The active participle *bdt* (WB 1,486 “mit *bd*-Natron reinigen”) shows that the Eye is being used as natron here which is chewed to purify the mouth.

A61 UTT.110

§72e *gd mdw Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr iʿb n.k s r r.k*
 §72f *iʿ-r 2*

§72e To be recited: Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus, unite it to your mouth.
 §72f 2 morning meals.

See Utt.87.

A62 UTT.111

§73a *dd mdw Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr tit Stš*
§73b *tw*

§73a To be recited: Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which Seth trampled.
§73b A *tw* loaf.
See Utt.88.

A63 UTT.112

§73c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr iht.n.f*
§73d *rth 1*

§73c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he pulled out.
§73d A *rth* loaf.
See Utts.89, 124, 141.

A64 UTT.116

§74e *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hw p3z.f hr.s*
§74f *pzn 4*

§74e Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Protect lest he suffers on account of it.
§74f 4 *pzn* loaves.

WB I,499,2 has “leiden, ohnmächtig werden” for *p3z so f* refers to Horus who is threatened with damage to his Eye.

A65 UTT.119

§76a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hnf.n.f*
§76b *hnfw 4*

§76a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he has (*hnf* ?).
§76b 4 *hnfw* cakes.

See Utts.159, 188. There are many suggestions for the meaning of the verb *hnf* - Faulkner (1969 p.25) proposes “baked” connecting the verb with *hnfy* “fire”; Allen (1984 p.560) suggests it could be *hn* “carry off, take” (cf. §95a-c, 736); Mercer (1952b p.46) suggests a connection with *h3nf* (*WB* III,291 & 231).

A66 UTT.120

§76c *Wsir-W. m-n.k irt Hr m shbnbn s*

§76d *hbnnt 4*

§76c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Do not cause it to (*hbnbn* ?).

§76d 4 *hbnnt* cakes.

Faulkner (1969 p.30 n.1) suggests that the verb *shbnbn* derives from *wbn* and translates “spring up”. *WB* III,63,14 has a verb *hbnbn* (*hr*) “dem Boden rutschen (von den Hofleuten vor dem König)” from which Mercer (1952b p.46) derives his translation “cause it to be respected”. Baines (1970 p.392) relates *shbnbn* to the verb *hbrbr* and sees it as a noun rather than a verb.

A67 UTT.121

§77a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr iht.n.f*

§77b *qmḥ 4*

§77a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he pulled out.

§77b 4 *qmḥ* loaves

See Utt.89 (which has a different offering).

A68 UTT.122

§77c *Wsir-NN. m irt Hr (w)dt(.i) n.k m r.k*

§77d *idt 4*

§77c Osiris-NN., take the Eye of Horus which I place in your mouth for you.

§77d 4 *idt* cakes.

N. has the fuller version *m-n.k irt Hr*. Rudnitzky (1956 p.43) suggests that the king is being fed with the offering in this spell.

A69 UTT.123

§78a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr p3t.k wnm.k*

§78b *p3t 4*

§78a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus - your *p3t* cake so you may eat.

§78b 4 *p3t* cakes

See Utts.43, 201.



A70 UTT.124

§78c *W*sir-NN. *m-n.k irt Hr iht.n.f*

§78d *3šrt*

§78c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he pulled out.

§78d Roast meat.

See Utts.89, 112, 121, 141. The versions differ slightly on the offering:  (W.) and  (T.). See Verhoeven (1984 p.21f) on *3šrt*. Compare also Utt.131 which has the same offering but a different text (the king is to take *isš3w.k*).

A71 UTT.126

§79c *W*sir-W. *m hph irt Hr*

§79d *hps I*

§79c Osiris-W., take the (*hph?*) of the Eye of Horus.

§79d 1 foreleg.

See Utt.20 where the king's mouth is opened with the *hph* of the Eye with the same offering.

A72 UTT.128

§80c *W*sir-NN. *m-n.k irt Hr [zhnt.k]*

§80d *zhn I*

§80c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus [which you seek].

§80d Kidney suet.

See Utt.53.

A73 UTT.129

§81a *W*sir-NN. *m-n.k (i)swtyt irt Hr*

§81b *swt I*

§81a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the representative of the Eye of Horus.

§81b A *swt* joint.

See Utt.96.



A74 UTT.132

§82c *W*sir-NN. *m-n.k irt Hr i.z3.k ir.s*

§82d *m(i)zt*

§82c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. May you betake yourself to it.

§82d A liver.

See Faulkner (1962 p.207) for the verb z3. The determinative in §82d is  (W.) and  (N.). This may be the same offering as Utt.144 but the determinative suggests otherwise.

A75 UTT.133

§83a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr šmt.f ir.s*

§83b *nnšm l*

§83a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus to which he goes.

§83b A spleen.

A76 UTT.134

§83c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr (i)m(y)t-ḥ3t.f*

§83d *ḥᶜ*

§83c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which is on his brow.

§83d A piece of ḥᶜ meat.

This compares with Utt.135 where the Eye is on Seth's brow, although *f* could denote Horus here. Otto (1975d col.563) states “als Symbole für ein Opfer (Kronen?) aus den Köpfen des Horus und Seth an den toten König gegeben werden sollen” but see discussion in Chapter 3. Rudnitzky (1956 p.50) suggests this phrase refers to insignia but avoids being more specific.

A77 UTT.135

§84a *Wsir-NN. m irt Hr im(y)t-ḥ3t Stš*

§84b *iwf-ḥ3t l*

§84a Osiris-NN., take the Eye of Horus which is on the brow of Seth.

§84b 1 meat of the forepart.

See Utt.134.

A78 UTT.138

§85c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr mz3t.n.f*

§85d *zt l*

§85c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he brought.

§85d 1 pintail duck.

A79 UTT.140

§86c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hw mn.f s*

§86d *mnwt l*

§86c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Protect lest he suffers from it.

§86d A pigeon.

The subject of *mn.f* is Horus.

A80 UTT.141

§86e *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr iht.n.f*

§86f *t zif l*

§86e Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he pulled out.

§86f A *zif* loaf.

See Utts. 89, 112, 124. Barta (1963 p.49) translates *t zif* as “ein Gebäck”.

A81 UTT.142

§87a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr n ṣ̌(w).s ir.k*

§87b *ṣ̌t 2*

§87a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. It shall not be cut off from you.

§87b 2 *ṣ̌t* cakes.

The phrase *n ṣ̌(w).s* is a negated passive *sdmw.f* which puns with the offering, an assertion that the Eye will not be removed from the king as it was from Horus.

A82 UTT.143

§87c *Wsir-NN. i.s(i)p n.k irt Hr*

§87d *np3t 2*

§87c Osiris-NN., assign yourself the Eye of Horus

§87d 2 *np3t* cakes.

Compare Utts.170, 195. The verb *i.s(i)p* is either an imperative or possibly passive *sdm(w).f* - the most likely interpretation is *sip* “allot, assign” i.e. a variation on *m-n.k* which puns on the offering and which has proprietorial connotations.




A83 UTT.144

§88a *Wsir-NN. m irt Hr szwnt.n.f mw im.s(w)*

§88b *mzt 2*

§88a Osiris-NN., take the Eye of Horus in which he has caused the water to perish.

§88b *2 mzt cakes.*

Faulkner (1962 p217) has “perish” for *zwn* but he takes this as “squeezed out” (1969 p.144). See also Utts. 62, 62A and 68 for the idea of water in the Eye. Schott (1945 p.105) interprets the phrase thus: “aus welche Horus das Wasser schüttete”, the Eye being seen as a crown fallen from the head of the drowned god. For *im.s* W. has , an old form of the suffix. The offering for Utt 132 is ; here the determinative  and the position in a list of bread offerings suggests it must be a form of cake.

A84 UTT.145

§88c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr nds wnm̄t.n Stš im.s*

§88d *dšrt 2*

§88c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Little is that which Seth has eaten of it.

§88d *2 strong ales.*

See Utt.90.

A85 UTT.146

§89a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr iw.sn i.sšnwn(w) (?) im.s*

§89b *i3tt dšrt 2*

§89a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus so they may come (*i.sšnwn* ?) by means of it.

§89b *2 cups of sacred milk.*

The best interpretation for *i.sšnwn(w)* is an Old Perfective agreeing with *sn*. The meaning is obscure - Allen (1984 p.73) suggests “rounded out (in the belly)” - see also the discussion on the magical connotations of the verb *šn* under Utt.220. For *i3tt* see Gardiner's S.40 (1957 p.509) “milk, cream”. *WB* V,616 has “ein zubereits Milch” for *dšrt* but it is surely just an adjective here. There are other offerings of milk in Utts.41 and 42 where the offerings are called the breasts of Horus and Isis.

A86 UTT.147

§89c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ihhmt.n.sn ir.f*

§89d *hnms 2*

§89c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which they have (*ihhm?*) from him.

§89d 2 cups of *hnms* beer.

See Utt.91.

Utt.153 (§92a *Wsir-NN. wp r.k im.s* “Osiris-NN., open your mouth with it”) may also refer to the Eye of Horus but the pronoun has no antecedent.

A87 UTT.154

§92c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr bšt.n.sn hw ʿm.f s*

§92d *ʿbš 2 } (W.)*

irp ʿbš 2 } (T.)

§92c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which they spat out. Protect lest he swallows it.

§92d (Wine,) 2 *ʿbš* jars.

The subject of the *bšt.n.sn* relative form could be the followers of Seth if a hostile meaning is intended - see the discussion of spitting and swallowing the Eye in Chapter 2. The subject of *ʿm.f* is undoubtedly Seth.

A88 UTT.155

§93a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k hwnt im(y)t irt Hr wp r.k im.s*

§93b *imt 2 } (W.)*

irp imt 2 } (T.)

§93a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the pupil which is in the Eye of Horus. Open your mouth with it.

§93b (Wine,) 2 *imt* jars.

The word *hwnt* is translated here as “pupil(?)” but literally means “maiden” (see Chapter 11). Referring to something “in” the Eye gives rise to the word play *imyt...imt*. Briggs (1952 p.46) suggests “Fancy may glimpse a Lady in the Moon” but nothing suggests a connection with the moon here. There is another allusion to opening the mouth with the Eye of Horus.

A89 UTT.156

§93c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i.h3mt.n.f wp r.k im.s*

§93d *h3(mw) 2*

§93c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he has fished. Open your mouth with it.

§93d 2 cups of *h3(mw)* wine.

The *sdmw.n.f* relative form *i.h3mt.n.f* puns with the offering but does not make much literal sense unless it was an allusion to a conflict in water, being fished up and rescued or possibly the Eye at Seth's mercy. For the offering *h3(mw)* compare also §106b.

A90 UTT.157

§94a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr n snw.s ir.k*

§94b *(irp) snw 2*

§94a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. It is not separate from you.

§94b 2 cups of *snw* wine.

WB IV,157 has “sich trennen von jem.” for *snw*. Faulkner (1969 p.30) suggests “loosened”. Edel (1955 p.52) identifies the offering as “Wein von Pelusium”.

A91 UTT.158

§94c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hbnbn.s*

§94d *hbnnt 2*

§94c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus when it (*hbnbn* ?).

§94d 2 *hbnnt* cakes.

See Utts.120, 187. *Hbnbn.s* is the circumstantial or possibly prospective *sdm.f* form of the verb in §76c where it has a causative form.

A92 UTT.159

§95a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hnft.n.f*

§95b *hnfw 2*

§95a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he has (*hnf* ?).

§95b 2 *hnfw* cakes.

See Utts.119, 188.

A93 UTT. 160

§95c *Wsir-NN., m-n.k irt Hr šdt.n.f m-ꜥ Stš*

§95d *išd 2*

§95c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he rescued from Seth.

§95d 2 bowls of *išd* fruit.

A94 UTT. 161

§96a *Wsir-NN, m-n.k irt Hr ḥdt ḥw sšd.f s*

§96b *sšt ḥd(t) 2*

§96a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the white Eye of Horus. Prevent lest he wears it.

§96b 2 bowls of white *sšt* fruit.

See also Utt.189. The colour of the Eye corresponds to the colour of the fruit offering which would presumably increase the effectiveness of the symbolism (see Chapter 11). The verb *sšd.f* denotes the wearing of the *sšd* band to which the uraeus could be attached (see Barta 1984c p.7-8) thus this could be an allusion to the Eye as the uraeus which Seth may wear in triumph. Rudnitzky (1956 p.45) suggests that the colour also recalls the green and white bands worn as insignia and Griffiths (1960 p.121) sees it as an allusion to the crown.

A95 UTT.162

§96c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr w3dt ḥw sšd.f s*

§96d *sšt w3dt 2*

§96c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the green Eye of Horus. Prevent lest he wears it.

§96d 2 bowls of green *sšt* fruit.

See Utt.162. The colour *w3dt* could mean that the Eye is "green" or possibly in "fresh" condition, corresponding to the fruit offering.

A96 UTT. 163

§97a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ḥw zḥz.f s*

§97b *zt ʕgt 2*

§97a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Protect lest he rips it out.

§97b 2 bowls of prepared wheat.

See *WB* III,472.9 for the verb *zhz* which has “ausreissen”. Firchow (1953 p.223) suggests an additional connection in meaning as the corn has been treated with blows and the Eye has been “geschlagene”. For *gt* see *WB* I,235.5 - “Art Zubereitung des Getreide”; Verhoeven (1984 p.75) has “Röstkorn”.

A97 UTT.164

§97c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hw zhz.f s*

§97d *it gt 2*

§97c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Protect lest he rips it out.

§97d 2 bowls of prepared barley.

See Utt.163.

A98 UTT.165

§98a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i.snb3b3 s*

§98b *b3b3t 2*

§98a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Make it [*nb3b3?*].

§98b 2 cups of *b3b3t* fruit.

I.snb3b3 is an imperative of an causative verb which puns with the offering. The verb also appears in *CT* 1131 (vii, 472) where an eye is closed because of *t3 nb3b3b.s* and in *CT* 1135 (vii, 480) where worms *nb3b3* in a canoe - the meaning remains obscure. Borghouts (1973 p.116 n.1) says *b3* is an early form of *br* “pupil”. Schott (1945 p.73) suggests “verschluckt”. Baines (1970 p.403) sees *b3b3* as a variation of *bnbn* and a noun. *WB* I,418.14 has “ein Körnerfrucht” for *b3b3t*.

A99 UTT.166

§98c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i.nsb.t.n.sn*

§98d *nbs 2*

§98c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which they licked.

§98d 2 bowls of zizyphus fruit.

See Utt.181. It is not clear who “they” are - possibly the followers of Seth (cf. Mercer 1952b p.55 who takes this as an oblique reference to Seth himself) if a hostile sense is meant or it

could merely be a reference to licking the fruit or the Eye itself to acquire its power. (See discussion on swallowing the Eye in Chapter 2).

A100 UTT.168

§99c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hw ḥf s*

§99d *wḥ 2*

§99c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Prevent lest he entrap it.

§99d 2 bowls of *wḥ* fruit.

The verb *hf* refers to Seth threatening the Eye. For *wḥ* see *WB* I,289.1 “ein Körnerfrucht” and Faulkner (1969 p.32) has “carob beans”.

A101 UTT.169

§100a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr bnrt sht n.k s*

§100b *iht nbt bnrt 2*

§100a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the sweet Eye of Horus. Make it come back to you.

§100b 2 bowls of all sweet things.

The Eye is described as *bnrt* i.e. it has the same property as the offering. The verb *sht* is an imperative of the causative verb of *hti* “retreat,retire” (Faulkner 1962 p.198). Rudnitzky (1956 p.40) sees this as an indication that the Eye was returning to its original owner. For the offering phrase *iht nbt bnrt* see *WB* i,462.12 “alle Süsse, alle süssen Speisen”; cf. *Utt.*357 §591 for use of this offering formula in a longer spell.

A102 UTT.170

§100c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ip n.k s*

§100d *rnpwt nbt 2*

§100c Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Allot it to yourself.

§100d 2 bowls of all yearly produce.

See *Utts.*195, 143, 191. Barta (1963 p.50) translates *rnpwt* as “Jahresfestopfer”, Faulkner (1969 p.32 n.2) suggests “fresh vegetables”.

A103 UTT.171

§100e *Wsir-NN. h3 nhḥ n.k hr.k hr.k*

§100f *hnkt*

§100e Osiris-NN., O may (it) endure with you, with you!

§100f A *Hnkt*-offering.

This spell is part of a sequence (Utt.169-171, found again in Utts.194-196 and Utt.357 §591 and still refers to the Eye (see discussion of the verb *nḥḥ* in the Appendix).

This is the end of the Type A offering list. Unas' sequence of spells stops here but Allen (1994 p.9) suggests that the next sequence may have been omitted due to space restrictions.

Utts.172-200: Pepi II has spells 634-640 (ritual spells for robing, anointing etc.) and then continues with this sequence of further food offering spells. Nt. has Utts.173-198 and Wd. has Utts.191-198.

A104 UTT.180

§104a *ḏd mdw m nswt irt Ḥr nb3b3 s di.n(.i) n.k Ḥr b3b3t 2*

To be recited: Take the (pupil?) of the Eye of Horus . (*Nb3b3* ?) it for I have given Horus to you. 2 cups of *b3b3t* fruit.

- The translation of *nswt* as “pupil” is by no means certain and the meaning of *nb3b3* is also unknown (see Utt.165).

A105 UTT.181

§104b *ḏd mdw m nswt irt Ḥr i.nsb.t.sn di.n(.i) n.k Ḥr nbs 2*

To be recited: Take the (pupil?) of the Eye of Horus which they lick for I have given Horus to you. 2 bowls of zizyphus fruit.

See also Utt.166. For *nswt* see Utt.180 above. There is a clear pun here: *nswt....i.nsb.t.sn....nbs*.

A106 UTT.182

§105a *ḏd mdw m irt Ḥr ḥt.nf di.n(.i) n.k [Ḥr] (w)ḥ 2*

To be recited: Take the Eye of Horus which he entrapped for I have given Horus to you. 2 bowls of *wḥ* fruit.

See Utt.168.

A107 UTT.185

§106b *ḏd mdw m-n.k irt Ḥr wp r.k im.s irp mḥw [2]*

To be recited : take to yourself the Eye of Horus, open your mouth with it. [2] cups of Lower Egyptian wine.

A108 UTT.186

§107a *dd mdw Wsir-NN. m irt Hr w3dt itt.n.f di.n(.i) n.k Hr t w3dt [2]*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take the green Eye of Horus which he took for I have given Horus to you. [2] bowls of fresh bread.

The *irt Hr w3dt* corresponds to (and puns on) *t w3dt* i.e the Eye has the same colour or condition as the offering. The phrase *di.n(.i) n.k Hr* is found in Utts.180-2 and Utts.186-192 and is discussed in Chapter 1. Faulkner (1969 p.33 n.2) interprets it as a synchronous present tense - it could imply that Horus is being presented to the king or more fundamentally that he is to partake of Horus' divine being through receiving his Eye.

A109 UTT.187

§107b *dd mdw m irt Hr hbntn.s di.n(.i) n.k Hr hbnt 2*

To be recited: take the Eye of Horus when it (*hbntn*?) for I have given Horus to you. 2 *hbnt* cakes.

See Utts. 120, 158.

A110 UTT.188

§108a *dd mdw: m irt Hr hnfwt.n.f di.n(.i) n.k Hr hnfw 2*

To be recited: take the Eye of Horus which he has (*hnf*?) for I have given Horus to you. 2 *hnfw* cakes.

See Utt.119, 159; for *di.n(.i) n.k Hr* see Utt.186.

A111 UTT.189

§108b *dd mdw m irt Hr hdt sšdt.n.f di.n(.i) n.k Hr sšt hdt 2*

To be recited: Take the white Eye of Horus which he has worn for I have given Horus to you. 2 bowls of white *sšt* fruit.

See Utt.161. Here there is a *sgmw.n.f* relative form, the danger threatening in Utt.161 is here presented as having already occurred.

A112 UTT.190

§108c *dd mdw m irt Hr w3dt sšdt.n.f di.n(.i) n.k Hr sšt w3dt [2]*

To be recited: take the green Eye of Horus which he wore as a fillet for I have given Horus to you. [2] bowls of green *sšt* fruit.

See Utts.161, 162, 189.

A113 UTT.191

§109a *dd mdw m irt Hr i.spt.n.f di.n(.i) n.k Hr np3t [2]*

To be recited: take the Eye of Horus which he has assigned for I have given Horus to you. [2] *np3t* cakes.

See also 170, 195, 143 and Utt.186 for discussion on *di.n(.i) n.k Hr*.

A114 UTT.192

§109 *dd mdw: m irt Hr zhzt.n.f di.n(.i) n.k Hr (gt ..[2]*

To be recited: Take the Eye of Horus which he has ripped out for I have given Horus to you. Prepared grain.

See Utt.164.

A115 UTT.193

§110 *dd mdw Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr d3p(.i) tw im d3bw 2*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus for I offer to you thereby. 2 bowls of figs.

Faulkner (1969 p.30, Utt.152 n.1) takes *d3p* as an early form of *drp* “offer” (WB V,418,2) - see Faulkner also (1962 p.315) for the meaning “offer to” plus direct object.

A116 UTT.194

§111a *dd mdw h3 Wsir-NN. irt Hr tn bnrt sht n.k s ibnr htt nb 2*

To be recited: O Osiris-NN., this Eye of Horus is sweet. Make it come back to you. 2 cups of all sweet things.

See Utt.169.

A117 UTT.195

§111b *dd mdw ip n.k s rnpwt nbt 2*

To be recited: Allot it to yourself. 2 bowls of all yearly produce.

See Utt.170 (also cf. 143, 191).

A118 UTT.196

§112 *dd mdw h(w) h3 nhh n.k hr.k hnkwa [2]*

To be recited: O may (it) endure with you. [2] *hnkw*-offerings.

See Utt.171.



A119 UTT.197

§113a *dd mdw Wsir-NN. irt Hr tn rwdt (w)d(?)(.i) n.k s imim.k*

§113b *nr n.k hft.k t dw3 m dr.f*

§113a To be recited: Osiris-NN., this Eye of Horus is strong. I place it on you so that you may be strong

§113b and so your enemy may fear you. The morning bread at its due time.

The same phrases are used in Utt.244 which is the Ritual for the Breaking of the Red pots (which is found at the end of the Offering Ritual in W. - see below) and §614b. Faulkner (1969 p.36 n.1) restores  as . The strong Eye (*rwdt*) corresponds to its role imparting strength to the king, as denoted by the prospective *sdm.f* form *imim.k*. The verb *imim* has the variation *mm* (§249b, 614b, 782b) - Faulkner (1969 p.36) has the meaning “be strong”. The mythical enemy (*hft*) is Seth but the king's foes in general might have been seen as affected by this ritual. Faulkner (1969 p.36 n.3) restores the end of §113b as *t dw3 m dr.f*, following §1929 i.e. bread at the correct ritual time in the morning.

A120 UTT.198

§114 *dd mdw Wsir-NN. mh.n kw Hr tm.ti m irt.f m (tp) w3ht*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., Horus has filled you complete with his Eye with the oblation.

This spell is very similar to Utt.31. The verb *mh.n* is an emphatic *sdm.n.f* stressing *tm.ti m irt.f*. The emphasis is on the quality of “completeness” and the Old Perfective *tm.ti* must refer to the king (*kw*) here. If *tp* is restored, Mercer (1952b p.60) suggests “the choicest of offerings”.

A121 UTT.244



This spell contains a ritual for the Breaking of the Red Pots which seems to have occurred at the end of the offering ritual - the spell is found on the S. wall of the passage between W.'s burial chamber and antechamber opposite the concluding spells of the offering ritual (Utts.199, 32, 23, 25, 200) and before a series of snake spells. It is also found on the east wall of M.'s burial chamber after Utt.199. A spell from the *CT* shows the inclusion of this rite in a ritual meal: “wash yourself, sit down at the meal, put your hands on it, divert the god's offering,

break the red pots, give cold water, purify the offering tables with ..., make libation” (CT 926, vii 128 - see Faulkner 1978 p.66). Ritner (1993 p.146) notes the slaughtering of a bull as an accompanying act of aggression.

§249a *irt tw nn [nt Hr]* W.
dd mdw h3 [Wsir-NN]..... M.
 §249b (w)d(.i) n.k s (i)m(i)m.k nr.f n.k *sd dšrt*

§249a To be recited: O [Osiris-NN] , this is that Eye of Horus.

§249b I place it on you so you may be strong and so he may fear you. Break the red pots.

Schott (1945 p38) suggests an emendation to *irt tw nt Hr rwdt* in §113 and §614b which have the same phrasing but which do not mention the breaking of the pots, although it may be implied in Utt.364 (Utt.197 has an offering of bread). W. has  and M. has the determinative . Schott interpreted the Eye as symbolizing the club with which the pots are broken (1928 p.101). The results of this act were the empowering of the king (see Utt.197 for the meaning of *mm*) and the intimidation of his enemy. Ritner (1993 p.146) states the red pots were those that were actually used in the offering and broken at its termination and he cites actual broken deposits of red pots that have been found (p.153). For a more detailed discussion of this ritual see Assman (1994), Ritner (1993 p.144-153), van Dijk (1986) and Schott (1928). It may well be that the reference to the Eye was superimposed on an existing “magical” act.

Utts.741-759; this is a series of spells for items of insignia that is preserved in Nt.43-64, and thus not included in Sethe's edition. Faulkner gave the spells new numbers at the end of his sequence but the spells actually occur before the main series of offering spells in Nt. (directly preceded by Utt.741, a censuring spell) and after Utts.12-22 in N. The top of the panel of text is missing in Nt. so the sequence is not complete.

A122 UTT.742 / Nt.43

§2272 *iw Hr nbw n.f hr irt.f nbw*
 Horus has gilded his Eye for himself. Gold.

The construction is *iw* + subject + Old Perfective, unusual for the *PT* offering spells. The verb *nbw* has the meanings "melt, cast, gild" (Faulkner 1962 p.129). Faulkner (1969 p.316) interprets the offering as “a gold collar”.

A123 UTT.744 / Nt.43

§2274 *Wsir-NN. i.smn n.k irt Hr m tp.k nws*

Osiris-NN., make the Eye of Horus firm upon your head. A headband.

The verb *smn* is also used with the king's eyes in Utt.585. See Jéquier (1921 p.6) for the offering of *nws*, also Faulkner (1977 p.189 n.8). The *nws* was a head-band or circlet and could have a crown determinative.

A124 UTT.746 / Nt.44-45.

§2276a [*Wsir-]NN. m-n.k irt Hr (w(t?) m3.k im.s*



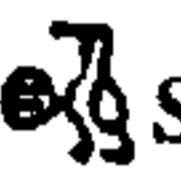
§2276b *n(y)t dt.f h3 nbw ... m w3t*

§2276c *srq htt.k im.s i(r)t*

§2276a [Osiris-]NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus so that you may see with it,

§2276b the one which belongs to his body, a collar of gold ... on the way

§2276c so that your throat may breathe by means of it. A uraeus.

Faulkner (1969 p.316) suggests restoring  as  in §2276a. The phrasing in this line is usually connected with the opening of the eyes (see Chapter 5). For  see *WB* III,222 “Art Halskragen” and also Utt.326 where the gold collar of Horus is mentioned in an ascension context. The end of this line may be restored along the lines of *CT* vii 63 “Horus gives you his Eye so that it may guide you on the way and your throat will be opened by means of it” (Faulkner 1978 p.39). There is also a reference in §1158 to being able to breathe in the afterlife.

A125 UTT.748 / Nt.47-49

§2278a (*Ws*)*ir-NN. (w)d(.i) n.k hwntwy hm im(y)t irtwy Hr*

§2278b

§2278c (*Ws*)*ir-NN. (w)d.n(.i) n.k sn hr.k wnn.sn n.k hnt.k*

§2278d ... *sšm.sn tw i(r)twy*

§2278a Osiris-NN., I place on you the pupils in the Eyes of Horus

§2278b

§2278c Osiris-NN., I have placed them upon you for you so they may exist with you for you

§2278d ... so they may guide you. 2 uraei

See Faulkner (1969 p.317 n.1) for *hm* - this must be either misplaced or an enclitic particle.

For *hwntwy* see Utt. 155.

A126 UTT.749 / Nt.49-52

§2279a *Wsir-NN. irtwy Hr ip3w n.k m k3wy.k*

§2279b *Wsir-NN. wnn.sn n.k tp.k*

§2279c *.... n hr.k m wrt-ḥk3w*

§2279d *.... ḥk3w.s ir(.i) wrt-ḥk3w*

§2279a Osiris-NN., these two Eyes of Horus to you as your two kas,

§2279b Osiris-NN., may they exist upon you for you

§2279c to your face as (the Double Crown) “Great of Magic”

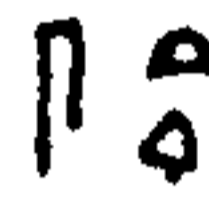
§2279d its magic upon (me). A “Great of Magic” snake.

See Chapter 3 for the epithet *Wrt-ḥk3w*.

A127 UTT.750 / Nt.52-53.

§2280 *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr [m3]3.k im.s st*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus..... so you may see with it. A *st* loaf.

Perhaps *wp(.i) n.k irt.k* is to be restored. This shares the offering  with Utt.751. Faulkner (1969 p.317) notes that bread is out of place in the list of insignia. These two spells use the phrases from the ritual of Opening the Eyes.

A128 UTT.751 / Nt.53

§2281 *it(.i) m-n.k irt (Hr) m3.k im.s wp(.i) n.k irt.k m3.k im.s*

My father, take to yourself the Eye (of Horus) so you may see with it. I open your eye so you may see with it.

See Utt.750. This utterance and offering is slightly set apart from the other offerings of snakes and vultures (above Utt.756).

A129 UTT.752 / Nt.54-55

§2282 *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr imnt.n Stš imnt*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which Seth concealed. A *imnt* vulture.

See Jéquier (1921 p.127) for the offering. The spells that follow have a series of vulture-related offerings that mirror the previous uraei, presumably representing the Two Ladies, Wadjet and Nekhbet, the cobra and vulture goddesses of Lower and Upper Egypt.

Utt.753 / Nt.56-57: may refer back to the Eye of Horus with the feminine ending on the relative form *pdt.n.f* (§2283).

Utt.754 / Nt.58-59: again, the pronoun *s* may refer back to the Eye of Horus.

A130 UTT.755 / Nt.60-63

§2285a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ddt.n.k ir.s wr hk3w.s ir(.i)*

§2285b *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr wrt-hk3w wrt-hk3w*

§2285a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus concerning which you have said "May its magic be great upon me!"

§2285b Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus, "Great of Magic". A "Great of Magic" vulture.

See Utt.749. The verb *wr* is a prospective *sd/m.f* form of the adjective verb.

A131 UTT.756 / Nt.64

§2286 *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr wd3t mqrt*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the sound Eye of Horus. A razor case.


This utterance is set apart from the snakes and vultures, below Utt.751. See Jéquier (1921 p.127) for the offering.

The following sequence of spells occurs complete in Nt.293-301, but some are also found in N., which were numbered in Sethe's edition. The spells from Nt. were numbered 57J-S by Faulkner, but this means there are duplications. Allen's renumbering has been followed where possible.

A132 UTT.57J / Nt.293

§40+10 *Wsir-NN. in.n(.i) n.k irtwy Hr pdt ib ...*

Osiris-NN., I have brought to you the two Eyes of Horus which delight the heart...

Pdt is an active participle, literally "expand the heart" cf. the expression *3w ib*. The offering may well have been  "a *pdt* bow" as this would produce a pun and provide a suitable item of insignia.

A133 UTT. 57K/ Nt. 293

§40+11 *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ḥw s tmw.s*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Protect lest it perish.

This shares an offering with Utt. 57L.

A134 UTT.57L / Nt.294

§40+12 *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i.s(w)ḏ3t.n.f mstrt Hr q3i(w)*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he has made healthy.

A *mstrt* kilt, "Horus is made high".

The restoration of the Eye of Horus is referred to by *i.s(w)ḏ3t.n.f*, a *sḏmw.n.f* relative form. See *WB* IV,344 for *mstrt*: "Art gewebe und der aus ihm gefertigte", the determinative here suggests a kilt cf. Jéquier (1921 p18). The phrase *Hr q3i(w)* seems to be an epithet of the kilt.

A135 UTT.57M / Nt.295

§40+13 *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr ḥw drf s idr*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Prevent lest he removes it. A belt(?).

The offering, *idr*, is taken as "belt,tail" after Jéquier (1921 p.24) but cf. *WB* I,154,17 "Verband einer Wunde".

A136 UTT.651

§1838 *Wsir-NN. ḏt irt Hr wḥt wḥtt l*

Osiris-NN., take the sole Eye of Horus - a *wḥtt* tail.

This utterance is found in Nt.296 (Faulkner's 57N) and fragmented in N. The description of the Eye as *wḥt* is unique in the *PT* (see Chapter 11) and puns with the offering of *wḥtt*, a kind of ceremonial tail (see Jéquier 1921 p.110)

A137 UTT.652

§1839a *ḏd mdw Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr nḥmt.n.f m-ε Stḥ ḥnp.n.f s*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which he rescued from Seth when he snatched it.

This spell is repeated three times in Nt.297, 301 and 304 (Faulkner's 57o, 57s and 59a) which have the offering of a *hbzt* tail. Restoring *f* as the subject of the relative form seems the most likely solution.

A138 UTT.653

§1840a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr i.z3t m Gb b(g) (?) I*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which was guarded by Geb. A stool(?).

This spell is very fragmented in N. but Nt.298 has a complete text (Faulkner's 57P). Faulkner (1969 p13) has "guarded from Geb" but he usually looked after the Eye. The offering is obscure and puns with Geb - $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ is unknown but the determinative suggests some kind of stool or butchers block. The only other possibility is '𓆎𓆏𓆑' *bgsw*, a dagger (see Jéquier 1921 p.200).

A139 UTT.*653A (57Q)

§1840b *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr tprnt.n Stš hr.s mtpn(t) I*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus about which Seth was glad. A dagger(?).

This has been renumbered by Allen (1984 p.684) : it was Faulkner's 57Q. *tprnt.n* is a *sdmw.n.f* relative form (*WB* IV, 364 "sich freuen") which puns with the offering. A dagger has been suggested for the offering *mtpn* (Jéquier 1921 p.200), or rather a sheath for one. There could be a Δ after $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ (Jéquier 1933 p.26).

A140 UTT.*653B

§1840c *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr m3t.n.f gs.s m 𓆎 Stš m3gsw*

Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus, half of which he saw in Seth's hand. A *m3gsw* dagger.

This spell was also renumbered and restored by Allen (1984 p.685) from Faulkner's 57R. The reference to half the Eye suggests that Seth had torn it apart, a possible hint of the later mathematical role that the parts of the Eye were to play.

The following spells are not found in the offering ritual on the north wall of the burial chamber but are located elsewhere among the corpus of texts.

A141 UTT.199

§115a *ḏd [mdw] h3 Wsir-NN. pn wdb tw hr t.k pn*

§115b *šzp n.k sw m-(.i) ḏd mdw zp 4 hw nhḥ irt Hr hr.k*

§115c *wdb ḥtp-ntr*

§115a To be recited: O Osiris-NN., turn yourself to this your bread.

§115b Receive it from me. To be recited 4 times: O may the Eye of Horus endure in your presence.

§115c A reversion offering.

This spell occurs after 223-225 in N.552+46 at the very end of the offering ritual, but on the north wall of Unas' passage, followed by purification spells, and on Merenre's east burial chamber wall. It is thus set apart from the main sequence of offering spells and forms part of the closing rituals where the offerings are reverted for the king's use.

Utts.201-203 are located on the east wall of Pepi II's burial chamber, following Utts.662 (a resurrection spell), 605 (offering of eye-paint) and 418 (presentation of unguent).

A142 UTT.201

§117a *ḏd mdw it(.i) NN. m-n.k irt Hr p3t n ntrw wšb.sn im*

To be recited: O (my) father NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus, the *p3t* cake of the gods so that they may feed thereby.

The subject of *wšb.sn*, a prospective (or possibly circumstantial) *sdm.f* form is most likely to be the gods.

A143 UTT.203

§117c *ḏd mdw Wsir-NN. m s irt Hr ir.k*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take it, the Eye of Horus, to yourself.

The phrase *m s irt Hr* has a pronominal object followed by noun for emphasis. This could denote food (cf.Utt. 201).

Utts.448-449 are found on the north wall of Pepi II's burial chamber (N.75, N.71) but on the west wall in Pepi I and Merenre. The sequence of 446-453 is preserved in N.

A144 UTT.448

§830a *dd mdw Dḥwty i(b i NN. (nh.f*

§830b *i.tm ir(y)t.f Dḥwty (w)d n.f irt Hr*

§830a To be recited: Thoth, unite NN. so that he may live

§830b and so what is against him may cease to be. Thoth, place on him the Eye of Horus.

The spell is an appeal to Thoth to *i(b* (imperative) the king - M. and N. have *ib sw* rather than the king's name. The result of this restoration is that the king will live (*nh.f*, omitted from M. and N.) and that there will be nothing that can harm the king. The phrase *(w)d* suggests that a specific offering was intended.

A145 UTT. 449

§831 *dd mdw Hr im Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr hr.k*

To be recited: Horus within Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus before you.

A146 UTT.621

§1754 *dd mdw: Wsir-NN. m st irt Hr ir.k m irt Hr pdt.n.f m st.s*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take the perfume of the Eye of Horus to yourself. Take the Eye of Horus which he expanded with its perfume.

This spell is only found on the west wall of Pepi II's burial chamber (N.70).

A147 UTT.623

§1756 *dd mdw Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr irt n(i) st(i).n.f s*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus which was made for me - he has (poured?) it.

This short spell is found in N. after Utt.622. The verb *irt n(i)* is possibly a passive participle or a *sdmw.n.f* relative form ("which I made"). Faulkner suggests *sti.n.f* "for he has poured it out" (1969 p.258 n.1) for

A148 UTT.680

§2033 *dd mdw Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr n(yt).tw s*

To be recited: Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus for it belongs to you.

The sequence 678-680 is found on the west wall of Pepi II's antechamber (N.872-874).

SECTION B: FOOD SPELLS

This section contains spells where the Eye of Horus is involved in the assurance of the provision of food for the deceased king.

B1 UTT.223

In this Osirian resurrection spell the king is roused from death to enjoy the offerings that are presented to him so he can take his place among the akhs. The first person officiant is perhaps to be seen as Horus and phrases derived from the offering formulae are used. The spell occurs in quite close proximity to the offering ritual: on the burial chamber's north wall in N. and Nt., in the sequence Utts.223-225. Unas has the sequence Utts.213-224. Allen (1994 p.14) suggests this is a general food offering spell summarizing the offering ritual.

§214a *dd mdw wh i.nn ihih*

§214b *h3 NN. ḥḥ ḥms r ḥ3 m t ḥ3 m ḥnqt*

§214c *3šrt sb3.k m pr-rḥs rth m wshṯ*

§215a *ḥtm(w) ntr m ḥtpw-ntr ḥtm(w) NN. m t.f pn*

§215b *ii.t(i) n b3.k Wsir b3 im 3ḥw shm im swt.f*

§215c *ndw psdt m ḥwt sr*

§216a *h3 NN. i.s kw n(i) i.mz kw r(i)*

§216b *m hr(w) r iz i.mdr.k ir(i)*

§216c *di.n(i) n.k irt Hr ip.n(i) n.k s ḥ3 nhj n.k hr.k*

§217a *h3 NN. ḥḥ šzp n.k t.k pn m-t(i)*

§217b *h3 NN. wnn(i) (n.)k m (*

§214a To be recited: Wake up! Turn around! Oho!

§214b O NN., arise, sit down to 1000 loaves and 1000 beers,

§214c roast meat of your rib (joint?) from the Slaughter House and *rth*-bread from the Broad Hall.

§215a The god is provided with a god's offering, NN. is provided with this his bread.

§215b May you come to your ba, Osiris, a ba among the akhs, powerful in his seats,

§215c whom the ennead protects in the House of the Prince.

§216a O NN., raise yourself to me; present yourself to me

§216b do not be far from your tomb, turn to me

§216c for I have given the Eye of Horus to you and I have assigned it to you, O may (it) endure with you!

§217a O NN., arise, receive this your bread from me,

§217b O NN., I will be a doorkeeper to you.

The word *ihih* is possibly an interjection or related to *ihhy* "rejoicing" (Faulkner 1962 p.28, *WB* I, 117). The assurance of quantity in §214b is a ritual offering formula seen in private

tombs of the period as well as occurring many times in the *PT* (see Barta 1982b col.587). The king's offerings are equated with those of a god by juxtaposition, a technique also used with the Eye of Horus (see Chapter 11) The assurance of food is then followed by the powers that the king seeks to acquire in the afterlife. By joining his *b3* the king can become mighty among the akhs, i.e. his *b3* and *sh̄m* are manifest among them and his right to rule is asserted. The protection of the gods in the *hwt-sr*, usually located in Heliopolis, recalls the instances of judgment and restitution for Horus or Osiris so often associated with this building (see Chapter 12). More imperatives addressed to the king follow - §216b is a problematic line. Faulkner (1969 p.52 n.4) suggests reading *m hr̄ ir.i iz imdr.k ir.i* "do not be far from me, for the tomb is your barrier against me", i.e. urging the king to leave the tomb, but compare *CT* i.183b-c. The verb *mdr* ("turn") also occurs in §498b. The following phrases in §216c referring to the Eye of Horus also occur in the offering ritual in Utts.170 and 171, *ip* is used in §87c and §109a. The offering of bread follows on from the mythical image of offering the Eye. The spell ends with what seems to be a pledge of help for the king. The word 𓆎 (*WB* I,165.2 "Pfortner") also occurs in an Old Kingdom title "𓆎 of the God" (*WB* I,165.4). Faulkner (1969 p.52) has "I will be a helper to you" which makes good sense but the connection with a door could also imply that the king's entrance to the afterlife will not be obstructed.

B2 UTT.497


This spell has been rearranged slightly by Allen (1984 p.675) - as he has added new material I have used his § nos. It is located on the antechamber's east wall in P. following Utt.408, which mentions meals at the *W3g* festival, and as part of the sequence Utts.497-499.

- *§1067a *Wsir i.rs tzi tw*
- *§1067b *h3 NN. (h̄ h̄ms wh̄3 n.k t3 ir.k*
- *§1067c *idr (wy pw hr̄ ht.k m Sts̄*
- *§1067d *iw n.k irt Hr̄ m tp 10 i(w).k iw̄g.ti m-ht.s*
- *§1067e *im w3[.....*
- *§1067f *.....] rnpt*
- *§1067g *dd mdw zp 4: h3 nh̄h̄ n.k irt Hr̄ hr̄[.k]*

- *§1067a Osiris, wake up! Gather yourself together!
- *§1067b O NN, arise! Sit down! Cast off the earth from yourself!
- *§1067c Remove these two arms from behind you, namely Seth.
- *§1067d May the Eye of Horus come to you at the ten(?) as you are eager for it.
- *§1067e

*§1067f

*§1067g To be recited 4 times: O may the Eye of Horus endure with you...

The spell starts with imperatives. The king is roused from death and seen as rising from his burial in the earth. In §1067c death seems to be envisaged as the embrace of Seth which had been restraining the king. The verb *iw* may suggest an action of the Eye or be meant less literally, as in good things coming to someone. In Utt.498 (§1068c) the officiant comes to the king with the Eye. For *m tp*  Faulkner (1969 p.176) suggests “at the ten day festival” (also supported by Allen 1984 p.390) which would fit well with the mention of festival meals in the previous spell (Utt.408). Sethe (1934d p.341) has “am Anfang der Dekade” but comments “oder ist an das regelmäßige Wiederbohren alle 10 Tage?” The phrase *i(w).k iwg.ti* is pseudo-verbal construction introduced by *iw* - it describes the king awaiting the Eye of Horus. The spell ends with the familiar offering phrasing - see the Appendix.

B3 UTT.498

This spell has also been revised by Allen (1984 p.675 - see Utt.497) and, again, his § nos are used. See Leclant (1977 col.20) for the traces from P.'s pyramid.

*§1068a *dd mdw i.rs Wsir i.rs*

*§1068b *h3 NN. ḥꜥ ḥms wh3 n.k t3 ir.k*

*§1068c *iw.i di.i n.k [irt] Hr nhh.s n.k hr.k*

*§1068d *ip n.kf*

*§1068e *m t] m ḥ(n)qt m irp m [k3] m 3pd*

*§1068f [] *It iswt tn imt wsht*

*§1068g *pr šzp n.k t.k pn m ʕ.i*

*§1069a *h3 Wsir-NN. pn ink z3.k msw.k*

*§1069b *iw.(i?) <n>.k hr [ḥnqt.k*

*§1069c *.....i]mt ḥt.k*

*§1069d *wn.i wt[.....] ḥnt [.....]*

*§1068a To be recited: Wake up, Osiris, wake up!

*§1068b O NN., arise! Sit down! Cast off the earth from yourself!

*§1068c I come that I may give the Eye of Horus to you so it may endure with you.

*§1068d allot [it] to yourself [.....

*§1068e as bread, beer, wine, beef, fowl,

*§1068f [] this joint in the Broad Hall,

*§1068g go forth and receive this your bread from me.

*§1069a O Osiris-NN., I am your son whom you created -

*§1069b [I] come <to> you bearing [your offering....

*§1069c] your meal

*§1069d I am

This spell uses the same phrases as Utt.223 from the offering spells with reference to the Eye of Horus (*§1068c-d). The list of offerings in *§1068e show how the Eye represents the general concept of food and drink. The son's role is emphasised (*§1069a-b).

B4 UTT.662

This spell is found on the east wall of N.'s burial chamber after Utts.401-403 and before Utts.605, 418, 201-203. It employs various methods to assure the king's well-being. Kheprer and the papyrus plant from Wadjet are both addressed and identified with the king (§1874-5). The king is also assured of sustenance from Re's provisions (§1877). He is then called on to arise for water and to emerge from his burial as his son is performing the necessary mortuary rituals (§1877-9).

§1879a *f3 hr.k m3.k n nn i.ir(w).n(.i) n.k*

§1879b *ink z3.k ink iwꜥ.k*

§1880a *b3k.n(.i) n.k bdt sk3.n(.i) n.k it*

§1880b *it n w3g.k bdt n rnpwt.k*

§1881a *hꜥnk(.i) n.k irt Hr nhꜥ.s hr.k w33.s hr.k*

§1881b *nb pr ꜥ.k hr iꜥwt.k*

§1879a Lift up your face so you may see this which I have done for you -

§1879b I am your son, I am your heir

§1880a for I have cultivated emmer for you, I have ploughed barley for you,

§1880b barley for your w3g-festival, emmer for your yearly festival.

§1881a I offer the Eye of Horus to you so it may endure with you and so it may be a long time with you.

§1881b Lord of the house, your arm is about your possessions.

This spell has many of the same themes as the previous ones. The son wishes the father to behold all that he has done on his behalf - *i.ir(w).n(.i)* being a *sdmw.n.f* relative form. There is then a clear assertion that the dutiful son is justifying his role as heir by doing the duties expected of him (§1879b). The son has provided offerings for the mortuary cult so that the deceased can partake of food on festival days. This is followed by *hꜥnk(.i)*, an emphatic *sdm.f*, stressing that the Eye shall be enduring with the deceased, i.e he will always have the necessary food. The mention of the Eye here relates the situation to the world of the gods. This utterance is especially concerned with filial duty and Horus was the archetypal good son. The Eye is here a symbol of his gift to his father. The verb *w33.s*, a prospective *sdm.f* and a

geminating form of the adjective verb “(be) far” (*WB* II,245), is an interesting comparison to the verb *nḥḥ* (see the Appendix) - Faulkner (1962 p.52) notes spatial and temporal meanings. At the end of the spell the father is called *nb pr* and still has all his necessary possessions.

B5 UTT.666 (Allen's *665D)

This spell has been revised by Allen (1984 p.689) - it was Faulkner's Utt.666, with another version in his Utt.717 which is not translated here as it is practically the same. Allen's Utt.665D combines Faulkner's Utts.665C, 666, 666A, 716-718, 759. The spell occurs in N. (on the south wall of the burial chamber) and in Nt. (on the east wall of the burial chamber). The earlier part of the utterance contains a call to the king to resurrect himself (§1916) and be purified so he can go forth as the Eye of Re (§1917-9, see Section J for the first part of this spell), assume the *Wrrt*-crown, be powerful and transfigured (§1920-1). There is then a threat against anyone who would exclude the king (§1922) followed by this presentation of bread. (The paragraph numbers are Faulkner's with Allen's in brackets).

§1923a (*1925a) *h3 NN. pn nḥḥ irt Hr ʿ.k ḥr t.k*
 §1923b-c (*1925b) *h3 NN. pw ḥnk(.i) ṯw m t.k mr ḥnk sw Hr m irt.f*
 §1924a (*1925c) *rn.ṯn pw p nn n ḥnkt*
 §1924a-b (*1925d) *w3g(.i) ṯw m t.k pn mr w3g(it?) sw Hr m irt.f*
 §1924c (*1925e) *rn.ṯn pw p nn n w3g*

§1923a O NN., may the Eye of Horus endure, your hand is on your bread.
 §1923b-c O NN., I present you with your bread just as Horus presented him with his Eye.
 §1924a That presentation is your (pl.) name(?)
 §1924a-b I provide you with this your bread just as Horus provided him with his Eye.
 §1924c That offering of yours (sing.) is your (pl.) name(?).

As *nḥḥ* is understood to be an intransitive verb, this phrase concerning the Eye in §1923a must be in apposition to the assertion that the king has his hand on his bread. With regard to the pronoun *sw* in §1923c, Faulkner (1969 p.278 n.7) states this must be Osiris which makes the parallel clear between the presentation of funerary offerings and Horus giving his Eye to Osiris. However there is the grammatical possibility that the *sw* is reflexive and Horus is taking possession of his eye himself. This seems unlikely as the essence of the verb *ḥnk* is a presentation / offering which is made to another person but the ambiguity of the phrasing must be noted. The version in N. has the variation *ḥr irt.f* for §1924b. The phrase *rn.ṯn pw pnn n ḥnkt*, seen again in §1925e, is obscure, as noted by Faulkner (1969 p.278 n.8). It could be the

use of the *m rn.k n* formula (discussed in Chapter 11) to make a pun but there is no antecedent for the plural pronoun. The word \overline{f} is also obscure (cf. §2185a). The utterance continues with the king joining the stars (§1925).

B6 UTT.700

This spell is found on the north wall of N.'s vestibule in the sequence Utts.699-701. The reference to the Eye of Horus is very similar to Utt.666 above, as is the preceding passage which refers to the king raising himself and joining the Imperishable Stars.

§2185a *w3g.k m t mr w3g Hr irt.f*

§2185b *m rn pw n w3g*

§2185a You are provided with bread just as Horus provided his Eye

§2185b in this name of "w3g -festival".

The *rn pw* in §2185b could be the king's name or the Eye's. The use of the name formula provides a pun with the word *w3g*. The utterance continues with an assertion that the king's enemies will perish but the fragmented text makes it impossible to tell if this is connected with the Eye or not.

B7 UTT.219

The spell forms part of the sequence Utts.213-222 (213-224 in W.). It begins with an address to a series of gods and enneads with the king being identified with Osiris, the same refrain (*nh.f 'nh W. pn* etc.) following after each one. Osiris is then addressed in a series of names of the form "Dweller in", the king is described as his seed and is then assured of a meal like Osiris:

§191a *m rn.k im im(y) Wnw mht*

§191b *ck h3 iht s3t.k htm tw im.s*

§191c *nh.f nh NN. pn n mt.f n mt NN. pn*

§191d *n sk.f n sk NN. pn n nhp.f n nhp NN. pn*

§191e *hp.f nhp NN. pn*

§192a *m rn.k im(y) niwt sw*

§192b *wnmt.n.k irt i.Šn ht.k hr.s ifly n.k s z3.k Hr nh.k im.s*

§191a In your name of Dweller in Wenu of the north,

§191b your hand is behind the meal, your daughter, provide yourself with it.

§191c If he lives, this NN. shall live, if he does not die, this NN. shall not die.

§191d if he does not perish, this NN. shall not perish, if he does not mourn, this NN. shall not mourn,

§191e if he mourns, this NN. will mourn.

§192a In your name of Town of Lakes,

§192b the thing you have eaten is an eye so that your belly may be encircled on account of it.
Your son Horus releases it for you so you may live on it.

The connections that have been made between the phrase *iht s3t.k* and the Eye in §192b (eg. Troy 1977 p.41) are somewhat tenuous. The possible mention of the meal as a daughter and later as an Eye does not mean that we can automatically equate the two given the typically Egyptian practice of using multiple, but essentially separate, images to describe a particular item or event. *Wnmt.n.k* is a *sdmw.n.f* relative form, referring back to *iht* - for the “magical” implications of eating see Chapter 2. The word *i.šn*, a prospective *sdm.f*, is also discussed there for the sense of protecting by encircling. The magical properties of this word are also discussed under Utt.220 (C8). The meal has been termed as an Eye and it is then clarified that it originated from Horus'. The verb *ifh* could refer to the Eye, presenting an image of Horus casting off the Eye from his body, or to the meal. Other uses of the verb are found in §1285 (of Horus' girdle), §207 (casting off impurity), §419 & 676 (of destroying a snake) and §250 (on leaving Horus behind). As a result of the actions in this spell, the king is assured of life.

B8 UTT.204

This spell occurs in a sequence of food spells (Utts.204-212, omitting 208) straight after the offering ritual in W. (on the east wall gable of the burial chamber). These spells were later amalgamated into *BD* 178, showing their unity of purpose.

§118a *i.ḥi i.ḥnnw wtz ib n tssw šnbt*

§118b *(m.n.sn irt Hr b3qt im(y)t lwnw*

§118c *db NN. šrrw šd nw im šp3ḥ Wsir*

§119a *n iḥ NN. n ḥqr.f n sir ib n NN.*

§119b *in (w H3 idr(w) ḥqr.f i.mḥy i.mḥy ibw*

§118a Rejoice, o you who hoe, raise the heart for those who tore the breast

§118b for they have swallowed the bright Eye of Horus which is in Heliopolis.

§118c O finger of NN., the little one, pull out this which is in the navel of Osiris.

§119a NN. shall not be thirsty, he shall not hunger, the heart of NN. shall not be empty(?).

§119b It is the arms of Ha which shall drive away his hunger, (say?) those who are filled,
(say?) those whose hearts are filled.

The sense of the first part of this spell is slightly obscure. An unspecified “they” have swallowed the Eye of Horus which is clearly a reason to rejoice (§118a). The active participle *i.hnmw* indicates someone who cultivates with the hoe i.e. provides food. Allen (1994 p.17) suggests that this spell “may refer to an ‘Osiris-bed’ or similar grain producing device”. The instruction to “raise the heart” may well have the same sense as “raise the spirits”. Faulkner guesses “tore” for *tssw* based on the nail determinative (1969 p.37), an active participle which might be seen as indicating people who are upset but cf. *BD* 178 which has “he who purifies the breast”; it could also be an error for *thh* “exult”. The swallowing (*gm*) could be an image of people being fed and sated as the king hopes to be, or an act of acquiring knowledge (eg. *CT* 905 (vii, 111) “they swallow the fiery Eye of Horus. See, they know, but they forget it”) which is discussed in Chapter 2. The Eye of Horus has the epithet *b3qt* which is also used of the sky (§1443), a ewe (§252) and of being fortunate (§955) in the *PT*. See Borghouts (1973 p.116-7) and also *CT* vii 373a-b for its connection to the restored eye, but this is the only occurrence of the adjective with an eye in the *PT*. The fact that the Eye is located in Heliopolis could additionally suggest a solar context but see also Chapter 11 for other expressions of brightness connected with the Eye which are not necessarily celestial.

The instruction in §118c may be to take sustenance from Osiris' belly. A depiction (of a much later date) shows an offering scene with the priest making a gesture with his little finger outstretched (Quirke 1992 p.148) so this could be a reference to a similar ritual act. The little finger was used in anointing and in the Opening of the Mouth (B.Altenmüller 1977 col. 220-1), cf. also §1202d (Utt.519). Faulkner (1969 p.37) suggests “be sad” for *sir*. My “be empty” is a guess, with the same connotations, based on the “filling of hearts” - this line (§119a) states the main concerns of the spell which the reference to the Eye of Horus must be seen as bringing about. The arms of the god Ha, a god of the desert areas, especially the west and oases, who warded off enemies, are also seen as helpful. The word *mhy* could be an active or passive participle as the meaning is far from clear. A passive sense seems more likely as it could mean “those who are filled (with food)” referring possibly to the people mentioned in §118a. Mercer (1952b p.63) has “O fill (him), O filler of hearts”, seeing it as an appeal to Thoth. This may allude to an expression *mḥ ib* meaning “trusted one” (Faulkner 1962 p.113). The meaning of the verb *mḥ* is discussed in Chapter 4 with reference to the concept of restoration associated with the Eye.

B9 UTT.212

This spell occurs in a sequence of food spells, Utts.210-212, located on the east burial chamber wall of W, T, M and N.

§133a *ḏḏ mdw ndfdf irt Hr hr b3t nt ḏnw*

§133b *ii.n.f r.f hnt(y)-imntyw*

§133c *in.n.f ḏf3w ḥtpw n Hr hnt prw*

§133d *ḥnt.f im ḥn NN. im*

§133e *wmmt.f im wmm.f im zwrt.f im zwr.f im*

§133f *ḥnd s3 ṯrt 3wt.f pi*

§133a To be recited: The Eye of Horus drips on the bush of *ḏnw*

§133b for he has come to him, the Foremost of the Westerners,

§133c and he has brought provisions and offerings for Horus who at the head of the houses.

§133d What he lives on, may NN. live on,

§133e what he feeds on, may NN. feed on, what he drinks, may NN. drink.

§133f A calf of leg, a cake - these his gifts.

The reduplicated verb *ndfdf* has a [☉] determinative which shows that it is an action involving liquid - *WB* II, 368.13 has “tränen” which is what one might logically expect. This might imply the nourishment of the *ḏnw* plant - the only other occurrence of this is *Utt.400* (see below). Borghouts (1973 p.140) recalls a 19th dynasty text about Horus and Seth fighting over a bush (*b3t w(t)*). He interprets this passage as the eye dripping from its wounds or as hidden in a bush. cf. also *CT* 325 where the eye of Re-Atum is in a *hbt* plant and a date palm (v, 154) and *CT* 660 where an eye is placed in a bush (vi, 286); these references are also obscure. The king is then assured the same provisions as Horus with specific offerings at the end (§133f). In §133e the pronoun *f* is used but the king's name makes more sense for the translation.

B10 UTT.400

This spell is very similar to *Utt.212* above and also occurs on the east burial chamber wall of T., M. and N.

§695a *ḏḏ mdw ndfdf irt Hr hr b3t ḏnw*

§695b *Hrwy hntwy prw nb ḏf3w wr m Iwnw*

§695c *di.k t n NN. di.k ḥnqt n NN. sw3ḏ.k NN.*

§696a *sw3ḏ.k wdḥw n NN.*

§696b *sw3ḏ.k pr-rḥyt nt NN.*

§696c *ḥqr NN. ḥqr rwti*

§696d *i.bb NN. i.bb Nḥbt*

- §696e *hdnwt hdnwt*
 §696f *m in st hdn.t r NN.*
 §696g *tm.hr.t in st hdn.t r NN.*

- §695a To be recited: The Eye of Horus drips upon the bush of *dmw*.
 §695b O double-Horus who is at the head of the houses - Lord of abundance and the Great One in Heliopolis.
 §695c May you give bread to NN., may you give beer to NN., may you richly provide NN.
 §696a May you richly provide the offering tables of NN.,
 §696b may you richly provide the slaughter house of NN.
 §696c If NN. hungers, Ruti hungers,
 §696d if NN. is thirsty, Nekhbet is thirsty.
 §696e O Plant goddess! O Plant goddess!
 §696f Do not bring the smell of your plant against NN.!
 §696g You shall not bring the smell of your plant against NN.!

The reference to the Eye of Horus is identical to §133a. There is then a direct invocation to Horus, the epithet *nb df3w* suggesting that he has plenty of provisions at his disposal. The king's state is also equated with that of other divine beings (§696c-d). The final invocation to a plant goddess may refer back in some way to the *dmw*-bush in §695a. Mercer (1952b p.342) suggests that the plant was used to remove the footsteps after the divine meal and was thus asked not to end the meal prematurely.

B11 UTT.327

This utterance is problematic due to variations in the two versions: T. seems to be imperfectly altered from the 1st person (eg. *w(i)* in §536b). It occurs on T's burial chamber west wall as part of the initial sequence of spells there (Utts.322-337, mostly ascension spells). In N. it occurs on the north wall of the burial chamber, after Utts.628-633 which deal with the restoration of the body and followed by Utts. 330 & 336. The two versions are cited here : the first text is from T. and the second from N.

- §535a *dd mdw: inw Hr mr.f T. in(.i) n.f irt.f*
dd mdw: in(w) n.Hr N. mr.f sw in n.f N. irt.f
 §535b *inw Stš mr.f T. in(.i) n.f hrwy.f*
in(w) n Stš N. mr.f sw in n.f N. hrwy.f
 §535c *inw Dhwti mr.f T.*
in(w) n Dhwti N. mr.f sw in n.f N. cf
 §536a *sd3.n n.sn psdtwy*
 §536b *iny 3 ipw mr(w) T. inw w(i) r htpt*
iny 3 pw mr(w) N. pn in(w) N. r htpt
 §536c *int.sn T. r htpt*

int.sn N. ir htpt

- §535a To be recited: the messenger of Horus, he loves T.(= "me") for I bring him his Eye.
To be recited: the one who brings N. to Horus, he loves him for N. brings him his Eye.
- §535b The messenger of Seth, he loves T. for I bring him his testicles.
The one who brings N. to Seth, he loves him for N. brings him his testicles.
- §535c The messenger of Thoth, he loves T.
The one who brings N. to Thoth, he loves him for N. brings him his arm.
- §536a The Two Enneads tremble to themselves,
§536b these messengers, indeed, who love T. and who bring me to a meal
these messengers, indeed, who love N. and who bring this N. to a meal
§536c they shall bring T. to a meal.
they shall bring N. to a meal.

This spell could either be seen as an appeal to the gods to help the king to ascend to a meal as he is bringing them their essential parts or the gods are invoked to bring the king their most valued attributes and provide a meal. Firchow (1953 p.223) sees §535a-c as a threefold designation of the deceased as a messenger. Tobin (1993 p.97) sees the detached entities as being presented to the deceased king ("offerings which are voluntarily made and need not imply any acts of hostility"). I have taken the initial *in(w)* as an active participle with N. as object i.e. the participle denotes the "messenger" of Horus who is taking the king to his master. Following this interpretation, *mr.f* denotes that Horus or the messenger loves the king as he is bringing with him the vital missing part of his body (as seen in other ascension spells). Faulkner's interpretation (1969 p.105) is "the messenger of Horus loves me and has brought his eye" which leads him to conclude that "Horus, Seth and Thoth in turn present to the king those parts of their bodies which will help him most". This ignores the *N.* which shows the king is involved in the bringing of the eye. However, this must be considered as an alternative rendering of this spell : the Eye could represent an offering (the meal mentioned later?), the testicles could allude to the duality with Seth (see Te Velde 1977 p.50-51) and the arm of Thoth could symbolize his strength. The arm of Thoth is also mentioned in *CT* 249 (iii 344) "you shall be happy through me , for it is my arm which brings and guides you, it is my arm which severs you....I am Thoth, my arm is before me, I guide the heralds of the gods" (Faulkner 1973 p.193). The result of this initial part of the spell is that the ennead is in awe of the king and the messengers mentioned in §535 assure the king of a meal. The final *int.sn* could be a prospective *s_dmf* or possibly *s_dmt_y.fy* form. This emphasises that there will always be a meal for the king.




SECTION C: THE EYE OF HORUS IN SPELLS FOR INSIGNIA AND CLOTHING

C1 UTT.414

This is a ritual spell for the presentation of clothing or cloth (it is preserved in New Kingdom daily temple ritual as *r n db3 mnht hdt* - see Altenmüller 1972 p.55). It occurs in the sequence Utts.414-421 in T., on the south wall of the passage to the serdab, whereas in M. it is on the west wall of the burial chamber, between Utts.591 and 592, and in N. amongst the offering ritual.

- §737a *dd mdw h3 Wsir-NN. pw*
§737b *šzp n.k ššp.k šzp n.k h3t.k hr.k*
§737c *wnh m irt Hr im(y)t T3it*
§737d *i.ir.s kit.k hr ntrw ir.s m si3t.k hr ntrw*
§737e *it.k wrtt im.s hr ntrw*
§737f *it.k wrtt im.s hr Hr nb pꜥt*

- §737a To be recited: O Osiris-NN.,
§737b receive your bright cloth, receive your cloak upon you!
§737c Be clothed with the Eye of Horus which is in Tait
§737d so it may make your shout of acclaim before the gods, so it may act as your
(means of) recognition before the gods,
§737e so you may take the *Wrrt*-crown by means of it before the gods
§737f and so you may take the *Wrrt*-crown by means of it before Horus, Lord of the
nobles.

The *ssp* cloth has the determinative  in M., whereas T. has  and N. has . The brightness of the cloth was clearly an important quality - *CT* vi, 221, a spell for cloth, includes the line “your face is bright by means of it in this its name of Bright One” (Faulkner 1977 p.197). The *h3ti* garment is cited among Jéquier's list (1921 p.32) - Sethe (1935c p.369) sees the word as generally indicating “covering” or “wrapping”. The deceased is addressed with imperatives (although T. and N. have the prospective *sdm.f* form) and told to dress himself (*šzp*) with the garments and with the Eye of Horus (*wnh*). The Eye of Horus is located in Tait, the traditional centre of weaving with a goddess of the same name. The results of this clothing are described - acclaim (*kit*), recognition (*si3t*) and the *Wrrt* crown, possession of which shows the king's assumption of rule in the afterlife. It is clear that deceased's clothing functions as insignia and thus makes an important statement about the status of its wearer. Horus' epithet *nb pꜥt* is discussed by Gardiner (1947a p.110*) - he states that it is often used with reference to the *Wrrt* crown and that the *pꜥt* could be seen as “the autochthonous

inhabitants of Egypt from the time when the earth was separated from sky and when Geb became the earliest terrestrial ruler”, i.e. a privileged social class.

C2 UTT.453

This spell is found on the west wall of the burial chamber in the pyramids of P., M., N. and Nt., preceded by the purification spell Utt.452.

- §844a *dd mdw h3 NN. pw ḥ^c ir.k*
§844b *wnḥ n.k irt Hr šzp n.k s ḥr.k*
§844c *dmi.s r.k dmi.s r iw.f.k*
§845a *pr.k im.s m3 tw ntrw db3.t(i) im.s*
§845b *it n.k Wrrt ʿ3t ḥr psdt ʿ3t Iwnw*
§846a *[h3 NN. pw] ḥnh r.k*
§846b *in n.k irt Hr n ḥr.s r.k n dt dt*

- §844a To be recited: O NN., stand up!
§844b Put on the Eye of Horus, receive it upon you!
§844c so it may be joined to you, so it may be joined to your flesh
§845a so you may go forth by means of it, so the gods may see you adorned with it.
§845b Take for yourself the great *Wrrt*-crown before the Great Ennead in Heliopolis.
§846a [O NN.,] live!
§846b The Eye of Horus is brought to you. It shall never, ever be distant from you.

This is very similar in content to the previous spell. The imperatives *wnḥ* and *šzp* show that the Eye of Horus represents a garment here, although it is unspecified. The following line (§844c) is also seen in *CT* vi 221 with reference to red linen. The verb *dmi* is also used with oil in the *PT* (§2072c, 2073b). As in Utt.414, the wearing (*db3*) of the garment is a means of recognition and leads to the assumption of the *Wrrt* crown. The *ḥr* in §845b has been interpreted as the verb “to say” with the previous imperative being the speech of the gods (eg. Faulkner 1969 p.151). The phrase *in n.k* is either a passive *sdmw.f* or possibly *sdm.f* with the 1st person suffix omitted. There is an emphatic assurance of the permanent possession of the Eye of Horus, implying the same sentiment as the phrases with *nḥh* (see Appendix to Part One). The Eye may now symbolize another item of insignia, such as the crown (cf. §1795a), or still refer to the presentation of a garment.

C3 UTT.597

This spell occurs on the east wall of the burial chamber in M. and N. The phrasing is very similar to §737c and 1794a.

§1642 *dd mdw h3 NN. mi wnh.k n.k irt Hr wd3t im(y)t T3it*

To be recited: O NN., come so you may put on the sound Eye of Horus which is in Tait.

The verb *wnh* and the reference to Tait show that the Eye of Horus represents a garment here and the Eye's epithet *wd3t* stresses its pristine condition. Mercer (1952b p.369) comments on §740 that a link with the Eye of Horus would be “doubtless in the mind of the writer” but the condition of *wd3* was by no means particularly associated with the Eye - see the discussion in Chapter 11 - and could equally well describe the state of the garment with no connection to the Eye of Horus' mythical fate.

C4 UTT.622

This is found on the west wall of N.'s burial chamber.

§1755a *dd mdw Wsir-N. db3.n(i) kw m irt Hr*

§1755b *Rnn-wtt i.tn nrwt.n n.s ntrw*

§1755c *nrw n.k ntrw mr nrwt.sn n irt Hr*

§1755a To be recited: Osiris-N., I have clothed you with the Eye of Horus -

§1755b this Renenwetet cloth of which the gods are afraid

§1755c so the gods shall fear you as they fear the Eye of Horus.

Renenwetet was a snake goddess whose role included guarding the garments and bandages for the dead. Broekhuis (1971 p.79-80) argues that the Eye symbolizes linen here, rather than a garment. Either way, it results in awesomeness for the deceased like that of the Eye of Horus - *nrwt.n* is taken as a *sdmw.n.f* relative form, but Allen (1984 p.452) suggests this as an infinitival form (cf. Edel 1955 p.355). The comparison with §1794c shows that the effect of the Eye of Horus was as impressive as that of Horus - this suggests that either the Eye is functioning as a metonymy or that the Eye contains an equivalent power to Horus' awesomeness.

C5 UTT.635

This spell is found on the north wall of N.'s burial chamber amongst the offering ritual, between the insignia spells (Nt.43-64) and before Utts.651-653, more insignia spells.

§1794a *ḏd mdw Wsir-NN. in.n(.i) n.k irt Hr im(y)t T3it*

§1794b *Rnn-wtt tn nr(w)t.n n.s ntrw*

§1794c *nr n.k ntrw i.mr nr(w)t n.sn Hr*

§1795a *Wsir-NN. (w)d.n n.k Hr irt.f m ḥ3t.k m rn.s n Wrt-ḥk3w*

§1795b *Wsir-NN. ḥḥ.ti m n(y)-sw-bity*

§1794a To be recited: Osiris-NN., I have brought you the Eye of Horus which is in Tait -

§1794b this Renenwetet cloth of which the gods are afraid

§1794c so the gods shall fear you as they fear Horus.

§1795a Osiris-NN., Horus has placed his Eye on your forehead for you in its name of
“Great of Magic”.

§1795b Osiris-NN., arise as King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The powerful mythical terms of reference are combined here - the clothing is termed the Eye of Horus which is located in Tait, the weaving centre, and Renenwetet cloth. The phrasing compares with §1755b-c, except that here the gods are in awe of Horus, not his Eye, the effect being presumably the same if the Eye is seen as an embodiment of Horus' power. Horus is described as presenting his Eye to the deceased (§1795a) - the epithet *Wrt-ḥk3w* (see discussion in Chapter 3) and the placing on the brow suggests that the Eye symbolizes the uraeus or crown here, a designation of royalty, cf. §845b-846b where the king receives a crown when he wears a royal garment. The culmination of this spell for insignia is the accession of the king.

C6 UTT.591

The spell is found on the west wall of M.'s burial chamber and the east wall of N.'s.

§1612a *ḏd mdw db3.n sw Hr m Šzmt.f nmtt ḥr t3.f mti-wti*

§1612b *ḏb3.n sw Stš m Šzmt.f nmtt ḥr t3.f mti-wti*

§1613a *ḏb3.n sw Dḥwty m Šzmt.f nmtt ḥr t3.f mti-wti*

§1613b *ḏb3.n Dwn-Ḥwy m Šzmt.f nmtt ḥr t3.f mti-wti*

§1614a *ḏb3.n NN. pn ḏd.t m Šzmt.f nmtt ḥr t3.f mti-wti*

§1614b *Hr m-n.k irt.k si3t n.k m ḥwt sr imyt lwnw*

§1614c *ḥ3 NN. si3.n ḥw k3.k r ḥftyw.k*

§1612a To be recited: Horus has clothed himself with his Shezmet apron which has traversed his land (*mti-wti* ?)

§1612b Seth has clothed himself ...etc.

§1613a Thoth has clothed himself ... etc.

§1613b *Dwn-ḥwy* has clothed himself ... etc.

§1614a This NN. has clothed himself also ... etc.

§1614b O Horus, take to yourself your Eye which was recognised for you in the House of the Prince in Heliopolis.

§1614c O NN., your ka has recognised you from your foes.

The *šzmt* apron was a short kilt with straps hanging down (Staehelin 1984 col.586-7). Newberry (1932 p.316) suggests it was originally a “garment of maidens” adopted by the king. *Nmtt* is an active participle agreeing with *šzmt* but the phrase *mti-wti* is more mysterious. Faulkner (1969 p.242 n.1) has *m twt* as a suggestion, Mercer (1952c p.767) says it is “a hocus pocus expression” for magical effect. The gods mentioned here represent the four cardinal points - see Utt.25 §17b; cf. also Utts.35 & 36 for these four gods as parallel to the king. The change to an offering formula (the Eye being presented to Horus himself) could show that the Eye symbolizes the apron here, *si3t* being a passive participle or another possibility is a *sdmw.nf* relative form “which you recognized”. The *ḥwt sr* is discussed in Chapter 12 as a mythical location for the Eye, usually connected with the idea of restitution by judgment. The recognition of the king by his ka is thus juxtaposed with the recognition of the Eye, the use of the same verb (*si3*) stresses the connection.

C7 UTT.225

This spell is found on the north wall of the burial chamber in close association with the offering ritual, in the sequence Utts.223-225. These are all rousing calls to the deceased king, assuring him of food (Utt.223) and rule in the afterlife (Utt.224). The spell begins with the traditional call to the king to awake and get up (§222a) to assert his authority over the mounds (*i3wt*) of Horus, Seth and Osiris, possibly representing the Two Lands of Egypt and the realm of the dead. The *ḥtp di nswt* formula is used, as elsewhere in the *PT* although slightly odd seeing as the texts are for the king, the boon being “that your son may be upon your seat, your garment is a leopard skin and your garment is a *ḥsdd*-kilt” (§223a). The two garments must have special significance - the leopard skin loincloth (*b3*) was a priestly attire but the *ḥsdd*'s function is unknown (*WB* iii, 339.2 “Art Schurz”). The king is also to walk in sandals (a sign of authority), sacrifice an ox and travel in the *W3ḏ-ḥn* bark. The spell concludes with the lines:

§224b *nḥbt.k ḥnt ḥḥw mdw.k ḥnti 3ḥw*



§224c *i.šm smsw i.nḏ.f z3.f*

§224d *wnh.ti dt.k iwt.k hr(.i) nhh n.k irt Hr hr.k*

§224b Your lotus-bud sceptre is at the head of the living and your staff is at the head of the akhs.

§224c May the elder go so he may protect his son.

§224d Clothe your *dt* body so you may come to me. May the Eye of Horus endure with you.

The king shall rule the living and the dead in §224b,  is taken as a mistake for  (Faulkner 1969 p.53 n.3). The deceased is also envisaged as able to help his successor: a reciprocal arrangement. The clothing of the deceased is thus presented as an integral part of his restoration so he may approach the living. Anthes (1962 p.38) discusses the use of *wnh* with the *dt* body and notes that it is usually connected with the assumption of power. In §1300 it states “may you have power in your *dt* body, may your *dt* body be clothed”, followed by the king's ascension and eternal assumption of power in the sky. The phrase also occurs in §2119 in the context of receiving offerings at festivals and in §221a as a result the deceased is to come to “them” i.e. his children. This hints at continued contact between the deceased and the living (as in §224c) and clothing the *dt* body thus seems a prerequisite which empowers the deceased for action or movement. The reference to the Eye of Horus may be an offering formula (see the Appendix for the occurrences of this phrase), maybe for the garments mentioned above, or may be a statement assuring continued empowerment.

C8 UTT.220

Utts.220-221 describe the ritual for the Red Crown. They occur together, usually as part of the sequence Utts.213-222, on the south wall of the burial chamber in W., N. and Nt.

§194a *wn 3wy 3ht nhbhb q3nwt.s*

§194b *iw.n.f hr.t Nt. iw.n.f hr.t Nzrt*

§194c *iw.n.f hr.t Wrt iw.n.f hr.t Wrt-hk3w*

§194d *w^{b(w)} n.t snd(w) n.t*

§195a *htp.t hr.f htp.t hr Gw.f*

§195b *htp.t hr mdw.f i.dd.f n.t*

§195c *nfrwy hr.t htp.t(i) m3.ti rnpw.ti ms.n tm ntr it ntrw*

§195d *iw.n.f hr.t Wrt-hk3w*

§195e *Hr pw sn(w) m z3 irt.f Wrt-hk3w*

§194a Open the doors of the horizon, draw back its bolts,

§194b for he has come before you, O *Nt*-crown! He has come before you, O *Nzrt*-serpent!

§194c He has come before you, O Great One! He has come before you, O Great of Magic,

§194d pure for you and in fear of you.

§195a May you be content with him, may you be content with his purification,

§195b may you be content with his speech when he speaks to you.

§195c How beautiful is your face, you being content, renewed and refreshed, for the god created you - the father of the gods.

§195d He has come before you, Great of Magic -

§195e it is Horus enchanted with the protection of his Eye, Great of Magic.

The spell begins with instructions to open the shrine of the crown - *wn* and *nḥbḥb* are imperatives, or perhaps passive *sḏm(w).f*. The king's approach is announced to the Red Crown named with a variety of epithets (recalling §901b where it is said to be *š3t wnw*) and personified as a deity here. For a list of the possible names for the Red Crown see Strauß-Seeber (1980 col.812). The king is described as *w^b(w)* and *snd(w)*, ritually pure and in awe. The crown is asked to be satisfied (*ḥtp*) with his purity and his ritual speech, which may be §195c. The crown is flattered with a series of Old Perfectives (*ḥtp.ti m3.ti rnp.ti*) and hailed as being of divine creation. The crown is addressed again with its common epithet, *wrt ḥk3w*, which is clearly in the vocative rather than being applied to the Eye of Horus, as §195d shows. The king is depicted as Horus who is *šnw* with the magical protection of his Eye (see Hornung 1983 p.62 for *z3* as an attribute of a deity). Schott (1945 p.74) translates “Horus ist das, der zum Schutze seines Auges kampf” but this seems less likely considering the magical meanings of the verb *šni* - see Ritner (1993 p.43) and Anthes (1961c) - which seems derived from the verb “to recite” and which came to mean “conjure”.

C9 UTT.221

See Utt.220 for the occurrence of this spell.

§196a *hi Nt hi Ini hi Wrt*

§196b *hi Wrt-ḥk3w hi Nzrt*

§197a *di.t šʿt NN. mr šʿt.t*

§197b *di.t snd NN. pn mr snd.t*

§197c *di.t kit NN. pn mr kit.t*

§197d *di.t mrwt NN. pn mr mrwt.t*

§197e *di.t ʿb3.f ḥnt ʿnḥw [di.t šym].f ḥnt 3ḥw*

§197f *di.t rwds.f r ḥftyw.f*

§198a *hi in pr.n.t im.f pr.n.f im.t*

§198b *ms.n tw Iḥt-wrt shkr.n tw Iḥt-wtt*

§198c *ms.n tw Iḥt-wtt shkr.n tw Iḥt-wrt*

§198d *n twt is Hr šn(w) m z3 irt.f*

§196a O *Nt*-crown! O *Ini*-crown! O Great Crown!

- §196b O Great of Magic! O *Nzrt*- serpent!
 §197a May you cause the terror of NN. to be like the terror of you,
 §197b may you cause the fear of this NN. to be like the fear of you,
 §197c may you cause the shout of acclaim for this NN. to be like the shout of acclaim for you,
 §197d may you cause the love of this NN. to be like the love of you,
 §197e may you place his *Aba*-sceptre at the head of the living, [may you place his *shm*-sceptre] at the head of the akhs,
 §197f may you place his knife upon his foes.
 §198a O *Ini*-crown, (if) you have gone forth from him, he has gone forth from you.
 §198b If *Ikhet*-the-great has borne you, *Ikhet*-Wetet has adorned you.
 §198c If *Ikhet*-Wetet has borne you, *Ikhet*-the-Great has adorned you
 §198d for you are *Horus* encircled with the protection of his Eye.

The crown is addressed with many names, as in §194b-c, followed by a refrain to ensure that the properties the king acquires from the crown are those properly due to a king as a result of his royal power. N. has a variation for §197e: *di.t shm.f hnt Gnhw di.t b3.f hnt 3hw*, reversing the order of the sceptres that indicate rule over the living and the blessed dead. The dual use of the phrase *pr m* stresses the common nature of the king and the crown - see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the meaning of this phrase. A mutual relationship is also stressed regarding the actions of two beings - the name *ih̄t-wrt* can mean “property of the Great One” (Hornung 1983 p.45) and *ih̄t-wtt* “property of the serpent” (see Faulkner 1977 p.66 n.15). The king is under the dual protection of these two female deities who have a similar function to many of the other goddesses associated with the royal insignia, such as the “Two Ladies”. Sethe (1935a p.113) sees both expressions as personifications of fire (with *Ih̄t-wtt* as a fire spitting snake) as *ih̄t* came to be a euphemism for fire. The snake form of these goddesses and their quality of greatness are the important aspects for the king here. The change to masculine pronouns in §198b-d shows this must be the crown replying to the king. He is then described as *Horus* with his Eye (as in §195e above).

C10 UTT.468

Faulkner (1969 p.157) and Mercer (1952b p.457) see this as a collection of shorter spells connected with the king assuming power in the afterlife. It is found on the west wall of the antechamber in P., M. and N., and on the south wall of Nt. and Wd.'s burial chambers.

- §900a *h3 NN. pn š̄t.k pw irt Hr w̄d3t*
 §900b *h̄dt tw wtt im(y)t Nhb*
 §900c *di.s š̄t.k NN. pw m irtwy n̄trw nbw*

§900d *m irtwy 3ḥw iḥmw-sk š3w-swt*
 §900e *m irtwy ḥt nb m33t(y).sn ṯw sdmt(y).sn rn.k ist*
 §901a *h3 NN. pw ḥtm ṯw m irt Ḥr dšrt*
 §901b *wrt b3w(š3t wmw*
 §901c *i.nd.s ṯw NN. pn mi nd.s Ḥr*
 §902a *di.s b3w.k NN. pn ḥnt psdtwy*
 §902b *m wttwy im.ti ḥ3t.k*
 §902c *tz.sn ṯw NN. pn*
 §902d *sšm.sn ṯw ḥr mwt.k Nwt ndr.s ʿ.k*

§900a O NN., the sound Eye of Horus is the fear of you,
 §900b this White Crown, the snake goddess who is in Nekheb.
 §900c May she place the fear of you, O NN., in the eyes of all the gods,
 §900d in the eyes of the akhs, the Indestructible Ones, those secret of places,
 §900e and in the eyes of everything which shall see you and which shall hear your name.
 §901a O NN., provide yourself with the Eye of Horus, the Red Crown,
 §901b great of might, many of existences,
 §901c so it may protect you, O NN., like it protects Horus,
 §902a so it may place your might, O NN., at the head of the Two Enneads
 §902b as the two serpent goddesses on your brow.
 §902c May they raise you, O NN.,
 §902d and guide you to your mother Nut so she may take your arm.

In this section of the spell the Eye of Horus is first termed the *Hḏt* crown (§900a-e) and then the *Dšrt* Crown (§901a-902b), the two crowns representing the essential duality of the kingdom. The White Crown is equated with the *wḏ3t* Eye of Horus, also called the *wtt* from Nekheb. This alludes to Nekhbet, the goddess of Upper Egypt who was usually in vulture form but could also be a snake like her counterpart Wadjet. The crown is to make the king awesome - an aspect seen in the other spells (eg. §197b). It is noteworthy that the fear is targeted specifically at the eyes. As the Red Crown the Eye of Horus has the epithets *wrt b3w* (see Bergmann 1880 p.89 - "von mannigfaltigen Formen") and *(š3t wmw* - variety and multiplicity of forms being an indication of the power of a deity (see Hornung 1983 p.86). The Eye / crown also provides protection (as in §198d) and the king can assert his power before the Two Enneads. Following on from the reference to the White Crown as the *wḏ3t* Eye, Wolf-Brinkmann (1968 p.35) sees a connection between the wounded eye and the Red Crown but this is not referred to in the text. The two uraei mentioned in §902b may reflect the mention of the two crowns and they are to help the king ascend.

Utts.524 §1234b and 724 §2246f also refer to the *ḥḏt* crown and the Eye of Horus.

The following spells do not refer to the Eye of Horus but to an unspecified eye that is identified with a crown. While perhaps they belong rightfully in Section J on other divine eyes, they are included here for comparative purposes.

C11 UTT.592

This spell is found on the west wall of M.'s burial chamber and on the south wall of N.'s. A rather garbled version occurs in Nt.370-383 on the north wall of her burial chamber. The utterance is addressed throughout to Geb, initially termed the son of Shu (§1615), who is asked to look after the Osiris-king as he is the “sole great god” who received the heritage of Atum (§1617). Geb's protection of the king is then stressed further: he will ensure that the king will be *wḏ3* as he is Geb's own son (§1620), will remove all threats in his name of *Hr i.tm whm k3t.f* (§1622), associating Geb with an aspect of Horus. Geb is attributed the power *sh̄m* and his nature is indicated further:

- §1623a *ṭwt k3 n ntrw nb(w)*
- §1623b *in n.k sn šd.k sn sḥḥ.k sn*
- §1623c *sḥḥ.k Wsir-NN.*
- §1624a *ṭwt ntr sh̄m.ti m ntrw nb*
- §1624b *pr.n irt m tp.k m wrt-ḥk3w šmḥt*
- §1624c *pr.n irt m tp.k m wrt-ḥk3w mḥt*
- §1625 *sšm.n kw Hr i.mr.n.f kw*
- §1626 *ḥḥ.ti m n-sw-bit sh̄m.ti m ntrw nb k3w.sn išt*

- §1623a You are the ka of all the gods,
- §1623b bring them so you may rescue them and make them live,
- §1623c and may you make Osiris-NN. live.
- §1624a You are a god, powerful among all the gods,
- §1624b the eye has gone forth from your head as the Great of Magic of Upper Egypt,
- §1624c the eye has gone forth from your head as the Great of Magic of Lower Egypt.
- §1625 for Horus has followed you and has loved you
- §1626 you being arisen as King of Upper and Lower Egypt and powerful among all the gods and their kas.

As the *k3* of the gods, Geb can be seen as containing their essence and nature, thus he is able to ensure their existence (*sḥḥ*) and likewise that of the king. Geb is again referred to as a *ntr* possessing *sh̄m* followed by the assertion that an eye has emerged from his head as the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. The verb *pr.n* can be interpreted as an emphatic *sḏm.n.f* stressing *m wrt-ḥk3w* - for the meaning of the phrase and the epithet see Chapter 3. It is clear that the possession of the crown is being expressed as the emergence of a symbolic Eye - the

epithet *wrt-ḥk3w* has the respective crown determinatives. His position as King of Upper and Lower Egypt is confirmed in §1626. Geb's role in the ennead as the ancestral father of Osiris and Horus and a tradition that he was the first terrestrial ruler among the gods (te Velde 1978 col.428, see Chapter 12 for the role of Geb) accounts for this emphasis on his kingship of the gods, something that was desired by the deceased king and which was rightfully his as Geb's successor.

C12 §1832b

This was the final line of Sethe's Utt.649 which he got from a fragment in the Berlin Museum (Nr.14667 - see Sethe 1922 p. ix). However, this line does not appear in any other version of the spell which is also found in N. and Nt. on the north wall of the burial chamber. Allen (1984 p.700) suggests that it is the start of Utt.650 but this spell is also only found in fragments.

§1832b *pr.n irt m tp.k m wrt-ḥk3w šm'wt*

The Eye has gone forth from your head as the Great of Magic of Upper Egypt.

This is the same as §1624b and one might expect a parallel line mentioning the crown of Lower Egypt. The epithet does not have a determinative to indicate clearly that the crown was meant but, as is discussed in Chapter 3, this epithet was used in the *PT* almost exclusively for the crowns. It is hard to assess the significance of this line, given the doubtful nature of its context. Utt.649 has similar material to Utt.592 as the king is attributed *šhm* (§1830b) and is called the *k3* of the gods (§1831d). Utt.650 also describes the deceased as King of Upper and Lower Egypt (§1833) who is before the gods like “Geb who presides over the ennead” (§1834) so both possible contexts of this line are very similar to that of Utt.592 in terms of an assertion of power and kingship.

A similar phrasing has also been restored in the following spells:

Utt.641

§1816a *[di.i n.k wrt-ḥk3w šm't irt prt m tp.k*

§1816b *di.i n.k wrt-ḥk3w mḥt irt] prt m tp.k*

This is Faulkner's restoration (1969 p.265 n.2). There is no parallel in the *PT* for this phrasing and the presentation of the crown contradicts the assertion that it has emerged from the head. The content of Utt.641 is very similar to the other examples above in terms of the role of Geb

and the kingship so a reference to the crown in this phrasing would not be incongruous here but remains inconclusive.

Utt.643 (Allen's *643A)

§1820a [*pr.n irt m tp.k m*] *wrt-ḥk3w šmʿt*

The following line is fragmented, as is most of this spell, but *wrt-ḥk3w* does have a crown determinative.

The final spell in this section refers to eyes from Nut with very similar phrasing:

C13 UTT.443

This spell occurs on the west wall of the burial chamber of P., M., N. and Nt.

§823a *ḏḏ mdw Nwt pr.n irtwy m tp.t*
§823b *it.n.t Hr wrt.f ḥk3w ist*
§823c *it.n.t Stš wrt.f ḥk3w ist*
§823d *Nwt ip.n.t ms.t m rn.t n rpwt Iwnw*
§823e *ip.t NN. pn n ḥnh im.f sk*

§823a To be recited: Nut, the two eyes have gone forth from your head

§823b for you have taken Horus and his Great-of-Magic

§823c and you have taken Seth and his Great-of-Magic.

§823d Nut, you have claimed your child(ren) in your name of "Mistress of Heliopolis",

§823e may you claim this NN. in life so he does not perish.

Here, Nut has eyes emerge from her head and this is her only connection with the symbolic eye motif in the *PT*. As Geb's consort, Nut was still one of the king's divine ancestors but was more maternally protective towards the king (especially as a symbol of the coffin) than involved with the assertion of his rights as king. Her role as mother of Horus and Seth is stressed in this spell (§823d) and she is to recognize the king similarly (§823e), the verb *ip* being common in the *PT* with the general sense of rightful recognition and claiming as one's own. For Nut's epithet *rpwt Iwnw* see Faulkner (1969 p.148 n.2). The eyes referred to have been interpreted as celestial bodies, given Nut's prominent celestial role, thus Sethe (1935d p.71) states "Die Auge sind natürlich Sonne und Mond". Nut is, however, subsequently described as taking possession of her children Horus and Seth and their *wr-ḥk3w* which, as we

have seen, usually refers to the crown (see also *CT* 803, vii 9). The duality of Horus and Seth here is that of a reconciled pair that are embodied in the king. A celestial interpretation is possible but the content of the spell seems more concerned with recognition and filial relationship. The association of two eyes with the dual epithet *wr-ḥk3w* strongly suggests a connection with the crowns. A similar phrasing also occurs in Allen's restoration (1984 p.682) of his Utt.*634A (the beginning of Faulkner's 715).

*§1792a *[[f3.n n.k Nwt tp].k*

*§1792b *it.n.s ntrw nb*

*§1792c *it.n.s [Hr wrrt.f-ḥk3w is]t*

*§1792d *it.n.s Stš wr[rt.f-ḥk3w] i[s]t*

*§1792e *pr.n.s m tp.k [in.n.s n.k ntrw nb]]*

There is no mention of eyes here, instead either Nut or the *wrrt-ḥk3w* is said to have emerged from the king's head (*§1792e).

SECTION D: SPELLS CONCERNING PURIFICATION

Some of the spells on this theme are included among the spells of the offering ritual and this is indicated in the notes.

i) Incense spells: (cf. also Utts.25, 29, 32, 36 in the Offering Ritual)

D1 UTT.200

This spell is found on the north wall of Unas' passage following Utts.199, 32, 23 and 25 which also appear as part of the offering ritual. It forms part of the closing purification rites.

§116a *id hr.k sntrw id hr.k sn ntr id hr.k mn wr im iw(w) Hr*

§116b *wr it(.i) pd tw m rn.k p3d*

§116c *st.k r NN. bdd.k r NN.*

§116d *irt Hr q3.t 3.t r NN. sntrw*

§116a Hail to you, incense. Hail to you, brother of the god. Hail to you, "great firmness" which is in the bones of Horus.

§116b Be great, my father- spread yourself in your name of "ball".

§116c Your perfume is for NN., your natron is for NN.

§116d The Eye of Horus, may you be raised on high and great for NN. Incense.

The incense is greeted under various names, *sn ntr* providing an obvious pun with *sntr*. The term *mn wr* has been translated by Faulkner (1969 p.36) as "marrow", indicating incense as the essence from divine bones. Mercer (1952b p.60) says the name of the incense was derived from a place *mnwr* where it originated but this seems less likely. The incense is then called "father", the imperatives *wr* and *pd* suggesting the expansion of the smoke. The incense is finally addressed as the Eye of Horus with further exhortations to greatness.

D2 UTT.598

This spell shares the title of Utt.29 in N., being located on the north wall of the burial chamber amongst the offering ritual. In M. the spell is found on the east wall of the burial chamber, following Utts.244 and 436.

§1643a *dd mdw: irt tn tw n(y)t Hr dit.n.f n Wsir*

§1643b *di.n.k n.f s htm.f hr.f im.s*

§1643c *tn hm tw ndmt st mdwt.n Hr hr.s hr Gb*

§1643d *sntr ht*

- §1643a To be recited: this is this Eye of Horus which he has given to Osiris -
 §1643b you have given it to him so that he may provide his face with it.
 §1643c Indeed, this is a sweet smelling thing about which Horus spoke to Geb -
 §1643d incense and fire.

§1643a is a sentence with nominal predicate following the construction using *pw* (cf. Edel 1955 p.155 “dieses Auge des Horus ist das”) which emphasises that it is Horus' Eye rather than the usual simpler *irt Hr*. The Eye has, however, been given to Osiris (*di.n.k* is an emphatic *s_dm.n.f* stressing *h_tm.f*). The use of the term *h_tm.f* with incense is suggestive of the smoke engulfing the face (cf. §20b). Edel (1964 p.421) discusses the use of the particle *hm*, citing the construction *N. hm pw* “N. ist es”. Faulkner (1969 p.245 n.2) interprets *m* as an archaic independent use of this pronoun. The discussion (*mdwt.n*, *s_dmw.n.f* relative form) between Horus and Geb about the Eye may recall the judgement at Heliopolis, although the two gods also occur together in other ritual situations for the deceased Osiris.

D3 UTT.757

This is possibly a variation of Utt.598 from Nt., but Allen (1984 p.661) follows Faulkner in giving this a supplementary number.

- §2287a *irt tn tw n(y)t Hr dit.n f n Wsir*
 §2287b *di.n.f n.k s h_tm.k hr.k im*
 §2287c *s_t mdwt.n Hr hr.s hr Gb*

- §2287a This is this Eye of Horus which he gave to Osiris.
 §2287b He has given it to you so that you may provide your face therewith.
 §2287c [This is a sweet-smelling thing] about which Horus spoke to Geb.

The text of the spell is practically the same as Utt.598 except §2287b where the pronouns *f* and *k* are reversed.

D4 UTT.741

This spell only occurs in Nt. after Utts.268 and 476 and followed by the offering ritual.

- §2271a *Wsir-NN. m-n.k irt Hr h_tm tw im.s*
 §2271b *k3p.n sw Hr m irt.f*
 §2271c *h3 NN. pw k3p tw hr irt Hr*
 §2271d *sn_tr tw hr irt Hr*
 §2271e *h_tm tw m irt Hr h_tm tw m n_tr ... f k r(?)*

§2271a Osiris-NN., take to yourself the Eye of Horus. Provide yourself with it

§2271b for Horus has censed himself with his Eye.

§2271c O NN., cense yourself with the Eye of Horus,

§2271d sanctify yourself with the Eye of Horus,

§2271e provide yourself with the Eye of Horus, provide yourself with ...

The spell commences with the traditional offering formula. Faulkner (1969 *Suppl.* p.82) restores Ⲫ as Ⲭ in §2271b. The line §2271c shows that the deceased is to imitate the actions of Horus with the incense / Eye. Faulkner (1969 *Suppl.* p.82) also restores Ⲡⲓⲛ as Ⲡⲓⲛ in §2271d. The use of the verb *sntr*, punning with the name for incense *sntr*, shows the powerful ability of the purification to transform the condition of the deceased.

ii) Spells for eye-paint: (cf. also Utts.79-80 in the Offering Ritual)

D5 UTT.605

The spell is found on M.'s antechamber's east wall and on N.'s burial chamber's east wall.

§1681a *gd mdw: it(.i) NN. mk in(.i) n.k w3gdw*

§1681b *in(.i) n.k w3gdw (w)d(w).n Hr n Wsir*

§1682a *di(.i) tw n it(.i) NN. mr w[dt tw] Hr n it.f Wsir*

§1682b *mḥ.n Hr irt.f šwt m irt.f mḥt*

§1681a To be recited: O my father, NN., behold I bring green eye-paint to you.

§1681b I bring green eye-paint to you which Horus placed on Osiris.

§1682a I give you to my father NN. just as Horus placed you on his father Osiris,

§1682b for Horus has filled his empty Eye as his full Eye.

The deceased king is addressed by his son who is presenting the offering of eye-paint. N. has the variation *ii.n(.i) in* in §1681a. The following line emphasises that the king will receive a god's offering by showing that the eye-paint is the equivalent of that given to Osiris. The eye-paint is then addressed (as *tw*) and the connection with Horus and Osiris is repeated. The verb *wdt* is an infinitive or possibly *sdmt.f* form (see Gardiner 1957 p.321). The relationship of the last line to the rest of the spell is shown by the use of the verb *mḥ.n* which is used for the application of ointments and cosmetics. The phrase *irt.f šwt* may refer to the wounded eye, or the eye devoid of make-up. Similarly, *irt.f mḥt* could denote the “filled” or “completed” Eye which may allude to the restored injury. *CT* vi 151 has the full eye knitted up (*tz*, a verb often used for bodily restoration - see Chapter 11) by the deceased and the empty eye replaced (determined with a blank eye, other version have “Shu”) in the context of an ascension spell for joining Re's bark.

iii) Sacred Oils (cf. Utts.72-78 in the Offering Ritual).

D6 UTT.301

This spell is found on the east wall of the antechamber of W. and N., there are also fragments from T. and M. The utterance starts with an appeal to the primeval gods - the king assures them offerings and they are asked not to hinder him. Shu and Tefnut are asked to intercede with their father for the king and then Horus is addressed.

§450b *ii.n NN. hr.k Hr Š3t ii.n NN. hr.k Hr Šzmt*

§450c *ii.n NN. hr.k Hr i3bti*

§451a *mk in.n n.k NN. irt.k wrt i3bt m rwhjt*

§451b *šzp n.k s m-^c NN. wd3.t(i) mw.s im.s wd3.t(i)*

§451c *trw.s im.s wd3.t(i) htw im.s wd3.t(i)*

§452a *i3q ir.s it n.k s m rn.k pw n hq's ... ntr*

§452b *ik n.s m rn.k pw n R^c*

§453a *(w)d n.k s r h3t.k m rn.s pw n h3tt*

§453b *trwrw.k im.s m rn.s pw n trt*

§454a *thnkn.k im.s m-m ntrw m rn.s pw n thnt*

§454b *hkn.k im.s m rn.s pw n hknw*

§454c *rnn-wtt mr.s tw*

§450b NN. has come before you, Horus of Shat; NN. has come before you, Horus of Shezmet;

§450c NN. has come before you, Horus of the east.

§451a Behold, NN. has brought to you your great, eastern Eye - healed!

§451b Receive it from NN. intact, its water in it, it being intact,

§451c its blood in it, intact, its breath (?) in it, intact.

§452a Ascend to it, take it to yourself in this your name of "Divine Hq's".

§452b May you arise to it in this your name of Re,

§453a place it on your forehead in this its name of "Unguent"

§453b so you may rejoice in it in this its name of "Willow"

§454a and shine with it among the gods in this its name of "Faience" (or "She who gleams").

§454b May you be joyful with it in this its name of "Hknw-oil"

§454c Renenwetet, she loves you.

The forms of Horus addressed are not common. For Š3t Gauthier (1928 p.110) has "ville d'égypte non identifiée consacrée au dieu Horus". Hr Šzmt also appears in §342c and §1085c in relation to Hr i3bt (see Gauthier 1928 p.146). The emphasis in this part of the spell is on the king bringing offerings to Horus, as in the ascension spells where the king is the one returning the Eye of Horus rather than being the recipient of it himself. The phrase *m rwhjt* may be related to *srwh* which is translated by Faulkner (1962 p.236) as "foster,cherish,treat medically". Sethe (1962b p.149) translates it as "heilerin" and Faulkner (1969 p.90) has "in a

healed condition". It is repeatedly emphasised that the Eye is *wꜥꜥ3.t(i)*, an Old Perfective. This epithet is discussed further in Chapter 11 as an expression of well-being. The physical components of the Eye, or the vital aspects of its being, are listed - the water of the Eye is also discussed in Chapter 11 as being a "natural" characteristic of an eye. The mention of breath is more unusual but may allude to the importance of the breath of life (see Hornung 1983 p.199). For the word *ḥtm* Faulkner (1969 p.90) has "ducts", Mercer (1952b p.211) has "breath" and Sethe (1935b p.233) similarly suggests "Atem". This section of the spell has been interpreted as showing the king presenting the crown to Horus, for example Schott (1945 p.78-9) states "es sich um die gesalbte Krone aus Wiedengeflecht und Glasfluß handelt, die hier dem Gott als Krone überbracht wird", but there is no explicit reference to the crown here. A series of name formulae follow which have the function of relating cult items to this mythical scenario - see Chapter 11 for a discussion of this technique. Mercer (1952b p.212) states *ḥqꜥs* is the same as *qni*, i.e. a bodice or breast-piece worn by the *sm* -priest or the king. Sethe (1935b p.233) translates as "(der) mit dem gottlichen Herrscherschmuck". Faulkner (1969 p.90) has "*3qs* - ornament". The mention of the cobra goddess Renenwetet, who was associated with the uraeus, seems to be an assertion of protection as she also functioned as a maternal protector of the pharaoh. Her name is placed in emphasis.

The utterance continues with an address to the *zḥm-wr* ("Great Float User") who is to raise up the king's ka. The king is to be cleansed and there is an offering of two green falcons at the end. The king is portrayed here as offering to the gods so that he will not be hindered but be welcomed as he ascends, by invoking a reciprocal arrangement. Allen (1994 p.18 n.23) suggests this was originally a ritual spell but put into the mouth of the king.

D7 UTT.637

The spell occurs twice in N., as part of the offering ritual in the sequence 634A- 640 and on the east wall of the burial chamber between Utts.660 and 439. The mythical scene where Osiris is found and restored (seen also in §972a-b, 1008c, 1256a-b, 1280c-d, 1500a, 2144a-b) is used as a mythical parallel to the anointing of the deceased king, with the aim of achieving his resurrection and recognition as Osiris.

§1799a *ḏḏ mdw ii Ḥr mḥ(w) m ḏt zḥn.n.f it.f Wsir*

§1799b *gm.n.f sw ḥr gs.f m ḡḥsty*

§1800a *mḥ.n sw Wsir m irt ms(w) n.f*

§1800b *h3 NN. pw iw.n(i) ḥr.k ḏḏ.t*

§1800c *i.mḥ(.i) ṭw m (m)dt prt m irt Hr*
 §1801a *[i.mḥ(.i) ṭw] im.s*
 §1801b *ṭz.s qsw.k dmd.s n.k ḳwt.k*
 §1801c *s3q.s n.k iwḥ.k sfḥ.s fdwt dwt ir t3*
 §1802a *šzp n.k st.s ir.k ndm st.k mr R*
 §1802b *pr.f m 3ḥt im3 ntrw 3ḥtyw ir.f*
 §1803a *h3 NN. pw st irt Hr ir.k*
 §1803b *im3 ntrw smsw Wsir ir.k*
 §1804a *it n.k wrrt.sn pr.ti m irw Wsir*
 §1804b *i.3ḥ.k im ir 3ḥw m wdt Hr ds.f nb pḥt*

§1799a To be recited: Filled with oil, Horus comes, for he has sought his father Osiris
 §1799b and he has found him on his side in Gazelle Land.
 §1800a With the Eye of the one born to him has Osiris filled him(self?).
 §1800b O NN., I have come before you also
 §1800c so that I may fill you with oil gone forth from the Eye of Horus.
 §1801a [May I fill you] with it
 §1801b so it may reknit your bones and unite your members for you,
 §1801c so that it may pull together your flesh for you and remove your evil sweat to the earth.
 §1802a Receive its perfume on yourself so that your perfume may be sweet like Re
 §1802b when he goes forth from the horizon and the gods of the horizon are pleased for him.
 §1803a O NN., the perfume of the Eye of Horus is on you
 §1803b so the gods who follow Osiris may be pleased for you.
 §1804a Take their *Wrrt*-crown, you being equipped with the form of Osiris,
 §1804b so you may be more glorious thereby than the akhs at the command of Horus himself, lord of mankind.

The spell commences with Horus seeking his father Osiris whilst *mḥ(w) m dt* - anointing being the main subject of the spell. Osiris' murder is often located in *Gḥsty*, but also in *Ndit*, and here the allusion shows the god in need of restoration like the king. The filial connection is stressed by the phrase *irt msw n.f*, rather than the usual *irt Hr*. The link between the ritual situation and the mythical one is made explicit in §1800b-c, where the Eye of Horus is still referred to as the source of the oil. The phrase *pr m* which stresses the common identity of oil and Eye is discussed in Chapter 3. The mention of the Eye fits with the general Osirian interpretation here of the act of anointing (cf. the offering spells). The repetition in §1801a serves to stress the results of the act of anointing, namely bodily restoration and a divine perfume that compares with that of Re and the Eye of Horus and which will bring acclaim (§1803b). The king's position of power is stated at the end of the spell: he wears the *Wrrt* crown and is at the head of the akhs. For Horus' epithet *nb pḥt* see §737c (Utt.414, C1).

D8 UTT.686

The sequence Utts.685-688 is found on the north wall of N's antechamber. This is another spell for the anointing ritual but the mythical episode cited here is Horus regaining possession of his Eye which then becomes a source of strength.

§2071a *dd mdw mrht n Hr mrht n Stš*

§2071b *it.n Hr irt.f nhm.n.f s m hftyw.f*

§2071c *n išt.ti Stš im.s*

§2072a *mḥ.n sw Hr m (m)dt*

§2072b *htp Hr hr irt.f (pr Hr m swt.f*

§2072c *i.dmi irt Hr im.f st.s ir.f*

§2072d *i.hr dnd.s ir hftyw.f*

§2073a *mrht p n NN. pn i.mḥ sw NN. n im.s*

§2073b *dmr st.s ir.f*

§2073c *i.hr dnd.s ir hftyw.f*

§2071a To be recited: Oil of Horus, oil of Seth!

§2071b Horus has taken his Eye and he has rescued it from his enemies,

§2071c Seth does not possess it.

§2072a With oil has Horus filled him(self)

§2072b so Horus is content with his Eye and Horus is equipped with what is his,

§2072c for the Eye of Horus is joined with him, its perfume is on him,

§2072d its rage falls upon his enemies.

§2073a This oil belongs to this NN. so this NN. may fill himself with it

§2073b so its perfume is joined to him

§2073c and its rage may fall on his enemies.

The oil (*mrht* is a kind of oil / grease) is addressed as the possession of both Horus and Seth, perhaps reflecting their essential duality and embodiment of the monarchy. The *hftyw.f* referred to in §2071b are most likely to be Seth and his followers, Horus being depicted as having regained possession of his Eye by his own actions, an act which is then connected with his being anointed (*mḥ*). The phrase *n išt.ti* is derived from *išt* “possessions”. Faulkner (1969 p.296 n.1) translates this literally as “there is nothing appertaining to property of Seth in it”. The result of this anointing is the acquisition of the Eye's perfume and the awesomeness of its rage. The Eye is also seen as being aggressive in Utts.255, 256 & 260, for example, where it may be seen as similar to the uraeus. The shine of oil was also seen as formidable. The repetition in §2073a-c emphasises the connection between the king and Horus' actions and the parallel use of the verbs in §2072c-d emphasises the common properties of the Eye and the oil.

D9 UTT.687

This spell is part of the same sequence as Utt.686 (see above). The king receives the perfume of the Eye of Horus which brings him powers. Possession of the Eye also assures him a welcome from Horus and he shall rule as Osiris. The king is also identified with Re; all the mythical connections serve to ensure the king's success in the afterlife.

§2074a *dd mdw h3 NN. pw iw.n(.i) in.n(.i) n.k irt Hr imyt t3.s*

§2074b *st.s ir.k NN. pw*

§2075a *iw st.s ir.k iw st irt Hr ir.k NN. pw*

§2075b *i.b3.k im.s shm.k im.s w3š.k im.s*

§2075c *it.k wrwt im.s m-m ntrw*

§2076a *ii Hr h^c m hsf.k*

§2076b *i.h^cy m hsfw irt.f tp(y)t.k*

§2076c *m ir.f NN. hnti ntrw htm(w) m ntr t^c qsw.f m Wsir*

§2077a *i.ir ntrw i3 m hsfw NN.*

§2077b *mr irt ntrw i3 m hsf wh^c R^c pr.f m 3ht*

§2074a To be recited: O NN., I have come and I have brought to you the Eye of Horus which is in (t3.s ?) -

§2074b its perfume is on you, O NN.

§2075a Its perfume is on you, the perfume of the Eye of Horus is on you, O NN.

§2075b You shall have a ba by means of it, you shall have power by means of it, you shall be strong by means of it.

§2075c you may take the *Wrwt*-crown by means of it among the gods.

§2076a Horus comes, joyful at meeting you

§2076b rejoicing at meeting his Eye on you.

§2076c Behold NN. at the head of the gods, equipped as a god, for his bones have been joined as Osiris.

§2077a The gods make adoration at meeting NN.

§2077b as the gods make adoration at meeting the rising of Re as he comes forth from the horizon.

The word *t3* literally means “kiln” but Faulkner (1969 p.296 n.1) proposes the alternative “container(?)”. Another possibility is that *im(y) T3it* was intended (cf. §1794a) but the Eye is not a garment here. The construction with *iw* in §2075a stresses the fact that the king is provided with the sacred perfume which brings awesome results as he is now the possessor of important aspects of divine power. The verbs *i.b3.k*, *shm.k* & *w3š.k* are prospective *s_{dm}.f* forms; *w3š* can mean “strong” or “honoured” (Faulkner 1962 p.55) while the *h3* and *shm* are specific terms for power (see Chapter 6). The king will also possess the *Wrwt* crown (see Chapter 3) and there is welcome and happiness at the king's approach (§2076a-b), due in part

to his possession of the Eye. The king has thus been restored as Osiris and can now rule the gods, being adored like Re (cf. §1802b).

iv) Other mentions of the Eye of Horus and Purification:

D10 UTT.534

This spell occurs on the east wall of P.'s corridor at the north end. It is a spell for the king's tomb (others include Utts.599-601). Various gods are said to protect the king and warned not to be hostile. This is the dedicatory section of the spell where the pyramid complex is secured and its purity established. The utterance ends with a threat against anyone who shall "lay a finger" on the tomb. The spell is discussed by Weill (1947) and Osing (1994).

§1277a *iw.n(.i) wpww is htp di Gb 'Tm*

§1277b *wdn mr hwt-ntr i.ptn n NN. n k3.f*

§1277c *šnn.t(i) mr hwt-ntr i.ptn n NN. n k3.f*

§1277d *w^hb irt Hr tw*

§1278a *hw nh^h n(.i) rdit(y).f db^h.f ir mr hwt-ntr iptn nt NN. nt k3.f*

§1278b *rdi.n.f db^h.f r hwt Hr m qb^h*

§1278c *š3s.n.f Nbt-hwt nb(t)..f Gb*

§1277a I have come as Wepwuw. A boon which Geb and Atum give,

§1277b that this pyramid and temple be installed for NN. and for his ka,

§1277c that this pyramid and temple be enclosed for NN. and for his ka,

§1277d for this Eye of Horus is pure,

§1278a O may (it) endure for (me), for he who shall place his finger against this pyramid and this temple of NN. and his ka,

§1278b he has placed his finger on the house of Horus in the sky,

§1278c he has trodden on Nephthys, mistress.....Geb.

The name *Wpww* literally means "one who opens". He was a jackal god with whom the king was identified in the *PT* for ascension and power (eg. §1724, 1927). The securing of the pyramid complex was seen as a boon of the gods - the verb *wdn* has the imposing sense of "install as god or king" (Faulkner 1962 p.73) with sanctifying connotations. The verb *šnn* similarly had a magical meaning of encircling with power (see Chapter 3). This is followed directly by a reference to the Eye of Horus - the verb *w^hb* is possibly the circumstantial *s_{dm}.f* of the adjective verb or could be interpreted as a continuation of the results of the "boon" in §1277a, i.e. Geb and Atum will ensure that the Eye will be pure. It seems that the Eye of Horus is identified here with the pyramid complex. The buildings were, of course, part of the

provisions of the mortuary cult so in that respect the Eye's symbolism here is an extension of its use in offering spells.

The verb *nḥḥ* is discussed in the Appendix and the subject of the verb (here the Eye of Horus) is often omitted, namely the Eye of Horus. This line is usually (Faulkner 1969 p.202, Sethe 1962a p.168) taken as a continuation of the preceding line and the end of a section of the spell. The only problem with this is the resulting break in the middle of the line. Thus the phrase may belong with the rest of the line with the sense of hoping that the Eye (= pyramid complex) will endure in its pure condition despite anyone attempting to damage it, with the use of the future *sdmty.fy* form. Actions against the pyramid are effectively equated with threatening Horus' own house and (in §1278c) Nephthys, which incurs divine wrath. Anthes (1961 p.20) discusses this spell and sees the pyramid as the earthly equivalent of the *Hwt-Hr*.

D11 UTT.258

The spell is found on the west wall of the antechamber in W and T. This is the opening section but the spell continues with a description of the king taking his place in the sky: he ascends to the sky on the wind and gains access without judgment. The general aim of the spell is that the king should join Re and be all-powerful.

§308a *ḏḏ mdw Wsir pw NN. m zzw*

§308b *bwt.f pw t3 n 'q NN. m Gb*

§308c *ḥtm.f qd.f m ḥwt.f tp t3*

§308d *s(rw)ḏ qsw.f ḏr sdbw.f*

§308e *w'ḥ.n NN. m irt Hr ḏr sdb.f m ḏrtwy Wsir*

§308f *sfh.n NN. rdw.f m Ks3 ir t3*

§308a To be recited: NN. is Osiris in (zzw ?),


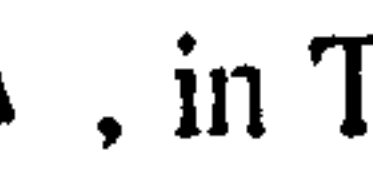
§308b earth is his abomination, Unas will not enter into Geb

§308c lest he perish and sleep in his palace on the earth,

§308d his bones are made strong and his obstacles are removed,

§308e by means of the Eye of Horus was NN. made pure, by means of Osiris' Two Kites was his obstacle removed,

§308f in Kus on earth has NN. removed his efflux.

The word *zzw* seems to be a geminating participle - in W. the writing is  , in T. . Faulkner (1969 p.67) guesses "dust devil" as in §309 the king ascends on the wind. The king is leaving the earth as Osiris - Geb had a sinister side as the earth as he could imprison the dead and prevent free movement in the afterlife. The restoration of the king is the desired

result of the mortuary rites, as is his purification, which is here attributed to the Eye of Horus, a mythical image for the effects of ritual. The two kites (*ḏrtwy*) are Isis and Nephthys who are traditionally found attending at Osiris' funeral. This line describes the funeral and mortuary rituals necessary for the king to ascend in Osirian terms. The king's bodily waste (*rdw*) is seen as a negative property from his death which is to be discarded. The town mentioned is Qis for which Gauthier (1928 p.220) cites Budge who “a placé cette ville dans le monde funéraire” but this could also be Cusae which features in the Osiris myth.

D12 UTT.259

This spell is almost identical to Utt.258 but is only found in T. (following Utt.258).

§312d *sr(w)ḏ qsw NN. pn ḏr sdbw.f*

§312e *w^b.n NN. pn m irt Hr ḏr sdb.f m ḏrtwy Wsir*

§312d The bones of this NN. are made strong, his obstacles are removed,

§312e by means of the Eye of Horus has NN. been purified, by means of Osiris' Two Kites was his impediment removed.

The spell continues just like Utt.258 but the mention of the wind is omitted, the king being described as joining Shu and Re instead (§313).

Utt.524 §1233a and Utt.724 §2246a-b also refer to the Eye of Horus and purification- they are translated in full in Section G.

SECTION E: THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE EYES OF THE KING

THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE OPENING OF THE EYES

E1 UTT.638

This spell is found on the north wall of N.'s burial chamber in a sequence of ritual spells (634A-640). These are inserted in the offering ritual after the Type A list and before a second list of short offering spells (Utts.172-198). The ritual spells include robing (Utt.635) and anointing (Utt.637), followed by this spell and Utt.639 which deal with the Opening of the Eyes.

§1805a *dd mdw Wsir-NN. tz.n n.k ntrw hr.k*

§1805b *rdi.n n.k Hr irt.f [m3.k im.s]*

§1806a *Wsir-NN. wp.n n.k Hr irt.k m3.k im.s*

§1806b *m rn.s n Wpt-w3wt-ntr*

§1805a To be recited: Osiris-NN., the gods have reknit your face for you,

§1805b Horus has given his Eye to you [so you may see with it].

§1806a Osiris-NN., Horus has opened your eye for you so you may see with it

§1806b in its name of "She who opens the ways of the god".

The restoration of the face is usually associated with the opening of the eyes (eg. §1807b-c, 610b, 641a). Horus then gives his Eye to the deceased for the desired result of the ritual, namely vision (cf. §641b). Horus is then said to have opened the king's eye with the same result, the singular eye suggesting that this is a symbolic gesture unless it is in imitation of the Eye of Horus. A name formula is also used to give extra power to the Eye: it is *wpt-w3wt-ntr*, a female version of the god's name Wepwawet, with connotations of enabling in terms of travel. Mercer (1952b p.316) suggests that this was an epithet of Neith. The name puns with the instrumental verb for this ritual, *wp*. Roeder (1994 p.60) places special emphasis on these phrases and sees the Eye as fundamentally connected with the enabling of the ruler, "seeing" being a term for the acquisition of power.

E2 UTT.639

This spell is also found only on N.'s north wall in his burial chamber in the same sequence as Utt.638.

§1807a *dd mdw [Wsir-JNN. m irt Hr (nh(w) m3.k im.s]*

- §1807b *Wsir-NN. wp(.i) hr.k m wpš*
 §1807c *Wsir-NN. [shd(.i) hr].k m hd-t3*
 §1808a *Wsir-NN. di.n(.i) n.k irt Hr m rdit sw R*
 §1808b *Wsir-NN. [(w)d(.i) n.k irt] Hr hr.k m3.k im.s*
 §1809a *Wsir-NN. wp.n(.i) irt.k m3.k im.s*
 §1809b *Wsir-NN. (m) mdt*

- §1807a To be recited: [Osiris-]NN., take the Eye of living Horus so you may see with it,
 §1807b Osiris-NN., I open your face with the light,
 §1807c Osiris-NN., [I illuminate your face] with the dawn,
 §1808a Osiris-NN., when Re causes it, I give the Eye of Horus to you
 §1808b Osiris-NN., [I have placed the Eye of] Horus before you for you so you may see with it,
 §1809a Osiris-NN., I have opened your eye so you may see with it
 §1809b Osiris-NN., with ointment.

The spell begins with an invocation to take the Eye of the “living” (*nhw*) Horus, perhaps to stress its efficacy for the deceased. The result is stated again as being the restoration of vision, as in §1805b. Then the face of the deceased is described as opened (*wp*, i.e. made effective) by the light and illuminated by the dawn (§1807b-c). There is an expression *wn hr* seen several times in the *CT* (eg. vii 1, 174) which also has the same sense. This emphasis on the powers of light for restoring sight is also seen in §641a. The dawn has connotations of daily rebirth and, of course, without light the eyes are useless. The Eye of Horus is placed (*wd*) before the deceased, again so that he may see (§1808b). Again, this is parallel to the opening of his eye so that he may see (as in §1806a). The final line is damaged but contains a reference to *mdt* ointment which may have been used in the ritual - Mercer (1952c p.836) states “the manual act being the anointing with ointment which is referred to as the Eye of Horus”.



E3 UTT.364

This spell occurs on the east wall in the antechambers of M. and N., and on the west wall in T.’s. A fragment is also preserved from Apouit’s texts. This can be classed as an Osirian resurrection spell as its main concern is the restoration of the deceased Osiris by the actions of Horus, assisted by other members of the ennead. Allen (1976 p.23) sees this as a summary of a statue ritual which precedes this spell in the texts of King Wahkare-Akhtoy - the phrases used here to describe the opening of the eyes are very similar to those in the two previous ritual spells.

§609a *dd mdw h3 Wsir-NN. pw (h) r.k*

§609b *ii Hr ip.f tw m-ꜣ ntrw i.mr.n tw Hr*
 §609c *htm.n.f tw (m irt.f) sdmi.n n.k Hr irt.f ir.k*
 §610a *wp.n n.k Hr irt.k m3.k im.s*
 §610b *tz.n n.k ntrw hr.k i.mr.n.sn tw*

§609a To be recited: O Osiris-NN., stand up!
 §609b Horus comes so he may claim you from the gods for Horus loves you
 §609c and he has provided you (with his Eye). Horus has attached his Eye to you for you
 §610a and Horus has opened your eye for you so you may see with it.
 §610b The gods have reknit your face for you because they have loved you,

The spell commences with a command to the deceased to arise and continues with Horus' actions for his father whom he recognizes (*ip*) and loves (*mr*). The phrase *m irt.f* in §609c only occurs in M. The following verb *sdmi* suggests an actual attachment of the Eye to the deceased, possibly to be seen as the application of eye-paint. *WB* iv 370 has two separate verbs  *sdm* "schminken" and  *sdmi* "anfügen, einpassen" (see also Faulkner 1962 p.257) but they are also considered as interchangeable (cf. Utts.79-80) - Roeder (1994 p.59) connects the four spells in this section with the application of eye-paint, as suggested by this verb. The deceased's eye is opened in the following line (§610a) and, as above, the singular eye is mentioned directly following the Eye of Horus (cf. §1805b, 1808b-1809a). Other gods are also involved in restoring the deceased's face (§610b). The spell continues with an assertion that Isis and Nephthys will help the Osiris-king and that he is Horus' ka.

E4 UTT.369

This text is found on the west wall of T.'s antechamber (in the sequence Utts.364-374) and on the west wall of N.'s burial chamber. It can also be termed an Osirian resurrection spell and begins with a similar invocation to the deceased:

§640a *dd mdw h3 Wsir-NN. (hꜣ rdi.n Hr hꜣ.k*
 §640b *rdi.n Gb m3 Hr it.f im.k [m rn].k n hwt-iti(w)*
 §641a *rdi.n n.k Hr ntrw i.siꜣ.n.f n.k sn i.shd.sn hr.k*
 §641b *rdi.n n.k Hr irt.f m3.k im.s*
 §642a *(w)d.n n.k Hr hfti.k hr.k*
 §642b *wtz.f tw m sfhh.k im.f*
 §642c *iwt.k ir qd.k tz.n n.k ntrw hr.k*
 §643a *wp.n n.k Hr irt.k m3.k im.s m rn.s n wpt-w3wt*
 §643b *hwi hfti.k in msw Hr sdsr.n.sn hwit.f*
 §643c *i.zz.n.sn sw i.bhn(w) dw st.f*
 §644a *mdd.n n.k Hr r.k mh3.n.f n.k r.k ir qsw.k*
 §644b *wp.n n.k Hr r.k*

§644c *in z3.k mry.k snt.n.f n.k irtwy.k*

§644d *n rdi.n Hr nhrhr hr.k*

§644e *m rn.k n Hr hry-tp rhyt.f*

§640a To be recited: O Osiris-NN., arise! For Horus has caused you to arise.

§640b Geb has caused that Horus may see his father in you in your name of “House of the Sovereign”.

§641a Horus has given the gods to you, he has made them arise to you so they may illuminate your face.

§641b Horus has given his Eye to you so you may see with it.

§642a Horus has placed your enemy under you for you

§642b so he may carry you. Do not release him!

§642c May you come to your form for the gods have reknit your face for you.

§643a Horus has opened your eye for you so that you may see with it in its name of “She who opens the ways”.

§643b Your enemy is struck by the children of Horus for they have made his beating bloody,

§643c they have punished him, him being driven off, evil is his smell.

§644a Horus has struck your mouth for you, he has adjusted your mouth to your bones for you,


§644b Horus has opened your mouth for you.

§644c It is your son, your beloved, who has refixed your eyes for you

§644d Horus shall not allow your face to (*nhrhr?*)

§644e in your name of “Horus who is in charge of his people”.

This spell seems essentially composite, detailing Horus' performance of the rituals of Opening the Mouth and the Eyes, also stressing the defeat of Seth which ensures Osiris' complete recovery. Geb features as a guiding figure (§640b), as he does in so many of these spells. There is also a name formula, which can be seen as another established characteristic of these spells, providing a pun between *it.f* and *itiw*. The gods illuminate the deceased's face, which has been discussed as a key theme in the Opening of the Eyes (see §1807b-c). Horus gives his Eye to the deceased with the result that he will be able to see, as before. Instead of being followed directly by a reference to the opening of the deceased's eye, the subjugation of his “enemy” (Seth) who must now bear him is mentioned (§642a-b) and the familiar restoration of the face (§642c). Then the same phrasing as §1806a-b is used, with a slight variation on the name (*wpt-w3wt*). This is followed by another reference to the subjugation of the “enemy” (§643b-c), this time by the children of Horus. They have a generally minor assisting role in the *PT*, helping the deceased to avoid hunger (§552) or bringing him a boat (§1228) for example. They also protect Osiris in §1333. The Opening of the Mouth is described next - this has several spells devoted to it in the *PT* (eg. Utts.20-22) but the opening of the eyes, mouth and ears are often referred to all together (see the spells cited below) suggesting a common ritual

function. A construction with *in* that emphasizes the dutiful role of Horus states that he “refixes” (*snt*) the deceased's eyes - Allen (1984 p.274) interprets this as a *sdm.n.f* form replacing a participial statement. The fact that the eyes are in the dual makes this a clear reference to the physical eyes. The interpretation of the following line is complicated by the verb *nhrhr* whose meaning is not clear. *WB* ii,313 has the meaning “be sad” and Allen (1984 p.586) has “be downcast, crestfallen” for the very similar form *nhrhr* in *Utt.67* , whereas Faulkner (1969 p.122 n.4, after Sethe 1935c p.190-1) has “sightless”. *Nt.312* also has the variation  . It provides a pun with the name in §644e which establishes a close link between the Osiris-king and Horus - Sethe (1935c p.191) sees this as an example of Osiris being given a royal title for the rule of the common people.

SPELLS THAT REFER TO THE KING'S EYES ONLY.

REFERENCES TO THE OPENING OF THE EYES:

E5 *Utt.21*

§13b [*wp n.k r.k wp n.k irtwy.k h3 NN.*]

[Your mouth is opened for you and your eyes are opened for you, O NN.]

See Sethe (1922 p.7) for the restoration. The rest of the spell concerns only the Opening of the Mouth.

E6 *Utt.602*

§1673a *i.wn.tn n NN. irtwy.f wb3.tn n.f šrt.f*

§1673b *wp.tn n NN. r.f snš.tn n.f msdrwy.f*

§1673a May you open his eyes for NN., may you split open his nostrils for him,

§1673b may you open his mouth for NN., may you unstop his ears.

The plural pronoun on *i.wn.tn* (prospective *sdm.f*) refers back to the gods addressed in §1672a. This spell refers to the restoring of all the king's senses.

E7 *Utt.610*

§1722c *wn irtwy.k in t3 tz dm3t.k in nb sbt*

Your eyes are opened by the earth, your severed parts are raised up by the lord of rebellion(?).

This spell concerns the status of the king in the afterlife among the gods - he is said to share their food, followed by this reference to the opening of his eyes where *wn* is a passive *sdm(w).f* emphasising in *t3*. This is in the context of general bodily restoration.

E8 Utt.611

§1727a *wn irtwy.k snš msdrwy.k*

Open your eyes, unstop your ears.

This is a similar spell to E7 which describes the king attaining his position in the afterlife. The king has access via the gate that keeps out the ordinary people (§1726a) and then these imperatives are addressed to the king (or possibly passive *sdm(w).f* forms).

E9 Utt.715 (*634A)

Allen (1984 p.682) classes this as Utt.*634A (§*1792p-q). His restoration is included here with the parts taken from later texts included in double brackets. This spell is part of the ritual sequence described under Utt.638 above.

§2220 *[[Wsir-]]NN. wp.n n.k Hr r.k wp.n.f n.k irtwy.k m zh-ntr m wr-ḥk3w wp r n [[ntr nb šm(w im)]]*

Osiris-NN., Horus has opened your mouth for you and he has opened your eyes for you with the god's booth adze, with the great-of-magic adze, the mouth of every god of Upper Egypt is opened thereby.

There is also a reference to the divine adze in §14 where it is said to be made of *bi3* and to open the mouths of the gods.

OFFERING SPELLS THAT MENTION THE KING'S EYES:

- E10 Utt.14 §9c *di n.f irtwy.f ḥtp.f* Give him his eyes so he may be content. (A *ḥtp* offering).
- E11 Utt.15 §9d *di.n n.k Gb irtwy.k ḥtp.k* Geb has given you your eyes so you may be content.
- E12 Utt.175 §102a *di.n n.k Gb irtwy.k ḥtp.k* Geb has given you your eyes so you may be content. (An offering table).
- E13 Utt.177 §103a *im irtwy wr pn Wsir-NN.* Take the eyes of this great one, Osiris-NN. (2 *t-wr* loaves).
- E14 Utt.115 §74c *Wsir-NN. wd.n(i) irt.k* Osiris-NN., I have placed your eye. (4 *dpt* loaves).
- E15 Utt.118 §75c *Wsir-NN. m irt.k it n.k s* Osiris-NN., take your eye - take it to yourself. (4 *imy-t3* loaves).

- E16 Utt.72 §50b *Wsir-NN. mh.n(.i) n.k irt.k m (m)dt* Osiris-NN., I have filled your eye for you with ointment. (Festival perfume).
- E17 Utt.167 §99a *Wsir-NN. i.wn irtwy.k m3.k im.sn* Osiris-NN., open your eyes so you may see with them (2 bowls of zizyphus bread).

E18 P/A-S/10-13.

Leclant (1979 p.294 fig.5) has reconstructed this spell in the passage of Pepi I's pyramid. The text has been discussed by Leclant (1979 p.294-5) and Troy (1994 p.351). Sadly, it is very fragmented but contains clear references to the eyes of the king (which are being painted) and possibly to an Eye of *Dw3w*.

col.10 *dd mdw id hr.k [w3dw] tf irt Dw3w dd.i tw*
 col.11 *m irtwy.f ... i.m33 f ntrw w3dw n Dw3w zp sn sdm.f*
 col.12 *[w3dw] nt ifh it.f im Wsir it.f f*
 col.13 *r f im hry-ib ntrw n nwr n dt dt*

col.10 To be recited: Hail to you, [green eye-paint!] the Eye of *Dw3w*. I place you
 col.11 in his eyes so he may see the gods the green eye-paint of *Dw3w*. Repeat twice: he paints.
 col.12[green eye-paint] of his father as Osiris; he takes his arm
 col.13thereby among the gods, forever and ever without ceasing.

The initial address to the eye-paint is similar to §116a where incense is hailed. The end of col.10 is problematic but seems to mention an Eye of *Dw3w*. This may be a symbol for the eye-paint as the pronoun *tw* at the end of the line seems to refer back to this Eye. If this is the case, it is a unique example of the Eye of another god being used as a symbol for a ritual item (cf. §54c, 55b-c where the Eye of Horus is painted on the king). The god *Dw3w* is a rather obscure character in the *PT*. He occurs in three further references: the king is worshipped in his name of *Dw3w* (§480d), worshipped as *Dw3w* (§994b, see also *CT* vii 33) and *Dw3w* is to come to him rejoicing (§1154a). These seem to invoke his name as a pun on the verb *dw3* and do not reveal much about his character. He has been studied by Grdseloff (1942) who notes his early role as a patron of eye doctors (p.214). This is presumably the connection invoked in this spell as *w3dw* could be used in the treatment of eye diseases, as well as for decoration (see Troy 1994 p.351). The act of painting the eye (*sdm*) is repeated twice, once for each eye (col.11). The result of this act is that the king can behold the gods, i.e. a restoration of vision. The eye-paint is again attributed to *Dw3w*, invoking his divine protection.

Col.12 suggests a connection of the king with Osiris, perhaps in the context of a comparison, as is seen in §1681b-1682a. The effects of the eye-painting are summarized in the

final line as being generally those of the mortuary cult as a whole, namely that the king will dwell eternally among the gods. See Edel (1955 p.356) for the final phrase.

E19 Utt.357

The majority of this spell is included in Section F. This is the opening section.

§583a *dd mdw [in Hr Gb di(w) htp n Wsir-NN.] h3 Wsir-NN. pw*

§583b *rdi.n n.k Gb irtwy.k htp.k m irtwy wr pn im.k*

§583c *rdi.n Gb di n.k sn Hr htp.k hr.sn*

§583a To be recited: [it is Horus and Geb who give a boon to Osiris-NN.] O Osiris-NN.,

§583b Geb has given your eyes to you so you may be content with the eyes of this great one in you,

§583c Geb has caused that Horus give them to you so you may be content with them.

The initial phrase *in ... Wsir-NN.* is found in P517. only. The boon described is the presentation of the eyes. The phrase *wr pn* is elusive: Hornung (1983 p.189) states “the pattern of use of the adjective [*wr*] does not support the assumption that it refers to a particular deity”. It may denote Horus, although this would mean an unusual reference to both his eyes. This line has the same phrasing as the offering spells §9 and §102-103, where the result of the presentation of the eyes is that the king will be content, not that he can see. The construction is *sdm.n.f* (continuative) followed by prospective *sdm.f*. The spell continues with the restorative actions of Isis and Nephthys.

E20 Utt.535

This spell is found on the east wall of the corridor in P. and N. It describes the search of Isis and Nephthys for Osiris who is then restored. Horus subdues the followers of Seth in a very bloodthirsty fashion, disembowelling them and drinking their blood (§1286). The king is then told to claim their hearts:

§1287a *ip ibw.sn m rn.k pw n Inpw ip(w) ibw*

§1287b *rdy n.k irtwy.k m i'rtwy.k*

§1287c *n twt is Wp-w3wt is hr i3t.f Inpw hnti sh ntr*

§1287a Claim their hearts in this name of yours, “Anubis, Claimer of Hearts”.

§1287b Your eyes are given to you as your two uraei

§1287c for you are Wepwawet upon his standard and Anubis who presides over his divine booth.



The verb *rdy* is a passive *s_{dm}(w)f* form (Allen 1984 p.347) - this statement demonstrates the connection between eyes and uraei (also seen in *CT* 82, ii 45). These could well be symbolic eyes, as literal body restoration does not seem to be the issue here (see also E21). The use of the dual is interesting however: it may reflect the following identification with both Wepwawet and Anubis. This follows the king's vanquishing of his foes: he is empowered and the spell continues with his rule over the Great Ones of Heliopolis, the *3hw* and the Imperishable Stars (§1288).

E21 Utt.670

This spell is found on the south wall of N.'s burial chamber and concerns the restoration of Osiris. Horus is said to give life to his father (§1980) and....

§1981a *zt(w) zt.k in 3st [w^hb n.t Nbt-hwt]*

§1981b *[snt.wy.k wrti (3ti) s3q.ti iwf.k]*

§1981c *tz.ti (wt.k i.sh^h.ti irtwy.k m tp.k]*

§1982a *m^hsktt m^hndt*

§1981a Your libation is poured out by Isis, Nephthys has cleansed you,

§1981b your two great and mighty sisters who gather your flesh,

§1981c who gather your members and who cause your eyes to appear in your head,

§1982a the night bark and the day bark.



The ritual purifications necessary for bodily restoration are performed by Isis and Nephthys, in their usual role as Osiris' sisters and attendants. The phrase *sh^h.ti* is the causative of the verb that also describes the accession of the king and the rising of the sun (see Englund 1994 p.177). The eyes are mentioned here in terms of bodily restoration. The following line (§1982a) could thus be a description of the eyes (as in the lists of the bodily parts and their divine counterparts) or epithets of Isis and Nephthys. The text of *Aba* 369-370 suggests that the latter was intended (as proposed by Anthes 1961a p.5-6) but this may of course represent a later alteration in the text. There are several comparisons in the *CT* - the deceased's eyes are called those of the Night and Day Bark (vi, 124) and Horus' eyes are called the Night and Day Bark, as well as Shu and Tefnut (vi, 220).

E22 Utt.681

The spell is located at the beginning of the texts on N.'s antechamber's north wall in the sequence Utts.681-684 which describe the king's ascension and coronation in the afterlife. The king ascends as a falcon (§2034) and greets his father Re (§2035):

§2036a *sbn.f sw m Hr ii(w).n NN. im.f*



§2036b *di.f n NN. ḥꜣy m3(w)*

§2036c *smn.f n NN. nꜣrtwy.f [ ]*

§2036a May he crown him as Horus, from whom NN. has come,

§2036b so he may give NN. a new accession

§2036c and he may set in place for NN. his divine eyes.

Re is the subject of *sbn.f* (prospective *sꜣdm.f* form) and Allen (1984 p.300) takes *ii(w).n.f* as adverbial or relative *sꜣdm.n.f*. The sense of *im.f* could be "from" or "as" Horus. The next line is still part of the description of the king's accession: *smn.f* is a prospective *sꜣdm.f*, the verb also being used with eyes in *CT* 443 (v,310) in the context of re-establishing bodily unity. The word *nꜣrt.wy* is most interesting as this is the only appearance in the *PT* of what is known as the *wꜣ3t* eye shape. *WB* ii 366 has   "das heilige Auge eines Gottes" (see Hornung 1983 p.63 for a discussion of *nꜣrt*). The presentation of the eyes in the context of an accession suggests a fundamental connection of the king's eyes with his insignia, a connection that is also seen with the Eye of Horus. The king was termed a *nꜣrt* "god" in the Old Kingdom (see Hornung 1983 p.46-7, 141) so it is to be expected that his eyes might acquire special symbolism also.

THE KING HAS A SYMBOLIC EYE IN IMITATION OF HORUS:

E23 UTT.255

The spell occurs on the west wall of the antechamber in W. and T. in the sequence of Utts.254-263. It has many similarities to Utt.254 which has a reference to the Eye of *Tbi* (see Section J). The text begins with the "censing of the horizon for Horus of Nekhen" (§295a, 296a). A "hateful one" is warned to submit to the king or else:

§297c *iw.k3 NN. ḥꜣr.f m wr pw nb 3t*

§297d *wsr m nknt im.f*

§298a *rdi.k3[f nsr n irt.f] phꜣr.s ḥ3.tn*

§298b *(w)d.s nšn m irw irwt*

§298c *hfhf(t).s m p3w 3pw*

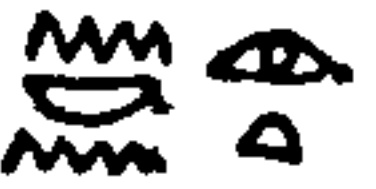

§297c NN. will come, his face as this Great One, Lord of Power,

§297d strong through the injury which was done against him.

§298a He shall place flame in his Eye so it may encircle you,

§298b so it may place storm in those who do (evil) deeds

§298c and so it may flood these primaeval ones.

The *sdm.k3f* form gives a future sense as the king is threatening wrath against his hated enemy. The phrase *wr pw nb 3t* refers to Horus, whose power the king is assuming (cf. §973a and §253b where he is *mr 3t*). §297d has the seemingly paradoxical statement of gaining power through injury, understandable in terms of the mythical fate of the Eye. The text in W. has  and thus Sethe (1935a p.351) states “durch das Determinativ bei W. als Versetzung des Auges gekennzeichnet, wie es die Beziehung auf Horus erfordert” but T. has the usual determinative for injury (). Borghouts (1973 p.116 n.6) also discusses *nknt* as the injured eye, seen in CT1094 (vi, 373) for example. The *sdm.k3f* form occurs again in §298a with reference to the flaming blast of the Eye (cf. §295). CT 1016 (entitled “Becoming Horus of Nekhen”) has a similar passage: *di hr.k n irt.i nht p_hr.n.s h3.k n ntt* (vii 235). Ritner (1993 p.57f) discusses the magical connotations of *p_hr*, “encircling”. Mercer (1952b p.139) takes the eye as being the uraeus here, in reference back to the start of the spell where *3ht* would seem to be an error for uraeus (Faulkner 1969 p.66 n.1). Sethe (1935a p.352) also states “hier die Uräusschlange an der Stirn des Königs das er wie Horus trägt”. This concept of the Eye as an aggressive and flame-emitting being is discussed in Chapter 10. The eye is also responsible for disruption in nature, which can be an aspect of the manifestation of a god (Hornung 1983 p.131). The utterance concludes with an assertion that the king will assume authority. In this utterance he is cast as Horus seen as an aggressive god who can vanquish enemies with his Eye.

E24 UTT.256

This spell occurs with Utt.255 above.

§301a *dd mdw iw(.n) NN. Gb iw(.n) NN. Gb*

§301b *iw iw(.n)f Tm iw.f hr nst Hr smsw*

§301c *iw irt.f m nht.f iw mkt.f m iryt r.f*

§302a *iw nsr n hh n 3ht.f*

§302b *m rn-nn-wtt tp(y)t.f*

§302c *iw (w)d.n NN. nrw.f m ib.sn*

§302d *m irt h3(t) im.sn*

- §301a To be recited: NN. has succeeded Geb, NN. has succeeded Geb,
 §301b He has succeeded Atum, he is on the seat of Horus the elder.
 §301c His eye is his strength, his protection is what was done against him.
 §302a The flame of the blast of his uraeus
 §302b is Renenwetet who is upon him.
 §302c NN. has put the fear of him into their hearts
 §302d by making strife among them.

The deceased king's status in the afterlife as the rightful heir is established in terms of the major deities Geb, Atum and Horus (his epithet *smsw* only occurs here in the *PT*). The construction *iw sdm.n.f* is used in principal sentences to introduce a present fact. It is thus emphasised that the dead king has inherited a divine role and that his accession is legitimate. The king is to be seen in the role of Horus with regard to his eye. Faulkner (1969 p.66) interprets the phrase following the reference to the Eye as "I am protected from what was done against him" but I have taken it as another reference to the concept of gaining strength from injury which is found in §297d too. A reference to the uraeus follows from the mention of the Eye suggesting a similarity in function here. *Rnn-wtt* was a snake goddess who could be identified with the uraeus and who also appears in ritual robing spells with the Eye of Horus (see Section C). The suffix of *ib.sn* probably refers to the hearts of the king's enemies - he is able to assert himself by his royal awesomeness. The spell concludes with the gods paying their respects and a plea to be rowed (§303).

E25 UTT.260

This spell only occurs in W. in the same sequence as the two previous spells. It begins with the assertion that the king is Horus, the heir of Osiris, and he is destined to end the "matter in Heliopolis".

- §319a *i.sd NN. ḥ3 bh.n.f hnw*
 §319b *pri NN. iry m3(t int.f s is hr.f*
 §319c *rw n.f dndw phr n.f imyw nnw (nh*
 §320a *iw nht NN. m irt.f iw mkt NN. m irt.f*
 §320b *iw nht NN. m irt.f iw wsr NN. m irt.f*
 §321a *i ntrw rsyw mhtyw imntyw i3btyw mky NN. snd n.f*
 §321b *hms.n.f m ht3 hwy*
 §321c *3m.n tn 3ht tw dnnwtt mdd.s ibw.tn*

- §319a May NN. break up the fighting and drive off the disorder.
 §319b May NN. go forth in charge of truth, may he may bring it with him.

- §319c May the angry ones serve him and those in Nun revert life to him.
 §320a The refuge of NN. is his Eye, the protection of NN. is his Eye,
 §320b the strength of NN. is his Eye, the power of NN. is his Eye,
 §321a O you southern, northern, western and eastern gods, protect NN. and fear him,
 §321b for he has sat in the awning of the Two Courtyards,
 §321c for this uraeus, the *ḏnnwtt*-snake, has burnt you when it strikes your hearts.

The king is depicted as ending the fighting and bringing justice, thus asserting his control. The king's role in maintaining *m3ḫt* is also alluded to in §319b. This is followed by four non-verbal clauses stating the benefits of the king's eye from which he seems to derive his powers. The gods are invoked to protect the king who is seated in the Two Courtyards. These probably represent the Two Lands so the king is symbolically depicted as ruling his dual kingdom. Sethe (1962b p207) sees the term *ḏnnwtt* as "Bezeichnung für die Uräusschlange". The uraeus is the aggressive power of royal might, striking in judgement. The uraeus is mentioned alongside the Eye as an aspect of royal power, as seen in other spells (see Chapter 3).

LISTS OF BODILY PARTS:

For this common feature in funerary literature see Massart (1959).

E26 Utt.215 §148d *msḏrwy.k s3twy 'Tm iḥmw-sk irtwy.k s3ty 'Tm iḥmw-sk*
 Your ears are the two children of Atum, imperishable stars. Your eyes are the two children of Atum, imperishable stars.

E27 Utt.539 §1305a *irtwy NN. wrt ḥntt b3w Iwnw*
 NN.'s eyes are the great one at the head of the souls of Heliopolis.

E28 Utt.627 §1778c *[[iw irtwy NN. pn m]] nbw(?) [[i3ḥw]]*
 NN's eyes are the lords of the sunshine.

This spell is Allen's *627B §1779a (1984 p.681) and he has restored it with later texts.

SECTION F: THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE POWERS OF THE KING

F1 UTT.634 (*634E)

The sequence of ritual spells Utts.634A-640 is found among the offering spells on the north wall of N.'s burial chamber. Allen (1984 p.683) has restored this spell from the Late Period texts of Amenirdis and Pediniese which must be treated with all due caution - it is his *634E and these are his § numbers. The mention of the Eye of Horus is fragmented in N.

- *§1793j *Wsir-NN. in.n(.i) n.k [irt] Hr*
*§1793k *[[t tn]] tw 3ht <imt Hr> 3h.k im.s n Hr is*
*§1793l *Wsir-NN. in.n(.i) n.k s m [[qd.s nb*
*§1793m *3h.k]] im<s> (nh.k im. [[s iwt]].k im.s*

- *§1793j Osiris-NN., I have brought the Eye of Horus to you
*§1793k [[this body-part]] is the 3ht within Horus, it will go well with you by means of it because of Horus,
*§1793l Osiris-NN, I have brought it to you in [[all its form(s)
*§1793m so you may be an 3h]] by means of it, so you may live by means of it, so you [[may come]] by means of it.

The fragmented nature of this spell makes it hard to interpret. The verb *in.n(.i)* in *§1793j is an emphatic *sdm.n.f* stressing the (fragmented) result of the action. The word *t* can mean “member, limb, part” so this may refer to the Eye. The term *3ht* could indicate “the 3h qualities” which Horus possesses, or may more specifically indicate the uraeus (see Faulkner 1962 p.4-5), and this quality is transferred to the king. The Eye could well represent a specific offering here with the aim of securing a continued existence as an *3h*.

F2 UTT.636

This is from the same sequence as the previous spell.

- §1796 *dd mdw wrš wr pn rf di n(.i) (k di(.i) (h.k*
§1797a *iw.n(.i) [zhn(.i) tw] iw.n(.i) hw(.i) tw*
§1797b *i.nd(.i) kw n dd.n(.i) nd kw*
§1797c *(nh.ti (nh.ti (nh(w)*
§1798a *n tw ... wd3.ti r.sn*
§1798b *(nh rf it(.i) Wsir-NN. (w)d(.i) n.k irt Hr hr.k*

- §1796 To be recited: Wake up, O great one! Give me your arm so I may cause you to arise.
§1797a I have come [so I may embrace you] and I have come so I may protect you
§1797b and so I may guard you - I shall not cease to guard you.
§1797c Live! Live! O you who live,

§1798a for you ... more sound than them.

§1798b Live (my) father Osiris-NN for I place the Eye of Horus before you.

The spell commences with imperatives addressed to the king - §1798b shows that it is the son attending his father and the 1st person pronoun is be restored throughout. It is a typical "Resurrection spell" - the king is helped to rise and assured of protection. The construction *n dd.n(i) nd kw* is also seen in §591a and 618b. The king is called upon to live in §1797c with hortative Old Perfectives - the following word could be a noun (i.e. "live life", see Faulkner 1969 p.263 n.2) or an active participle, as translated here. The following line is fragmented but includes a reference to the desired condition of *wd3* (see Chapter 11). The final line has a further invocation to live connected with the presentation of the Eye of Horus which most likely represents a specific offering.

F3 UTT.356

This spell occurs on the east wall of the burial chambers of M. and T. and on the west wall of N.'s and P.'s (where it occurs twice in close proximity). Sethe (1935c p.78) calls this spell the "Triumph des Osiris". The king is sought by Horus who has ensured that his enemies have been defeated by Thoth (§575). Geb has recognized the king and brought along Isis and Nephthys. Horus then intercedes with the gods for the king:

§578a *rdi.n.f nd tw ntrw*

§578b *(w)d.n Gb tbt.f hr tp n hfty.k hm(w) n.k*

§578c *h(w).n sw z3.k Hr*

§578d *nhm.n.f irt.f m-t.f rdi.n.f n.k s*

§579a *b3.k im.s shm.k im.s hnt 3hw*

§579b *rdi.n Hr ndr.k hftyw.k im psdt(y).f im.sn hft.k*

§578a He has caused the gods to protect you,

§578b Geb has placed his sandal on the head of your enemy who retreats from you

§578c for your son, Horus, struck him.

§578d He has rescued his Eye from him and he has given it to you:

§579a you shall have a ba by means of it, you shall have power by means of it at the head of the akhs.

§579b Horus has caused you to seize your enemies, there is not one among them who shall escape from you.

Geb is seen here as restraining the enemy (Seth) who is described as retreating (*hmw*, an active participle - see *WB* iii, 79.4). This is due to his being struck by Horus, the term *z3.k*

emphasizing the idea of the son defending his father. The following line shows that the defeat of Seth meant the recovery of the Eye which is then given to Osiris. The powers that the king will possess as a result are discussed in Chapter 6. In §579b the king now has the power to defeat his enemies - the verb *psdt.f* is a *sdmty.fy* participle. The spell continues with more name formulae and more references to Horus' conquest of Seth. This is summarized in §582 where Horus is said to have acted so the king can be content.

F4 UTT.357

This spell occurs on the east burial chamber wall in T. (after offering spells), P., M. and N. The initial section of the spell where the king is presented with eyes is discussed in Chapter 5. It continues with the familiar themes of Horus vanquishing Seth for the king and Isis and Nephthys protecting him. Geb is then said to have brought the gods including Horus:

- §591a *nd.n tw Hr n dd.n nd.f tw*
 §591b *nhm.n Hr irt.f m-^t Stš rdi.n.f n.k s*
 §591c *irt.f itin bnrt sht n.k s ip n.k s h(w) h3 nhh hr.k*
 §592a *i(b.n tw 3st [in Hr nd.f irt.n Stš ir.k]*
 §592b *hnt ib Hr hr.k m rn.k m hnt-imntyw*
 §592c *in Hr nd.f irt.n Stš ir.k*

- §591a Horus has protected you and he shall not cease protecting you.
 §591b Horus has rescued his Eye from Seth and he has given it to you -
 §591c this his sweet Eye, make it return to you, assign it to yourself, O may (it) endure with you!
 §592a Isis has assembled you, [it is Horus who shall make good what Seth has done to you].
 §592b May the heart of Horus be pre-eminent because of you in your name of "Foremost of the Westerners".
 §592c It is Horus who shall guard against what Seth has done to you.

These lines repeat many phrases that are also found elsewhere (see Fig.1 in Chapter 6 for the phrases with the Eye): §591a is the same as §618b and §1797. As in the previous spell, the Eye is rescued from Seth by Horus and given to Osiris - the reference to the "sweet" Eye must surely stem from the offering ritual where it is used for the presentation of sweets (§100, 111) along with the imperatives addressed to the king regarding his keeping the Eye. P530 has the line *in Hr....* (§592a) which appears as §592c in other versions at the end of the spell. There is then an example of the use of the name formula (§592b), *hnty imntyw* being a common epithet for Osiris which he seems to have acquired from the god of this name.

F5 UTT.364

The beginning of this spell is included in Section E as it refers to the Eye of Horus in the Opening of the Eyes. The king is called upon to awaken and Geb brings Horus who brings the gods to the king to illuminate his face (*shd.sn hr.k* §6131a). Horus is then said to have given the king *ḫwt nbt*, with $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ in T. but $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ in M. The crown may be a determinative for the independent pronoun *ḫwt*, which would be unusual but Faulkner (1969 p.119 n.3) notes that the crown was the exclusive possession of the monarch. The alternative is to transliterate the crown as *wrrt* or *ḫdt*. Horus is said to be inseparable from the king and.....

§614b *rdi.n n.k Hr irt.f rwdt*

§614c *(w)d.n(f) n.k s imim.k nrw n.k ḫfti.k nb*

§614d *mḫ.n(f) kw tmti m irt.f m rn.s pw n w3ḫt-ntr*

§614b Horus has given his strong Eye to you

§614c and he has placed it on you so you may be strong and so all your enemies may fear you

§614d [He] has filled you complete with his Eye in this its name of “God’s oblation”.

The name Andjety means “he of Andjet”, that is Busiris. There was a god Andjety (see Otto 1975b col.269-270) who is seen as presiding over the eastern nomes and is the headman of his nome (the 9th of Lower Egypt) in the *PT* (§182,220,1833). This deity was connected with Osiris from around the 5th Dynasty and he adopted some of his characteristics. The phrase *irt.f rwdt* also puns with Andjety - the lines referring to the Eye are repeated in §113 and §249 as the rite of Breaking the Red Pots. Line §614d is also found in §114 & 1858; the use of the verb *mḫ* suggests that the Eye could be oil or ointment. Firchow (1953 p.226) suggests that the use of this verb with *šm* in §615a was an allusion to Upper and Lower Egypt. The spell continues with further aid for the king from Horus and other gods. Allen (1976 p.22-4) suggests that the references to the king being carried by the children of Horus (§619), and indeed the whole of this spell, are linked with the transportation of a statue of the deceased in a Sokar bark. The purpose of this type of spell is discussed further in Chapter 5.

F6 UTT.367

This spell occurs in all the pyramids except W. and Ap. on the west wall of the burial chamber.

It is translated in its entirety:

§634a *dd mdw h3 Wsir-NN. in.n n.k Gb Hr i.nd.f tw*

§634b *in.n.f n.k ibw ntrw*
 §634c *imi.k g3w imi.k (šnw*
 §634d *rdi.n n.k Hr irt.f it.k wrt im.s hnt ntrw*
 §635a *i(b.n n.k Hr (wt.k dmd.n.f tw*
 §635b *n hnn.t(i) im(y).k*
 §635c *ndr.n n.k Dhwti hfti.k hsq(w) hnt imyw-ht.f*
 §635d *n h3tb.n.f im.f*

§634a To be recited: O Osiris-NN., Geb has brought Horus to you so he may protect you
 §634b for he has brought to you the hearts of the gods.
 §634c May you not languish and may you not groan
 §634d for Horus has given his Eye to you so that you may take the *Wrt* crown by means of
 it at the head of the gods.
 §635a Horus has assembled your limbs for you and he has united you,
 §635b what is in you is not disturbed,
 §635c for Thoth has seized your enemy who is slaughtered with his followers.
 §635d He shall not have pity on him.

The themes are all familiar: the presentation of Horus by Geb who has brought the gods to the king, the reassembling of the king and the subjugation of his enemy. The construction *n hnn.ti imy.k* is the negative passive form of an indicative *sdm.f* with a *nisbe* form as subject - it shows the common emphasis on the intact state of the king after death. The king is to be saved from suffering by the presentation of the Eye of Horus with the consequence that he may assume (*it*, prospective *sdm.f*) the *Wrt* crown and rule the gods. For other uses of this phrase see Fig.1 in Chapter 6.

F7 UTT.658 (*658E)

Allen (1984 p.685) subdivides this spell into Utts.*658A-E and rearranges the paragraphs slightly. It is found on the north wall of N.'s burial chamber. The spell is sadly very fragmented but seems to contain many phrases also attested elsewhere: the gods make the king sound, his enemy is placed under him and shall not escape.

§1858a *[rdi.n] n.k s irt.f tn b[nrt?]*
 §1858b *mḥ.n kw Hr tm.ti m irt.f m rn.s n w3ḥt Hr*
 §1859a *nḥm.n Hr irt.f m-ḥ Stš*
 §1859b *rdi.n.f n[.k s] ... [s]ḥt n.k s ...*

§1858a this his sweet(?) eye [has given(?)] it to you ...
 §1858b Horus has filled you complete with his Eye in its name of "Oblation of Horus",
 §1859a Horus has rescued his Eye from Seth
 §1859b he has given [it] to you ... make it retreat to you

The references to the Eye of Horus are all familiar from the offering spells (§1858-1859b) and also from §591c discussed above. The spell continues with name formulae but they are very fragmented.

F8 UTT.422

This is the first spell on the west wall of P. and M.'s burial chambers, it follows Utt.356 in N. The first part of the spell describes the king as the successor of Osiris, possessing the qualities of *b3* and *sh̄m*, also the *wrrt* and *mizwt* crowns. The king is acclaimed by the gods (§754) and told to ascend to Nut and to Re who will lead him to the throne of Osiris (§757).

§758a *h3 NN. pw ii n.k irt Hr mdw.s tw*

§758b *ii n.k b3.k im ntrw ii n.k sh̄m.k im 3hw*

§758c *nd.n z3 it.f nd.n Hr Wsir*

§758d *nd.n Hr NN. pn m-t h̄ftyw.f*

§758a O NN., the Eye of Horus comes to you so that it may address you,

§758b your ba comes to you among the gods, your power comes to you among the akhs.

§758c The son has protected his father, Horus has protected Osiris,

§758d Horus has protected this NN. from his enemies.

The verb *ii* is an indicative *s̄dm.f* - the Eye seems personified here as it is approaching the king itself rather than being presented to him and it is also the subject of the verb *mdw.s*. This verb is usually intransitive but *tw* seems to be a direct object here. The Eye also speaks in CT 142 (ii, 175). There could be connotations of the Eye pronouncing the justification of the king. The *b3* and *sh̄m* also come to the king parallel to the Eye - Roeder (1994 p.50, 55-6, 65) cites this reference as a major illustration of his theory on the relationship of specific terms of power to material objects or symbols. He sees the Eye of Horus as having the special ability of being cited parallel to the power terms as well as symbolizing them. Mercer (1952b p.379) suggests that §758c is the Eye's speech, which could feasibly include the previous line too. The spell continues with further descriptions of the king's accession (§759) and the assertion that his son shall follow him (§760).

F9 UTT.553

This spell is found on the east wall of P. and N.'s vestibule, with fragments in Wd.

§1353a *dd [mdw] : tz tw Gb [s]rs[f] n.k 3h.k pw*
 §1353b *i. mn mnz(3).k i. mn mnz3.k*
 §1353c *dsr.t(i) ir [t]w[y] Šw hnt Tfnt m hwt-htmwt NN.*
 §1354a *n twt is 3h snqw Nbt-hwt m mnd.s i3b*
 §1354b *rdi.n n.k Wsir 3hw šd.n.k irt Hr*
 §1355a *šmt 4.k i.ptw tpyt-(wy) h3t [Hr]*
 §1355b *šmt šmt im n ntr dr h3t R^c*

§1353a To be recited: May Geb raise you, may [Geb] awaken this your akh.
 §1353b May your jar be firm, may your jar be firm,
 §1353c you being set apart on the arms of Shu and Tefnut in the House of She who Provides,
 O NN.,
 §1354a for you are an akh whom Nephthys suckled with her left breast.
 §1354b As you have rescued the Eye of Horus, Osiris has given the akhs to you.
 §1355a These four ways of yours are in front of the tomb of Horus
 §1355b {on which the one-who-goes goes to the god since Re descended.
 {so one may go (a going) to the god since Re descended.

Faulkner (1969 p.214 n.1) suggests the restoration for §1353a and §1353c. The *mnz3* jar was used for liquids (see Faulkner 1962 p.110, Cour-Marty 1994 p.124 n.10) so this could refer to the need for purification by libation before ascension, as seen in many other spells (eg. §1918). The king is raised by Shu and Tefnut, the gods of air and moisture. The verb *dsr.ti* has the further sense of being made holy. The *hwt-htmwt* also occurs in §485 (Utt.307) where access is denied and §1329 (Utt.540) as a place for funerary provisions which suggests that this is an assertion that the king will be provided for. Being suckled by Nephthys is an indication of the king's divine nature and privilege - the significance of the left breast could be that the east was the place for regeneration. The reference to the Eye of Horus is slightly ambiguous and N. has the variation *N. šd n.k irt Hr*. It could be seen as a circumstantial *sdm.n.f* which is stressed by the emphatic *rdi.n* or as an imperative. If the former, this suggests that the taking of the Eye was a prerequisite for ruling the akhs, otherwise the assertion of rule over the akhs is followed by a command to take the Eye. The verb *šd* can have the connotations of "rescue, save" as well as "take away, remove". This must be a positive action by the king, just as he rescues the Eye in several ascension spells. The king is assisted here by Osiris, as he was in §1353a by Geb and by Nephthys in §1354a.

The following lines refer to the king's progress on the ways of the dead - *Hr* is omitted in N.1308+27. There seem to be two possible options for §1355b - the initial *šmt* could either be a relative form agreeing with *w3wt 4.k* or an impersonal *sdm.f* (*šm.t(i)*). The second *šmt*

could thus either be an active participle as subject or a noun (“a going”) as object of the initial verb. See Gardiner (1957 p.321, §407) for the construction with *dr* and *sdmt.f*. The rest of the spell concerns the king being assured of food (§1357), ascending to the sky (§1361) and being installed in his office by Anubis (§1364). The Eye of Horus is referred to here in the context of the king's position or progress in the afterlife as one who rules the akhs.

F10 Utt.246

This spell is found in W. (south wall of his passage), T., and N.(on the south wall of the burial chamber).

§253a *ii r.tn Hr ḥsbd irtwy z3.tn Hr dšr irtwy*

§253b *mr 3t n ḥsf(w) b3.f*

§253a Horus blue of eyes comes against you, beware of Horus red of eyes

§253b painful of attack, his ba is not opposed.

The plural pronoun (*r.tn*) has no obvious antecedent but some kind of opposition must be envisaged. Horus is seen here as formidable and aggressive, his powers of *3t* and *b3* showing his divine might, much like Geb in §1032c. His eyes are described as blue and then red, reflecting his mood and power (see Wolf-Brinkmann 1968 p.42). The colour blue has celestial associations and it is the colour of lapis lazuli (Brunner-Traut 1977a col.125 sees no special symbolism) but red has connotations of blood, fire and solar power. Similar passages in the *CT* do not mention red: in *CT* vi 206 Re is called “o blue-eyed one who freshens eyes, whose power is severe, whose soul will never be opposed” (Faulkner 1977 p.188) and also in *CT* v, 376d-e “I knit on the head of the blue-eyed Horus, one who acts according to his desire” (Faulkner 1977 p.96). Blue eyes were not natural in ancient Egypt and seem to have acquired a special significance. This is seen in other cultures where the colour blue is associated with the Evil Eye (Dundes 1981 p.284).

SECTION G: THE EYE OF HORUS AND ASCENSION SPELLS

G1 UTT.359

This ascension spell is the first spell on the north wall of T.'s passage, also occurring in P. (west wall of the vestibule) and N. (east wall of the corridor). The spell refers to different means of travel for the king, all of which are united in the same destination, the eastern side of the Winding Waterway. Allen (1994 p.27) places this spell in the context of the king's passing from the *Dw3t* (symbolized by the burial chamber) to the *3ht* (the antechamber). The king's ascension is first linked with the Eye of Horus' rescue:

§594a *dd mdw i.hi.n Hr n irt.f i.hi.n Stš n hrwy.f*

§594b *stp irt Hr hr(w) m pf gs n mr-n-h3*

§594c *i.nd.s dt.s m-ꜥ Stš*

§594d *m3.n s Dḥwty m pf gs n mr-n-h3*

§594e *stp irt Hr m pf gs n mr-n-h3*

§594f *hr tp dnḥ Dḥwty m pf gs n mr-n-h3*

§595a *ntrw ipw d33w tp dnḥ Dḥwty*

§595b *ir pf gs n mr-n-h3 ir gs i3bt n pt*

§595c *ir mdt hft Stš hr irt tw n(y)t Hr*

§596a *d3 NN. hnꜥ.tn tp dnḥ Dḥwty*

§596b *ir pf gs n mr-n-h3 ir gs i3bt n pt*

§596c *iw NN. mdw.f hft Stš hr irt tw n(y)t Hr*

§594a To be recited: Horus has shouted on account of his Eye, Seth has shouted on account of his testicles.

§594b May the Eye of Horus leap up, he being fallen on that side of the Winding Waterway,

§594c so it may protect itself from Seth.

§594d Thoth has seen it on that side of the Winding Waterway -

§594e when the Eye of Horus leaps up on that side of the Winding Waterway

§594f and falls on the wing of Thoth on that side of the Winding Waterway,

§595a O gods who ferry across on the wing of Thoth,

§595b to that side of the Winding Waterway, to the eastern side of the sky

§595c to dispute with Seth on account of the Eye of Horus,

§596a may NN. ferry across with you on the wing of Thoth

§596b to that side of the Winding Waterway, to the eastern side of the sky.

§596c It is NN. who shall dispute with Seth on account of this Eye of Horus.

The first line recalls the mentions of the gods' injuries in the snake spells (see Section I). Here, it seems to set the scene for the following description of the Eye's rescue. The verb *stp* suggests that the Eye is able to propel itself upwards onto Thoth's wing whilst Horus is lying wounded (*hrw*). The Eye itself is described as fallen in the versions of this theme in the *CT* (v

76, v 731). The Eye is also able to take action to protect itself, the concept of its *dt* body is discussed by Anthes (1962 p.38) who sees this as a property of gods (and kings). Thoth must be in his ibis form here and has the role of rescuing the Eye and also of transporting the gods across the sky to the east as part of the celestial cycle. It is then made clear that the king wants to be carried across with the gods to dispute with Seth. The phrase *mdw hr* (WB ii 179.16) suggests a judgment hearing for Seth on his actions regarding the Eye of Horus. The fact that the king wishes to defend Horus is presumably an incentive to take him along.

The spell then continues with an appeal to the celestial ferryman to waken (§597a-b) and to announce the king to Re as he wishes to go to the *ḥ pf hr n nbw k3w* (§598a). Re is then to ensure that the king can also be transported by the ferryman to the eastern side of the Winding Waterway (§599a-d). This is clearly parallel to the mention of Thoth's wing and the ferryman is also responsible for transporting the gods.

§600a *d3.f NN.*

§600b *ir pf gs n mr-n-ḥ3 ir gs i3bt n pt*

§600c *iw NN. m zḥnw irt Hr swit*

§601a *iw i.r NN. ir tnw dbḥw*

§601b *i(w) hr n NN. in ntrw m t3y m ḥmwt*

§601c *Imst Hpy Dw3-mwt.f Qb-snw.f*

§600a May he ferry NN.

§600b to that side of the Winding Waterway, to the eastern side of the sky.

§600c NN. is seeking the (*swit?*) Eye of Horus,

§601a NN. is making for the numbering of fingers,

§601b the face of NN. is washed by the gods, male and female,

§601c Imsety, Hapy, Dwamutef and Qebsenef

The reference to the king seeking the Eye is presumably another incentive to the ferryman to transport him. The adjective *swit* has been translated in various ways: Faulkner has “endangered” (1969 p.4 n.2) and Sethe suggests “leiden” (1962b p.172), both of which would be in keeping with the scenario of the rescue of the Eye described before. Allen connects the word with the independent pronoun *swt* and translates “his own Horus-Eye” (1984 p.462) which would be an interesting concept for the possession of the Eye of Horus. The Counting of Fingers seems to have been a ceremony whereby a successful completion would mean admission to the afterlife for the deceased - “may you go aboard the ferryboat - you know the number of your fingers” (CT 398 v, 154e-155c; Faulkner 1977 p.36). It is mentioned further in CT 396 (v 73f-i) and CT 397 (v 115b-116e) and in BD where the actual counting includes

references to the Eye of Horus to make puns. The only connection here seems to be that the king hopes to be admitted because he seeks the Eye and also by completing the counting rite. For further discussions of the ceremony see Sethe (1918), Gunn (1922), Brunner (1977) and Jacq (1986 p.70). The spell continues with the cleansing of the king by the gods and the king taking his place in Re's bark of gold (§602a-c).

G2 Utt.475

This ascension spell consists of another appeal to the celestial ferryman. It is located on the west wall of the antechamber in P., M. and N. as part of the general sequence Utts.470-477.

- §946a *dd mdw y mhnt pw*
 §946b *in nw n Hr in irt.f*
 §946c *in nw n Stš in hrwy.f*
 §947a *stp irt Hr hr(w) m gs i3bt pt*
 §947b *stp NN. pn hnt.s sd3 NN. pn m gs i3bt n pt*
 §948a *šm.f spt z3.f ir R^c*
 §948b *m st ntrw zw n k3w.sn*
 §948c *nhw m i3wt Hr nhw m i3wt Stš*
 §949a *mk NN. pn iy mk NN. pn pr(w) n nh w3s*
 §949b *phr.n NN. pn q3w pt*
 §949c *n hsf NN. pn in h (hd) wrw ir msqt shdw*
 §950a *nis mndt ir NN. pn NN. pw pnq(w) s*
 §950b *(w)d R^c NN. pn m nb nh w3s*

- §946a To be recited: O Ferryman!
 §946b Bring this to Horus, bring his Eye!
 §946c Bring this to Seth, bring his testicles!
 §947a May the Eye of Horus leap up, he being fallen on the eastern side of the sky.
 §947b May this NN. leap up with it so this NN. may travel on the eastern side of the sky.
 §948a May he go so he may escort Re
 §948b in the place of the gods who have gone to their kas
 §948c who live on the mounds of Horus and who live on the mounds of Seth.
 §949a Behold, this NN. is come! Behold, this NN. is gone forth to life and prosperity,
 §949b for this NN. has run to the height of the sky
 §949c and this NN. has not been opposed by the castle of the mace of the great ones (on the way) to the Milky Way and the stars.
 §950a Summon the morning boat of the sun for this NN., it is NN. who bales it out.
 §950b May Re place this NN. as lord of life and prosperity!

The imperative *in nw* addressed to the ferryman echoes the traditional call for a boat, but here he is told to bring the wounded parts of Horus and Seth. Tobin (1993 p.101) sees this as an implicit healing but the detached body-parts could also represent the desired means of

transport for the king. The dual reference to Horus and Seth is similar to §594a and the snake spells. This is followed by a prospective *sdm.f* referring to the Eye, as in §594b. This is paralleled by a reference to the king's ascension, using the same verb (*stp*) and described as in the company of the Eye (*hn(.s)*). The rest of the spell describes the goals of the king's journey, namely joining Re in the celestial afterlife. This also has comparisons with Utt.359 (eg. §948a-c and §597c-598c).

G3 Utt.478

This spell is also found on the west wall of the antechamber in M., P. and N. The spell begins with an invocation to a ladder which is said to belong to Horus and Seth and which is intended for Osiris so he may escort Re. The king seems to take the role of Horus (§973-975) and makes a plea to Geb for the ladder. Again, the aim is to join Re and “those who have gone to their kas” (§975).

§976a *nbdbd irt Hr tp [dnḥ Dḥwty]*

§976b *[m gs i3b n m3qt nṯr]*

§976c *[rmt d ir pt NN. pw irt Hr]*

§976d *[dr rd.s dr bw nb nti.s im šm NN. šm m irt Hr]*

§977a *[i.mry] iw NN. m-m.tn snw.f nṯrw*

§977b *i.ḥly m ḥsfw NN. pn snw.f nṯrw*

§977c *mr ḥt Hr m ḥsfw irt.f*

§977d *di.n.f irt.f m b3ḥ it.f Gb*

§976a May the Eye of Horus (*nbdbd*?) [on the wing of Thoth]

§976b on the eastern side of the ladder of the god.

§976c O People, the serpent heads for the sky, NN. is the Eye of Horus,

§976d may the limit of its foot be the limit of every place that it desires (to be), may N. go as the Eye of Horus!

§977a [Desire] that NN. may come among you, his divine brothers,

§977b rejoice at the approach of this NN., his divine brothers,

§977c as Horus rejoiced at the approach of his Eye

§977d as his Eye was given to him in the presence of his father Geb.

The meaning of the reduplicated verb *nbdbd* has been proposed as “gleams” (Faulkner 1969 p.166 n.7) or “bounce” (Allen 1984 p.586, citing *WB* ii,247.9 *bdw* “ball”). The latter interpretation gives a sense of motion similar to the usual *stp* (cf. §594e-f). The Eye is again located on the wing of Thoth but it is now on the eastern side of the ladder, rather than the sky or the Winding Waterway. The next line seems to be addressed to people in general to witness that the king is the Eye of Horus. The construction with *pw* in §976c emphasises the king's

name and is used whenever the king is explicitly identified with the Eye (see Chapter 11). There is also the parallel phrase referring to a d serpent. Anthes (1962) sees the d, or the more usual dt, as conceptually linked with the Eye of Horus. This also recalls the more usual phrase with the centipede of Horus (§244a, 444a and 663) and the similar spell CT 769 has “the serpent is in the sky, [the centipede of Horus] is on earth, the Eye of Horus raises [itself]”. The interpretation of this phrase has varied: Sethe (1935a p.221) sees it as “Bezeichnung für die zu beschwörende Schlange” while Ogden (1989 p.67) suggests they were being sent in opposing directions or menacing the cosmic sites of the deceased. The reference here to the Eye seems to show that the king's ascension as the Eye was identified with that of the traditionally ascending serpent. Faulkner (1969 p.166) sees a contrast (“but I am the Eye of Horus”) but the force of comparison is required. As in the previous spells, the Eye seems an ascending entity here.

The following line §976d is problematic. I have taken dr dr ... as two nouns and *bw nb nti.s im* as a nominal phrase, based on a comparison with §622, 625d and 1715b where the emphasis is clearly on the king's foot being unopposed. Faulkner (1969 p.166) and Sethe (1935d p.259) see the Eye's foot as being obstructed and the king's departure as a contrast but this does not explain why the king departs as the Eye of Horus. The Eye being attributed with a foot can be seen as the use of a stock phrase. The verbs *šm ... šm* can be interpreted as prospective *sdm.f* followed by an infinitive. There is then a plea to the gods to welcome the king just as Horus welcomed the return of his Eye (§977c), a slight change of perspective as the king arrival is like that of the Eye, rather than being identified with it. There is a further mention of the Eye being given to Horus before Geb (§977c). This suggests some kind of official return of the Eye before the ennead, possibly, but not explicitly, a judgment scenario (see Chapter 12). The utterance continues with a threat against anyone who may oppose the king and benefits for those who will help him when he ascends as the uraeus on the brow of Seth (§979).

G4 Utt.615

This short spell is the last text on the east wall of M.'s vestibule. It again features the Eye in the context of the king's transportation in the afterlife.

§1742a *dd mdw (w)dy irt Hr hr dnh ni sn.f Stš*

§1742b *tzy ḥw zm3y mhnwt*

§1742c *n z3 Ḥm n z3 Ḥm iwy*

§1742d *NN. pw ir z3 'Tm n z3 'Tm iwy*

§1742a To be recited: The Eye of Horus is placed on the wing of his brother Seth.

§1742b The ropes are tied and the ferry boats are made ready

§1742c for the son of Atum - the son of Atum is not boatless.

§1742d *NN.* is joining the son of Atum and the son of Atum is not boatless.

The Eye is described with a passive *sḏm(w).f* as on the wing of Seth, as opposed to the more usual mention of Thoth. Seth is rarely seen as a winged creature - although Griffiths (1960 p.3 n.8) mentions a representation of a winged deity spearing Apophis - but Seth does ferry the king in §2234. Anthes (1959 p.200) notes that this is the only instance in the *PT* where Seth is called the brother of Horus and, in the context of this spell, his possession of the Eye does not seem to be hostile. The following line describes transport awaiting the king and the reference to the Eye is a parallel image of transportation. The boat is said to be for the son of Atum and the king uses his theological connection to ensure he too is not boatless. The word *ir(y)* in §1742d may suggest motion towards someone or Allen (1984 p.395) suggests that the king is to be seen as the son of Atum. In *CT* 182 (iii, 76) the Eye of Horus is described as not boatless and the deceased similarly. Jacq (1986 p.38f) discusses the social implications of being boatless.

G5 Utt.689

This ascension text is only found on the west wall of N.'s antechamber. The references to the Eye of Horus are slightly obscure but its recovery is again linked with the king's ascension.

§2087a *ḏḏ mdw i.stz.n Gb irt Hr k33t*

§2087b *ḥrt (wy k3w.f wrw tpt k3w.f(š3w*

§2088a *di tp.t m3.t Hr ir n.f ḥms ...*

§2088b *ḥpr wḏ*

§2089a *ii 3st ndr.n.s n.s mndwy.s n z3.s m3ḥ ḥrw*

§2089b *gm.n NN. irt Hr*

§2090a *gm(w) nn irt Hr*

§2090b *rdy n.s tp.s ir n.s ḥ3t m wpt rḥ 3d m msh*

§2087a To be recited: Geb has raised up the (*k33t?*) Eye of Horus,

§2087b it being on the arms of his great kas and upon his many kas.

§2088a Place your (f.) head so you see Horus for he has sat down ...


§2088b so judgment may come about.

§2089a Isis comes, she has grasped her breasts for her justified son

§2089b for *NN.* has found the Eye of Horus,

§2090a the one who found that Eye of Horus -

§2090b its head is given to it for it has acted as a frontal like the forehead of Re who is savage as a crocodile.

The Eye of Horus is raised up by Geb - the meaning of the word *k33t* has been suggested as “potent” (Faulkner 1969 p.297) on the basis of its determinative  (Gardiner's F9). The word also occurs in *CT* iv 8e and vi 304 in eye contexts, *CT* 676 also continues with a reference to judgment in the tribunal (§2088b). The word can also apparently denote eastern powers in *CT* 487 (vi, 66). It provides a pun with *k3w* in the following line - the distinction between the “great” *kas* and the many “*kas*” is unclear but presumably this line refers to Geb's capacity as ruler of the dead (cf. §698) or the ennead. The instructions in the following line seem to be addressed to the Eye of Horus, the only other possibility being Isis who is mentioned in §2089a. If referring to the Eye of Horus, the mention of a head (*tp*) suggests a degree of personification involved. §2088b shows that a judgment scenario (*wđ*) is envisaged, although described in somewhat obscure terms. The description of Horus as *m3^c hrw* is significant - Anthes (1954a) traces the origins of this phrase to the formal acknowledgement of the divine descent of Horus in a court procedure. The recovery of the Eye is then attributed to the king, involving him in the proceedings in a crucial role. It is emphasized that he has found (*gm*) the Eye; the seeking and finding is a theme that occurs elsewhere in the *PT* (eg. §1242b). For *gm nn irt Hr* Edel (1955 p.89) suggests that the genitival *n* has been omitted after *nn*. Line §2090b is also problematic: the verb *rdy* is passive *sđm(w).f* and there is another reference to the Eye's head. This may mean the head to which it rightfully belongs, to which it is being returned (i.e. Horus'). The verb *ir* could be either a passive *sđmw.f* as well (as in a brow was made for the Eye) or a continuative *sđm.n.f* (as in the Eye made the brow like that of Re). The mention of the Eye on a brow is discussed in Chapter 3 and is generally a position of authority. The reference to the brow of Re is unusual and recalls the raging eye that was placed on his forehead as a uraeus; there seems no reason to assume that this was the case here, there being no mention of the Eye of Re as a uraeus in the *PT*. Faulkner (1969 p.298 n.5) sees the Eye of Horus as the uraeus here.

The spell continues with an imperative presumably addressed to the king who is told to follow the Eye of Horus up to the stars, the goal of his ascension.

§2090c *šms n.k irt Hr ir pt ir šđw pt*

§2090d *zm sš3wt(y).f Hr hr irt.f*

§2091a *šw wtz(w) Nwt*

§2091b *wtz n.k irt Hr ir pt ir šđw pt*

§2091c *ḏr ḥmst Hr ḥr ḥnd.f pw bi3*

§2091d *zm sš3wt(y).f Hr ḥr irt.f*

§2090c Follow the Eye of Horus to the sky, to the stars of the sky,

§2090d (*zm* ?) he who shall beseech(?) Horus on account of his Eye.

§2091a Shu, the one who raises Nut,

§2091b raise the Eye of Horus to the sky, to the stars of the sky,

§2091c since Horus sits on this his throne of *bi3*,

§2091d (*zm* ?) he who shall beseech(?) Horus on account of his Eye.

The Eye again has this quality of being able to ascend as the king desires - §2090c alludes back to his finding the Eye in §2089b. The word *zm*, which occurs in §2090d and §2091d, is obscure (unless it is related to *z* “go”). The verb *sš3wt(y).f* is also problematic - Faulkner (1969 p.298) guesses “beseech” but one would expect it to be followed by the dative. *WB* iv, 280.4 has *sš3* “schlechte Handlung”, which suggests a different emphasis. Shu is then invoked to raise up the Eye of Horus as he raises Nut, recalling his role as the air god who separated the earth and sky. Horus is described as seated on his throne of *bi3* (see Graefe 1971, Aufrère 1991 p.431-445). This substance is generally considered as meteoric iron and it occurs in the *PT* as a material connected with the stars (eg. §1454, 2051). Horus is clearly seen as vindicated, having taken his rightful place among the gods.

The general theme in this spell is the king's ascension to the celestial afterlife. The king is integrated into the scenario of the judgment concerning Horus with the return of his Eye as the rescuer of the Eye. The Eye is generally depicted here as an ascending entity, being raised (*wtz*) by Geb and Shu; the king can thus follow its lead.

G6 Utt.519

This spell is located in the corridor of P., M. and N. It seems to be a collection of texts connected with the king reaching the Field of Rushes - this first one is a plea to *Hr.f H3.f* who is here described as Osiris' Gate Keeper.

§1201a *ḏḏ mdw i ḥr.f-ḥ3.f ir(y) 3 Wsir*

§1201b *ḏḏ n Wsir di in.t(i) n NN. pn wi3.k pw*

§1201c *ḏ33(w) w'bw.k im.f*

§1201d *ir šzp n.k qbḥw ḥr w'rt tw n(y)t iḥmw-sk*

§1202a *ḏ3 f im.f*

§1202b *ḥn' sšd pw ni w3ḏt n dmi*

§1202c *st3(w) im irt Hr*

§1202d *ir wt ḏb' pw im ni Wsir zi(w) mr*

§1203a *šm r.f NN. pn ššwššw*

§1203b *z3w sw ʒ3wt ʒ wr*

§1201a To be recited: O *Hr.f-ḥ3.f* , the gate keeper of Osiris!

§1201b Say to Osiris, "Let this boat of yours be brought to this NN.,

§1201c the one in which your pure ones are ferried

§1201d to take the cold water for you in this area of the Indestructible Stars."

§1202a May he ferry in it

§1202b with this fillet of green and red linen

§1202c woven from the Eye of Horus

§1202d to bandage thereby this finger of Osiris which was ill.

§1203a Indeed, this NN. goes totally unhindered

§1203b for the proclamation of the Great Lake protects him.

The king asks *Hr.f-Ḥ3.f* to intercede with Osiris so he may use his boat. The verb *in.t(i)* is an impersonal *sdm.f*, literally "let one bring". This boat is used to ferry the *wḥw*, presumably the gods and the blessed dead. They bring cold water, perhaps for a libation, for Osiris who is among the *Iḥmw-sk* (§1201d). The next few lines are an appeal for the king to travel likewise, *d3.f* being a prospective *sdm.f*. Just as the Pure Ones bring water, the king is said to bring a fillet for Osiris' wounded finger. A *sšd* was a band to which the uraeus could be attached and which was normally made of cloth. Although it could be an item of insignia, it seems to be used as a bandage here; the colours red and green recall the Red and *W3dt* crowns of Lower Egypt (eg. §410). The Eye of Horus features here as the raw material from which the fillet was woven (*st3w* , passive participle) and thus imbuing it with its inherent power. This was clearly a prestigious offering for Osiris and thus an incentive to make his boat available. In §2055 the king heals Osiris' head but here it is his finger that has "gone sick" (the literal meaning of *zi mr*). In *CT* v 132 the fingers of Osiris are equated with the "cortage-smiter" of a ship but this may not be especially significant as it is part of a long list identifying parts of a boat with gods. In *CT* vi 22 the "big finger of Osiris" is mentioned in connection with fishing. The finger could also function as an enabler in ritual, such as the references to the finger of Seth in *Utts.69-70*, which might also account for its significance as a wounded part here. The result of this action by the king is that his movement is unhindered in the afterlife (§1203a).

G7 Utt.522

This spell features on the west wall of the corridor in P., M. and N. The spell consists of short invocations, the first addressed to the celestial ferryman.

§1227a *ḏd mdw m3-ḥ3.f ḥr.f-ḥ3.f*

§1227b *mk NN. pn iy n 'nh*
 §1227c *in.n.f n.k irt tw n(y)t Hr tz.t(i) im(y)t sht hnw*
 §1227d *in nw n NN. pn irt hnm*
 §1228a *i hpi im-sti dw3-mwt.f qb-snw.f*
 §1228b *in nw n NN. n irt hnm*
 §1228c *im(y)t mr-n-h3*

§1227a To be recited: O M3-h3.f! O Hr.f-h3.f !
 §1227b Behold this NN. is come in life
 §1227c for he has brought to you this Eye of Horus reknit in the Field of Tumult.
 §1227d Bring this to this NN., (the boat) which Khnum made.
 §1228a O Hapy, Imsety, Dwamutef and Qebsenef,
 §1228b bring this to NN., (the boat) which Khnum made
 §1228c which is in the Winding Waterway.

The king is said to be approaching (*iy*, Old Perfective) the ferryman “in life” - he has survived his death and is fully restored. The king is described as bringing the Eye of Horus to the ferryman and it has here a descriptive phrase referring to its restoration - *tz.ti* is an Old Perfective and suggests a physical restoration similar to that described in Utt.301. The word is often used of the king's body (eg. §286, 572, 610, 1368, 1801, 1995, 2076) and the condition of the Eye here may reflect that of the king. The location of the recovery is the Field of Tumult, *hnnw* often being a word used in connection with the conflict with Seth (see Chapter 8). This particular field is not mentioned elsewhere in the *PT* but is clearly one of the many fields located in the afterlife. P. has “the Field of the Rower” but this is surely a mistake. In view of the following lines, Kees (1956 p.75) sees the Eye as a boat here but the Eye seems more likely to be a symbolic offering to the ferryman accompanying the plea in the next line to bring a boat. Jacq (1986 p.68-9) discusses the fare that it is offered to the ferryman. The boat is called *irt Hnm*, a *sdmw.f* relative form and not a reference to his Eye, as the form of the word shows. The traditional cry for a boat, *in nw*, suggests that the bringing of the Eye was a reciprocal arrangement. Khnum is also described as the maker of boats in §445 and §1769. The spell continues with another plea to the children of Horus to bring the boat, which is located in the Winding Waterway. The other invocations are addressed to various beings and include a plea to open the way for the king and the avoidance of evil.

G8 Utt.566

This spell occurs in the vestibules of P. (on the west wall) and N. (on the east wall). It is another spell for the provision of transport for the king.

- §1429a *dd mdw sd3 NN. pn hnκ.k Hr*
 §1429b *d3 sw Dhwty m tp (nd.k*
 §1429c *Zkr is hnt m3t*
 §1429d *n Hr sdr(w) h3 mr n Dhwty iwy*
 §1429e *n hm iwiw NN. pn NN. pw hr(y) irt Hr*

- §1429a To be recited: May this NN. travel with you, Horus.
 §1429b Ferry him, Thoth, on the top of your wing
 §1429c like Sokar at the head of the boat of Maat.
 §1429d Horus is not spending the night behind the canal, Thoth is not boatless.
 §1429e Indeed, this NN. shall not be boatless for NN. possesses the Eye of Horus.

This spell contains pleas to Horus and Thoth to transport the king - there is a similar invocation to Horus in §1030: “do not leave me boatless!” The image of transportation on Thoth's wing is familiar from the spells above where the Eye of Horus is carried in this way (eg. §594f, 976a) but other gods are also described thus (see Chapter 7). Sokar was the hawk god of the Memphite necropolis who is here located in the Bark of *M3 t* (cf. §1785b where Re has “two Barks of Truth”). This image is another comparison for the desired transportation of the king. The following line has two negated pseudo-verbal constructions to emphasize that Horus and Thoth, and by implication the king, are not stranded. This is emphasized again in §1429e where the king is not boatless due to his possession of the Eye of Horus. The Eye could either represent a suitable “fare” or “passport” for travel (as in §1227c) or a boat itself, as Jacq (1986 p.139) suggests. See Utt.615 for the state of being boatless (*iwiw*). *CT* 182 states “Horus brings me to land just as he brought the boatless Eye of Horus to land” (Faulkner 1973 p.153) which is an interesting comparison featuring a different means of avoiding boatlessness with reference to the Eye of Horus. There were obviously many different perspectives possible on this theme.

G9 Utt.696

This spell only occurs on the east wall of N.'s antechamber, in a sequence Utt.694-696, and is very fragmented.

- §2164 *hhiw hhiw in nw n NN. in m n NN.*
 §2165a *i(w s[w] ... wpt n 'Tm*
 §2165b *yw NN. hr(y) szf ... nnit.k*
 §2166a *... irt Hr im zhz ir dbκw Stš*

§2164 O *Hhiw Hhiw* .. bring this to NN., bring (this) to NN.

- §2165a One who ascends (to) him... the messenger of Atum,
 §2165b O NN. who possesses *szf*-cloth ... your *nnit*-cloth
 §2166a ... the Eye of Horus (thereby?) who ran against the fingers of Seth.

This spell is tentatively interpreted as a ferryman text from the repeated cry *in mw* (§2164). The possession of cloth seems important and two different types are mentioned. Faulkner (1969 p.304) suggests that these may be fare for the ferryman, compare also Utt.519 where the king brings a bandage for Osiris. The mention of the Eye of Horus is also mysterious - it may be symbolic of the cloths or function as a “fare” or incentive itself, as in the other spells above. The verb *zhz* seems to be an active participle which agrees with Horus, but it could also be an imperative. If the former interpretation is accepted, this suggests opposition to Seth and a possible allusion to their conflict. A reference to the land at peace follows (§2167).

G10 Utt.524

This major spell about the king's ascension and the Eye of Horus is found on the west wall of P.'s corridor. There is also another version on the east wall of N.'s antechamber which Faulkner classes as Utt.724 but which T.G.Allen refers to as a variant of Utt.524. I have transliterated the later version in full below (G11) as it has several variations.

- §1233a *dd mdw w(b NN. m-t w(bw ir(w).n Hr n irt.f*
 §1233b *NN. pw Dhwtj nd(w) tn n NN. is pw Stš it(w) s*
 §1233c *nhny ntrw i.h(i psdtwy*
 §1234a *Hr hsf.ti m NN. pn*
 §1234b *wtz NN. pn hdt irt Hr wsr.t(i) im*
 §1234c *ih(i ntrw hr pry*

- §1233a To be recited: May NN. purify himself with the purification which Horus made for his Eye.
 §1233b NN. is Thoth who protects you, NN. is not Seth who stole it.
 §1233c Rejoice, gods! Be joyful, Two Enneads!
 §1234a Horus, approach this NN.,
 §1234b for this NN. wears the White Crown, the Eye of Horus strong thereby.
 §1234c Be joyful, gods, on account of the one who goes forth!

The spell commences with a reference to purification. This often appears in the *PT* as a prerequisite for ascension (eg. §1918-1919 before the king ascends as the Eye of Re). The king's purity is identified with that of the Eye (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the theme of purification and the Eye). There are no other references to Horus actually purifying his Eye

himself - it may be envisaged as occurring after the recovery of his Eye which is the main theme of this spell. The king's role is made clear - he is Thoth whose assistance to the Eye is contrasted with the threatening actions of Seth (§1233b). Despite the change of pronouns (from \overline{im} to \overline{f}), they both refer to the Eye. Imperatives are then addressed to the gods to rejoice for the king and a hortative Old Perfective to request Horus to approach the king. The king is described as having raised (*wtz*) the *Hdt* Crown which is juxtaposed with the Eye of Horus. The phrase *wsr.t(i) im* is a 3rd person Old Perfective which most probably refers to the Eye's restored condition. Other possibilities include a 2nd person Old Perfective referring to Horus or an impersonal form, but one might expect *im.s* to refer back to the Eye in that case. The Eye is also linked to the *Hdt* crown in §900b; here the king's return with the Eye is portrayed with the image of his wearing the *Hdt* crown. This item of insignia acts as a means of recognition which the gods acclaim (§1234c), *pry* being an active participle denoting the king.

§1235a *hr n NN. pn m z3b (wy NN. pn m bik*

§1235b *tp(y)t dnhw NN. pn m Dhwty*

§1235c *i.sp3 Gb NN. pn ir pt*

§1235d *šd NN. pn irt Hr n.f*

§1235a The face of this NN. is a jackel, the arms of this NN. are a falcon,

§1235b the wing tips of this NN. are Thoth('s).

§1235c May Geb cause this NN. to fly to the sky

§1235d so this NN. may take the Eye of Horus to him.

Developing further the theme of the king's ascension, his body is identified with parts of divine entities, giving him the ferocity of the jackal and the power of flight. The phrase *tp(y)t-dnhw* means literally “what is upon the wing” so “wing-tips” seems most likely as other words denote feathers. The Eye of Horus is rescued on Thoth's wing-tips (§594f, 976a) so this seems a continuation of the king's role as Thoth. Geb ensures further that the king will fly up to the sky as he is bringing the Eye of Horus (*šd* is a prospective *sdm.f*) - this recalls Utt.689 where the king ascends as the rescuer of the Eye. The spell continues with an assertion that the king has passed over the frontier of the dead (§1236a) and the boundary stones of Osiris' minions (§1236b) - Osiris functions here as the lord of the dead. He has also encircled (*šn*) the ways of Seth (§1236c), a repeated emphasis that he has the freedom to ascend and escape the limitations of death.

§1237a *n ntr ndr(w) NN. pn*
 §1237b *n md3w d3(w) sw m w3t NN. pn*
 §1237c *NN. pw Dhwtj nht ntrw*
 §1237d *nis (Tm ir NN. pn ir pt n (nh*
 §1237e *šd NN. irt Hr n.f*
 §1238a *NN. pw z3 Hnm n dwt i.irt.n NN.*
 §1238b *3w mdw pn dr hr.k R*
 §1238c *sdm sw k3 psdt*
 §1239a *wp.k w3t NN. pn swšh.k st NN. pn m hnt ntrw*
 §1239b *šd NN. pn irt Hr n.f stz n.f NN. prt m tp.f*
 §1240a *di NN. pn m3.f m irtwy.f tmtj*
 §1240b *zzn.f hftyw.f im.s*

§1237a There is not a god who can hold this NN.,
 §1237b there is not an opponant who can oppose the way of this NN.,
 §1237c for NN. is Thoth, the strength of the gods.
 §1237d May Atum summon this NN. to the sky (for life)
 §1237e so NN. may take the Eye of Horus to him.
 §1238a NN. is the son of Khnum and there is no evil which NN. has done.
 §1238b May this speech be long before your sight, o Re,
 §1238c and may the bull of the ennead hear it.
 §1239a May you open the way of this NN. and may you make spacious the seat of this P. at
 the head of the gods
 §1239b so this NN. may take to him the Eye of Horus and NN. may cause to be reknit for
 him that which went forth from his head.
 §1240a May NN. cause him to see with both his eyes
 §1240b so he may surpass his enemies by means of it.

The might of the king is emphasised, in that there is no god sufficiently powerful to oppose him, because the king's identification with Thoth means that he, too, is *nht ntrw*. The king is summoned to ascend by Atum, §1237d-e being identical to §1235c-d where Geb is mentioned, the same formula being repeated here for another major deity. The subsequent description of the king as the son of Khnum places him a filial relationship with the god primarily associated with the provision of boats in the *PT* (§445, 1227-8, also a ladder in §1585), thus assuring him means of transport perhaps. However, Khnum was also associated with the creation of mankind and the following assertion that the king has done no evil may suggest a transcendence of his condition of humanity.

There is then a plea to Re to heed the king and to “open the way”, this being a crucial task that is primarily identified with the god *Wp-w3wt* and has the connotations of removing opposition and enabling passage to the afterlife. The main incentive for Re, as with Geb and Atum, is that the king is bringing the Eye of Horus (the same verb, *šd*, is used in §1239b) but

the restoration of the Eye to Horus is developed in more detail here - it is to be “reknit” (*stz*, cf. §1227c). The Eye is described as *pṛt m tp.f*, a phrase that is also used in connection with the crowns (§823a, 1624b-c, 1832b). §1240a is unusual in that it refers to the restoration of Horus' vision which is not mentioned elsewhere, although the Eye of Horus is associated with the king's eyes (see Chapter 5). Roeder (1994 p.62) demonstrates that the restoration of vision is conceptually linked with the vanquishing of foes (§1240b) - it is hard to tell how far this is derived from the scenario of the recovery of the Eye and the associated defeat of Seth (and his followers). The emphasis of the spell so far has been the recovery of the Eye by the king as Thoth, an act which guarantees his ascension and welcome. There is then a change of emphasis in the proceedings:

- §1240c *it f Hr irt.f rdi.n.f s n NN. pn*
 §1241a *st.f st ntr st irt Hr ir iw f NN. pn*
 §1241b *hnt NN. pn hr.s hms NN. pn hr st.tn wrt ntrw*
 §1241c *rmn NN. ir Tm imywt shmw*
 §1242a *NN. pw hw nnw ntrw m zhnw irt Hr*
 §1242b *hh.n s NN. pn m NN gm.n(.f) s m Iwnw*
 §1242c *šd.n s NN. pn m tp Stš m bw pw (h3(w).n.sn im*
 §1243a *Hr di k n NN. pn Hr m-n.k irt.k*
 §1243b *pr.s n.k pr.s n.k iw n.k NN. pn n (nh*
 §1243c *iw n.k irt Hr hn NN. pn tp NN. dt*

- §1240c Horus has taken his Eye and he has given it to this NN.
 §1241a His perfume is the perfume of the god, the perfume of the Eye of Horus is on the flesh of this NN.
 §1241b May this NN. be pre-eminent possessing it, may this NN. sit on your great seat, o gods.
 §1241c The arm of NN. is on Atum who is between the two sceptres.
 §1242a NN. is one who prevents lest the gods weary in seeking the Eye of Horus
 §1242b for this NN. has sought it in Pe and [he] has found it in Heliopolis.
 §1242c This NN. has taken it from the head of Seth in this place where they fought.
 §1243a Horus, give your arm to this NN, Horus, take to yourself the Eye of Horus -
 §1243b May it go forth to you, may it go forth to you when this NN. comes to you (in life).
 §1243c May the Eye of Horus come to you with this NN. upon NN. forever!

After recovering (*it*, a word also used for the assumption of the crown) his Eye, Horus then bestows its benefits on the king, in terms of its perfume (*st*), an attribute usually seen in ritual purification spells where it also has the ability to empower. Here, the king is subsequently *hnt*, “at the forefront”, and takes the prestigious place among the gods in the company of Atum. The spell then goes back to the theme of the recovery of the Eye, the reason for the king's

acclaim. He has saved the gods an arduous task by recovering the Eye himself. The task of “seeking” (*ḥḥ*) and “finding” (*gm*) was particularly associated with Thoth (eg. Helck 1984 col.193, who connects it with the waxing of the moon). The locations for this task are Pe (the leading delta town of Lower Egypt) and Heliopolis (the influential cult centre of Re with which the recovery of the Eye is often associated - see Chapter 11). The mythical scenario is thus given geographical realism. The order of the towns is reversed in §2250c. This reference has been specifically interpreted as the recovery of the crown (eg. Otto 1975d col.563, Schott 1945 p.74-5), although the crown is mentioned earlier in the spell, it may be that the Eye has the same implications as the item of insignia but without a permanent identification with any specific item throughout this spell. The king reclaims the Eye from Seth at the scene of the crime (§1242c) - this also recalls §1227c where the Eye is taken from the Field of Tumult. The Eye is taken specifically from the head (*tp*) of Seth, again suggesting a comparison with royal insignia such as the crown, uraeus or *sšd* band, but which would also be a natural location for an Eye (cf. §1239b). The spell ends with an emphasis on the welcome and assistance due to the king as he brings the Eye, summarizing the main theme of the spell once more.

G11 Utt.724, a later version of Utt.524.

This spell is transliterated only as it is so close in content to Utt.524. The notes that follow deal only with the variations.

- §2246a *wḃ.n NN. m ḃw n (b(w))*
 §2246b *ir(w).n Ḥr irt.f ..NN. is Stš ...*
 §2246c *[wn n] NN. ʿ3wy qbḥw ḥsfw rḥyt*
 §2246d *ii.n NN. ḥr irt Ḥr ʿ3t w3št*
 §2246e *nḥnt nṯrw nḥnt psdt[wy ḥr.s]*
 §2246f *[wtz NN. ḥdt irt Ḥr wsr.t(i) mḥ.t(i) im]*
 §2247a *... [(wy) NN. m biwk tp(y)t dnḥw NN. m Dḥwty (nḥt nṯrw nis)*
 §2247b *i.sp3 Gb N. m-m snw.f nṯrw*
 §2247c *rdi ... [znb] izwt.t imyw-rd ḥrw-ḫ Wsir*
 §2247d *NN. pw shm dbḥ(w) st.f Dḥwty*
 §2248a *nisw ʿTm ir pt šdy NN. [irt Ḥr n.f]*
 §2248b *... b3w ipw ḥntyw Iwnw*
 §2248c *ḥ3t pn mdr ḥr.k ir Rʿ*
 §2248d *sḏm k3 psdtwy*
 §2249a *wp.k w3t NN. s(w)[sh.k st NN. m ḥnt nṯrw]*
 §2249b *... [di] NN. m3.k m irtwy.k tmty*
 §2249c *zz ḥftyw im.tn*
 §2249d *in it.n Ḥr irt.f rdit.n.f st.s*
 §2250a *st nṯr st irt Ḥr ir.f ḥnt NN. ...*

§2250b ... [NN. pw ḥw nnw] ntrw m zḥnw irt Hr
 §2250c gm.n NN. m P. ḥḥ.n NN. m Iwnw
 §2250d šd.n s NN. m r n Stš m bw pw [ḥ3(w).n.sn im] ...

The beginning of the spell (§2246a-b) is a slightly garbled and fragmented version of §1233a-b but §2246c-d are new. The king is bringing the “great, honoured Eye of Horus” and therefore the celestial gates that keep out plebs are opened for him, the Eye functioning as a passport to the world of the gods. There is the possibility that this was an adaptation to the new location of the spell, if one follows Allen’s interpretation of the pyramid layout. He suggests the door out of the antechamber represented the doors of the *3ḥt* (Allen 1994 p.27). Lines §2246e-2247c are a more condensed version of §1233c-1236d. Instead of the lines on the unassailability of the king (§1237a-b), he is described as “a power (*šḥm*) who asks for his seat”, clearly a being to be reckoned with, and again identified with Thoth’s strength. Line §2248b is fragmented but contains a new phrase mentioning “the foremost *b3w* in Heliopolis”. The reference to a cloak (*ḥ3t*) seems obscure, unless it can be connected with *CT* v, 385 where the king knits the cloak of Re. The rest of the spell adheres generally to §1238c-1243c but is sadly fragmented. As stated above, in §2250c the order of the towns are reversed.

G12 Utt.570

This spell occurs twice in P., on the west wall of his vestibule (in the sequence Utts.565-573) and at the south end of his descending passage. It also is found on M.’s vestibule’s east wall. It is a lengthy and seemingly composite text. There is an initial vivid description of the rising of the sun (§1443) followed by the king’s declaration of his greatness (§1444-8) which is addressed to various gods.

§1449a *iḥ.ti n NN. pn m rn.k n [Rḥ] [ḥsr.k] ḥ3ti pt*
 §1449b *rdit sw Hr 3ḥt sdm.f b3w.f ḥsiwt.f*
 §1449c *m r n psdtwy*
 §1450a *nfrwy tw ddw mwt.f i w(.i) i.dd Wsir*
 §1450b *n Gm.n NN. pn irt Hr*
 §1450c *i.dd rmt mwt.f ḥr.s*
 §1450d *n Gm.n NN. pn (t m Wsir*
 §1450e *i.dd ntrw mwt.f ḥr.s*

§1449a May you ascend to this NN. in your name of [Re] [so you may dispel] the cloudiness of the sky.

§1449b May Herakhty let himself hear his might and his praise

§1449c in the mouth of the Two Enneads.

- §1450a "How beautiful you are!" his mother says, "My heir!" Osiris says,
 §1450b This NN. will not swallow the Eye of Horus
 §1450c so men will say "may he die because of it!"
 §1450d This NN. will not swallow a limb from Osiris
 §1450e so the gods will say "may he die on account of it!"

The hortative Old Perfective *iḥ.ti* is addressed to the sun god, as revealed by the name formula, and he is to hearken to the praise of the king by the ennead. Part of this praise is the assertion that the king will not swallow the Eye of Horus, thus incurring the condemnation of men (*rmt*). Similarly, he would not swallow a limb of Osiris and be condemned by the gods. The phrase *mwt.f* is taken as a prospective *sdm.f* with the suffix referring to the king but it is possible that it refers to Horus and Osiris (as Faulkner suggests - 1969 p.224). The significance of swallowing as an assumption of power is discussed in Chapter 2, the most notable example being the "Cannibal Hymn" (Utts.273-4). The Eye was the traditional injury of Horus but the parallel reference to the limb of Osiris seems to be a more generalized theme of subjugation, as is shown by *CT* vii,39: "eat a limb of him who would harm you" (Faulkner 1978 p.24; also *CT* v,8 which describes power over Seth's limbs). The association of the Eye of Horus with mankind, in contrast to the limb of Osiris with the gods, may reflect the role of Horus as the god associated with the earthly king while Osiris was the deceased among the gods.

The spell continues with the king's assertion that he has escaped death like Seth (§1453) and a passage detailing how he become a star among the Imperishable Stars (§1454-1458). The king's role is then defined in terms of asserting power over the crowns:

- §1459a NN. *pw ḥf'(w) ḥdt tp šbt w3dt*
 §1459b NN. *pw i'rt prt m Stš itt int*
 §1459c *sd3 NN. s'nh sw*
 §1460a NN. *pw nw tmsst prt m nw[nw]*
 §1460b NN. *pw irt Hr n wg.s bšš.s*
 §1460c *n wgw.f bšš.f*

- §1459a NN. is one who grasps the White Crown, one in charge of the curl of the Green Crown.
 §1459b NN. is the uraeus come forth from Seth which moves endlessly.
 §1459c Make NN. well! Make him live!
 §1460a NN. is one who takes care of the redness come forth from Nu(nu?).
 §1460b NN. is the Eye of Horus which was not chewed or spat out,
 §1460c he is not chewed or spat out.

The pairing of the *Hdt* and *W3dt* crowns represents the duality of Upper and Lower Egypt. The role of the “Green Crown”, which has the same form as the Red Crown, is discussed further in Chapter 3. The identification of the king with powerful terms of reference is effected by constructions with *pw*, which place the king's name in the foremost position for emphasis. The king is also identified with the uraeus of Seth - this is mentioned in §2047d where it is paired with the *dt* of Re; te Velde (1977 p.106) connects it with Seth's role as the defeater of the enemies of Re who also used his uraeus for this purpose. The idiomatic meaning of the expression *itt int* was established by Gardiner (1938 p.124) and is literally translated “take and bring back”. After an invocation for the life and health of the king, he is described as caring for (*nw*, active participle from the verb *nwi* - see Faulkner 1962 p.127) the “redness” from *Nwnw*. See Eschweiler 1994 p.253 for the associations of redness, blood and life. *Nwnw* suggests the primeval waters, and the term *msst* is also seen in §1147a, where it is described as originating from *Iht-Wrt* (again mentioned in close proximity with the Eye). The evocation of blood could be connected with female deities and possibly with menstruation (eg. §1464). It was clearly conceived as a powerful substance that could be beneficial to the king. The king is then identified with the Eye of Horus - the versions differ crucially on this line - the negative wording of P.661 (as translated above) makes by far the better sense (as Faulkner 1969 p.224 and Mercer 1952c p.712 agree) but is in the minority. P.774 and M. have *NN. pw irt Hr wgit bššt*, two passive participles rather than the negated passive *sdmw.f* form and *sdmf*. This difference is maintained in §1460c where P.775 and M. have *wgiw.f bšš.f* (passive *sdmw.f* and *sdmf* forms). The acts of chewing and spitting have “magical” connotations of the acquisition of power (see Ritner 1990 and discussion in Chapter 2) which one would presume to be a negative occurrence for the king or the Eye, just as being swallowed was in §1450b (but compare §118b where it seems to be a cause of rejoicing). If the version in P.661 is preferred, these lines are asserting the intactness and inviolability of the king by equating his condition with that of the Eye.

The rest of this spell is discussed in Section H as the reference to the Eye of Horus occurs with a different theme for the king.

G13 Utt.655

This spell is found on the north wall of N.'s burial chamber, in the sequence Utts.654-657. Allen (1984 p.685) divides this spell into Utt.*655 (*§1842-3) and Utt.*656 (*§1844-6).

§1842 NN. ... *i.mn mntwy ntrw ... NN. in Šzmtt*
§1843 NN. *m bik pr(w) m irt Hr i(rt pr.t(i) m bik*

§1842 NN. ... the thighs of the gods are firm, NN. [was borne] by Shezmet.
§1843 NN. is a falcon gone forth from the Eye of Horus, the uraeus gone forth from the falcon.

This is a transformation spell so the king can ascend as a falcon. Line §1842 is very similar to §2206a-b and thus probably contained an account of the divine birth - *Šzmtt* also occurs in §262 which has another description of the king's birth as a star using the same terms. The Eye of Horus is one of the changing forms of the king - *pr(w)* and *pr.t(i)* are Old Perfectives. This verb is the usual means of expressing emergence, used for example with the crowns - see the discussion in Chapter 3. The process of transformation seems to involve the falcon emerging from the Eye of Horus and a uraeus going forth from the falcon. These fluid images are all associated with royal imagery.

If one adheres to Faulkner's longer spell (thus including Allen's *656) then the king is further described as possessing feathers so he can ascend like a divine falcon and as a *sb3 d3 w3d-wr* "a star which crosses the sea". It continues the same themes of transformation for flight to join the stars.



G14 Utt.704

There is a very fragmentary version of this spell in P. which Sethe supplemented with a text from the coffin of $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆐}}$ (Cairo 28083). This is, however, a later version from the Middle Kingdom (as *CT* 364) and the version in Nt. (on the north wall of her burial chamber), which was not available to Sethe, is to be preferred.

§2206a NN. *pw (m^c) pr(w) m R^c*
§2206b *pr.n NN. imt mntwy psdtwy*
§2206c *iwr.s in Šhmt ms NN. tn in Šzmtt*
§2206d NN. *pw bik pr(w) [m R^c]*
§2206e *m i(rt prt m bik (m) prt m irt Hr*
§2206f *p3.n NN. hn.s m wpt hpr m h3t wi3 im Nw*

§2206a NN. is a (*m^c*) gone forth from Re,
§2206b from between the thighs of the Two Enneads has NN. gone forth,
§2206c she was conceived by Sekhmet, NN. was borne by Shezmet.
§2206d NN. is a falcon gone forth [from Re],
§2206e (as) the uraeus gone forth from a falcon and gone forth from the Eye of Horus

§2206f for NN. has flown up so she may alight on the brow of the beetle on the prow of the bark in Nu.

The word  in §2206a has not been satisfactorily explained - Faulkner (1977 p.6) has “uncircumcised one(?)”. The start of the spell contains a description of the divine birth, as does Utt.655. The king emerged from Re (§2206a) and from the Two Enneads (§2206b), having been conceived by Sekhmet, who can have the role of the daughter of Re, and given birth by Shezmetet, possibly another manifestation of Sekhmet. These multiple images give accumulated power to the king. The verb *iwr.s* (passive *sdmw.f*) unusually has the feminine pronoun for Nt. The king is then described again as a falcon from Re, which is elaborated further in the next line: the king is a uraeus emerging from a falcon and from the Eye of Horus. There is a slight anomaly in the line - a  can be seen - but the feminine *prt* show that it must still refer to the uraeus and not the falcon. The same forms are combined as in Utt.655 but in a slightly different way. The text from Nt. definitely has the Eye of Horus and, although Faulkner (1969 p.307 n.4) suggests amending *i'rt prt m irt Rc*, he has *i'rt prt m irt Hr* in his *Supplement* (p.61). The later texts have the Eye of Re but there seems no reason to assume that the Eye of Horus is a mistake here, given the parallel text of §1843. *CT* 851 (vii, 55) also has the Eye of Atum in a very similar context which suggests that the Eye of whoever was felt most appropriate could be used. The spell concludes with a description of the king's destination, the solar bark (the reference to the beetle denotes Khepri).

G15 Utt.668

The text is found in N. on the south wall of the burial chamber, with a fragment in T.

§1959a *dd mdw NN. pw bik ngg(w) dbn(w) irt Hr hr(y)-ib D3t ...*

§1959b *NN. pw bik idi im ... (w?)d.n.tn NN. im*

§1960a *iiw NN. r gs i3b n Nwt*

§1960b *iwrr NN. im msiw NN. im*

§1959a To be recited: NN. is a screeching falcon who encircles the Eye of Horus who is in the midst of *D3t*

§1959b NN. is a falcon censed with ... for you (pl.) have (censed ?) NN. thereby.

§1960a NN. is bound for the east side of the sky,

§1960b for NN. was conceived there and NN. was born there.

The king is again described as ascending as a falcon. The descriptive terms *nggw* and *dbn(w)* are participles. Ritner (1993 p.57) discusses the connotations of purification with *dbn* which

might provide a link with the censuring mentioned in the next line. There is also a mention of the “circuit of the Eye of Horus” (*dbnt irt Hr*) in *CT 277* (iv, 19). The image is of the falcon encircling the Eye which is attributed to *Hr hry-ib D3t*, a variation on the usual *Hr D3t* and the only occasion in the *PT* where the Eye is connected with a specific form of Horus. Dat has been seen as “Reich der Sterne” (Hornung 1975 col.994), a region of the afterlife reached in the *PT* after ascension to the stars. Allen (1989 p.23) states Dat was located in the east below the Field of Reeds and that the king awaits rebirth at dawn there. He makes the interesting suggestion that it was analogous to the burial chamber in the pyramid, where this spell was located. The other possible interpretation of this line is *bik hry-ib D3t* (see Allen 1989 p.21 n.139) which places the king in this context, rather than being an epithet of Horus. In the next line, the verb *idi* (*WB i,152*) raises the possibility that the Eye is to be seen as incense but this part of the text is fragmented. The end of the spell mentions the king's goal, the east of the sky, the place of celestial rebirth.

G16 Utt.402

This is located on the east wall of the burial chamber in T., M. and N. but on P.'s descending passage's east wall - all preserve the sequence of Utts. 401-3. The versions of T., P. and M. are similar but N. has important changes with regard to the Eye of Horus. The text of T. is given here with the text of N. to highlight the changes.

- §698a *dd mdw: s(w)sh st T. hn^c Gb*
dd mdw s(w)sh.n N.N. st.f hn^c Gb
- §698b *sq3(w) shd T. hn^c R^c*
sq3(w) shd N. hn^c Nwt
- §698c *wnwn T. m shwt-htpw*
wnwn N. m shwt-htpw
- §698d *T. pw irt tw nt R^c sdrt yt (M. has iwrt) mst r^c nb*
N. pw irt tw nt Hr sdrt yt mst r^c nb

- §698a To be recited: The seat of T. is made spacious with Geb,
 To be recited: N. has made his seat spacious with Geb,
- §698b T.'s star is raised on high with Re,
 N.'s star is raised on high with Nut,
- §698c so T. may travel about in the Fields of Offerings
 so N. may travel about in the Fields of Offerings
- §698d for T. is this Eye of Re which spends the night and comes (var. is conceived) and is born every day.
 for N. is this Eye of Horus which spends the night and comes and is born every day.

T. seems to start with a passive *sḏmw.f* (an emphatic form) where N. has an emphatic *sḏm.n.f*, both of which stress *hnꜥ Gb*. The versions differ on §698b, T. having Re where N. has Nut, emphasized by the passive *sḏmw.f* form of *sq3*. Clearly, in both spells the king's desired location was envisaged as the same place (as §698c shows) but, whereas the earlier texts preferred a solar image, the later version has the sky-goddess. This difference is also manifested in §698d where T. has the Eye of Re and N. has the Eye of Horus. Mercer (1952b p.343) sees the reference to the Eye of Horus as a mistake but this fails to account for the change in §698b. The description of the celestial cycle has a series of participles and the construction with *pw* that is commonly used for identifying the king with another entity. The terms used are also attested in §132 and §705. The Eye is to be seen as a part of this eternally recurring phenomenon; whether it is envisaged as a particular celestial body is unclear.

G17 Utt.523

This spell is found in the corridors of P.(north end), M.(south end) and N.(west wall). It is the only spell that mentions the Eye of Horus and the Eye of Re in such close proximity.

- §1231a *ḏd mdw snḥt.n pt i3ḥw n NN.*
 §1231b *i.šwy r.f NN. pn ir pt irt rꜥ is*
 §1231c *ḥꜥ r.f NN. pn ir irt tw i3bt n(y)t Hr*
 §1231d *sḏm.t(i) mdw ntrw im.s*
 §1232a *ḥꜥ.ti ḥnt 3ḥw*
 §1232b *mi ḥꜥ Hr ḥnt ḥnhw*
 §1232c *ḥꜥ r.f NN. pn ḥnt 3ḥw iḥmw-sk*
 §1232d *mi ḥꜥ Wsir ḥnt 3ḥw*

- §1231a To be recited: For NN. has the sky made the sunlight strong,
 §1231b so this NN. may raise himself to the sky like the Eye of Re.
 §1231c May this NN. stand at (or for?) this eastern Eye of Horus,
 §1231d the words of the gods may be heard by means of it.
 §1232a Stand at the head of the akhs,
 §1232b like Horus stood at the head of the living.
 §1232c May this NN. stand at the head of the akhs, the Imperishable Stars,
 §1232d like Osiris stood at the head of the akhs.

The king is initially envisaged as ascending on the sunlight, a theme also seen in §1108. The king is to ascend like (*is*) the Eye of Re and stand at, or perhaps for, (*ir*) the eastern Eye of Horus. The role of the Eye of Re is discussed in Chapter 10 and the king can also ascend to it, just as he also ascends as the Eye of Horus so the situation here should not be seen as a

fundamental distinction between the two. Both seem to be part of the celestial afterlife - the significance of the Eye of Horus is not totally clear. The east was the place for regeneration and the words of the gods (*mdw ntrw*) suggest a judgment or official proclamation - Jacq (1986 p.29) notes that they can be linked with ascension. Ogden (1985 p.39) sees the Eye as being used by Re to hear the gods, Sethe (1935d p.131) sees a reference to the judgment of the Eye, a theme which is mentioned in other ascension spells, and Anthes (1961a p.11-13) sees the bestowal of power on the king by the gods as “eine unleugbare Identifizierung” of the Eye as *Hwt-Hr*, the location rather than the goddess. *CT* 69 (i, 294) has an interesting parallel: “stand up at (or for) this left Eye of the Mansion of the Mace for the gods are protected by it” (Faulkner 1973 p.65). The king is also described as being at the head of the *3hw* (§1232a) - a further indication that he was endowed with power by the gods.

G18 Utt.510

The text is found in P. (on his corridor's west wall) and M. (east wall of corridor). Faulkner (1969 p.185) classes this as “a miscellany of spells” and subdivides it as follows: §1128-1131b, §1132a-1137b, §1138a-1140c, §1141a-1143b, §1143b-1148c. These sections describe stages of the king's journey, such as the procession of “Horus of the Great Flood” and travelling the canal of Kenzet.

- §1145a *n NN. is wr z3 wr msw Nwt*
- §1145b *pht NN. phti Stš Nbt*
- §1145c *NN. pn sm3 wr pri m hnty-imntyw*
- §1146a *NN. p(w) rdw hy pr.f im hpr n mw*
- §1146b *swt Nhbw-k3w ʕ3 q3bwn*
- §1146c *NN. p(w) sš mdw ntr dd(w) ntt shpr(w) iwty*
- §1147a *NN. p(w) sšd pw n tmst pr(w) m iht-wrt*
- §1147b *NN. p(w) irt tw n(y)t Hr*
- §1147c *wsrt ir rmt nht ir ntrw*

- §1145a NN. is a great one, the son of a great one, whom Nut bore.
- §1145b The strength of NN. is the strength of Seth of Nubet,
- §1145c this NN. is a great wild bull who went forth as Foremost-of-the-Westerners,
- §1146a NN. is the efflux of the waters for he goes forth from the creation of the waters.
- §1146b He is *Nhbw-k3w*, many of coils,
- §1146c NN. is the scribe of the god's book who says what is and creates what is not,
- §1147a NN. is this fillet of red stuff come forth from *Iht-wrt*,
- §1147b NN. is this Eye of Horus,
- §1147c stronger than men and mightier than gods.

The king was identified with Thoth for strength in Utt.524 but here he is credited with the strength of Seth, clearly a favourable characteristic here and indicative of Seth's double nature. The *sm3 wr*, also an indication of strength, features in §201a, 486b and 809c. The king is then identified with the efflux (*rdw*) of the primeval waters at creation, placing him at the beginning of time. The god *Nḥbw-k3w* is described by Shorter (1935 p.41-8) as a serpent who assisted Re (M. has *ḥf3w* instead) but who also could have a demoniac side. The king is also credited with a pivotal role in determining the course of events as scribe for the god's book - *dd* and *shpr* are active participles. Gardiner (1957 p.153) and Hornung (1983 p.172, esp. n.116) discuss the common phrase *ntt iwtt*. Thoth could also be seen as the scribe of the gods, an important position that probably reflected the social reality of Egypt at that time. The king brings a red and green fillet to Osiris in Utt.519 but here he is actually identified with a *sšd* band made of *tmst*, a noun with the meaning of "redness" but also with connotations of blood and which features as an epithet of the Red Crown in §911a. It is attributed to *Iḥt-Wrt*, who also occurs in §198b and may possibly denote a uraeus which was customarily attached to the *sšd*. Finally, the king is called the Eye of Horus which is described in very grand terms as greater than men and gods. This diverse list is unified by the purpose of empowering the king. The list includes images of strength (such as Seth, the bull, *Nḥbw-k3w* and the Eye) and connections with creation (the waters, the scribe). The king is finally said to be carried by Horus and Seth and he propitiates the two gods who are contented and who are discontented (§1148a-c).

G19 Utt.562

This spell is found in P. and N. on the west wall of their vestibules. It concerns the king's ascension to a position of power among the gods. §1405b is slightly obscure; most likely it continues the mention of the raising of the land by Tefnut's arms in §1405a, in that the king is to be given a helping hand. The king is then envisaged as ruling the gods (*wḏ^c mdw ntrw*) as Horus "who protects his father" (*nd^f it.f*).

§1406c *dt.k m NN. pn ntr is m dt.tn m NN. ntrw*

§1407a *iw.n NN. pn m ḥtp ḥr.k Hr*

§1407b *nḥḥ.n irt Hr ḥr.tn n rdi.s n dnd Stš*

§1406c Your body is this NN., O god, behold (?) your bodies are NN., O gods.

§1407a This NN. comes in peace before you, O Horus,

§1407b for the Eye of Horus has endured with you (pl.), it has not been given to the anger of Seth.

The term *dt* has been analysed by Anthes (1962) where he concludes that it is a property of gods and the king which has a conceptual connection with the uraeus and the Eye of Horus. The gist of this passage is that the king is identified with the *dt* bodies of the gods and thus their fundamental qualities. His approach to Horus “in peace” is then connected with the safety of the Eye. The use of the verb *nḥḥ* is discussed fully in the appendix and it occurs frequently in offering spells, the basic meaning being something like “endures”. Here, it has the added emphasis that it is safe from Seth, *n rdi.s* being a negated passive *sdmw.f* form (Gardiner 1957 p.342). Allen's translation (1984 p.366) is as follows: “it is without being given to Seth's wrath that the Eye of Horus has become enduring with you (o gods)”. Just as in §1407b the gods are given an intimate connection with the king which will work for his benefit, it seems here that the king's fate is either being identified with that of the Eye in that he has secured it for the gods or that he is to be seen as implicitly identified with it and thus also will endure. It is a general assertion of well-being.

G20 Utt.683

This spell also occurs in N. on the north wall of the antechamber. It consists of a speech which the gods make about the king as a statement on his well-being in the afterlife. As in Utt.510, the king is equated with a variety of images - Horus, a bull (*ng3w*), a *dt* snake from Re and a uraeus from Seth - to indicate his power and prestige. An unspecified “she” (possible the daughter of Re in §2048b and §2048d) shall perform the same deeds for the king as for two rather obscure beings, *Mddt-ity* and *Md3w*, thus setting up a reciprocity to work to the king's advantage. *Mddt-ity* means literally “she who obeys the sovereign” and *md3w* may mean “adversary” (see Faulkner 1969 p.294 n.1), epithets possibly for the daughter of Re or the uraeus. The spell concludes with the following assertion for the king's condition:

§2049 *n NN. is wd3w z3 wd3w pr(w) m wd3t*

§2050a *wd3 NN. wd3 NN. wd3 irt Hr im(y)t Iwnw*

§2050b *‘nḥ NN. ‘nḥ NN. ‘nḥ irt Hr im(y)t Iwnw*

§2049 NN. is a sound one, the son of a sound one (m.) , gone forth from a sound one (f.).

§2050a May NN. be sound, may NN. be sound, as the Eye of Horus in Heliopolis is sound!

§2050b May NN. live, may NN. live, as the Eye of Horus in Heliopolis lives!

The emphasis is on the condition of *wḏ3* which is mentioned throughout the *PT* as desirable and which is discussed in Chapter 11 with specific reference to the Eye of Horus. The king's "soundness" is first said to derive from his parents and then by comparison with the Eye of Horus, which also possesses the quality of life. The Eye is located specifically in Heliopolis, the cult centre of Re and also associated with the judgment scenario with the return of the Eye. The influence of Heliopolis on the composition of the *PT* may account for this (see Chapter 11).

SECTION H: THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE COSMOS

H1 Utt. 486

This spell occurs in P. (west wall of the antechamber) and N. (east wall of the corridor). It begins with an address to the waters of the Nile:

§1039a *dd mdw i.d hr.tn mw inw Šw wtzw mndfti*

§1039b *w(bw.n Gb (wt.f im.sn*

§1039c *ibw m-ht snd ḥ3tyw m-ht šʿt*

§1040a *i.ms(iw) NN. m Nw*




§1040b *n ḥprt pt n ḥprt t3*

§1040c *n ḥprt smnti n ḥprt ḥnnw*

§1040d *n ḥprt snd pw ḥpr(w) ḥr irt Hr*

§1041a *NN. pw wʿ(n ḥt tw ʿt msyt m-b3ḥ Iwnw*

- §1039a To be recited: Hail to you, waters which Shu brought and which *Mndfti* (?) raised up,
 §1039b with which Geb purified his limbs.
 §1039c Hearts were filled with fear, breasts filled with terror,
 §1040a when NN. was born in Nu,
 §1040b before the sky existed, before the earth existed,
 §1040c before the two supports existed, before the turmoil existed,
 §1040d before this fear existed which came into being on account of the Eye of Horus.
 §1041a NN. is one of that great company which was born formerly in Heliopolis

The address to the waters of the Nile reflects the origins of all life in the primeval ocean, repeated annually with the inundation of the Nile which brought new life to the land (cf. “the waters of life” in §2063a Utt.685). Faulkner (1969 p.173) has “Two Sources” for *Mndfti* which may allude to the origins of the Nile. The determinative  shows that this is something personified as a deity who parallels Shu. Geb, in his role as the earth god, is then purified with the waters. These lines must set the scene for the following description of the birth of the king. Two parallel expressions describe the awe at the birth - the qualities of *snd* and *šʿt* are similar to those attributed to the king as a result of receiving the insignia of his office (see Chapter 3) and are recognitions of his unique divine nature. For §1040a, P. has  , passive *sdm(w)f* , but N. has  . This is probably also a passive *sdm(w)f* with the 1st person suffix omitted but Allen (1984 p.42) takes this as a passive plural participle (“O you who were born....”). In P., at least, the king is described as being born in Nu, the primeval ocean, which links with the earlier address to the waters.

A series of five *sdmt.f* forms follows, a verb form which carries the meaning “before....” (Gardiner 1957 p.316f, Allen 1984 p.312), here used with the verb *ḥpr* which

denotes the coming into existence of various aspects of the world. The *smnti* are equated with Shu and Tefnut in the *WB* (iv, 135) but the interpretation as the twin supports of the sky seems more likely, i.e. the mountains to the east and west of the sky (Sethe 1935d p.320, Mercer 1952b p.525). The mention of *hnnw* contrasts with the physical entities listed so far but reflects the dynamic nature of the world (see further Chapter 8). The fear (*snd*) is connected to the Eye of Horus by the participle *hprw*, which contrasts with the previous negated forms of this verb. This quality of *snd* was previously linked to the birth of the king (§1039c) and this is not necessarily fear for the Eye but rather on account of its awesomeness. The king is then described as belonging to the *ht* of Heliopolis, a collection of gods that seems to have been a precursor to the ennead. It occurs as an element in several royal names from early dynastic times, such as *Smr-ht* (2nd Dyn) and *Shm-ht* (3rd Dyn). Anthes links this term with the court of the gods which pronounced judgment on the divine descent of the king (1954a p.3). The phrase *m-b3h* is used adverbially, indicating further the notion of divine creation before anything else.

The spell continues with an assertion that the king is above judgment and condemnation by virtue of his divine nature. It ends with a short refrain that the king will be raised from the water by Osiris and from the earth by Geb (§1044-5). This spell thus asserts the well being of the king in the afterlife.


H2 UTT.570


This spell occurs in the vestibules of P. and M. and again in P.'s descending passage. Another extract is included in Section G (G12) - the section translated here follows on directly but is addressed to the god Re:

- §1461a *s_{dm} sw mdw pn R^c d_{dw}(.i) n.k*
- §1461b *dt.k m NN. R^c s_{nh} dt.k m NN. R^c*
- §1462a *sm3 i_{nw} in knmwt*
- §1462b *sm3 knmwt in i_{niw}*
- §1462c *sh_t pf t_{3y} pn sin sin(w) im._{tn}*
- §1462d *n(y)w ht tw tpt nt idrwt nt m₃(-hrw)*
- §1463a *ms.ti n hprt d_{nd}*
- §1463b *ms.ti n hprt hrw*
- §1463c *ms.ti n hprt šntt*
- §1463d *ms.ti n hprt hnnw*
- §1463e *[ms.ti] n qnit irt Hr n s_{3dt} hrwy Stš*

§1461a Hear it, this matter, O Re, which I have told you!

§1461b NN. is your body, Re, cause your body to live as NN., Re!
 §1462a The baboons are slain by the *knmwt*,
 §1462b the *knmwt* is slain by the baboons,
 §1462c that one is castrated, this one is a male, may the runner run among you,
 §1462d one who belongs to this first body for punishment and for justification,
 §1463a which was born before rage was created,
 §1463b which was born before voice was created,
 §1463c which was born before strife was created,
 §1463d which was born before tumult was created,
 §1463e [which was born] before the Eye of Horus was (yellowed?) and before the testicles of Seth were removed.

This passage contains several rather obscure elements. The king's fate is intimately linked with that of Re in §1461b - the significance of the *dt* body as the characteristic of a god is discussed by Anthes (1962). An image of mutual conflict follows: "leopard" has been suggested for *knmwt* on the basis of the determinative  (Sethe 1962a p.404-5, Faulkner 1969 p.225), baboons and leopards being seen as natural enemies (Störk 1982 col.917). Celestial baboons occur in Utt.315 and Zandee (1960 p.272) cites further *BD*125-126 where baboons are judges of the dead and keepers of *m3(t)*. The next line is also rather obscure: *sht*, cited as "die Verschnittene (?)" by *WB* iv, 264.3, recalls Seth's loss of his testicles, or rather the loss of potency that this mythical image conveyed, in contrast with a (presumably intact) male (*t3y*). I have taken *sin* as a prospective *sdm.f* followed by an active participle (*sinw*) but the initial verb could also be a *sdmw.f* relative form. Zandee (1960 p.70) notes that *sin* can have the sense of "hurry to death" but the sense of this line remains unclear. There is a general impression of conflict and contrast, qualities which are mentioned in the following description of divine birth.

The subject of the section §1462d-1463a must surely be the king, either directly or by implication. The reference to the *ht* and judgment recalls the lines §1041-3. The definition of a time before creation that follows is also very similar to §1040b-d. The Old Perfective *ms.ti* must refer to the *ht* from the ending, and by implication include the king, and it is followed by the *sdm.t.f* form as before. The images used are all abstract qualities: *dnd* has the meanings "anger, wrath", *šntt* depicts "strife, quarrel" and *hrw* seems to have the more general meaning of "noise". These terms for disturbance and commotion are followed by a reference to the Eye of Horus and Seth's testicles. The word *qnit* is slightly problematic: it may well be connected with the colour yellow (*WB* v, 52.10) and may have this sense in §1032c where Geb has *qnit.wy* in his face, possibly yellow eyes. The determinative here  may suggest an

aggressive action (cf. Faulkner 1969 p.225 “gouged out”). The mutual woundings are classed here among major dynamic elements of the cosmos.

The spell continues with further identifications of the king with the blood of Isis and Nephthys (§1464) and he functions as the representative of Re. The final plea is that the king will rise in the eastern sky like Re.

H3 UTT.587

This lengthy spell occurs in P. and N. It occupies the east wall of the descending passage in P. and is on the south wall of N.'s passage followed by Utt.463, an ascension spell where the king is the Lone Star.

- §1587a *dd mdw i.nd hr.k 'Tm*
§1587b *i.nd hr.k [Hprrr] hpr(w) ds.f*
§1587c *q3i.k m rn.k pw n q3q*
§1587d *hpr.k m rn.k pw n Hprrr*
§1588a *i.nd hr.t irt Hr db3t.n.f m (wy.f tmwy*

- §1587a To be recited: Hail to you, Atum!
§1587b Hail to you,[Kheprer] who created himself!
§1587c May you be on high in this your name of “Hill”,
§1587d May you exist in this your name of “Kheprer”.
§1588a Hail to you, Eye of Horus, which he restored with both his hands.

The address to the creator god recalls the original emergence of the mound from the primeval waters. This image of creation is followed by a hymn to Egypt itself which is initially symbolized by the Eye of Horus, described as restored by Horus himself, *db3t.n.f* being a *sdmw.n.f* relative form. The verb *db3* has the connotations of “restore, replace, clothe, adorn, provide”. Throughout the spell the feminine pronoun *t* refers back to this mention of the Eye. The Eye / Egypt is told not to listen (*sdm*, with the sense of “obey”) to people from the north, south, east, west or midlands so....

- §1589a *sdm.t n Hr*
§1589b *swt db3(w) tm swt qd(w) tm swt grg(w) tm*
§1590a *ir.t n.f ht nb(t) ddt.f n.t m bw nb sm(w).f im*

- §1589a You may listen to Horus
§1589b for it was he who restored you, it was he who built you, it was he who founded you,
§1590a so you may do for him everything which he says to you in every place where he goes

This spell makes many symbolic statements that embody the Egyptian concept of kingship - the land should not be under any regional faction but under the central control of Horus, the king, who is proclaimed as responsible for the founding of the land, the phrase *swt db3(w) tm* being a pseudo-verbal construction. This is, in essence, the economic basis of the united country; a reciprocal relationship between the land and its ruler. This is stressed in the following refrain - the land is to raise (*f3*) for the king water, wood, bread, beer, offerings and an all-encompassing "everything" (§1592c) which it contains and which it will contain, a promise for the future. It is also stressed that the gates of the land will open for Horus alone (§1593a-1594a):

§1594a *wn.sn n Hr swt ir(w) sn swt s(h'(w) sn*
 §1594b *swt nhm(w) sn m-c mrt nb(t) irt.n Stš r.sn*
 §1595a *swt grg(w) tm m rn.t pw n gr-swt*
 §1595b *swt iz(w) nn.f m-ht.t m rn.t n niwt*
 §1595c *swt nhm.t m-m mrt nb(t) irt.n Stš ir.t*

§1594a May they open for Horus - it was he who made them, it was he who erected them,
 §1594b it was he who saved them from every ill which Seth did against them,
 §1595a it was he who founded you in this your name of "Settlements",
 §1595b it was he who went so he may go after you in your name of "Town",
 §1595c it was he who saved you from all the ills that Seth did against you.

These lines portray Seth as threatening the land and Horus as its saviour - certainly in the context of this hymn to Egypt their conflict seems to have been interpreted as a struggle for the land which was previously described as the Eye of Horus. The name formula is used in these lines (see Chapter 11), fundamentally linking the name of the land with Horus' actions. There is then a short interjection addressed to Nut:

§1596a *nni ir.t nni ir.t Nwt*
 §1596b *wd.n Gb nniw.t m rn.t pw n niwt*

§1596a Go! Go, Nut!
 §1596b For Geb has commanded that you go in this your name of "Town".

Mercer (1952c p.764) sees this as the start of a hymn to Nut - it seems to parallel the introductory address to the sun god and it leads into a repetition of the preceding lines with the name of the king replacing that of Horus:

§1596c *NN. 3p Hr db3(w) irt.f m (wy.f tmwy*
 §1597a *db3 tn NN. db3t*

§1597b *grg n.tn NN. swt NN. iptn*

§1597c *qd tn NN. m niwt*

§1597d *ir.t n NN. ht nb(t) nfrt*

§1596c NN. is Horus who restored his Eye with both his hands -

§1597a may NN. restore you, O restored one!

§1597b For NN. established you, these settlements of NN.,

§1597c may NN. fashion you as a town,

§1597d so you may do everything good for NN.,

The equation of the king with Horus and his actions towards the Eye/ Egypt (*db3w* is an active participle) are made clear. This is followed by an invocation: *db3* is a prospective *sdm.f* but *db3t* could either be a hortative Old Perfective (“may you be restored!”) or a participle (as translated here) - it refers back to the Eye / Egypt. The following lines assert that the land shall only listen to the king, shall raise all its present and future produce for him, shall only open its gates for him - exactly as in the first half of the spell - but then there is a slight variation:

§1604a *[wn.sn n] NN.*

§1604b *swt ir(w) sn in NN. s(h(s(w) sn*

§1604c *swt nhm(w) sn m-^c ht nb(t) dwt irt.n rmt ir.sn*

§1605a *in NN. grg(w) tm m rn.t pw n swt*

§1605b *in NN. iz(w) nni(f) m-ht.t m rn.t pw n niwt*

§1605c *in NN. nhm(w) tm m-^c ht nb(t) [dwt irt.n rmt] ir.tn*

§1606a *sdm.t n NN. w^y in NN. ir(w) tn*

§1606b *im.tn sdm n mds*

§1604a May they open for NN.

§1604b It is he who made them, it is NN. who erected them,

§1604c It is he who rescued them from everything evil which the people did against them.

§1605a It is NN. who founded you in this your name of “Settlements”,

§1605b it is NN. who went so (he) may go after you in this your name of “Town”,

§1605c it is NN. who rescued you from everything evil which the people did against you

§1606a so you may listen to NN. alone for it is NN. who made you.

§1606b You shall not listen to the Sharp One.

Instead of rescuing the land from Seth as before (§1594b), the people (*rmt*) are responsible for the evil in the land. The mythical image has been replaced by a political reality of enemies causing disruption, one of the sacred tasks of the king being to protect the land from its enemies. The reference to *mds* in the last line is problematic: Mercer (1952c p.765) sees this as referring to a class of people in the underworld (as mentioned by Kees 1925 p.3) but the spell has not been concerned with the underworld. Thoth is often in possession of a *mds* knife (eg. §962) but the word also has the sense of “sharp, keen, acute” so it could refer to a type of

person conceived as dangerous. As with the corresponding lines §1596a-b, the significance seems lost to us.

**SECTION I: THE EYE OF HORUS IN SPELLS AGAINST DANGEROUS
CREATURES**

II Utt.277

This typically short spell against snakes occurs on the east wall of the antechambers of W. and T. among other similar spells and on Nt.'s east wall of the burial chamber. Nt.'s version seems corrupt in §418a so the others are preferred.

§418a *ḥr Ḥr n irt.f zbn k3 n ḥrw(y).f*

§418b *i.ḥr zbn*

§418a Horus fell because of his Eye, the bull (var. Seth) crawled away on account of his testicles.

§418b Fall! Crawl away!

The parallel use of the two verbs *ḥr* and *zbn* enforces the connection between the mythical statement about the gods and the commands to the snake. Ogden (1984 p.63) sees the verb *ḥr* as denoting a condition of being “inert, impotent and detained in a gesture of submission”. Horus is also described in this way in the ascension spells (§594b, 947a) where the Eye is rescued. The verb *zbn* is used to describe the gliding action of snakes (Ogden 1989 p.60), here also used to describe the actions of the bull (W.) or Seth (T., Nt. has the suffix *f*). Te Velde (1977 p.54) discusses Seth's manifestation as a bull, traditionally an image of strength and sexual potency. Otto (1975d col.563) suggests that this may indicate that the gods had animal forms in their conflict but this observation would not be valid necessarily outside the scope of the snake spells and their imagery.

I2 Utt.386

This spell against a snake is only found in T., again on the east wall of the antechamber.

§679a *ḏḏ mdw ii.n NN. ḥr.k iwtyw*

§679b *sw3.k NN. m r pšni*

§679c *i.nn.k NN. inn.f ḥw*

§679d *ḥr Ḥr ḥr irt.f p3z Stš ḥr ḥrwy.f*

§679e *ḏsr tp ḥf3w im n3wt i.ḥr zbn*

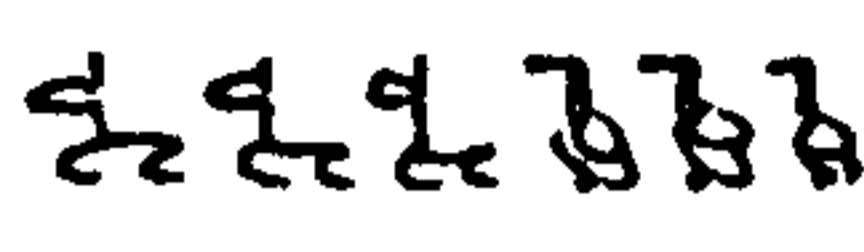
§679a To be recited: NN. has come to you, o corrupt one(s),

§679b as you pass NN. on R-Pšni

§679c If you turn NN. around, then he shall turn you around.

§679d Horus fell on account of his Eye, Seth suffered on account of his testicles.

§679e O raised-head snake who is in the *n3wt*-bushes, fall down! Glide away!

The word  is connected with *iwtjw* by Sethe (1935c p.242). It appears plural but seems to agree with *hr.k* (§679a). The sense seems to suggest a being that may potentially be hostile to the king but whom he has to pass. *R Pšni* is translated literally by Mercer (1952b p.332) as “the divided opening”, Gauthier (1928 p.152) merely cites “Pchnou” as a place name, presumably it indicates a location in the afterlife. The verb *i.nn* (*WB* i, 97) has the sense of “turn someone around”. The warning is issued that if the king is thwarted he shall do the same back (§679c). This is followed by a similar mythical image to §418a, with Horus and Seth wounded. The verb used for Seth is *p3z*, seen also in Utt.116 §74c where it seems to be Horus who is suffering. The snake with head raised to strike is then told to *i.hr zbn*, the same verbs as §418b but which do not match those of the previous line exactly. The logic behind the spell is the same: the mythical image represents the desired fate of the threatening snake.

B Utt.382

This spell also only occurs in T. on the east wall of the antechamber.

§670a *dd mdw iqrw iqrt hr.ti r NN. im D(ḡmw*

§670b *p_hr Hr m-s3 irt.f*

§670c *nny hf3w ir hbw t3*

§670a To be recited: O *iqrw* snake, O *iqrt* snake - be far from NN. in *D(ḡmw* (?)

§670b Horus circles round after his Eye,

§670c O snake in reverse, plough up the earth!

The spells seems to be addressed to male and female versions of the *iqr* snake who are told to keep their distance from the king, the verb *hr* puns with the mention of Horus in the next line. He is described as literally “circling round” after his Eye: Faulkner (1962 p.94) has “follow after” for *p_hr m-s3* giving a sense of Horus seeking to recover his Eye. Ritner (1993 p.57f) discusses the magical implications of this verb as the act of encircling had the further connotations of “enchant” and the assertion of control, thus suggesting that Horus is in magical possession of the powers of his Eye (cf. Utt.220/221 §195e/198d where Horus is described as *šnw m z3 irt.f*). Roeder (1994 p.55) further suggests that the verb can indicate control of a kingdom. The pattern of the previous spells suggests that the mythical reference

should parallel the condition of the snake, so Horus in possession of his Eye might not seem very likely, unless the encircling and controlling of the Eye is parallel to control of the snake. Otherwise, the former interpretation of Horus seeking the Eye might parallel the reverse turn of the snake on another purpose, the reverse legs determinative for *nny* showing that the snake has been successfully repelled. The instruction to *hbw t3* has been linked by Sethe (1935c p.231) with §285 and seen as alluding to the royal burial but, as Faulkner (1969 p.126 n.2) notes, this is a different context entirely and seems more likely to be an instruction to the snake to disappear.

I4 P.233+1-3

This is a newly restored spell from the east wall of the antechamber (Leclant 1977 p.286), preceded by Utt.501 and followed by Utt.240. Its mythical references are very interesting in terms of the conflict between Horus and Seth (see Barta 1992 p.33). The text is fragmented but the phrase *hf3w pw* shows it was directed against a snake in particular.


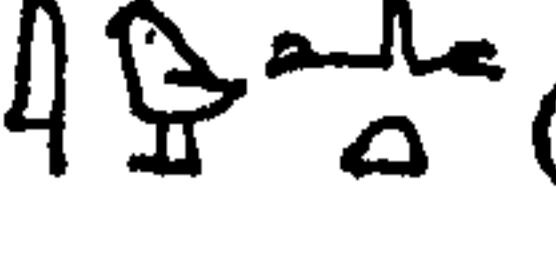

col. 30 *dd mdw: bnb n Hr hr irt.f nt dt.f wnm m.n.f psdt (?)*
zhzh Stš hr hrwy.f n t.n Hr mwt.f m (rt St(š) n t.n Stš mwt.f m t Hr hf3w pw
 col.31 *f3 hr.k m33 n drt i(w)tnn(?) drt*
pr šp.s ir tw r hr.k tmm.s tw r sptwy.k di.s ... hr.k zhi m3.... d3y hiw sdr k3 zbn

col.30 To be recited: Horus chirps on account of his eye from his *dt* body, for he has eaten ...Seth cheeps on account of his testicles for Horus has inserted his seed in the buttocks of Seth and Seth has inserted his seed in the buttocks of Horus. O snake!

col.31 Raise your face and look at the hand that is not the hand that (?)go forth! It will make you blind in your face and it will bind your lips, it will make your face truly smashed up (?) o you who cross (!) O go to sleep, bull, glide away!

The two reduplicated verbs used for Horus and Seth's protests suggest bird noises as indications of their pain or anger (cf. §594a). The verb *bnb n* also has sexual connotations (see *WB* i, 459.17) but a literal meaning of "make a noise like a *bnw* bird" seems more appropriate here despite the next image of sexual activity. The sense of the fragmented phrase *wnm m.n.f* is lost, unless it refers to Seth eating the Eye (see Chapter 2) with a reciprocal action by Horus - a long gap follows. The *zhzh* bird appears elsewhere in the *PT* (§389, 1119, 2243) and in *CT* vi 58. The apparently mutual sexual activity described next may well reflect the pattern of duality in these spells (eg. Utt.277, discussed by Baines 1991 p.95) but is the earliest reference to homosexual activity as an episode in the conflict, well known from later sources. It is

unclear if this is associated with the wounding of the testicles in particular. The verb *nꜥ* is usually used of navigation and Allen (1984 p.276) discusses this phrase as an example of the *sḏm.n.f* form in a balanced sentence construction; this usually has a comparative sense of “so.... as” but here seems to be consecutive independent statements.

These images are followed by invocations to the snake which are very fragmented but which seem to constitute threats or counter-actions to avert the snake. The following group is problematic: . If the snake is ignored (which might be a graphic representation of suppression), this might be related to the archaic negative particle  (Gardiner 1957 p.152). The reference to blinding the snake compares with the references quoted by Borghouts (1973) on the evil eye of snakes. The closed eye determinative  is also used with *sḏr* in P. (Leclant 1977 p.278 fig.4); the determinative and suffix seem to be transposed here. The verb *tmm* has the basic meaning of “close” (*WB* v, 308) but the rope determinative suggests an action of binding. Several methods of suppressing the snake are alluded to: the verb *zḥi* (*WB* iii 464) puns with *zḥzḥ*. It has the meaning “über stampfenden” and the determinative also has connotations of destruction (Gardiner 1957 p.539, Z10). The spell concludes with the familiar imperatives to avert snakes (see Ogden 1989 p.63-64).

SECTION J: OTHER DIVINE EYES IN THE PT

1. THE EYE OF RE

The Eye of Re occurs with the Eye of Horus in Utt.523 §1231 (G1). It also appears in place of the Eye of Horus in versions of Utts.402 (G16) and 704 (G14).

J1 Utt.207

This spell is part of a series of food spells which are found on the east gable in the burial chamber of W. They feature appeals to the celestial servants of Re, such as Fetket the butler in Utts.205-206. Allen (1994 p.17) sees these spells as a “response” by the deceased to the offering ritual.

§124a *ḥt n(.i) sšm ḥt n(.i) sšm ḥt im(y) irt R^c*

§124b *ḥt n(.i) (sh_{ty}?) im(y) irt n_{tr}..*

§124a A meal for me, butcher! A meal for me, butcher! A meal, o you who are in the Eye of Re!

§124b A meal for me, fowler, you who are in the Eye of the God...

The appeals for a meal are addressed to a butcher and fowler who are also termed *imy irt R^c* (var. “the god”). This seems most likely to be a spatial location for the servants (cf. Utt.208 below) which defines their relationship to Re. The concept of someone within an eye is seen in the *CT* (see Chapter 10). The spell ends with a short invocation to the butler to bring water, with an offering of 4 handfuls of water.

J2 Utt.405

This spell occurs in the antechamber of T., P.'s passage and N.'s burial chamber. It is addressed to Re (§703a) and his identification with the king is made clear - Re is asked to empower the king and he will receive mutual benefits in return.

§705a *NN. pw irt.k tw tpt wpt Ḥwt-Ḥr*


§705b *innt innt rnpwt ḥr NN.*

§705c *sdr NN. iwr(w) ms(w) r(nb*

§705a NN. is this Eye of yours which is upon the horns of Hathor,

§705b which (or who?) brings back the years for NN.

§705c May NN. spend the night, conceived and born every day.

Having been identified with Re (§703), the king is now identified with his Eye. The reference to the Eye *tpt wpt Hwt-Hr* is intriguing. The *wpt* is generally the brow or top of the head, but can mean “horns” (Hathor could be visualized as a cow goddess here) or “top-knot” (eg. §401). It is a position that can be occupied by a *sšd* band (§546) or uraeus (§396b, 976c, 1568c) - see Rudnitzky (1956 p.12) - but there is no reason to assume that the Eye of Re is symbolic of insignia here. Hathor is not especially prominent in the *PT* and it is not clear how the goddess is to be distinguished from the “House of Horus” located in the sky (§1027, 1278, 1327) or indeed if such a distinction is valid. The king is called “son of Hathor” in §466 but with the same hieroglyph: . The goddess may well have a celestial function (see Bleeker 1973 p.46-8) and Anthes (1961a p.8) connects §705a with the representations of stars on a cow's head (see Arkell 1955) but Hornung (1983 p.103) notes that this may be a depiction of the goddess Bat.

The initial *innt* is an active participle, which could agree with the Eye or Hathor, followed by a complementary infinitive. The concept of bringing the years suggests the celestial cycle which is described in the next line: *sdr* is a prospective *sdm.f* followed by two Old Perfectives; Allen (1984 p.406) notes this use to indicate a situation subsequent to the preceding clause, so he translates the line “this king NN. spends the night conceived and (subsequently in a state of having been) born every day”. This concept of daily rebirth is also depicted in §698d, with the Eye of Re in T., and in §132 where the king is among “those who follow Re, who are before the morning star”. It seems clear that the Eye of Re is linked with the king's aim to be a part of the celestial bodies' eternal cycle.

J3 Utt.612

This spell is located in the vestibules of M. and N in the sequence 610-612 which all concern the resurrection of the king and his passage to the afterlife. This is compared with the journey of Horus to see Osiris to gain powers (§1730). The king is told to reassemble himself and be purified as Horus with water from a divine canal.

§1734a *šw ir.k r irt R^c i(r) rn.k pw ir(w).n ntrw*

§1734b *n Hr D3ti n Hr Sksn*

§1743a Raise yourself to the Eye of Re, to this name of yours which the gods made

§1743b for Horus of Dat and for Horus of Seksen.

The king is subsequently to sit on his throne of *bi3* and encircle (i.e. control) the Mounds of Horus and Seth (§1735). The concept of ascending to the Eye of Re for the divine name is reminiscent of Utt.523 where the king hears the word of the gods at the Eye of Horus. The reception of the royal name is part of the king's accession and the transfer of divine powers - it is also seen in §1925 where the name is made by Osiris and Horus of Dat. For *Hr D3t* see Hornung (1980 col.33) and the discussion with G15, *Hr Sksn* only occurs here but there is a mention of *Sksn* in §1440 as a messenger of Re.

J4 Utt.666

This spell also features the Eye of Horus in a subsequent mention of food offerings (see B5). The spell starts with a similar passage to §1732-3: the king is to reassemble himself and then be purified:

§1917 *sšp n.k (bw.k pw*
 §1918 *fdwt.k iptw 3bwt*
 §1919a *(bh(w) m mr ntr*
 §1919b *wb.k im.sn ntr is pr.k im irt R is*
 §1919c *h.ti hnti.sn Gb is hnt ht Iwnw*

§1917 Receive this your purification,
 §1918 these your four *3bt* jars,
 §1919a filled from the canal of the god,
 §1919b may you be purified by means of them as a god and so you may go forth thereby as the Eye of Re,
 §1919c you being appeared in glory before them as Geb before the corporation of Heliopolis.

The result of the purification is that the king appears as a god (*ntr is*) and that he may ascend as the Eye of Re. The version of this spell in N. has the slight variation: *pr.k im.sn m irt R* in §1919b, so the king's emergence as the Eye of Re is also a direct result of his purification. The use of the verb *pr* in spells for ascension by transformation is discussed in Chapter 7. This line (§1919b) may be referring to the daily purification of a celestial body as it rises anew through the primeval waters (eg. §370, 1179). This process leads here to the accession (*h.ti*) of the king like Geb.

2. THE EYE OF *TBI*

J5 Utt.254

This long spell occurs on the west wall of the antechambers of W. and T. and concerns the king's arrival in the afterlife where one of his acts is to judge the "Two Contestants":

§290a *sk wsr.f m wsr irt Tbi*

§290b *nht.f nhtw irt Tbi*

§290a For his power is the power of the Eye of Tibi,

§290b his strength is the strength of the Eye of Tibi.

This is a very similar phrasing to §320b where the king, as Horus, draws his power from his own Eye. Earlier in that spell there was also a mention of "stopping the matter in Heliopolis" (§318). The character of *Tbi* is mysterious: Sethe (1934a p.338) sees this "als Bezeichnung der Sonne" based on a later text referring to the sun's darkness. A similar definition is found in *WB* v, 261.9. One might tentatively connect *Tbi* with a companion of Re called *Tbtb* who occurs in the *CT* (v 295,315, 317). *Tbi* also appears in §1394 where "the earth of *Tbi* is presented" which is not very illuminating but his name is here determined with \odot , possibly the sun. The hacking of the earth and the presentation of an offering is a common formula (eg. §978c, 1120c, 1138, 1323c, 1326a) and was clearly a desired privilege. In *CT* 622 there is a similar phrasing to this spell: *nht N. tn nht Tb wsr N. tn wsrw Tb* (vi 238k-1) but the reference to the Eye has been omitted, indicating that the advantages conveyed by the god were the same as those contained in his Eye. The *CT* also have further references to *Tbi*'s eye - in *CT* 155 (ii, 296), a spell for "knowing the souls of the New Moon" it is said "I know what was missing from the Eye of *Tb* on the day of accounting for its parts when the dawn was stronger than the darkness. The fifth part of one Eye and a full half are (available) for the allotting of its parts between the complete Eye and the injured Eye" (Faulkner 1973 p.133). This recalls the wounding and restoring of the Eye of Horus which is also counted by Thoth in *CT* 249 (iii, 343). A threat to create a stone in the Eye of the Destroyer also has the variations "Eye of Atum" (*BD* 197, 8) and "Eye of *Tb*" (*CT* 155, versions in T2L, T2Be). It seems that, although the role of this deity remains obscure, the Eye of *Tbi* can thus share the function of other divine eyes that belong to more illustrious gods.


3. OTHER DIVINE EYES

J6 Utt.208

This spell is very similar to Utt.207 (which is only found in W.) but it occurs in T., M. and N. where it is found on the east wall of the burial chamber.

§124e *ḥt n(.i) 'Tm ḥt n(.i) 'Tm ḥt n(.i) im(y) irt (wi3) ntr*

A meal for me, Atum, a meal for me, Atum, a meal for me, you who are in the eye (of the bark) of the god.

The servants of Re were addressed in §124a but the same phrasing is used here to invoke Atum. He is also called *imy irt (wi3) ntr* :  . The Eye could be determined by the bark (and thus be a symbol for the god's divine bark) or the phrase could denote “the Eye of the God's Bark”, which may recall the eyes that can be painted on the prows of boats, although there are usually two eyes. A comparison with §124 suggests that the former interpretation may be correct, as does *CT* 1099 (vii, 409) which mentions “the Great One in his Eye” with the variation “in his bark”. (Jacq 1986 p.138 interprets this as “capitaine (?) de la barque”). This is the only possible reference to the Eye of Atum in the *PT* .

J7 Utt.317

This is the last of a series of spells from W.'s corridor's west wall. Barguet has analysed this sequence of spells (Utts. 313-321) and sees them as connected by the birth of the sun: “la lumière, par son apparition, rend sa couleur verte à la végétation et l'éclat glauque au flot, au ‘grand oeil’”(Barguet 1970 p.11). Allen (1994 p.20) concludes that these spells describe “the king's participation in the sunrise” - the final stage in the king's resurrection. In this spell the king is identified with Sobek, a god in crocodile form who was associated with pharaonic might and areas of swamp or river banks. He is said to have come forth from “the Great One in the sunshine”(§507), possibly Neith as Sobek is usually described as her son (eg. §489, 510a) but other possibilities include a sky goddess, celestial cow (Sethe 1935b p.357) or a personification of fertility (Spiegel 1953 p.90). He has subsequently come to the green, pleasant waterways in the horizon (§508):

§509a *sw3d NN. sm hr idbwy 3ḥt*

§509b *int(y) NN. ḥnt n irt wrt ḥr(y)t-ib sḥt*

§509c *sšp NN. st.f im(y)t 3ḥt*

§509a NN makes the plants on the banks of the horizon flourish,

§509b NN. brings a gleam to the Eye (of / ,) the Great One in the midst of the field,
§509c so NN. may take his seat in the horizon.

The king is described as making the plants flourish: the verb *sw3d* is often used to indicate the thriving condition desired by the king (eg. Utts.350-352 and Utt.404 below). This invigorating action is continued in the next line with regard to a divine eye. It is not clear if the terms *irt* and *wrt* are noun and adjective (“the Great Eye”) or in apposition (“the Eye, the Great One”) or denote possession “the Eye of the Great One”. If the latter, this may refer back to the *Wrt* who gave birth to Sobek (§507) - there is also mention of “the eye of the Great Lady” in *CT* 133 (ii, 157i-j). The location of the Eye in a field fits with the earlier description of the place as “green of fields” (§508). The word *thnt* means “gleam” and was also used as a term for “faience”, expressing the idea of bringing a green radiance to the eye, similar to §699 in making the eye shine with health and power. The association of Sobek with water is reflected in these images of bringing life and fertility. The king’s identification with him makes him the bringer of life - this is also seen in §1214 where the king makes the *Nt* crowns green in the Field of Offerings for Isis. The king’s reward is seen in §509c where he takes his rightful place in the horizon.

J8 Utt.319

This spell is part of the same series as the previous spell and is likewise found on the east wall of W.’s corridor.

§513a NN. *pi k3 i3hw hr(y)-ib irt.f*
§513b *wd3 r NN. m hh tp NN. m wpt nb smw*

§513a NN. is the bull of the double sunlight in the midst of his Eye,
§513b NN.’s mouth is sound with the flame, NN.’s head (is sound) with the horns of the lord of Upper Egypt.

The translation of the initial description of the king has two possibilities, firstly as translated above where the bull is described as within his Eye (a concept attested from the *CT*) or “the bull with sunlight in the midst of his eye”, thus Allen (1984 p.193) translates “a bull with sunlight in the middle of each eye”, a clause with non-verbal predicate. The *i3hw*, “sunlight” or “rays”, also feature in §507c and §1231a where eyes are also mentioned as well. It can be a means of ascension for the king and is obviously a solar image. It has a double determinative

here - Barguet (1970 p.12) sees an essential duality in the construction of the spell. This could reflect the duality of the kingship, as in the southern and northern lands mentioned later on (§514). The following line has the king with attributes of power - the flaming blast also occurs in §298 and §302a and the horns are in keeping with the bull form. The spell continues with the king asserting his power by making plants flourish and ruling the lands.

J9 Utt.404

This spell occurs on the eastern wall of the burial chamber in M. and N., and in the antechamber of T. and P.'s passage.

§702a *n(w) NN. hn(.k) n(w.ti) zp 4 tp(w) i3wt W3dt*

§702b *(3) NN. r Hr tms.ti dšrt tpt R(*

§702c *w3dw NN. m nis irt.k im(y)t bhhw*



§702d *w3d NN. hn(.k)*

§702a May NN. caper (?) with you, caperer, repeat 4 times. You who are over the offices of Wadjet,

§702b NN. is greater than Horus of the Redness, the Red Crown upon Re,

§702c NN.'s green eye-paint is the papyrus bud of your Eye which is in the flame,

§702d May NN. flourish with you!

The term *n(wti)* is from the stem *n(*, “travel, go”, but has a juggler determinative in one version, the others having , the god determinative. Allen (1984 p.600) has “cavort” and there is also mention of a *n(w)* snake in *CT* v,36, which may also refer to a type of movement; the exact sense of this word remains obscure. It occurs in an initial invocation that has the instruction to recite four times, also seen in the offering ritual as an effective number. The subsequent reference to Wadjet suggests a Lower Egyptian emphasis in the spell, which is supported by the reference to the *Dšrt* crown. The king's greatness is further asserted over *Hr tms.ti* and the Red Crown upon Re. The colour red had associations of blood, and thus life, and solar imagery - compare also §1147a and §1460a. The translation of the following line is somewhat hampered by the word *nis* which is interpreted as related to papyrus on the basis of its  determinative. The phrase *irt.k imyt bhhw* may be in apposition to this. It is not clear to whom the Eye belongs - only the “caperer” is addressed in the vocative. Kees (1943 p.431) states “auch die Augenschminke ist daher machtreich wie die Schlange, und das deutende Ritual schrieb ihr die Kräfte des farbig strahlenden Himmelsauge zu, wobei sich wiederum wie beim Weltenbaum die grüne Farbe mit dem Rot der Sonnenglut begegnet”. The association of

green and red in this spell is also seen elsewhere in the *PT* (eg. §410, 1202), and with the Red and *W3dt* crowns of Lower Egypt.

The exact significance of this spell is hard to assess. The king's position is asserted with reference to Horus and Re, and using terms associated with Lower Egypt. The king's eye-paint (*w3d̄w* punning with *W3dt*) seems to be described as a papyrus bud in connection with an eye in the flame, another colourful image. The final line (§702d) shows that *w3d̄* is a quality that the king seeks - perhaps the eye with flame is similar to the light quality in §509b and §513a as an indication of a thriving, powerful condition. The association of the Eye of Horus with eye-paint is discussed in Chapter 4.

See also E18 for a possible Eye of *Dw3w* (the text is fragmented).

4. MISCELLANEOUS EYES

J10 Utt.254

This spell is discussed above with the reference to the Eye of *Tbi*. At this point in the spell the king is being greeted by the Beautiful West who acclaims him as her son (§282):

§283a *wbn db.f iwn sd(m)w k3 n pt*

His horn shines, a pillar with painted eye, the bull of the sky

The verb *wbn* is also used for the rising of the sun, the bull also having solar connections. The expression *iwn sd(m)w* recalls the term *iwn mwt.f* i.e. a good son and which also appears as a priestly title with its connotations of support and reliability. This line is also repeated with variations in the *CT* : in *CT* vi 237 the Beautiful West states “my son whom I bore is one whose horn shines and whose eye-painting is green” (Faulkner 1977 p.205). Similarly in *CT* v, 384 the king proclaims “I am a long-horn, thickly eye-painted” (Faulkner 1977 p.99). It seems that painting the eyes is here a sign of status and power, not unusual for a bull - Troy (1994 p.352) notes the connection of eye-painting and ritual slaughter.

J11 Utt.534

This spell for the king's tomb has been discussed in Section D for the reference to the Eye of Horus which is identified with the pyramid as a symbol of purity. In this earlier section parts of

the tomb are being identified with various symbols to ensure its safety: its hall is purer than the sky and...

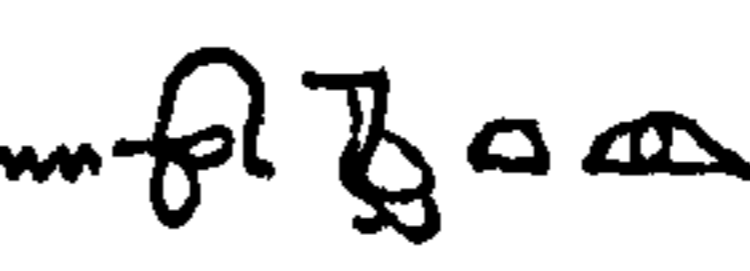
§1266c (3 *hr.f htn(ty) hns(w) htm.f m irtwy dwt*
Its door is two bulls, its lock is two evil eyes.

The bulls are depicted as facing each other head on so the strength of two opposing bulls is being conveyed to the doors to make them inviolable. In addition the lock is identified with two evil eyes - the only mention of such a term in the *PT* . This has often been cited with reference to the pairs of eyes that appear on false doors by the late Old Kingdom, often parallel to the bolts that lock the door (see further discussion of this in the Conclusion).

J12 Utt.627(B)

This rather fragmented spell is found on the north wall of N.'s burial chamber and a fragment from T. Allen (1984 p.681) has restored the spell using later sources such as the version in Aba and *CT* 990. Depending on the translation of *nw3t* this does not necessarily refer to an eye but is included here for completeness. The king is portrayed in the afterlife as being served by a uraeus since birth (§1782a) and with the following assistance:

§1782b *rw n.f hr(y) spd w nw3t*
The one who possesses keen vision serves him.

For *rw* see Faulkner (1969 p.152 n.2). The word *nw3t*  is a noun derived from the verb *nw3*, an early form of *nw* “see” (Faulkner 1962 p.127), and thus might be better translated as “vision”. Faulkner (1969 p.127) notes Gunn's suggestion “eyelashes” but a meaning of “sharp of vision” would fit better with the previous line i.e. they are people looking out for the king.

Other more general references to the eyes in the *PT* include the aiming of fear at the eyes: in §53, 900c &e dread of the king is placed in the eyes of the spirits and the gods i.e. at the heart of their being and the root of their power. The eyes were also especially vulnerable to snakes, eg. §429b “O Eye of mine, do not look at him!” and §440 “she strikes you on your face, she scratches you on your eyes”. These snake spells show the fear that the dangerous creature would strike at the Eye, also that merely looking upon an evil creature was risky. For

a discussion of this see Borghouts (1973 p.140-2). Eyes are used as determinatives for the windows of the sky (*ptrw*, §468a, 852d, 1078b, 1680b) but this could be just due to the word *ptr* “look” as the root of the word. The word seems to refer to the openings in the sky where the sun looked through (*WB* i, 565). Allen (1989 p.8 n.50) notes that there was also a waterway called *ptrw* (§1138c) which could mean “looking water” i.e. reflecting.

J13 Utt. 485B

This spell is found on the west wall of P.'s antechamber. Geb is seeking Osiris and is prepared to smite any opponents:

§1032c *ii Gb 3t tp f qnitwyf ir hr.f*

Geb comes, his striking power upon him, his yellow eyes (?) in his face.

The word *qnit.wy* has the determinative ◦ ◦ which may suggest eyes or pupils. For *qni* see also §515d and 1463a where it is used with the Eye of Horus (Section H). *WB* v, 52.9 has “*etw. Doppertes am Gesicht eines Gottes als Schmuck*” but the connection with the colour yellow comes from *WB* v, 52.10 where the word is used for a yellow mineral. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of this aspect of a god's powers.

APPENDIX TO PART 1: THE VERB NHH

This verb occurs in many references to the Eye of Horus and its exact translation has not been conclusively defined. The references to the verb in the *PT* are as follows:

1. FOOD OFFERING SPELLS

Utt.199

§115b *ḥw nḥḥ irt Ḥr ḥr.k*

O may the Eye of Horus *** with you.

(A short offering spell, prospective *sḏm.f*).

Utt.497

§1067g *h3 nḥḥ n.k irt Ḥr ḥr[.k]*

O may the Eye of Horus *** with you for you!

(Prospective *sḏm.f*, see Allen 1984 p.189).

Utt.498

§1068c *iw.i di.i n.k [irt] Ḥr nḥḥ.s n.k ḥr.k*

I come so I may give the [Eye] of Horus to you- may it *** with you. {or you.

(Prospective *sḏm.f*)

Utt.662

§1881a *ḥnk(.i) n.k irt Ḥr nḥḥ.s ḥr.k w33.s ḥr.k*

I offer the Eye of Horus to you- may it *** with you and may it be long with you.

(Prospective *sḏm.f*. The verb *w33.s* is a useful comparison.)

Utt.666 (Allen 1984 p.689: Utt.*665D, *§1925a)

§1923a *h3 NN. pn nḥḥ irt Ḥr ʿ.k ḥr t.k*

O NN., may the Eye of Horus ***, your hand is upon your bread.

(Prospective *sḏm.f*.)

Utt.717 (Allen classes this as a version of Utt.*665D)

§2229d *nḥḥ n.k [irt Ḥr]t.k pw*

May [the Eye of Horus] ***, [your hand is upon] this your bread.

(Prospective *sḏm.f*, this utterance is a variation of Utt.666)

Utt.171

§100e *Wsir-NN. h3 nḥḥ n.k ḥr.k ḥr.k ḥnkt*

Osiris-NN., O (may it) *** with you, with you! A *ḥnkt* offering.

This utterance is part of a sequence: Utt.169 ("take the sweet Eye of Horus, make it come back to you"), Utt.170 ("allot it to yourself") and then this phrase which must surely be related to the Eye despite the lack of a pronoun. Faulkner (1969 p.32) translates "may the <Eye of

Horus> belong(?) to you, to you." The same sequence of phrases is seen in Utts.194-6, Utts.223 §216c, Utts.357 §591c and Utts.658E §1857b.

Utt.196

§112 *h(w) h3 nhh hr.k hnkt 2*

O (may it) *** with you. 2 *hnkt* offerings.

(See discussion of Utt.171)

Utt.223

§216c *di.n(i) n.k irt Hr ip.n(i) n.k s h3 nhh n.k hr.k*

I have given the Eye of Horus to you and I have allotted it to you. O (may it) *** with you.

(See discussion of Utt.171 above)

Utt.357

§591c *irt.f itin bnrt sht n.k s ip n.k s h(w) h3 nhh (n.k) hr.k.*

This his sweet Eye, make it come back to you, allot it to yourself, O (may it) *** with you.

(See discussion of Utt.171 above.)

2. INCENSE OFFERING

Utt.29

§21a *h3 NN. pn nhh n.k irt Hr wd3t hr.k*

O NN., may the sound Eye of Horus *** with you.

(Prospective *sdm.f*)

3. CLOTHING SPELLS

Utt.225

§224d *wnh.ti dt.k iwt.k hr(.i) nhh n.k [irt Hr hr.k]*

Clothe your body so you may come before me. May [the Eye of Horus] *** [with you].

(Prospective *sdm.f*)

4. THE PYRAMID

Utt.534

§1277d *wb irt Hr tw*

§1278a *hw nhh n(i) rdit(y).f dbcf ir mr hwt-ntr iptn nt NN. nt k3.f*

§1277d This Eye of Horus is pure,

§1278a O (may it) *** for me! As for he who shall place his finger against this pyramid and temple of NN. and of his ka,

The phrase with *nhh* must be connected with the preceding statement concerning the Eye (here symbolising the pyramid complex) rather than with the threat that follows although there is no break in the line.

5. ASCENSION TEXTS

Utt.562

§1407b *nḥḥ.n irt Ḥr ḥr.tn n rdi.s n dnd Stš*

The Eye of Horus has *** with you (pl. = the gods), it has not been given over to the anger of Seth.

(*sdm.n.f*, possibly emphatic stressing *m.tn*. The mention of the Eye being safe follows on from the king being welcomed by Horus.)

6. THE KING'S NAME

This is the only comparison for the texts mentioning the Eye.

Utt.246

§256d *nḥi rn.k ḥr rmt ḥpr rn.k ḥr ntrw*

May your name *** among men, may your name come into being among the gods.

(Prospective *sdm.f*, this is a different (non-geminating?) form of the verb.)

Utt.422

§764a *ḥnḥ rn.k tp t3 nḥḥ rn.k tp t3*

May your name live on the land, may your name *** on the land.

(Prospective *sdm.f*).

N.B. Allen 1984 p.672 plausibly restores Utt.*105A:

*§68m [*irt*] *Ḥr ḥr.k [nḥḥ].s ḥr.k ḥr.k* .

CONCLUSIONS

1. Construction:

Nḥḥ is clearly an intransitive verb which is usually accompanied by the dative and the prepositional phrase *ḥr* + suffix. *Ḥr* is used to express "with" or "near" someone (Gardiner 1957 p.128 §167, see his no.1 for special uses connected with king or gods). This denotes the person with whom the Eye (or name) exists. It is also often used with a preceding interjection *ḥw h3* which expresses a wish. The examples of Utts.171, 196, 223 and 357 have no subject for the verb but this can be taken as an example of the omitted subject "due to the subject being too clear to need expression" (Gardiner 1957 p.396). The Eye should thus be understood as an implied subject from the preceding phrases.

2. Meaning

Sethe (1934a p.160) discussed the verb ("ein typischer Textschluß") very thoroughly and he suggested the meaning "zueigen sein, gehören", with the variation "dauern, bleiben" when the verb is not followed by *n.k* or *hr.k* (i.e. §1477d, 764a, 256d). Faulkner follows this, translating "belongs" for most of the Eye examples. The comparative use of the verb in reference to the king's name certainly supports the interpretation of the verb as meaning "endure". I would tentatively suggest that it should be interpreted thus in the Eye references too with the sense of "I have given you the Eye of Horus, may it endure with you" i.e. may the king possess it for eternity and thus always have the things he needs. The verb is used mostly in offering spells, thus expressing the wish that the offering will always fulfil the king's needs. There is also the one example where the Eye is equated with the king's entry to the afterlife and assures he will always be safe there and welcome.

It might also be possible to connect this verb with *nh* "to be old" i.e. in the sense of grow old, be enduring. There is also mention in the *PT* of a *Nhh* star (§332c, 732a, 909a-c) which seems to be a servant of the sun god and heralds the morning star. The concept of an "enduring" star would fit well with other stars such as the *ihmw-sk*. The line §909c also has this verb:

§909c *ink nhh hnzkt nhh nhh P. pn nhht*

I am a *Nhh*-star, the side locks of a *Nhh*-star. This P. endures as a *Nhh*-star.

This line closely identifies the king with the star, he is as close as its "side locks". Faulkner suggests that *nhh* and *nhht* are respectively denominative verb derived from the similar word for "star" construed with complementary infinitive. A *nhh* being is also mentioned, described as a brother of the deceased (§554a) and as bringing him water (§774b). Faulkner translates these occurrences as "Old One" (from the '𓏏' det. but cf. '𓏏') but surely "enduring one" is a suitably similar term.

PART TWO

ANALYSIS.

CHAPTER ONE
THE EYE OF HORUS IN THE OFFERING RITUAL

Offerings to the deceased were an important part of the mortuary cult, believed to be essential for resurrection, sustenance and a good afterlife. They were items that the deceased was considered to need in death because they had been desirable in his earthly life, and consequently possession of these things would empower him. These offerings were made ideally by the son of the deceased from his sense of filial duty. In private tombs, the scene of the deceased seated at the funerary meal was an important part of the decoration around the false door, and the offering lists were also located here on the north wall of the tomb. Offering lists are attested from the royal mortuary temples of Neferirkare and Sahure, but there are fuller examples of private lists from the 5th Dynasty. Barta has studied these lists and distinguished different types, the order of the items being remarkably consistent, and the *PT* generally reflect these same sequences.¹ The private tombs have the *hꜥp di nswt* offering formula, showing the importance of the king in the mortuary cult; but gods such as Anubis and Osiris also feature in the formulae. The offering list itself was just a sequence of items with a quantity. The new development in the offering lists preserved in the *PT* is the text that accompanies each item with the instruction *ꜥꜣ mdw* "to be recited". These spells have been called "dramatic" as they seem to have the form of ritual speeches for the participants and also include "stage directions" (eg. §61c, 62a) for the accompanying ritual acts. This type of spell has been identified as one of the oldest genres in the *PT*, apart from possibly the so-called "Magical Texts", on linguistic grounds and content.²

The presentation of items to the deceased had to be sanctified by ritual: "Als Folge der Vorstellung von der Substanziierung einer höherwertigen Macht und Kraft in der Opfergabe kann sich die Übergabe des Opfer nicht als einfache Darreichung einer Gabe abspielen, sondern muß durch einen Ritus geheiligt werden".³ The use of the Eye of Horus as a symbol for offerings must be seen primarily in this context - it is part of the process of mythologizing the ritual (Assmann's "sakramentale Ausdeutung") which effectively empowered an item of

¹ Barta 1982b col.587-588, more detailed survey in Barta 1963.

² Schott discusses this genre (1945 p30-36). See also Altenmüller (1984 col.16) - he suggests a date of the 2nd-3rd Dynasties (col.20).

³ Altenmüller 1982 col.579.

food, drink or clothing so that it would be efficacious for the deceased. Assmann states: "das Opfer, um in der Götterwelt ans Ziel und zum Tragen zu kommen, einen Vorzustand der Bedürftigkeit (*dbḥ*) und einen Nachzustand der Befriedigung (*ḥtp*) implizieren und dadurch zu einem wandelnden Eingriff, einem Ereignis werde".⁴ The power of the ritual speech, enhanced by the effects of word play, would impart the divine qualities of the Eye to the offering. Inscriptions of the text were no doubt as equally effective as a recitation, and thus the accomplishment of the ritual would be assured for eternity for the deceased king.

The offering lists of Teti, Pepi I, Merenre and Apouit have been badly damaged and are only preserved in fragments, but there are practically complete sequences of spells from Unas, Pepi II, Neit and Wedjebten. These are consistently located on the north wall of the burial chamber with the false door. The later pyramids expand on the material in Unas' with some new sequences of spells, most notably for different types of insignia, although Allen has suggested that lack of space may have limited Unas' selection of texts.⁵ The standard sequence, Type A, is preserved with minor variations, thus maintaining a private tradition established at least since the early 5th Dynasty. Type B appears here for the first time but is later used in private tombs (see n.1). Minor differences between the composition of the texts in the two major parts of Type A can be detected (Utts.72-96, Utts.108-171) and Type B seems to have slightly more variations in the style of the texts. It is impossible to draw any conclusions about how the use of the Eye of Horus varies in the different types of list as the references seem remarkably uniform overall. It is clear that a text was not bound to a specific offering but could cover several items (eg. Utts.89, 121, 124, 141) and also that an offering could occur more than once with a different accompanying text (eg. figs in Utts.152 & 194). This suggests a degree of flexibility in the textual corpus, and further editing can be seen in later versions, such as the *CT*. Any speculation on the development of these offering spells must be made with all due reservations, but it seems clear that the lists of items had been embellished at some point with the texts referring to the Eye of Horus and other images in a fairly consistent manner, possibly reflecting the Osirianization of the whole mortuary scenario.⁶

⁴ Assmann 1977b p.20.

⁵ Allen 1994 p.7.

⁶ For the general discussion of originally myth-free rituals see Assmann 1977b, Otto 1958, Morenz 1973 p.83. Otto 1960 analyses the Opening of the Mouth in particular.

The most common form of offering spell is an address (*dd mdw*) to the king (usually *Wsir-N.*) with a short text followed by the item being offered. The text usually has an imperative (most commonly *m-n.k*) followed by the mythical⁷ item and a relative clause which provides a comment on the item, punning with the offering. There are, of course, many deviations from the standard formula, but the importance of word-play is seen throughout.⁸ This linguistic feature was an important component in ensuring the effectiveness of the spell: “Die Fülle der Wortspiele zeigt, wie bewußt man bei der Komposition kultischer Sprüche, dort, wo es darum ging, die kultische und die götterweltliche Sphäre aufeinander zu beziehen, mit der Sprache - und zwar: mit der Ausdruckssubstanz (Klang) und Ausdrucksform (Phonemstruktur) - gearbeitet hat”.⁹ Far from being incidental, it is clear that the composition of the text was based around the provision of puns - for example, the sounds of the unusual reduplicated verbs would be particularly effective (§104a *nb3b* with an offering of *b3b3t*, §76c *shbnbn* with *hbnnt* cakes). The influence of this linguistic concern on the mythical references to the Eye of Horus should not be underestimated. Rather than seeing these references as allusions to an established narrative where, for example, the Eye could be used for dancing (§41a) or fishing (§93c), they are most likely embellishments on a basic theme for ritual effect. As Assmann states: “wenn man aber von der Handlung ausgeht, die von diesen Texten begleitet und sakramental ausgedeutet wird, dann hat man weniger den Eindruck einer Verkürzung und Verstümmelung, als im Gegenteil einer Ausweitung”.¹⁰ The multitude of different references to the Eye of Horus show how adaptable the symbol was in the basic scenario where Seth harms the Eye and Horus regains it.

The relative clauses referring to these “Augenfabel”, as Rudnitzky terms the mythical references,¹¹ mention Seth's actions against the Eye of Horus (§40+17, 60c, 73a, 73c, 84a, 88c, 109, 2282) and also its recovery (§36a, 39a, 40a, 40+12, 40+15, 95c). As well as using

⁷ The word “mythical” is used with the sense of “referring to the world of the gods”.

⁸ A useful comparison is the *Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus* (*RDP*, published in Sethe 1928) which has a similar form of text and offering, but also a mythical illustration and location. The manuscript was found in a Middle Kingdom tomb near the Ramesseum and contains a coronation play for Sesostris I but much earlier dates have been proposed - Altenmüller (1975b col.1139) suggests the late Old Kingdom as the text reflects strong Osirian beliefs. See Schott (1945 p.30-32) and Rudnitzky (1956 p.16-36) for the similarities to the *PT* material and the use of the Eye of Horus in the *RDP*.

⁹ Assmann 1984 p.107. For studies of word play see Firchow 1953 p.223-227, Schott 1945 p.30ff, Otto 1958 p.14ff, Schott 1970 p.96-7.

¹⁰ Assmann 1984 p.118-9.

¹¹ Rudnitzky 1956 p.56.

the *sdm(w).nf* relative form to describe Seth's actions, the deceased is also commanded to prevent these things happening (eg. §60b cf. §73a, §108b cf. §96a, §109 cf. §97c), and to prevent Horus suffering (§74e, 86c).¹² This may imply that the Osiris-king is to make sure the Eye is not endangered again - the danger that Seth represents to the order of the world, specifically the Eye of Horus in this context, is ever-present, and it is the king's role to prevent a recurrence of the threat, possibly an example of reciprocity from the deceased.¹³ As well as Horus and Seth, Thoth also features in these spells - this may reflect a ritual role played by a priest (eg. Utts.24, 62A, 71F-H, 82, 448), and Thoth also has an established connection with the recovery of the Eye (§43b), and Geb's ritual role is also seen alongside Horus in Utts.172-9 (see also §40+16, Utt. 127).¹⁴ An unspecified "they" is also mentioned in connection with the Eye (eg. Utts.91, 146, 147, 154, 166, 181) - possibly the followers of Seth or the gods, it often being hard to tell if they are friend or foe.

The influence of ritual is seen more clearly in other spells where the relative clause seems to refer to cult activity, rather than a mythical situation. This is discussed in detail by Rudnitzky who uses the term "Hypostasis-Aussagen"¹⁵ to illustrate the way in which the Eye of Horus is described with the properties of the offering or is used in the same way: "diese Bezeichnung hat im Sprachgebrauch die Funktion eines Wechselwortes oder einer zusätzlich Benennung".¹⁶ Thus in spells for incense the "perfume of the Eye of Horus" engulfs the king's face (§18), referring to the rising fumes of the burning incense.¹⁷ The Eye can share the colour or condition of the offering: a green and a white Eye of Horus correspond to green and white fruit (§96a-d), likewise a sweet Eye to sweets (§111a). This may perhaps compare with the use of Osiris' fluids in spells for drink or libations, the ritual being made more effective by the similarity of substance between the offering and the mythical counterpart. Ritner discusses the implications of identifying food with the Eye of Horus which he sees as connecting the everyday act of eating and ritual swallowing: "by the implied swallowing of proffered bread, dates, wine, *et cetera*, the Eye is internalized and thus restored to the recipient's body".¹⁸

¹² These spells are mostly found in the second half of the Type A offering list with a corresponding spell in the first half.

¹³ See Rudnitzky (1956 p.46-7) for the idea of the deceased king protecting his son.

¹⁴ See Chapter 12 for a discussion of the roles of Thoth and Geb in relation to the Eye of Horus.

¹⁵ Rudnitzky 1956 p.49.

¹⁶ Rudnitzky 1956 p.55.

¹⁷ See the discussion in Chapter 4 of the purification spells, also Rudnitzky 1956 p.49.

¹⁸ Ritner 1993 p.103.

There are references to the consumption of the Eye of Horus outside food spells (see Chapter 2) which support the idea of eating as a means of empowerment, which was generally the main aim of these spells. The Eye can also be applied in the same way as the offering, hence the use of the verb *mḥ* for anointing (possibly Utt.31, see further Chapter 4) and the placing of the Eye on the brow (Utt.78, but compare the pun in Utts.134-135). It is sometimes hard to assess the full significance of these spells. For example, “take the white Eye of Horus which he has worn as a *sšd*-band (§108b) where Rudnitzky sees the colour of the Eye as corresponding to royal insignia¹⁹ (cf. the *ḥdt* and *w3dt* crowns). In other spells the colour of the Eye matches the offerings (eg. §33a, 107a) and the mention of the *sšd* band puns further with the offering, these factors presumably being the reasons for this particular choice of phrase, rather than an allusion to insignia, although the Eye of Horus could be closely associated with the royal emblems (see Chapter 3). In these spells the Eye of Horus is used as a symbol for a multitude of offerings, sanctifying them by the association with a divine attribute, further described in a short mythical phrase which puns (thus adding to the ritual effect) or in terms of the offering itself, sharing its properties or being used in the same way, which further strengthens the identification.

There are some longer spells for purification and the Opening of the Mouth where the offering formula with the Eye of Horus has been appended (eg. Utts.20, 25, 36). Other spells have a more developed use of the Eye (eg. Utts.29, 36, 71D, 81, 93, 106, 197), and these will be discussed further in the following chapters where the different types of ritual spell are analysed in more detail. Some sequences of spells form a continuous text which also features again in longer spells (eg. Utts.169-171), while other spells are grouped with a common offering (eg. Utts.100-102, 97-99). These features, although interesting for the composition and development of the offering texts, do not have much impact on the study of the Eye of Horus; but the use of the Eye in connection with the Opening of the Mouth ceremony merits a brief discussion here as phrases from it are used in the offering ritual. It is a good example of the inclusion of the Eye in what seems to have been a ritual originally free from mythical interpretation.²⁰ The Eye of Horus does not feature in the major spells connected with the ritual (eg. Utts. 21, 22, 37, 38, 540) but in Utts.20 and 126 the mouth is opened with the *hph*

¹⁹ Rudnitzky 1956 p.45.

²⁰ See Otto 1960 p.5-6. He suggests that the ritual was originally used for statues and adapted for the mortuary cult, being mythologized in the *PT*. See also Chapter 5 for a discussion of the Opening of the Eyes.

of the Eye, punning with the offering of a foreleg. The mouth is opened with the Eye itself in Utt.93 (with a bread offering) and in several drink offering spells (Utts.47, 54, 153, 155, 156 & 185). In Utt.21, an example of a spell which does not mention the Eye, an adze is the implement used for the ritual and this is attributed to a divine owner (Wepwawet), and described as made of the powerful material *bi3* or as having been used to open gods' mouths. A *wrt-ḥk3w* adze is mentioned in Utt.715 (§2220). There is not much mention of the actual effect of the ritual, but certainly one result must have been the ability to eat and drink - hence the connection with the offering spells which use phrases from the ritual. It seems clear that the references to the Eye of Horus stem from the general process of mythologizing, or more specifically Osirianizing, the ritual. The Eye is one of several symbols used for the enabling implement to emphasise its powerful capabilities.

Similarly, despite the predominance of the Eye of Horus in the offering spells, it is not the only mythical item used in this way; analysis of the others may therefore help to clarify the role of the Eye and will consequently be discussed in some detail. In libation spells the fluid can also be described as the *ṛḫw* of Osiris (§23, 24), his vital fluids or essence. The word *ḥnq*, which seems to mean "fluid" or "ferment",²¹ is described as coming forth from the Osiris-king (§37a, 39b, 90a-91a; from Osiris in 105b & 117b) and is used for offerings of drink, mostly beer (the phrase "water in you" is used as an alternative in Utt.184) but also for *ḥknw* oil (§50c). For the latter, the *ḥknw* is described as "in his face" which Faulkner interprets as Horus²² although it may be Osiris' from the previous examples. This reference to the face may reflect the use of the oil. These terms, which seem to refer to the vital fluids of Osiris in a manner similar to the libation spells,²³ are clearly used particularly with fluid offerings but so is the Eye of Horus (eg.Utts.154-157) - it is hard to see why one is preferred over the other and they may have been interchangeable - in §454 and CT 934 the Eye of Horus is referred to with an offering of *ḥknw* oil. Rudnitzky sees the regaining of the Eye and the restoration of vital fluids as parallel acts²⁴, and it certainly seems that the life essence of Osiris and the Eye of Horus are analogical here in terms of their effect on the deceased.

²¹ Faulkner has "ferment(?)" (eg. Faulkner 1969 p.10); Rudnitzky (1956 p48) has "Leichensekretion", *WB* iii, 117 has "flüssigkeit, saft".

²² Faulkner 1969 p.18, Utt.73 n.1.

²³ See Chapter 4 for the discussion of libations.

²⁴ Rudnitzky 1956 p.48.

The offerings to the deceased king are also termed as parts of his own body or Osiris' which reflects the king's divine status, attested by the name *Wsir-NN*. The eyes of the deceased king are presented to him (§9, 74= one eye, 102-3, eyes opened §99) - Rudnitzky interprets this as a confusion between the deceased and living king,²⁵ and the interplay between the king's eyes and the Eye of Horus is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. There are also expressions such as "what is on you" (§73) and "what resembles your face" (§74) which may suggest a connection with the ritual of the restoration of the body (seen in Utts.13-18), just as phrases from the Opening of the Mouth are also used in the offering spells. The reference to the *sik* of Osiris is obscure (§31), as is *iss3w.k* (§82b), but both pun on their offerings.

As well as Horus' Eye, there is also a reference to his white teeth (§35a, sound and white teeth in §79) in connection with onions (cf. also *CT* 936). The tip of Horus' breast is referred to in Utt.41 with an offering of milk, and the breast of Isis (called "the milk-provider") in Utt.42 with an empty *mnz3* jar. This must allude to the production of milk from the breast (an unusual ability for Horus), but the Eye of Horus also symbolizes sacred milk in Utt.146. "They" offer the breast of Horus in Utt.152, punning with the offering of figs, which compares with Utt.194 where the Eye of Horus is offered to the king, making the same pun - again, the different mythical items seem interchangeable. Incense is described as *mn wr* in the bones of Horus (§116) and natron as *zmin* spat out by Horus and Seth (§26), substances derived from the gods' bodies and thus containing their divine essence.

The foreleg of Seth is offered in Utt.61 in a formula identical to the usual descriptions of Seth endangering the Eye of Horus, but here Horus is the aggressor. The foreleg presupposes Seth in bull form, and its significance as a symbol of his strength is discussed by te Velde.²⁶ The finger of Seth mentioned in Utts.69-70 has provoked much discussion: Rudnitzky interprets it as a tool used in the opening of the eyes, but te Velde has suggested that it is interchangeable with his phallus.²⁷ The finger certainly has ritual significance as an enabler (cf. the use of the little finger in the Opening of the Mouth), and it seems to have a beneficial effect on the Eye, perhaps this is to be compared with the use of the iron of Seth (§14) in the Opening of the Mouth. The only possible reference to the testicles of Seth as an

²⁵ Rudnitzky 1956 p.40.

²⁶ Te Velde 1977 p.86-91.

²⁷ Rudnitzky 1956 p.36, te Velde 1977 p.49-50.

offering in the *PT* is in §535, which also mentions the arm of Thoth.²⁸ There is a single reference to a crook as the hand of Nephthys (§49+5).

A selection of spells refers to what seem to be enemies of the Osiris-king. In Utt.71 he is told to take the *f* of his foe, “those who rebelled” in §81, the heads of Seth's followers (§84), a heart (§85a) and “those who come pacified” (§86). These all occur with offerings of meat and birds. It is tempting to see here the beliefs attested in the Cannibal Hymn (Utts.273-4) where consumption of a being means acquisition of power- this is seen in another reference to the followers of Seth: “...so that he (Horus) may punish the followers of Seth. Seize them, remove their heads, cut off their limbs, disembowel them, cut out their hearts, drink of their blood, and claim their hearts” (§1285). Thus it remains a possibility that in the offering ritual too offerings of meat are linked to the consumption of enemies as an expression of defeat and acquiring their strength.²⁹

These spells show the common practice of identifying the offerings with divine attributes generally - those belonging to the royal god Horus (his Eye in particular), Isis and Nephthys, Seth and his followers, the latter suggesting overtones of victory over enemies, and Osiris himself. These images all possess innate powers from their divine natures which are transferred to the offerings. Ritner discusses the consumption of the food offerings specifically: “in all such cases, the food transfers to the king the numinous qualities of its divine analogue”;³⁰ but this holds true for the reception of all kinds of offerings, including insignia and incense etc. Still, the predominance of the Eye of Horus in the offering spells is clear; and references to it show more mythical detail than the other images, the significance of which must be assessed against the stylistic limitations of the spells.

The basic mortuary situation in these spells consists of the performance of offerings and rituals by the dutiful son and heir for the deceased king,³¹ clearly representing the social importance of the son's role in the event of his father's death: “this concept finds further expression and validation by assimilating the relationship to that of Horus and Osiris, the

²⁸ Seth's testicles represent two sceptres in the *RDP* 83 (Sethe 1928 p.196).

²⁹ Assmann (1994 p.52): “Denn in Ägypten liegt der Opfersymbolik ganz allgemein die Gleichsetzung des Opfertiers mit den ‘Feind’ zugrunde”.

³⁰ Ritner 1993 p.103 n.500.

³¹ For example, the Opening of the Mouth (§11, 13, 15).

mythic-prototypes of the father-son relationship”.³² Their relationship is expressed in the genealogical scheme of the ennead where Horus is traditionally added as the tenth member and the fifth generation. The exact development of the relationship between Osiris and Horus is unclear; but it is generally agreed that their mythical traditions were originally separate,³³ i.e. the conflict between Horus and Seth was distinct from the murder of Osiris by Seth and his subsequent restoration. Both scenarios are referred to in the *PT*, showing that elements of both had been incorporated into the spells for the royal mortuary cult. Given the usual identification of the deceased with Osiris and his son with Horus, this seems a natural development.

The relationship between Horus, Osiris and the deceased is crucial for the interpretation of the symbolism of the Eye in the offering spells. The deceased is referred to overwhelmingly as the Osiris-king, demonstrating the aptness of Osiris' resurrected state as a mythical role model for the deceased king. Allen interprets the scenario at this point as follows: “the king's body lies in its sarcophagus as the body of Osiris lies in the most hidden (*st3*) part of the Duat”.³⁴ However, the intriguing phrase *Hr im Wsir-N.* is also used in certain spells (§19a, 21b, 55b, 831) - Rudnitzky sees this as evidence: “wie man Horus, den Augenbesitzer, als funktionsgleich mit Osiris bewußt empfindet”.³⁵ This phrase indicates that the nature of Horus is also within the being of Osiris (or vice versa), a further suggestion of this merging occurs in §44b: “[I conduct you to your son] Horus, put him within yourself (*m hnw.k*)”. This suggests a similar concept to that of syncretism, whereby a deity is said to “inhabit” another and thus extend the nature of one with that of the other.³⁶ The phrase *di(.i) n.k Hr* also conveys a similar notion (eg. Utts.180-182, 186-192). It seems clear that this union with Horus is a means of acquiring power for the Osiris-king, as is receiving the Eye of Horus (and the other divine attributes) under the guise of offerings, as the Eye imparted Horus' divine nature by virtue of its origin in his body (*nt dt.f*). The casting of the roles of Horus and Osiris, although very common in the ritual spells, remained flexible with the

³² Lloyd 1989 p.129.

³³ Anthes has suggested that the presentation of the Eye of Horus is to be seen as a bonding mechanism between the two traditions, seeing it as a transfer from Horus “Junior” to Horus “Senior” as proof of his victory (Anthes 1959 p.201-2, also Anthes 1961b p.89).

³⁴ Allen 1994 p.24-5.

³⁵ Rudnitzky 1956 p.39.

³⁶ For a discussion of these concepts see Hornung 1983 p.91-99.

deceased being identified with whatever deity was considered most effective for the purpose at hand.

The offering spells often use the first person narrator,³⁷ for example “I am Horus, I have struck your mouth for you for I am your beloved son” (§11). However, having referred to himself as Horus, the narrator then often goes on to speak of Horus in the third person: “O King, I am your son, I am Horus. I have come and I bring to you Horus' own eyes... I have joined them to you...Horus [has put] them on this king's feet” (§69-70). It seems that this means of expression was suited to the ritual purpose of invoking the equation of the officiant with Horus as well as describing Horus' divine presence as a participant. Another example shows how repetition and accumulation of divine images added to the efficacy of the rite: “O Horus, open the mouth of this king!...[Horus has split open the mouth of this king] with that wherewith he split open the mouth of his father, with that wherewith he split open the mouth of Osiris, with the iron which issued from Seth, with the adze [of iron which split open the mouths of the gods...]” (§13-14). The aim of the spells is to accomplish the desired effects of the rituals they describe - rather than representing a specific mythical situation, they draw on many. It may be that the Egyptians were not concerned with reconciling the different mythical images used to achieve this purpose. The offerings were called the Eye of Horus (or whatever else was felt to be effective) as it was a suitably empowering divine attribute, it was presented to the deceased king, who could be Osiris, a role used fairly consistently as the prototype of royal resurrection, by his son who was generally seen as Horus, the royal god. The consistency is to be sought in the basic cult actions, not the mythical images used to sanctify them. It is also possible that references to Osiris as Horus' father in the offering spells (Utts.63, 106, 173, 179, 201-2) may reflect the influence that the basic funerary situation had on the relationship of the two gods. As Horus was usually the officiating son, his Eye may have become a very effective term of reference for offerings which represent a powerful and necessary gift from the living to the dead. There may have been an element of reciprocity in this relationship, but it also represented a dialogue between the son and his deceased father and an important assertion of the continuity of the succession in family terms.

³⁷ The translation of these passages is slightly more complicated due to the common practice of omitting the first person pronoun in Old Egyptian.

It has been mentioned above that the Eye of Horus has considerably more mythical details in these spells than any of the other items referred to as offering symbols. These mention the wounding of the Eye by Seth in many different ways and also its retrieval. This scenario has received many interpretations and accordingly these have been projected onto the offering scenario, giving it connotations that expand on the basic sustenance of the deceased discussed above. The concept of restitution has been seen as crucial: "die Opfergabe wird zur Rückgabe des Geraubten, zum Symbol der Lebenskraft, die der rächende Sohn vom Mörder seines Vater zurückgewinnt",³⁸ the Eye being seen as representing the revival and avenging of the deceased. It is noticeable, however, that although the deceased is asked to help prevent things happening again (see above) he does not seem to be directly involved in the proceedings.³⁹ In the longer ritual spells the roles of Horus and Osiris are expressed in more detail (§578, 591, 609-610, 614) with Horus rescuing his Eye from Seth and presenting it to Osiris with the aim of empowering him. The presentation of the Eye of Horus to Osiris in these spells is clearly derived from the dramatic texts, as the use of many of their phrases shows. The basic concept of the deceased receiving the Eye of Horus as a means to power is being presented here in terms of the Osirian funerary situation, with, for example, Isis and Nephthys as the officiating women or "Two Kites" (§577, 584). It may be tentatively suggested that in the dramatic spells we have the early mythologized versions of rituals whose images have been elaborated and developed into the longer later spells, where the relationship between Horus and Osiris is more clearly defined as the son presenting his Eye to his father, having avenged him against Seth. The extent to which "myths" were generated through the process of the mythologizing of ritual is debatable - the offering spells do not have any kind of narrative sequence, but there is a certain consistency in the generally Osirian group of images used.⁴⁰

The presentation of the Eye has also been seen as a symbol of the continuation of the kingship,⁴¹ an assurance passed from Horus to Osiris. The Eye of Horus can symbolize

³⁸ Assmann 1984 p.108.

³⁹ cf. Griffiths 1980 p.18.

⁴⁰ There are two spells, Utts.44 & 50, which mention Re, much in the same way as the food spells eg. §37 cf. §129.

⁴¹ Rudnitzky 1956 p.55 : "Im Mittelpunkt der Aussage steht der Glaube : die im Königtum enthaltene und vom König getragene Kraft ist zwar durch den Tod gefährdet, wird aber vom Nachfolger im Diesseits und vom Vorgänger im Jenseits wiedergewonnen". Assmann (1994 p.52) also discusses offerings as symbolic of established political power.

insignia (§83c, 84a, 96a) and Horus was the royal god, but it is misleading and restrictive to interpret the damaging of the Eye by Seth as part of a struggle specifically for the kingship in these spells. The presentation of the Eye has also been seen as symbolic of the restoration of order generally - thus Hornung comments: "like the injured and perpetually healed 'Eye of Horus', maat therefore symbolizes the pristine state of the world".⁴² The offering of *m3(t)* demonstrated that the principle was being upheld by Egypt (as represented by the king), thus sustaining the gods. The presentation of the Eye as an assurance of Horus' victory over disorder is not however made explicit in the offering spells. The concept of the Eye as *wd3t* would fit with this concept of restoration but this is not especially stressed (see Chapter 11). The emphasis on Horus' role as the son and his filial duty has led to the suggestion that the presentation of the Eye was a sacrifice of his body-part by him for his father. There is however no mention of a loss suffered by Horus in giving away his Eye, although the term *irt Hr nt dt.f* (eg. §69b, 2276b) might stress its physical origins. In Egyptian thought, the detachability of an Eye from its owner could be a mythical motif (as in the later Eye myths) and so would not always imply a physical scarring.

The evidence of the offering spells does not permit firm conclusions on how far any of these themes derived from the mythical scenario which involved the wounding of the Eye were present in the symbolism of the offering spells. The different explanations of the Eye's symbolism are elaborations on the basic scenario of the transfer of the offering. The result of this is the restoration and empowering of the deceased. The Eye of Horus was clearly felt to be the most appropriate symbol for this act, judging from its repeated use, and became the offering symbol *par excellence*. The reasons for this might be its association with Horus, the royal heir, its value as a symbolic body-part and its mythical connotations of being endangered, but with subsequent victory. It is hard to evaluate the most likely impetus for the Eye's success in the offering ritual, but it clearly has the role of an enabling entity which is developed further in the longer ritual spells. Comparison with the other divine images used suggests that the Eye of Horus was seen primarily as a particularly valuable and significant body-part of the god.

⁴² Hornung 1983 p.213-4. See also Helck 1982 and Assmann 1990b for a discussion of the concept of *m3 t*; Altenmüller 1982 col.581 for the offering of *m3(t)*.

CHAPTER 2

THE EYE OF HORUS IN FOOD SPELLS

The *PT* contain many spells for the provision of food which was believed to give the deceased sustenance and power. This was a central preoccupation of the mortuary cult, as the essential scene in private tombs of the deceased at the funerary meal shows. As well as the depictions of offerings, textual inscriptions could also be effective for the provision of food and in the *PT* there are several types of spells that are composed for this purpose. The individual offering spells were discussed in the previous chapter and they provide an immense variety of delicacies for the king, including several ritual meals.¹ To complement these, there are also passages in longer spells which invoke vast quantities: “a thousand of bread and a thousand of beer” (§807, cf. also §214b),² all-inclusive assurances of the basic staples of life. There are also longer ritual spells which describe the provision of offerings by the son as part of the mortuary cult. Further spells assure the king of food in the divine world, invoking the gods to help, or identifying the king with various gods so that he may share their supplies. The Eye of Horus thus features in several different contexts in the food spells.

A series of spells include the offering of food as the Eye of Horus in a description of the king's resurrection (B1-B6). Although the Eye's role here is very similar to its use in the offering ritual, there is more detail in these spells of the ritual situation and the desired results. Allen suggests that Utt.223 could summarize the effects of the offering ritual, judging from its location immediately following the offering spells but before the closing rites.³ Utt.223 begins with invocations to the deceased king to rouse himself (§214a) so that he may receive his food, showing its importance in his resurrection. The reference to the Eye of Horus uses the same formula as the offering spells; but here we are given some indication of the results of the offering, namely the king is to join his *ba* among the gods (§215b). In Utt.662 there is also special emphasis on the role of the dutiful son who cultivates crops for his deceased father who is still called *nb pr* “lord of the house” (§1879a-1881b). The role of Horus / the son who provides food for his deceased father is also stressed elsewhere (eg. §192, 1069a). The

¹ For example, the *hṭp* meal (discussed by Rudnitzky 1956 p.41-42) and the *Ybw* meal (discussed by Altenmüller 1972 p.16).

² Barta (1982b col.587) discusses these two basic types of offering lists in private tombs as “ritual offerings” and “inventory offerings”.

³ Allen 1994 p.14. He also notes that Utt.224 does the same for the clothing and insignia spells.

analogy of the presentation of food and Horus presenting his Eye is made explicit with the use of the comparative word *mi* (or *mr*, eg. §1925b, 1925d, 2185a), just as the expression “a god's offering” in §215a is clearly parallel to the king receiving his bread. The verb *nḥḥ* is used with the Eye of Horus in most of these spells. It seems to have the sense of “endure”, and this phrase also appears in the offering ritual (eg. §100e, 112, 115b).⁴ The terming of the food offering as the Eye of Horus should be seen as giving the substance a special potency and endurance, relying on the same qualities as the offering spells. In these “Resurrection” spells, the rousing of the deceased king is described vividly with the imperatives used at the start. The subsequent description of the ritual offering gives a wider context for the references to the Eye of Horus, which also occurred in the more succinct offering spells. There are, however, no short mythical statements qualifying the Eye of Horus in these longer spells - the use of the term Eye of Horus was perhaps considered a sufficient link to the divine world for the ritual situation.

Other food spells, which have a slightly different approach, assure the king of the same kind of sustenance as the gods and often have a solar or celestial nature. For example, in the sequence Utts. 204-212 there are spells appealing to the servants of Re (Utts.205-207), a projection of the social situation from earthly life, and others asking for the king to join Re and Thoth in their celestial cycle: “so I may eat what you eat, so I may drink what you drink, so I may live on what you live on” (§129 Utt.210). Allen interprets these spells as the “response” of the king to the offering ritual, whereby he establishes his own food supply and cajoles it from the gods.⁵ Some references seem particularly obscure, such as “Bird-Catch”, the son of the “Fen-Goddess”, with whom the king eats in Utt.341. Other food spells include Utt.338 and Utt.339 where the king shares the *kmḥw* bread of Horus and the provisions of Shu and Tefnut. Amongst these images of the divine world we also find the Eye of Horus dripping (or perhaps weeping) on the *ḏnw* bush (§133a, 695a), followed by an assurance of provisions for the king like those of Horus at the head of the houses (§133c, 695b). The dripping of the Eye may be an image of sustenance, as in assuaging thirst or hunger, but the exact significance of the *ḏnw* bush is a problem, as it only occurs here. There are some later mythical references to divine eyes and bushes; but it is impossible to ascertain if this was an allusion to a mythical scenario

⁴ See the Appendix to Part One for a discussion of the verb.

⁵ Allen 1994 p.17.

about the Eye.⁶ The greenness of plants is often associated with the king's thriving condition in the *PT* (eg. Utts.350-352).

Mentions of the Eye of Horus being eaten, swallowed or spat out occur in several contexts: the short offering spells, longer food spells and ascension spells. These actions could be interpreted as the Eye of Horus having the same properties as the food, as is seen in this reference from *CT* 439: "I have brought you the Eye of Horus so you may feed on it just as Horus fed on it" (v, 292), and this is also demonstrated, for example, with incense (discussed in Chapter 4). Ritner's study of magical practices has shown that these actions had a greater significance: "the rationale for the technique of magical swallowing is intuitively obvious, being derived from analogic reasoning from the mundane act of eating",⁷ which also indicates the natural connection with food spells. It is also said in a celestial context that Nut "swallows" the celestial bodies, thus absorbing them into herself before their rebirth the next day.⁸ Ritner states the principle behind this concept of swallowing: "consumption entails the absorption of an object and the acquisition of its benefits and traits", also, in a hostile sense, of destroying by taking its power.⁹ The king states that he has not swallowed the Eye of Horus and a limb of Osiris in §1450b-c, and thus should not be condemned. The references to Seth's eating the Eye (§61a, 88c) or swallowing it (§92c) are hostile acts as he acquires its power. In the offering ritual the king is also told to taste (*dp*, Utt.51) the Eye and Ritner notes how this verb also came to mean "experience", similar to the magical implications of licking the Eye (*nsb*, Utt.166) which could imply gaining knowledge or perhaps restoration, as derived from the simple act of licking wounds.¹⁰ The act of spitting (in §92c "they" spit out the Eye) also has varied implications: it can be a creative act, healing or blessing (as in purification with spittle), but also functions as "corruption, curse and weapon".¹¹ In §92c, the spitting out of the Eye would seem to be hostile, as compared with Utt.570 (§1460b-c) where there is further mention of the Eye being chewed (*wg*) or spat (*bš*), with the implication that it is not desirable.¹² There are also offering spells where the Eye is placed in the king's mouth (§77c)

⁶ See Borghouts 1973 p.140 (discussed further under B9).

⁷ Ritner 1993 p.102. His discussions of this act are in Ritner 1993 p.102-110 and Ritner 1989 p.106-108.

⁸ Hornung 1983 p.147.

⁹ Ritner 1993 p.103.

¹⁰ Ritner 1989 p.106-8 on *dp*, Ritner 1993 p.92-102 on licking.

¹¹ Ritner 1993 p.82.

¹² Although the textual variations make §1460b hard to interpret, the negative sense seems better but only appears in one version.

and united (*i(b)*) with his mouth (§60a, 72e) - these presumably contain the same ideas on absorbing the Eye's power.

These references to eating, licking or spitting out the Eye of Horus in the offering ritual cannot simply be seen as metaphors for food but have wider implications for gaining power from the Eye. They rely on the detected similarity between the consumption of food as a means of empowerment and the "magical" swallowing of the Eye as a method of acquiring its divine powers. This is seen further in the longer food spells. In Utt.219 the king is said to have eaten (*wnm*) an Eye, which Horus released so that his father might live, and his belly is thus *i.šn*. This verb can signify "rounded out" as Faulkner suggests,¹³ but Ritner has also pointed out the further magical connotations of "encircling",¹⁴ so the consumption of the Eye could result in the enchanting or protecting of the king's belly, linked with filling it with food. The Eye of Horus has been connected with the daughter mentioned in §191b but this tenuous connection hardly supports any conclusion on the Eye and female personification.¹⁵ In Utt.204 "they" have swallowed the bright (*b3qt*) Eye of Horus in Heliopolis (§118b) - this seems to be the cause of rejoicing (§118a); but the implications are far from clear. This is clearly a food spell (§119a-b) - perhaps "those who are filled" (§119b) who assure the king he will not be hungry are those who received the benefits of swallowing the Eye.

The final spell in this section is Utt.327 which is problematic to translate and thus to interpret. It seems to connect the bringing of Horus' Eye, Seth's testicles and Thoth's arm with the bringing of a meal for the king by the gods' messengers. This is either a parallel action (thus equating the meal with the divine attributes, as in the offering spells) or a reciprocal act, the king gaining a meal by performing good deeds, a theme which occurs in the ascension spells, along with the Eye's role here as Horus' missing attribute which needs returning (see Chapter 7).

The spells analysed here show the variety of uses for the Eye of Horus connected with the presentation of food, although its most familiar role was as the offering symbol in the

¹³ Faulkner 1969 p.48.

¹⁴ Ritner 1993 p.57ff.

¹⁵ eg. Troy (1986 p.41) suggests the Eye of Horus is "the daughter of Osiris, just as the solar eye was the daughter of Re".

Osirianized mortuary cult. The enduring possession of the Eye of Horus was obviously felt to be an effective image to assure the deceased of food, and the subsequent power that this conveyed. This transfer of power is expressed further in the parallelism between the eating of food and the magical consumption of the Eye. The same principle is demonstrated in the "Cannibal Hymn" (Utts.273-274) where the king consumes the gods and crowns to acquire their *hk3*.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE ROYAL INSIGNIA

Items of the royal insignia are attested from late predynastic and early dynastic times - the uraeus on an ivory label of King Den, the White Crown on the Narmer palette, the Red Crown on black-topped ware from Naqada I-III. The origins of these forms and their symbolism are thus lost to us, the *PT* providing the earliest textual references. It is clear that these items were attributed tremendous power and significance, as Frankfort states : “a relationship was established between the monarch and the object which was the repository of the force of royalty”.¹ Insignia were associated with the gods and could themselves be personified, a process that is seen elsewhere in ancient conceptions of kingship: “the primitive awareness of a confrontation with power brings with it an imputing of personality. Consequently, the inanimate object in or through which power becomes manifest is perceived as a god”.² The main forms of insignia were the royal garments, crowns, uraei and sceptres or staves. The Eye of Horus is connected with these items in various spells, the association being illuminating in terms of the symbolism of the Eye which has been interpreted in the past as essentially that of royal insignia.

CLOTH AND CLOTHING IN THE *PT*

Items of cloth and clothing were important in the mortuary cult for several reasons. In the same way that the provision of food was required to recreate the conditions of earthly life, the deceased was also believed to need clothing. This was a necessity, but could also be a luxury: “when I ascend to the sky, I am anointed with unguent and clad in fine linen” (§1079b, also §879c, 1182b). Items of clothing are thus included in the Offering Ritual (eg. Utts.58 & 59) and can also be part of more general offering formulae such as “thousands of clothing” (§1332a). As well as the wrappings for the body, mummification was being carried out at the time of the *PT* so that cloth would be used for the bandages.³

¹ Frankfort 1948b p.107.

² Frankfort 1948b p.245.

³ Spencer 1982 p.34ff, Sternberg 1982 col.213.

As well as their primary purpose as items of insignia, setting the wearer apart and making a statement about his position or function, the garments could have a greater divine significance.⁴ The clothing of the gods was distinctive, described as part of their privileged and idealized existence,⁵ and the king is to receive “the clothing of a god” in §964b. His position is strengthened further by the acquisition of divine garments such as the girdle of Horus and the garment of Thoth (§1089b-c), the collar of Horus (§534) and a kilt identified with *Hwt-Hr* (§546). These special items of divine clothing function as a means of ascension, followed by recognition and a welcome from the gods, and subsequently assumption of power (eg. §416, 2044).⁶ Thus in these ascension spells we see the familiar social role of clothing as an indication of one's status, but also the concept of royal garments invested with special divine powers for the king and described in relation to the gods. Items of cloth also feature in ascension spells, for example the Eye of Horus is possibly mentioned in a ferryman text (Utt.696) as symbolic of cloths, and a fillet woven from the Eye of Horus is to be used to bandage Osiris' finger (§1202b-c).

As well as the examples discussed above which illustrate the function of clothing in the context of the king's ascension and justification in the afterlife,⁷ there are also several ritual spells for robing the king which relate the clothing to the gods, as part of the ritual acts' “sakramentale Ausdeutung”.⁸ The Eye of Horus features in many of these ritual presentations of cloth, in addition to the short offering spells for insignia. These rituals of offering or robing may well have been part of royal ritual outside the mortuary context of the *PT*, particularly the coronation rites, and the spells may also have featured in separate ceremonies - Allen discusses a ritual for a statue of the deceased which includes robing spells.⁹

In the utterances C1-5 the king is receiving essentially royal items which had their own innate power as insignia of the divine office. The impression of a dramatic ritual situation is conveyed by the use of direct imperatives (eg. §844a-b). The king is described as Osiris

⁴ For example, the king wears a leopard skin in §223, a traditional priestly garment.

⁵ eg. §1197b-e where they wear garments and white sandals. The guardians of Upper Egypt wear red linen in §816b, as do four gods in §1511a.

⁶ Jacq 1986 p.13 : “le voyageur utilise des signes de reconnaissances vêtements, perruques, colliers. Il est ainsi identifié comme un être apte à se déplacer dans l'autre monde”. See also p.164ff.

⁷ The distinction between the descriptions of the afterlife and the ritual context is stated by Davis (1977 p.177 n.82).

⁸ Assmann 1984 p.110.

⁹ Allen 1976 p.23.

(§737a, 1755a, 1794a), his usual role when the recipient of the mortuary rituals, and the Eye of Horus functions again as a symbol of the item being presented. The verbs *wnḥ* (§737c, 844b, 1642), *db3* (§1755a) and *šzp* (§844b, cf. §737b) are all used for the donning of cloth, and the Eye of Horus features accordingly as the object of these clothing verbs. The results of these actions are also described : acclaim (§737d), recognition (§737d) and awe of the king (§1755b-c, 1794b-c). These are all emotions that are rightfully due to a divine king as a response to his unique powers and thus would be logically conveyed by insignia. A further result is the assumption of the *Wrrt* crown before the gods (§737e-f, 845b). The significance of the crown as a symbol of the king's power is discussed below.

As well as the symbolism of the Eye of Horus in these spells, the divine associations for the clothing are strengthened further by the location of the Eye in *T3it* (§737c, 1642, 1794a).¹⁰ This as yet unidentified Lower Egyptian town was famous for its weaving industry and had a patron goddess of the same name (with whom the Eye is further associated in §56a-b). In the most recent study of Tait, El Saady states: “it is possible to deduce that Buto (Dep) was the place of origin for Tayet, who personifies the royalty of the northern kingdom”.¹¹ Tait is attested elsewhere in the *PT* as the king's mother (§741b) who clothes him and who is his protectress (§738 where she is also described as “having reconciled the god to his brother”), generally functioning as a goddess of funerary tasks with similar roles to other goddesses such as Isis and Nephthys. Tait's role as the goddess of weaving also led to a connection with embalming (eg. §739). The item being presented as the Eye of Horus in Tait thus has the benefits connected with the Eye of Horus (the supreme royal and divine attribute and offering symbol) and with Tait (the most prestigious producer of cloth). The connection of the Eye with Tait is due to this accumulation of two very powerful terms of reference, certainly no mythical connection is known or hinted at. The connection of the Eye of Horus with Tait is enduring as it appears in many later ritual texts, such as *CT* 608.

The Eye of Horus also twice symbolizes Renenwetet cloth¹² (§1755b, 1794b). Renenwetet was a snake goddess who protected the dead and thus was also connected with

¹⁰ See further El Saady 1994, Derchain-Urtel 1986 col.185-186 and Bonnet 1952 p.764.

¹¹ El Saady 1994 p.213.

¹² Broekhuis (1971 p.79) suggests that linen is the most likely material.

their garments and mummy bandages.¹³ She is also seen as the uraeus in the *PT* (§302b) and shares the protective, maternal role common to many of the other snake goddesses (§454).¹⁴ The Renenwetet cloth is described as making the king as intimidating to the gods as the Eye of Horus (§1755c) or as Horus himself (§1794c), indicating a mighty divine power. Renenwetet shared with the Eye of Horus a dual role as symbol of the cloth and as a powerful entity in her own right which made the robing all the more effective for the king.

The ritual robing, as part of the recognition of the king's royal power, is also portrayed in other ways. The short spell Utt.672 states "O King, you have gone, O King, clothed and you return dressed. This king has inherited and sorrow ceases" (§1988-9). Horus also presents Osiris with "an intact garment which Horus made for his father" (§740) and "the woven fabric which went forth from him" (§2094), ascribing a divine origin to the clothing again. A series of spells related to the royal clothes (Utts. 414-417) show the variety of ways in which the ritual could be expressed in divine terms, namely through the symbolism of the Eye of Horus, the protective actions of Tait and the ritual role of Horus ministering to Osiris.

Utt.591 follows a formula, seen also in the purification spells, of making the king's actions parallel to those of a series of gods,¹⁵ and here they are all described as wearing the *šzmt* apron,¹⁶ the implication following that the king will therefore rule the land (*nmitt hr t3.f*). The mention of the Eye of Horus uses the offering formula, *m-n.k irt.k*, here addressed to Horus himself, suggesting that the Eye of Horus may be symbolizing the *šzmt* apron. Like the Eye in the proceedings at Heliopolis,¹⁷ this could also function as a symbol of authority which explains the short mythical allusion. The recognition of the Eye is further paralleled with the recognition of the king by his *k3* (§1614c). There is the possibility that the Eye of Horus may symbolize the crown here (cf. §1795a-b), the assumption of which could also be a result of wearing the apron. Utt.225 refers to the Eye of Horus in another typical phrase from the offering ritual (*nhj n.k irt Hr hr.k*), subsequent to mentions of the king's garments (§223a) and an instruction to clothe his *dt* body (§224d), a symbolic action resulting in the power of

¹³ Strauß-Seeber 1984 col.233 : "die Gewänder und Binden der Renenwetet in die die Mumie gehüllt wird, gelten als Horusauge, umfassendstes Symbol aller lebenssichernden und regenerierenden Kräfte". However, the cloth's intimidating character and the phrases used are more suggestive of a royal linen garment.

¹⁴ This role is seen further in the *CT* eg. *CT* 575 (vi 188) and *CT* 762 (vi 392).

¹⁵ These gods are also seen in Utts.25 & 35. They seem to stand for the cardinal points.

¹⁶ See Staehelin 1984.

¹⁷ The mythological references to the Eye are discussed in Chapter 12.

movement and the ability to approach the living (primarily to receive offerings) and, more significantly, to ascend and assume power in the afterlife (eg. §1300).¹⁸

Utt.81 forms part of the Type A offering list (discussed in Chapter 1), and it has received various interpretations. Faulkner sees this spell as “a hymn for awakening the king, adapted to presentation of napkins”.¹⁹ Rudnitzky interprets it as focussing on the weaving process as common to both cloths and the material of the Red Crown; but the mention of the *hwt-Nt* here seems to represent geographical symbolism rather than a concern with the crown in this spell. He also sees this as an early example of a female personification being termed as an Eye which is closely related to the king;²⁰ but the two may be mentioned in parallel here, rather than equated. The content of the spell recalls the properties of insignia discussed above (awe, fear, the assumption of power) but the two cloths (described as Horus' in Nt.) which are presented to the king's face at the end of the spell are of uncertain function.²¹ The spell follows the ritual purification before a meal, and they are probably to wipe the king's face, rather than constituting insignia, although it is also possible that the spell had been adapted from its original purpose. The female, who is initially named as Tait in §57a, to whom the appeal is addressed, is clearly connected with the investiture of power (eg. §57a-d). The Eye of Horus may be another term of reference to the female being addressed; but the double mention of the Eye in §56b may also reflect the offering of two cloths. If the *hwt-Nt* are to be connected with the king's wardrobe, as Jelinkova suggests,²² then that would further support the Eye as a symbol of cloth here.

Roeder has studied some of these spells in terms of their "horizons" to trace the connections between the ritual acts and their wider implications. He sees the sense-horizon “Herrschaft”, represented by the assumption of the *Wrrt* crown, as directly linked to the cult presentations of ointment (*mdt*) and material (*sšp*, *h3t*): “bestimmte kultische Handlungen mit bestimmten kultischen Objekten vermitteln dem Kultempfänger ganz spezifische Mächte oder binden ihn”.²³ It is, however, hard to draw conclusions on the specific relationships of the

¹⁸ In CT 608 the deceased is clad in the Eye of Horus *nt dt* in a ritual spell for the offering of cloth. The significance of the term *dt* has been studied by Anthes 1962.

¹⁹ Faulkner 1969 p.19.

²⁰ Rudnitzky 1956 p.51-52.

²¹ See WB I, 324.3.

²² Jelinkova 1950 p.327-328 (see A38).

²³ Roeder 1994 p.57, illustrated in his Abb.4.

terms in these spells as there may be further outside factors influencing their composition, such as the choice of the *Wrrt* crown as a symbol of the assumption of the power to rule (see further below). The tremendous variety in the use of the Eye of Horus suggests that it had few restrictions in terms of expression or context. Roeder observes further (p58) that the Eye of Horus had a unique role in being able to span the "cult-horizon" and the "sense-horizon".

The Eye of Horus' symbolism reinforces the cloth's innate powers as a royal possession with an image from the divine world. With a technique already seen in the offering spells, the Eye assumes the properties of the cloth, also bringing to the ritual item the value of the Eye of Horus' own origins, being part of Horus, the royal god. This is shown by the two similar phrasings regarding Horus and his Eye in §1755c and §1794c, while the Eye could itself inspire fear and acclaim.²⁴ It was thus presumably felt to be a suitable term to express and effect the impact of the ritual, namely the presentation of items and the subsequent empowerment of the king. This effectively conveyed the immense significance of the receipt of these items of cloth.

THE CROWNS




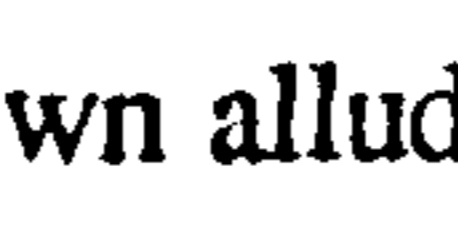
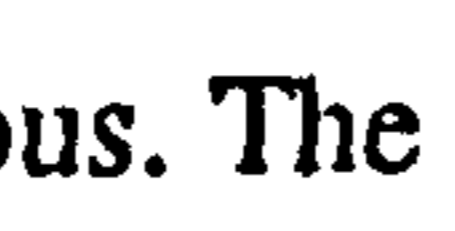



The crown was one of the most important symbols of the divine kingship and, as such, it also featured prominently in the royal afterlife. As part of the royal (and divine) regalia, it distinguished the ruler as a sign of his unique office and was further seen as a repository of the power by virtue of which he performed his supreme functions, hence the importance of the ritual coronation where the king receives his divine authority by symbolic assumption of the royal crowns of state.²⁵ Assuming power in the afterlife was an important concern for the deceased king in the *PT*, and the coronation is transferred to the divine world, for example §409a, 1381b and §2036. The king was to rule like Horus or Osiris but also to rule the gods themselves; thus the king could receive a crown like a particular god and also from the gods. The crown could be personified as a goddess, a powerful entity who could protect the king, in the role of his mother in §910-911.²⁶ The king shows his respect to the crowns (§325b) but

²⁴ The relationship between Horus and his Eye is discussed further in the Conclusion.

²⁵ eg. Fairman 1958 p.81, Frankfort 1948b p.36.

²⁶ eg. Frankfort 1948b p.107.

can also demonstrate his acquisition of their power by eating them (§410), this ambivalence also being seen generally in his attitude to the gods.

It is perhaps misleading to speak of "the crown" in the *PT* as there were a number of royal diadems. These seem to constitute two main types, the White and the Red crowns which have traditionally been seen as representing Upper and Lower Egypt with the combined form, the Double Crown (*shmty*, )²⁷, symbolizing the unity of Egypt. The white crown determinative, , qualifies several names. The most common is the *Wrrt* crown () , which occurs most frequently in the *PT* , the name stemming from the word for "great". The name of the *hdt* () crown alludes to the qualities of light and colour but the *mizwt* crown () is more mysterious. The most common name for the Red Crown is *Nt* () but the name *Dšrt* () again alludes to the colour. More mysterious is the *W3dt* crown () , the word usually meaning "green, fresh" which has raised questions about the original colour of the "Red" Crown.²⁸ It is not easy to see the distinctions between these types of crowns - they may have been used for different ceremonial occasions, have different symbolic meaning or reflect different geographical origins that were combined in the royal iconography when Egypt was unified.²⁹ They have a great variety of functions in the *PT* and consequently feature alongside the Eye of Horus in several spells.

The Eye of Horus has been interpreted as a symbol of the crown in many studies, hence Otto states "da Horus ja auch Königsgott ist, wird sein 'Auge' zum Deckwort für 'Krone'",³⁰ and Frankfort observed that the Eye of Horus "also stands for the power in the king, Horus, and as such it is the crown, which is the repository of that power".³¹ These two quotations illustrate the main reasons for the proposed identification of crown and Eye, namely both are possessions of the royal god Horus and both possess the ability to empower in very similar ways. There has also been much support for the idea that the Eye of Horus is in fact a metaphor for the crown in the conflict between Horus and Seth which is seen as

²⁷ Fehlig's comparison between the shape of the Double Crown and the eye is very problematic, not least because the shape of the sacred eye is not associated with the Eye of Horus in the *PT* (Fehlig 1986).

²⁸ See Griffiths 1960 p.120.

²⁹ The major studies of the crowns are Abubakr 1937, Bonnet 1952 p.394-395 and Strauß-Seeber 1980. Katje Goebbs is currently studying the crowns in the *PT*.

³⁰ Otto 1975d col.563.

³¹ Frankfort 1948b p.131.

illustrating the overthrow and restoration of the kingship.³² Caution is required, especially in interpreting the injured Eye specifically as a lost crown, for the conflict scenario is open to many varied and potentially equally valid interpretations.³³ The similarities between the roles of the Eye of Horus and the crowns do not mean that they can be seen as identical or that one can be freely interpreted as standing for the other.³⁴ There was, however, an undeniably close association between the symbols of crown and eye.

Explicit identifications of the Eye of Horus with a crown are surprisingly few in the *PT* and these, of course, cannot be transferred to other contexts without good reasons. The Eye is mostly connected with the acquisition of the crown. The *Wrrt* crown is mentioned when the king is empowered for the afterlife, alongside such qualities as *b3* and *sh̄m*. Several ritual robing spells (discussed above) have the Eye of Horus as a symbol for clothing which leads to the assumption (*it*) of the *Wrrt* crown (§737e-f, 845b), also in spells for anointing (§1804a, 2075b) and in §634d. Roeder associates the *Wrrt* specifically with the term *sh̄m*³⁵; but the crown is more generally connected with the ennead at Heliopolis, rule over the gods and has additional celestial associations. The spells mentioned above seem to use the possession of the *wrrt* as basically an indication of the assumption of royal powers in the afterlife, one of which was *sh̄m*, as a result of the robing and anointing rituals.

Utts.220-221 contain a ritual for the Red Crown which is addressed with a variety of names to demonstrate its many aspects (cf. §901b). The king approaches the crown after purification, with the correct degree of awe and a ritual speech at the ready (§194-5). The crown is to grant the king the qualities rightfully due to him (the ability to cause dread and fear, acclaim and love), the same qualities that the Eye of Horus could convey in the robing and anointing spells. Both contexts illustrate the king being empowered in different ways but with the same results. The king is described as Horus encircled with the protection (*šnw m z3*) of his Eye. This is an indication of the king's condition in mythical terms, although the Eye might feasibly be symbolic of another ritual item, such as the uraeus. According to Faulkner's

³² eg. Kees 1941 p.239, Junker 1941b p.16, Anthes 1959 p.202, Griffiths 1960 p.121. Kees and Junker see the crown as a historical interpretation additional to the Eye's cosmic role.

³³ See Tobin 1993, also Chapter 12 below.

³⁴ Compare the interplay of the uraeus, crown and the goddesses known as the "Two Ladies". All were separate entities, yet their functions overlapped considerably.

³⁵ Roeder 1994.

interpretation,³⁶ this occurs in the speech to the crown (§195) and in the crown's reply (§198) to the king. Horus (i.e. the king) is being protected and empowered by the possession of his Eye, it is uncertain whether this image shows the king ready to receive the crown or after having been crowned (and thus the Eye would symbolize the effects of the crown). Either way, the personified crown is to recognize the king as Horus with his Eye. The crown's epithet *Wrt-Ḥk3w* shows how its powers compare with the magical protection of the Eye, expressed by the terms *Ḥnw* and *z3*. The Eye of Horus can also have the epithet *Wrt-Ḥk3w* - in an offering spell for a *Wrt-ḥk3w* vulture (§2285a-b) and a name formula (§1795a) which may denote the Eye as a crown subsequent to the presentation of a garment. Ritner notes "by this affiliation with *ḥk3*, various gods, kings, crowns and staves are confirmed in their ability to coerce yet other deities, events etc."³⁷ In the *PT* it is primarily associated with the crowns (§194c, 1624, 1820, 1832, 2279, possibly §823b-c) and the king acquires *ḥk3* after eating the crowns (§411). The power of manipulating *ḥk3* is clearly desirable for the king (§204a, 924) and, as Ritner shows, can be associated with the assumption of royal insignia generally.

The actual equation of Eye of Horus and crown is demonstrated primarily by juxtaposition, implying identification, and the prime example is Utt.468. The king is acquiring the powers of the crowns (those discussed above), and the *ḥdt* crown is equated with the Eye of Horus. This particular crown often occurs (as here) alongside the Red Crown (eg. Utts.468, 470, 555, 570) and as a personification (eg. Utts.239 and 470). The reference to the *wd3t* Eye of Horus recalls the *wd3 wrtt* in §749a, obviously a desired quality for a crown. The king is then told to provide himself with the *irt Ḥr dšrt*, the crown determinative showing that the Red Crown was meant, rather than a colour of the Eye. This spell illustrates the common theme of identifying a ritual item, here the crown, with a counterpart from the divine world, the further mention of the two serpent goddesses serving the same purpose (§902b). However, the crowns also had a place in the divine world and could themselves be alluded to as divine symbols.³⁸ The Eye is also identified with the crown in the ascension spells Utts.524 and 724. The king, who is bringing the Eye back to Horus presumably after the quarrel with Seth (§1242, 2250), is described as wearing the White Crown (*ḥdt*, §1234b), the Eye therefore being strong (and *mḥt* in §2246f, but this is a restoration). This seems to demonstrate the

³⁶ Faulkner 1969 p.48-49.

³⁷ Ritner 1992 p.199 n.25, see also Nebe 1986.

³⁸ For example, their use in snake spells (§243, 427).

king's justification for acclaim as a divine ruler before Horus; but it would be rash to conclude that the Eye is therefore a symbol of the crown throughout the spell. The reference shows the link between the king's possession of the Eye and his wearing of the crown: both demonstrate his worth to the gods.

There are clearly close similarities between the royal symbol of the crown and the Eye of Horus. Both appear in ritual spells and in spells set in the afterlife; both feature in snake spells and can be personified. They can both empower the king for rule in the afterlife, but often the Eye is symbolic of a ritual item in this context, and the Eye can then lead to possession of the crown. Bonnet's analysis of the crown illustrates well its basic role: "wie alle Symbole, sind die Kronen zugleich Machtträger, indem die Eigenschaften und Kräfte, die sie darstellen, in ihnen selbst gegenwärtig sind".³⁹ This could be equally true for the Eye of Horus, and it seems clear that it can embody the same powers as the crown. Outside the *PT*, eyes and crowns both appear as forms of amulets, another similarity in function. The main difference remains the fact that the Eye of Horus was essentially a mythical symbol and the crown was a material object - as Hornung states, its function was to "render divinity visible".⁴⁰

As well as the use of the Eye of Horus in connection with the crown to express the power of the kingship, several spells interpret the crown as an eye which is not stated as Horus'.⁴¹ It is interesting that these spells all appear in the royal burial chamber and share the theme of the gods helping the king to achieve power. Utt.592 is addressed to Geb who is stressed as being a *sh̄m* (§1622a) and the ka of the gods (§1623a). There is then the expression: "an eye has gone forth (*pr m*) from your head as the *wrt-ḥk3w* of Upper and Lower Egypt" (with crown determinatives), after which he is said to have appeared as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt. There is another line, §1832b, which has the same phrasing. Sethe attributed this line to the end of Utt.649, using a fragment from N., but Allen notes that other versions of this spell omit this line and suggests that it must belong to the beginning of Utt.650.⁴² This starts similarly with an assertion that Osiris is the King of Upper and Lower

³⁹ Bonnet 1952 p.395.

⁴⁰ Hornung 1983 p.122.

⁴¹ In *CT I 178* the *Hḏt* crown and the *3ḥt* crown which are emerging from the head are called the Eye of Horus but this cannot be assumed for the *PT* evidence.

⁴² Allen 1984 p.700. All the versions of Utt.650 are fragmented. Sethe's fragment of Utt.649 is Nr.14667 in the Berlin Museum.

Egypt. The other comparable spell is Utt.443 where it is said of Nut that “the eyes have gone forth from your head, take to yourself Horus and *Wr.f-ḥk3w*, take to yourself Seth and *Wr.f-ḥk3w* (§823a-c)”.⁴³ This phrasing thus occurs with Geb, Osiris and Nut and seems to express the possession of the crowns as a symbolic eye emerging from the head, rather than using the verb *it* to express the acquisition of the crown.⁴⁴ This implies that the crown is to be seen as a physical extension of the gods, thus sharing their divine nature, and the choice of the term “eye” to express this is interesting. The fact that the eye is unspecified - neither described as Horus’ nor with a suffix to indicate that it is the possession of the god in question, makes the exact significance of these references hard to assess. Garnot interprets this slightly differently as the eye “appearing on the head”⁴⁵ but the phrase *pr m* is commonly used to denote creation or birth, such as the emergence of a god from the head (*wpt*) of another (eg. §2266, 2268). The use of the phrase *pr m* to indicate emergence and ascension is discussed further in Chapter 7. The king’s eyes are also described as being placed firmly (*smn*) on his head as part of his new accession (Utt.681). This is another indication of the common ground between the eye of a god or king and his crown as expressions of his divine power.

THE URAEUS

Several studies have made a crucial link between the Eye of Horus and the uraeus. Anthes believed that “the Eye was basically identical with the uraeus viper”⁴⁶ and sees the myth of the loss of the Eye of Horus as representing the endangering of the uraeus after the death of the king, with it having subsequently to be pacified and returned to his brow.⁴⁷ Otto also states “da zum kgl. Diadem auch der Uräus gehört, kann auch dieser als ‘feuriges Horusauge’ bezeichnet werden”,⁴⁸ and notes that this function was usually associated with the “Sonnenaug”, citing §1242 which refers to the Eye of Horus being sought and found (see Chapter 12), not to the uraeus or the sun-eye.

⁴³ Faulkner restores similar phrases in Utt.641 §1624 (1969 p.265) and Utt.643(A) §1820a (1969 p.265-6) but they are badly fragmented.

⁴⁴ This is also seen in the much later text *The Memphite Theology*: “the Two Magicians sprouted from his head” (Lichtheim 1973 p.53).

⁴⁵ Garnot 1954 p.220-221.

⁴⁶ Anthes 1961b p.88.

⁴⁷ cf. Griffiths 1960 p.121: “there are passages which suggest that the stolen eye is regarded as both the crown and as the royal uraeus serpent which surmounted it”, citing §83c, 84a, 823a-c.

⁴⁸ Otto 1975d col.563. See also Johnson 1990 p.8, Bonnet 1952 p.314, Kees 1941 p.242-243

There is no obvious evidence in the *PT* for the later mythical references to the loss of a god's eye and the uraeus⁴⁹, so this cannot be assumed as a fundamental connection. Suggestions for the origins of the uraeus (*iʿrt*) as a royal symbol include the forelock worn by Libyan tribesmen or the cobra goddess Wadjet from Buto.⁵⁰ It became an important piece of insignia, worn on the brow of kings and gods, either attached to a crown, headdress or *ssd* band. There are several offering spells for uraei (Utts.746-749) which are matched by presentations of vultures (Utts.752-755) as the emblems of the Two Ladies (*nbtj*), Wadjet and Nekhbet. There is also a series of goddesses with the element *wtt* (serpent) in their name to denote a snake form, such as *Dnn-wtt* (§321c), *Rnn-wtt* (§302a, 454), *Iht-wtt* (§198, 791, 1729 etc.), *Hkn-wtt* (§288a) and the *Wtt.wy* (§902d). They have a maternal, protective role towards the king combined with a fiery, aggressive stance.⁵¹

The *iʿrt* already has a varied and complex role in the *PT*. It features as the king's mother (§1108) who will suckle him after he has ascended on the sunshine to Re. The king himself can also be identified with the *iʿrt*, which is on the head (*wpt*) of Re (§1568c), Seth (§979c) or emerging from Seth (§1459). The *iʿrt* is also part of the fluid images of transformation and emergence in Utt.655 and Utt.704 (see Chapter 7). The *iʿrt* is often paired with the *ḏt* snake: they are the king's companions (§1091c, the *ḏt* of a god and the *iʿrt* of Re), he is identified with them (§2047b, the *ḏt* of Re and the *iʿrt* of Seth) or he sees them in the Night and Day Bark (§335b-c). They are also both part of the royal insignia (§2276-2277).⁵² The use of the word *ḏt* is complex, as the gods and kings can have a *ḏt* body; but it is also a term for snake in the snake spells (§237a, 426) and in the phrase “a serpent is in the sky, a centipede is on the ground” (§244a, 444a, 663a).⁵³ The snake spells recognize the danger of these creatures, as Ritner states: “the cobra is first and foremost a dangerous animal; its dangerous force may be controlled and thus directed by a god - only thus is it beneficent”.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ eg. *The Destruction of Mankind*, see Sethe 1912. See also Otto 1975d col.564 and Barta 1984a col.170.

⁵⁰ Martin 1986 col.864-865.

⁵¹ cf. Johnson 1990 p.3-11. She suggests “all representations of the divine royal cobra are syncretic symbols for essentially one and the same omnipresent goddess” (p.3). Some of these goddesses may well have been independent snake deities which were subsequently linked with the king, such as Renenwetet (Strauß-Seeber 1984).

⁵² The exact relationship between the two is interesting : the *ḏt* is the cobra shown dormant whereas the *iʿrt* is risen to strike. This would also explain the association of the *iʿrt* with Seth as his strength and combat can be positive as well as negative.

⁵³ Anthes 1962.

⁵⁴ Ritner 1993 p.128 n.583.

The role of the uraeus in the *PT* is similar to some aspects of the Eye of Horus, but there are only a few references that unequivocally link the two. Some spells have been cited as attesting a connection where the phrase *m ḥ3t* (𓄏𓄱𓄱), “on the brow”, is used with respect to the Eye of Horus. The Eye is described as being on the brow of Seth (§83c, 84a, punning with offerings), of the king (§1795a, in its name of *Wrt-ḥk3w*) and of Horus (§453a, in its name of *ḥ3tt* ointment).⁵⁵ Other items that are found on the brow are serpents (§396c, 902b) and ointment (§742); the reference in §52 most probably refers to ointment as a sacred oil is the accompanying offering. There is also a reference in §138 to an unspecified *im(y)t-ḥ3t Hr* given by Geb which has been interpreted as the Eye of Horus, the crown or the uraeus. The uraeus is more often termed *m wpt* (𓄏𓄱𓄱) of a god (§396b, 979c, 1568c), as is the Eye of Re (§705) and also ointment (§742). Another common preposition used for uraeus, Eye and crown is *tp* (eg. §302a, 396b, 442a, 2204, 2279b). The king takes the Eye from the head of Seth in §1242, a variant being from his mouth (§2250). It seems clear that *ḥ3t* and *wpt* are describing essentially the same position (eg. §396b, 742, 2090b), reflecting the general symbolism of ritually placing items on the head. The anointing on the brow also seems to convey powers very similar to the royal insignia: raging against enemies (§2072d) or conveying a *b3*, *sh̄m*, strength and the *Wrrt* crown (§2075b-c). This might be due to the brilliance of the oil or the desired result of the sacred ritual.⁵⁶ Thus the Eye of Horus on the brow can be symbolic of royal insignia or anointing with oil - the significance seems to lie in the brow as the prominent place for adornment and indication of royal and divine status. The Eye is the adornment, in whatever form, and symbolic of power, but not necessarily the uraeus.⁵⁷

Several offering spells (Utts. 161, 162, 189 & 190) describe Seth as wearing the Eye (*ssd*), the verb denoting the royal headband to which the uraeus could be attached.⁵⁸ Whether the Eye is symbolic of the band or its uraeus attachment here, Seth is again described as

⁵⁵ §2090b may refer also refer to the Eye and a brow but is rather obscure, also maybe Utt.747 but the text is damaged.

⁵⁶ The act of anointing is discussed in Chapter 4.

⁵⁷ Rudnitzky 1956 p.50 : “Es handelt sich also um die unmittelbare Bezugnahme auf eine Königsinsignie, um mit diesem Wort fragwürdige nähere Bezeichnungen zu vermeiden”.

⁵⁸ Barta 1984c p.7. He notes the close connection between the uraeus and the *ssd* band: “schon die Pyramidentexte charakterisieren daher sowohl den Uräus ebenso wie das *ssd*-band als an der Stirn (*wpt*) befindlich (§396b, 546a)”.

assuming an item of royal insignia, namely the Eye of Horus, which by definition is not rightfully his. The king also brings a *sšd* woven from the Eye of Horus in §1202b-c, another way of showing the power symbolized in the Eye also present in the royal headband. The Eye of Horus is also used as an offering symbol in the spells for the presentation of uraei (Utts. 746-749 mentioned above) just as it is used for so many other items of insignia.

The Eye of Horus and the uraeus are further linked in Utts.655 and 704 where they are part of the successive images of transformation in these ascension spells. The common nature of the Eye, uraeus and falcon as divine and royal entities is stressed, the function of these transformation spells being analysed further in Chapter 7. Other spells illustrate the common nature of the eye and the uraeus as symbols of divine might. In Utts.255, 256 and 260 the king is depicted as Horus, but the eye mentioned is not termed *irt Hr*; instead the suffix pronouns are used. The flame in the eye (§298) recalls the blast of the uraeus (§295). This suggests that the strength of the Eye (§301, 320) is expressing the same force as manifest in the uraeus' strike (§302, 321). The Eye and the uraeus are both possessions of the king and show the strength and power to attack at his disposal to enforce his rule. The key themes of protection and strength in these spells recall the qualities associated with the snake goddesses discussed above.

The references to the Eye of Horus and the uraeus are illuminating for assessing their similar functions and symbolic roles in the *PT*; but this does not allow any conclusions on a fundamental identification of the two entities. The key to these images is the recognition that they are symbolic of the concept of royal power, rather than the Eye being seen just as a symbol of the uraeus. In contrast to the possible allusions to the Eye of Horus as a uraeus, there is a clear reference to the king's eyes as uraei in Utt.535 §1287. The king has dispatched his enemies in a bloody battle and consequently receives his eyes as uraei where he is identified with Wepwawet and Anubis.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EYE OF HORUS AND PURIFICATION

The use of perfumed essences for purification was common in daily life - the burning of incense or anointing with oil was healthy and pleasant. It was a sign of the good life, and this is reflected in the descriptions of the king's idealized existence in the afterlife where he is "the eater of figs who burns incense and dons clothing of red linen" (§2252). These practices took on far more significant roles in Egyptian religion: all participants in religious rituals had to be pure, as did all the sacred areas.¹ The images of the gods and the deceased in the mortuary cult were given a ritual toilet including purification, make-up and robing rituals. This presumably also occurred in royal rituals such as the coronation. There is not much evidence outside the *PT* in the Old Kingdom for this kind of ceremony, but there are representations of purification in private tombs from this period.² It is thus not surprising that there are many purification spells included in the *PT* for the royal mortuary cult. Some spells feature in connection with particular rituals, such as the Opening of the Mouth or ritual meals, and there are offering spells for the provision of the necessary items. Purification was also linked with the restoration of the body. Further spells describe the king's purification in divine terms, equating it with that of the gods or describing his purification in the afterlife, such as the bathing in the sacred lakes (examples below). The Eye of Horus is connected with the king's purification in a variety of contexts, in similar ways as illustrated in Chapter 2 with the provision of food.

Censing, namely the ritual use of perfumed essences for fumigation, was an important means to achieving purity. It had several functions: as well as the purifying qualities of the scent, it was also believed to invoke a manifestation of the divine presence and thus provide contact with the divine world. A god's smell was one of his distinctive characteristics.³ This is reflected in the name for incense (*s*)*ntr* which recalls the verb *sntr* "to make divine".⁴ Furthermore, the smell stimulated the senses and was thought to have a cathartic or apotropaic effect. Incense was thus burnt as an offering to the gods or the deceased, but also had the function of strengthening divine power and effecting change accordingly, including the

¹ For general studies see Bonnet 1952 p.633-637, Blackman 1918 p.476-482.

² Bonnet 1952 p.635.

³ Hornung 1983 p.133.

⁴ Faulkner 1962 p.234.

ascension of the deceased king in the *PT*. Utt.269 vividly describes a ritual censuring: “your perfume comes to me, you gods, may my perfume come to you” (§377) and subsequently describes the king's ascension. Other spells also have the king ascending on the rising smoke of the incense (eg. §365, 2053).

Divine images are also used as symbols for the incense and its effects. In Utt.269 the *p3d* is described as issuing from the knee of Horus (§378), punning with the word for knee-cap but also giving the incense a divine origin, as in §116 where it is the *mn wr* from the limbs of Horus, and also called father and brother.⁵ The Eye of Horus is a symbol for the incense in several offering spells. Utt.29 has the Eye brought to the king and held before his face for purification (§20a-b), removing his sweat but also providing protection from Seth (§20d). The Eye is addressed as incense in Utt.200 (§116d), and Horus is described as censuring himself with his Eye (§2271b), the king shall do likewise (§2271c-e). The Eye functions effectively as the incense, namely has a smell (*st* : §18d, 19a, 19b, 1754) and can rise and expand like its smoke (§ 18d, 19a, 29b, 116d, 1754); but also in Utt.598 and Utt.757 the Eye is described as *ndmt st* “a sweet-smelling thing” about which Horus spoke to Geb (§1643c, 2287c), which is a reference to its own mythological characteristics. Utt.29 also ends by emphasising the *w3t* state of the Eye which is also desired by the deceased (cf. Utt.683 §2050a). The Eye is also possibly linked with censuring the king in *D3t* in Utt.668, but the text is fragmented (§1959b). The Eye of Horus was thus a highly suitable image for the presentation of incense, as its repeated use in these ritual spells shows. The reasons for this are probably the same as the offering ritual - it had the divine qualities of its owner, could assume the properties of the item symbolized (and as a divine being the Eye of Horus might have its own divine smell) and could invoke the divine presence into the ritual, alongside the roles of Horus and Osiris too. It is thus capable of transmitting the effects of burning incense that were discussed above.

The effects of cleansing with natron are equally significant: “Osiris the king, take your natron that you may be divine” (§25a, 765). This substance can be used with water or dry, especially for cleansing the mouth (§2015) - hence the king obtains a mouth like that “of a sucking calf on the day it was born” (§27). This oral use also explains the references to a

⁵ *CT* 530 has a reference to incense as the spinal chord of Osiris. Goyon (1984 col.84) mentions a later description of incense as tears from the divine eye.

substance (*zmin*, §26, 849) which is spat out by Horus and Seth, pacifying them (§26) and removing their mutual injuries (§850). This use of divine saliva is explained by Ritner as “a medium to convey the invigorating power, and thus the ‘blessing’ or skill of a god” so presumably Horus’ Eye could have the same effect.⁶ The Eye of Horus is used as a symbol for natron in Utt.32 where it is placed under the king’s sandals, refreshing his heart (§22b), and it purifies his mouth in Utt.109 (§72c). The substance *zrw* is most probably natron, in connection with which the Eye of Horus is again placed in the mouth (Utt.39 §31).

Water is often offered with natron (eg. Utt.32), and there are several libation spells in the *PT*. The libations of water are often described as the *rdw* of the deceased (§23a, 24), namely the bodily fluids that sustained life,⁷ or the divine efflux of Osiris (§788, 848). Griffiths notes that “the vital liquids which the dead Osiris had lost were hereby being restored to him”⁸, and Rudnitzky sees the libation as a “sakramentale Substitution”⁹ for the fluid, and thus for the life, that had departed. Borghout’s comment is most illuminating in terms of the ritual symbolism: “the liquid serves as the medium through which the intentions of the ritualist are transmitted to the person or object”.¹⁰ The terming of the water as Osiris’ fluids or the fluids of Shu and Tefnut (§2067) was obviously felt most suitable and expresses the power felt to exist in the ritual act of libation in terms of divine fluids. The water in the Eye of Horus may be referred to in Utt.108 with an offering of water; but generally this quality of the Eye of Horus is not linked to libations (see Chapter 11). It may have been felt less suitable to express the properties of the water by the Eye of Horus itself.

Anointing with oil was important for cleanliness, and the use of the highest quality oils became a synonym for opulence. The seven sacred oils are provided as part of the offering ritual (Utts.72-78). The king’s eye is filled (*mḥ*) with one (§50a), *ḥnk* is a symbol for another (§50), the usual type of formula with the Eye of Horus is used for four others (§51, 54a) and Utt.77 has a longer text referring to *imyt-ḥ3t Ḥr* (§52). This oil is applied to the king’s brow

⁶ Ritner 1993 p.78.

⁷ Bonnet 1952 p.635; Blackman 1912 p.69; Borghouts 1980a col.1014-1015.

⁸ Griffiths 1980 p.151; cf. also Delia (1992 p.183) who interprets the waters as “both the Nile flood and the life force of the Nile deity Osiris” which revitalizes and ritually consecrates the king.

⁹ Rudnitzky 1956 p.48. He also discusses the use of the word *ḥnk* as a parallel to the Eye of Horus in offering spells which he sees as the bodily fluids of the deceased: “Rückgewinnung des Auges und Substitution der Körpersäfte verlaufen also teilweise gedanklich parallel”. See the discussion in Chapter 1.

¹⁰ Borghouts 1980a col.1014.

and thus empowers him (as an *3h*, with *shm* and causing dread).¹¹ This seems a key property of the oil and is seen in three longer texts concerning the Eye of Horus. Horus seeks Osiris in Utt.637 and Osiris is filled with *irt ms(w) n.f* (§1800a); likewise the king is to be filled with oil from the Eye of Horus, the phrase *prt m irt Hr* stressing the fundamental connection between the Eye and oil.¹² The result for the king is the restoration of his body (§1801b-c) and recognition in the afterlife (§1802a-b, 1804a-b). Horus rescues his Eye in Utt.686 which is implicitly identified with the application of oil (§2072a), the oil and the Eye both effectively raging against the enemies of Horus and the king (§2072d, 2073c). In Utt.687 the king is brought the Eye of Horus (§2074a) and receives powers as well as being acclaimed by Horus and the gods in the afterlife (§2067a). These three spells all indicate the empowerment of the king, in terms of bodily restoration, receiving authority and strength against foes by the ritual of anointing which can be expressed in mythical terms by the two scenarios of Horus giving his Eye to Osiris or recovering it from Seth for himself.¹³ As well as providing a sweet perfume like that of the gods (eg. §1802) and preventing bodily decay, the shine and brilliance of oil could be formidable and impressive: “damit öffnet es den Weg zu Herrschaft und Macht”.¹⁴ The best oils were placed on the brow where royal insignia such as the uraeus and *sšd* band were worn and the Eye of Horus was also occasionally located (see Chapter 3), it being a symbolic position for the sign of the king's or a god's authority. Utt.418 is an anointing spell that does not mention the Eye of Horus, referring to *imyt-ḥ3t Hr* (§742) which Horus then places *m wpt it.f Wsir*, and is thus also placed on the king. This is similar to Utt.77, discussed above and the connection between Horus' actions for his father and those performed for the king is made clear. Also to be considered here is Utt.301 where the king brings the Eye to Horus and a series of name formulae allude to specific offerings. Amongst other things, Horus is told to put it on his brow as oil (§453) and be joyful with it as *ḥknw* oil (§454). This section of the spell could well be adapted from a ritual text to the context of the king returning

¹¹ cf. CT 934 which has the same sequence of oils but has been edited to uniform references to the Eye of Horus, hence *hnk* has been replaced and the equivalent of Utt.77 has “what is in the Eye of Horus”.

¹² The phrase *prt m* is discussed in Chapter 3 (in connection with the crowns) and in Chapter 7 (in transformation spells).

¹³ For a mythological reference unconnected to the Eye of Horus see, for example, §1512a where the king seeks the same anointing as the four gods. It is interesting that Utt.637, which has Horus acting for Osiris, is found in the burial chamber, whereas Uts.686 & 687 are located in the antechamber, where the king has a more powerful role in possession of the Eye.

¹⁴ Bonnet 1952 p.648. See also Rudnitzky (1956 p.50) who cites an example from the RDP. The Eye of Horus is said to cook the deceased's foes in the CT 845 - another example of the aggression associated with anointing. Bonnet (1952 p.648) suggested that the appointing of officials included an anointing ceremony but this has been disproved by Thompson (1994 p.25).

the Eye, which is stressed as being *wḏ3t* (§151), a theme discussed further in Chapter 7 on ascension spells.

A key verb in these spells is *mḥ* which can mean “fill, make whole, complete, finish”,¹⁵ but is also evidently the term for the application of oil (§50a, 1799a, 2072a, 2073a) and which is usually somewhat misleadingly translated as “filling”.¹⁶ This verb has been used to connect the restoration of the Eye and the waxing of the moon; but it seems unlikely to be the inspiration here. The king and Osiris can be “filled” with the Eye parallel to their “filling” with oil, just as the Eye can take the properties of incense and natron. The other uses of the verb *mḥ* with the Eye are linked with an oblation (§114, 614d, 1858b *w3ḥt* puns with *mḥ*) which Sethe interprets as a meal¹⁷ and eye paint which is also applied to the face (§1682b, see below). It seems likely that the verb also has connotations of restoration, hinting at the recovery of the Eye and the healing properties of oil.¹⁸

Eye-paint traditionally featured among the mortuary offerings, reflecting its importance for decorative and protective purposes. In the *PT*, both green (*w3ḏw*) and black (*msdmt*) paints are offered to the king (Utts. 79, 80 & 605; also 404). The application of eye-paint was accordingly linked to the Eye of Horus. Utts.79 and 80 describe the sound Eye (*wḏ3t*) being painted on to the deceased (*sdm*) which neatly connects the Eye to the offerings by puns with the adjective and the verb. Troy has analysed the symbolism of the two eye-paints as follows: “the green eyepaint with its associations with health, youth and the restoration of the *wḏ3t*-eye, is supplemented by the black (*m*)*sdmt*, with a reference to the union of the deceased with the offering, by using the cosmetic to ‘paint the Eye of Horus’”.¹⁹ The eye of the deceased is also described as sound (*wḏ3*) which emphasises the restorative powers in the application of make-up. Utt.605 has a presentation of eye-paint to the king, just as Horus gave it to Osiris (§1682a) which is followed by the image of “Horus having filled his empty Eye with his full Eye” (§1682b). This alludes to the recovery of the Eye, whilst retaining the technical use of

¹⁵ Faulkner 1962 p.113. It is stated by Loprieno (1986 col.1313-1314) that the root meaning is to indicate a *status constructus*. For later uses with the Eye of Horus see *CT* 1013 and *BD* 17.

¹⁶ Griffiths (1960 p.30 n.6) notes the use of this verb in medical texts where it is followed by *m* and the name of the substance to be applied. It is thus hard to translated the verb as “apply” as the substance to be applied is not the direct object in the Egyptian - “anoint” is the best translation in these contexts.

¹⁷ Sethe 1935c p.140.

¹⁸ Bonnet 1952 p.647.

¹⁹ Troy 1994 p.359.

the verb *mḥ* in ritual applications, effectively linking the painting of the eyes with the restoration of the Eye of Horus. The king's eye-paint (*w3ḏw*) is also associated with the papyrus bud of a divine eye in Utt.404, which also plays on the pun of *w3ḏw* with *W3ḏt*. The spell thus includes Lower Egyptian references and the invigorating colour symbolism of red and green.

Roeder further connects the application of eye-paint and the restoration of vision, which he interprets symbolically as the Opening of the Ways against enemies, on the basis of Utts.364, 369, 638 and 639.²⁰ These references are discussed in Chapter 5 as they primarily concern the ritual of Opening the Eyes. The allusion to the application of make-up is by no means clear - the verb *sdmi* is only used in §609c. However, Utt.80 has the result that the king will see and so does the "Hymn to Green Eye-Paint" recovered by Leclant.²¹ In this spell the eye-paint is associated with the god *Dw3w* (and possibly with his Eye), rather than the Eye of Horus. Presumably, a connection with the god of eye doctors was felt advantageous for the king and may indicate that the purpose of this spell was more medicinal. The connection of eye-paint with ritual slaughter is also interesting, presumably forming part of the purification and preparation of the victim to ensure ritual efficacy.²²

Purification is also connected with the restoration of the body: in Utt.258 and Utt.259 the king is avoiding an earthly death, and we hear that "his bones are made strong, his obstacles are removed, by means of the Eye of Horus was W. made pure, by means of the Two Kites was his obstacle removed" (§308d-e). It is not clear if the reference to the Eye is parallel to the strengthening of bones in the previous line, as the actions of the Kites echo the previous line exactly, but the Eye seems to function here as the cumulative effect of all the purification rituals carried out for the deceased which result in his restoration and revival.²³

²⁰ Roeder 1994 p.59-61 (esp. Abb.5).

²¹ Leclant 1979 p.301 fig.5 (E18).

²² Troy 1994 p.352-3.

²³ Davis (1977 p.166-167) states that "this text clearly refers to the rites of purification and cleansing in the general preparation of the corpse - and through these rites the life essence of the king is released or may then ascend to the sky on the wind", but the main significance of the rituals seems to be to empower as well as release the king from his earthly condition.

The ascension spells contain much that illustrates the necessity of a pure condition - "I am pure, I am conveyed to the sky thereby" (§1423a).²⁴ There are many methods of purification described in the *PT*, the ritual spells discussed above are complemented with descriptions of the king's actions in the world of the gods. The king is pure by identification with the gods (eg. §370, 842, 1132-37), by the actions of other gods (§838, 921, 2015), often involving ritual *nmst* and *3bt* jars (§1140, 2012) and bathing in the celestial lakes (§372, 1083, 1408-15). On two occasions (§1918, 2225) after this purification the king is told to go forth as the Eye of Re which seems an indication of his new pure, divine status (he is also *m ntr*). The Eye of Horus also appears in this context : Utt.524 commences with the assertion that the king is cleansed "with the purification which Horus made for his Eye" (§1233a), which has the later variation "cleansed with the purification of the Pure One which Horus made for his Eye" (§2246a-b). This may refer to a purification after the recovery of the Eye; but in any case the Eye is a symbolic of a purified entity. Later in the same spell the king is pre-eminent with the perfume of the Eye (also termed *st ntr*) upon him (§1241, 2250). A comparable image is *st Iht-wtt* which also occurs several times (§791, 1503, 1729, 2068) with the aroma of a serpent goddess being transferred to the king, as was that of the Eye, demonstrating that aroma was one of the characteristic signs of the manifestation of a deity. In a spell for the royal pyramid, ensuring that it is safe and inviolate, there is the phrase "the Eye of Horus is pure" (§1277d). The Eye symbolizes the pyramid complex, the powers inherent in the Eye providing additional assurance that it cannot be contaminated, just as the pyramid is also termed the *hwt Hr* (§1278) to ensure its security.

The effectiveness of the rituals of purification in the mortuary cult, and of the rites that the king was believed to undergo in the afterlife, was strengthened by the associations with divine images. In the ritual and offering spells the Eye of Horus has its symbolic value as an offering in the context of the actions Horus does on his father's behalf. The ultimate aim of these rituals is the empowerment of the deceased - the incense, natron and oil were all believed to have divine qualities which could produce changes in the king, a role that the Eye can also share. It can be described with the properties of these substances and is a mythical expression

²⁴ The purification rites have been connected specifically with the solar cycle and the daily re-emergence of the sun through the celestial waters, cf. Griffiths (1980 p.69): "the purification rites seem to have been solar in origin, but they are part of a ceremonial that is now mainly Osirian".

of their inherent efficacy. As part of Horus' divine nature, the Eye itself was inherently pure and therefore could function as the means by which the king reached purity. The details of mythical scenarios add extra effectiveness - these are discussed further in Chapter 12.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE EYES OF THE KINGS

The Eye of Horus features in several spells for the ritual restoration of the king's vision. The interplay between the eyes is quite complex, and this is reflected in other contexts in the *PT*. The king's eyes need to be restored as part of the reunifying and revivifying of his body; but other references to his eyes, or a singular eye, can be compared with the use of the Eye of Horus and raise questions as to whether the king's eye was being interpreted as Horus', particularly as the king was seen as Horus in various spells, or whether the royal eyes had special properties in their own right. This chapter seeks to analyse the relationship between the royal and divine eyes and to clarify the role of the Eye of Horus in the process.

Utts.638 and 639 describe a ritual for opening the king's eyes. This seems to have had the same basic theme and purpose as the Opening of the Mouth which essentially restored the senses and imbued an inanimate form with life.¹ Otto has proposed that the rite was originally myth-free and that in the *PT* we are seeing its Osirianisation, with Horus performing the ritual as the dutiful son of Osiris.² The opening of the eyes might well have also undergone the same process. Rusch also distinguishes the presentation of the Eye of Horus from the original act of opening the eyes: "aus dem Text der Öffnung des Osirisauges ist der Satz: damit du siehst in den Horusaugentext übergegangen (641b und 1805b, der beide Texte hintereinander bringt), wo es natürlich nichts zu suchen hat".³ Whatever the origins of the ritual, the Eye of Horus is important for its accomplishment in the *PT*. Utt.638 starts with the restoration of the face (§1805a). Then Horus presents his Eye so that the king may see, followed by the opening (*wꜣ*) of the king's eye by Horus, also with the result that he may see. The presentation of the Eye of Horus in a ritual spell is usually symbolic of some kind of offering, and ointment or eye-paint have been suggested for these spells.⁴ The eye-paint spell Utt.80 also has the line *sdmi(.i) n.k irt.k r hr.k wd3.t(i) m3.k im.sn* (§55d) which refers to the application of make-up on the king's eye as restoring vision, an action concurrent with the painting of the Eye of Horus

¹ The effects of the ritual are hard to pinpoint exactly: Finnestad (1978 p.121) suggests "to make the object operative i.e. in a cultic sense" and Bonnet (1952 p.487) states "zur Aufnahme der Opfer fähig zu machen". See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the Eye of Horus and this ritual.

² Otto 1960 p.5.

³ Rusch 1925 p.35.

⁴ eg. Roeder (1994 p.59): "die Übergabe von Augenschminke bzw. Salben", Allen (1976 p.23) sees Utts.637-639 as spells for anointing, cf. the fragmented reference in §1809b.

(§55c).⁵ This is also seen in the so-called “Hymn to Green Eye-Paint” where the application of the cosmetic means that the king will see the gods. The two actions in §1805b & 1806a might then be seen as parallel - the receiving of the offering effected the “opening of the eye”, the restoration of vision. Light also seems to be significant in the proceedings, as is apparent in §1807b-c (also §641a).⁶

The king's eye is opened for vision in its name of “She who opens the ways of the god” (*wpt-w3wt-ntr* , §1806b cf. §643a), the name formula providing a pun that would strengthen the effect of the words. The phrase is most familiar as the name of the jackal god Wepwawet and as an epithet of Neith, not attested in the *PT* but from other Old Kingdom sources.⁷ The epithet is usually interpreted on a secular level as an act of aggression against the king's enemies but also had a funerary aspect in terms of clearing the way to the underworld. The god Wepwawet has this role in §1090 and §2032 (a theme seen elsewhere, eg. §2266); but he is also depicted as a god of great power (§455, 1379 & 1979) who can effect the king's ascension (§455, 463, 953, 1009, 1011 & 1374), being described as “on high” (§1011, 1638). There is moreover a mention of the “adze of Wepwawet” in the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (§13), showing the connection made due to the word *wpt* . This may likewise be the main inspiration for the name of the Eye of Horus in this spell; but Roeder has also studied its further implications, namely “der Sinnhorizont ‘Herrschaft’ gegen Feinde mit seiner spezifischen Konstellation der Wegeöffnung gegen Feinde”, which he sees as fundamentally connected with the ritual application of ointment or eye-paint and the concept of the restitution of the face.⁸ He concludes “das explizierte Verhältnis von Augenöffnung und Wegeöffnung impliziert ein entsprechendes Verhältnis von Sehen und Herrschen, das hier noch unter dem Aspekt der Analogie steht”.⁹ This is not, however, mentioned particularly in the spells. Utt.369 continues with the subjugation of an enemy by Horus who is then to carry the king; but this reference may be dictated by a ritual purpose, such as the carrying of a statue or the coffin. Utts.364 and 369 contain many phrases from ritual spells, and Allen notes the

⁵ Utts.750-751 also refer to the presentation of the Eye of Horus so that the king might see but the offering of *st* is problematic (ⲛ ⲛ).

⁶ Barta (1963 p.81) has also linked Utt.43 with this ritual which refers to the illumination of the face with the Eyes of Horus, cf. Utts.69-70. See also CT231 (iii, 299) for the brightening of the eyes by *dw3 wr*.

⁷ eg. Begelsbacher 1981 p.111-113.

⁸ Roeder 1994 p.60. He interprets ‘seeing’ as a metaphorical term for specific powers in the *PT* but which originated in the act of restoring vision (p.62).

⁹ Roeder 1994 p.62.

practice of “employing a long ‘hymn’ as a coda to a ritual which contains references to it”.¹⁰ The immediate result of the opening of the eye must be the power of vision (*m33*); but this ability can also be associated with the acquisition of knowledge and consequently power.¹¹ Roeder discusses §1239a where the way is opened for the king with a subsequent mention of his making Horus see (§1240a; Roeder interprets the god referred to as Atum),¹² but this is not totally convincing as support of his theory. The restoration of vision can itself be seen as a means of “opening the way” in that the path was subsequently revealed to the deceased's eyes, which may well have been the implication here rather than any metaphorical meaning.¹³ The use of the name *wpt-w3wt* for the king's Eye in these two spells must be primarily due to the pun created with the ritual action *wpt*, but possibly with the secondary implications of demonstrating that the Eye could be an instrument of power.

The presentation of the Eye of Horus is the mythical equivalent of the ritual, as both have the same result, namely restoring vision. It is a symbol for the act that Horus performs for his father. The use of the single eye in the ritual suggests a possible influence of the Eye of Horus and the general divine eye motif. It may also indicate that the theme of the opening of the eyes had been developed to a more symbolic act of empowerment. This is suggested by Rudnitzky: “hier hat die Aussage über das Auge einen alten Brauch gewissermaßen usurpiert, denn für dieses Ritual der Augenöffnung gilt die Zweizahl sowie die optische Eigenschaft der beiden Sehorgane”.¹⁴ Perhaps it is significant that the Eye of Horus is never described as being “opened” - it is already a powerful mythical symbol, as opposed to the king's eye which is essentially in need of empowering.¹⁵

The ritual attested in Utts.638 and 639 is incorporated in the longer spells, Utts.364 and 369. They include references to the restoration of the face (§610b & 642c, cf. §1805a) and illumination (§641a, cf. §1807b-c). Utt.369 also mentions the ritual of the Opening of the

¹⁰ Allen 1976 p.24.

¹¹ See, for example, Otto 1975c col.559 “das Auge spielt als Organ der Wahrnehmung der Umwelt der Lichtempfänglichkeit und des Ausdrucks persönlicher Mächtigkeit eine bedeutende Rolle”.

¹² Roeder 1994 p.62.

¹³ The evidence of the *CT* is more emphatic in terms of the primary connection with vision: in *CT I*, 56 Geb is said to open the deceased's blind eyes (*wn Gb irtwy.f špty*) and *CT* 563 vi, 162 states “I will see a path with the vision of my eye”.

¹⁴ Rudnitzky 1956 p.47-8.

¹⁵ The Eye of Re is described as being opened in *CT* 373 v, 35 “I will go forth and open the Eye of Re upon earth for breath is in my nose”.

Mouth which Horus performs for Osiris (§644a-b) and then has a further reference to Horus' refixing (*sn̄t*) the king's eyes. This plural reference contrasts with the singular eye mentioned previously (§643a). Two eyes are always mentioned in the other spells that refer to this ritual. In Utt.602 the king's eyes, nostrils, mouth and ears are opened by the gods, thus covering all the senses. In Utt.611 the king is to open his eyes and ears, whereas in Utt.610 just the eyes are mentioned: "your eyes are opened by the earth, your severed limbs are raised by the Lord of Rebellion(?)" (§1722c). In all these references the verb *wn* is used for the dual eyes, whereas Allen's Utt.634A (Faulkner's 715) has Horus' opening (*w̄p*) Osiris' mouth and eyes, as in Utt.21 §13.¹⁶ These allusions to the ritual are describing its general purpose, whereas Utts.638-639 have the actual ritual text. The reference to only one eye could thus be the singular standing for the dual and both eyes being enabled in practice. Another possibility is that the singular eye of the king matches the Eye of Horus that is presented, being a symbolic eye. There is then the further question of whether the king has a symbolic eye due to his being seen as Horus, or whether it was an attribute that he had in his own right as a divine king.

In the offering ritual there are several spells that mention the king's eye and eyes. Geb presents the king with his eyes so that he will be content (Utts.14, 15 & 175). The Eye of Horus also brings contentment in §58c and §59a (again, punning with *ḥtp nswt*, but compare §2072b). The verb *ḥtp* is thus a frequent pun in the offering spells, and there seems no special significance attached to it here. This might well be an allusion to bodily restoration (cf. Utts.13 & 17 which mention replacing his head). Utt.177 has the instruction "take the eyes of this Great One" (punning with the offering of *t wr*) which is rather ambiguous, but this phrasing is repeated in Utt.357: "Geb has given you your eyes so you may be content with the eyes of this Great One in you, Geb has caused Horus to give them to you so you may be pleased with them" (§583). This suggests that the eyes are those of the king (*irtwy.k*), but that they have the significance of those of a "Great One" when they are returned to him. It seems likely that in the restoration of the Osiris-king's body the return of his eyes had been emphasised in connection with the symbolic use of the eye as a means of empowerment. The flexibility of the symbols used in the offering spells (such as the *ḥnk* of Osiris or the deceased, §39, 90-91) would allow for this adaptation, as would the king's divine status. However, the king also has

¹⁶ It is hard to distinguish between the meanings of the verbs *wn* and *w̄p*. The phrase *wn ḥr* "clear the vision" occurs in the *CT* (vi, 77, 413, 415; vii, 1) and in *CT* vii, 174 there is a double mention of the eyes being opened and the vision being cleared.

a singular eye whose use seems very similar to the Eye of Horus: Utt.115 has the king's eye placed (*wḏ*) and in Utt.118 the king is told to take his eye. His eye is also anointed (*mḥ*) in Utt.72. This expression is often used with the Eye of Horus.¹⁷ Rudnitzky interprets this as follows: “in einer Sprechweise wird aus dem Horusauge gewissermaßen ein Osirisauge, wodurch die Aussage lediglich auf den Verstorbenen übertragen wird und dieser in das Schicksal des Horus eintritt”.¹⁸ There are other offering spells that refer to restoration of the king's body, so it is perhaps wrong to assume that we are seeing a transfer of the Eye of Horus' specific characteristics to an eye of the deceased; rather it is the extension of the general symbolic qualities of the divine eye to the deceased's own eye which can also function as an offering symbol in its own right.

The symbolic functions of the king's eyes are developed further in longer spells where the king receives his eyes in the context of his ascension. They are mentioned in lists of his bodily parts that are equated with divinities;¹⁹ but they also take on a more independent significance. Utt.670 is slightly problematic as the mention of the Night and Day Barks could feasibly refer to Isis and Nephthys (as the text in Aba suggests) or to the king's eyes²⁰ which are described, as part of the restoration of the king by the two goddesses, as having appeared (*shꜥ*), the verb also being used in connection with crowns.²¹ In Utt.535 the king is given his eyes as his two uraei, thus establishing a symbolic connection between eyes and insignia,²² the uraei having a protective and aggressive role for the king. The use of the dual noun may reflect the following association of the king with both Wepwawet and Anubis. The most interesting reference is in Utt.681 §2036c where the king's divine eyes (*nꜥrt.wy*) are established (*smn*) as part of his coronation (*ḥꜥy mꜥꜥw*). The verb *mn* is also used in the *CT* to describe the positioning of the eyes;²³ but it seems clear that the king's eyes have the same significance as insignia here, being part of his assumption of rule in the afterlife. The dual may reflect the duality of rule, as seen in the Double Crown (*shꜥmtꜥ*); but the role of the king's eyes in

¹⁷ See Chapter 4 for the significance of this verb.

¹⁸ Rudnitzky 1956 p.40.

¹⁹ eg. §148d (the children of Atum), §1305a (the *wrt* at the head of the souls of Heliopolis), §1779a (the *nꜥw iꜥḥw*). See Massart 1959.

²⁰ In *CT* vi, 124 a reference to the eyes as the Night and Day Barks appears as part of a list of bodily parts.

²¹ Strauß-Seeber 1980 col.811.

²² This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

²³ *CT* v, 310e-f *iw irtꜥy N. pn nꜥf mntꜥy m ḥntꜥf*.

connection with insignia and the assumption of power is similar to that of the Eye of Horus (see Chapter 3).

A further series of spells (Utts.255, 256 & 260) identify the king with Horus and go on to mention the powers of his Eye. In §297c the king's face is that of *wr pw nb 3t*; in §301b he is *hr nst Hr smsw* and the king declares: "I am Horus, my father's heir" at the start of Utt.260. His Eye subsequently has the power to attack (§298a), providing strength (§301c, 320b) and protection (§301c, 320a). The hints of the concept of power stemming from injury (§297d, 301c), which must surely be a reference to the mythical conflict where the Eye of Horus was injured, show that here the king is being described as in possession of a symbolic eye in his role as Horus. These spells are found in the pyramid's antechamber, in a sequence of spells where the king emerges from the *Dw3t* to the sky, clearly in a formidable condition and recovered from his earthly death.

The eyes of Horus are rarely referred to in the dual (excluding the offering spells with two offerings). Utt.246 does have references to *Hr ḥsbd irtwy* and *Hr dšr irtwy* (§253a), where Horus has an aggressive role similar to that of the king in the spells just discussed and where the colour of his eyes is used to convey this symbolically. In Utt.524 the king returns the Eye to Horus (§1239b), and Horus is then said to see with both his eyes (§1240a) - an unusual reference to Horus' vision in connection with his Eye. The other occasion is in Utt.69, where the finger of Seth makes the Eye of Horus see, the verb *sm33* punning with the offering of a *sm3* staff. This could allude again to the opening of the eyes, considering the finger's enabling function in ritual and the qualities of light (*ḥdt*) associated with the Eye. Generally, the analysis of the Eye of Horus so far has shown that it was a symbolic concept, and this would not need to be reconciled with the physical form of Horus. This is in contrast to the king's eyes which are an important part of his bodily restoration. It is possible that the interplay between this theme and that of the symbolic eye led to the combination of references to single and dual eyes of the king that seem ambiguous to us.

The Eye of Horus was instrumental in the restoration of vision for the king, just as it could serve so many other ritual purposes, and this brought it into contact with references to the king's eyes. The singular eye of the king could also have a further symbolism, referring

metaphorically to empowerment beyond the mere restoration of vision, as Roeder suggests; but the textual evidence for this is limited. The symbolism of the eye in general could certainly be applied to the king, not only in imitation of Horus with whom he was often identified, but just as it was attested for other gods, a topic considered further in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 6

THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE POWERS OF THE KING

The aim of this chapter is to bring together some of the observations made on the use of the Eye of Horus in spells related to specific ritual themes, in particular the relationship between the different types of spells and how this affects the symbolism of the Eye. The spells collected in Section F are not related by a particular ritual theme. In fact, they contain references to the Eye that could not easily be categorized in this way; but they provide a useful basis for textual comparisons. Another feature of the Eye of Horus which has been evident from the previous chapters, and likewise from the spells in Section F, is the resulting possession of various powers for the deceased king. These are collectively analysed here, particularly in the context of ritual and the central purpose of the *PT*.

The two short spells, Utts.634(E) and 636, belong to a sequence of ritual spells which includes the presentation of Renenwetet cloth (Utt.635), anointing (Utt.637) and the Opening of the Eyes (Utts.638-639). It seems very likely that there was also a ritual purpose for these two spells but, although their references to the Eye of Horus would suit a specific item or action, there is no explicit mention of what that might be. Allen sees them as clothing spells which form part of a ceremony for the statue of the deceased.¹ The spells describe similar situations: the Eye is brought to Osiris by a narrator (§1792-3, 1798b) who is decribed as protecting his father (§1797a-b). The deceased is subsequently empowered to live (§1793, 1798b) and is also connected with the *3hw*, the glorified dead (§1792). These are "dramatic" spells, in the form of a speech by the officiating son (not explicitly named as Horus). The results of receiving the Eye are, in effect, the same as those achieved by many of the mortuary rites (eg. §49+3).

The next series of spells (Utts.356, 357, 364, 367 and 658) has similar content and form.² In his analysis of the different types of spells in the *PT*, Schott noted the close relationship between the dramatic spells and the "Hymns with Name Formulae".³ As

¹ Allen 1976 p.23. The ceremony seems only to be included in N., although other spells may summarize the proceedings (see Utt.364).

² Compare also Utts.369, 662, 666 (717), 700 for other examples of the Eye of Horus in similar spells.

³ Schott 1945 p.30-36 (on "dramatic texts"), p.37-40 (on "hymns with name formulae"), p.42-45 ("Götterlehre" and "Litanies"), p.46-51 ("*s3hw*").

Altenmüller summarizes: “sie setzen die Götterreden der Dramatischen Texte in mythische Erzählungen um, die von dem berichten, was im Kult geschah”.⁴ The gods no longer speak directly in the rituals; rather their actions and words are reported by a narrator. Altenmüller lists some of the phrases which illustrate the change of perspective: for example “O King, raise yourself to me, present yourself to me” (§216a) becomes “O Osiris the king raise yourself to Horus, present yourself to him” (§645).⁵ The use of the "Name Formula" is another example of this: instead of an offering being appended to a text, it now features as the name of a deity, thus placing it in the context of the divine world.⁶

Fig.1: COMPARISON OF REFERENCES TO THE EYE OF HORUS

UTT.	§	RITUAL SPELLS	PARALLELS:
356	§578d	cf.§591b below	
	§579a	§2075b	
357	§583b-c	§9, 102-103	
	§591b	§40+15, 40+19, 1839a	§1839a
	§591c	§100a, 111a-112,	§216c, 1858a
364	§610a	§1806a, 1809a	§643a
	§614b-c	§113a-b, 249a-b	
	§614d	§114, cf.21c	§1858b
367	§634d	cf. §737e, 2075c	
658	§1858a	§100a, 111a-112	§216c, 591c
	§1858b	§114, cf.21c	§614d
	§1859a	§40+15, 40+19,1839a	§591b

This change of perspective is also seen in the references to the Eye of Horus. The composition of the spells in Section F can be traced to spells from the offering lists and other ritual spells - these are illustrated in Fig.1. It is thus hard to generalize about the role of the Eye of Horus in these spells as we cannot know the primary influences on their composition. The use of specific terms like *irt.f itin bnrt* (§591c, 1858a(?)), which puns with the offering of

⁴ Altenmüller 1984 col.16. See also the summary in Altenmüller 1972 p.59-63.

⁵ Altenmüller 1972 p.61.

⁶ For example, the presentation of offerings in Utt.301 as names for the Eye of Horus. The name formula is discussed further in Chapter 11 as a means of expressing symbolism.

ih̄t nbt bnrt (§100a, 111a), recalls the original context. There are also sequences of offering spells that are preserved intact in these longer texts (eg. Utts.169-171, 194-196). The actions of the gods do not form any apparent unfolding narrative, and it seems highly likely that the composition of these spells follows the order of the rituals that have been transformed into this new form of composition. Thus, for example, in Utt.364 the restorative actions for Osiris performed by Horus among the gods (§612b-614a) are followed by the formula of the presentation of the Eye for strength, used elsewhere for both the Breaking of the Red Pots and the presentation of the morning bread (see Fig.1). In the next line (§614d), the Eye features in its name of *w3ht-n̄tr* whereas, in the offering formula, it was presented *m w3ht* (§114). The spell continues with the restoration of the king and further name formulae for the goddess Nut (§616). The Eye of Horus has the same symbolic role as in the offering spells (see Chapter 1) and is used in the same way, except here the offering is appended as a name for the Eye.

The major themes of these spells are the restoration of the king's body and faculties and subsequently his integration into the world of the gods and the *3hw*. The emphasis is on the transition to the afterlife and not on describing the king's subsequent ideal state of existence there.⁷ A significant development from the "dramatic" spells is the inclusion of greater mythical detail, as regards who is performing the acts for the king and in front of whom. It is clear that these spells are predominantly Osirian - the deceased is referred to as Osiris (eg. §609a, 634a), and Horus is the active officiant who performs various actions for him. He is assisted in this by Geb (eg. §583, 578) who has responsibility for bringing Horus to his father (eg. §612, 634). It is possible that Geb's role reflects that of an accompanying priest in the mortuary rituals, as also might that of Thoth, who is responsible for the subduing of Osiris' foes (eg. §575, 635). Isis and Nephthys, the Two Kites, are particularly associated with the bodily restoration of the king (§584, 610), and Nut is the king's protective mother (§616). Seth is clearly the enemy of the king in these spells, but he is described as defeated (§576, 587) and performing a punishment, such as carrying the deceased Osiris (§588). It is explicitly stated that Horus has rescued his Eye from Seth (§578d, 591b, 1859a) with the purpose of giving it to Osiris to empower him. These actions of the various gods are very reminiscent of themes from later texts about Osiris: his death and restoration by Isis and Nephthys, the

⁷ Smith 1987 p.20. He discusses these *PT* spells as the origins of the many *s3hw* texts that were found in later times. See also Assmann 1986 and 1990.

defeating of his enemy Seth by Horus who then assumes the succession, having vindicated his father.⁸ On the other hand, they are also all themes from the mortuary cult ritual: the restoration of the deceased for the afterlife, the attending women, the son who officiates at the rituals that negate the effects of death and who takes the father's place on earth. The *PT* are the first textual material concerning Osiris, therefore his development as the royal mortuary god is lost to us. The influence of ritual on this mythical situation is thus hard to ascertain, namely whether these spells were drawing on existing themes from Osiris' mythology, or if we are seeing the generation of this (as in Schott's "Mythenbildung"⁹). It does, however, seem clear that the conflict between Horus and Seth was originally distinct from Osiris' fate,¹⁰ and yet in these spells Horus rescues his Eye from Seth for Osiris. The problems with this act have been discussed in Chapter 1 where the interpretations of the offering scenario are summarized. It seems clear that in these longer hymns the Eye of Horus was a gift of power from the son to the father; whether this represents a more detailed description of the act described in the offering spells, or a new interpretation to merge different themes in the context of these longer spells, is hard to discern.

The reasons for the composition of these spells are not totally clear - they could be seen as additional and complementary to the rituals to which they refer, or as a new departure from previous traditions. In his discussion of the statue ritual mentioned above, Allen states "in employing a long 'hymn' as a coda to the statue rite, B16C follows the tradition of the pyramids, as represented in N's *PT*650 and Nt's *PT*592, both of which contain references to the rite and bear some resemblance to *PT*364",¹¹ proposing that the spells featured as a summary of the ritual. Assmann has suggested that the transfer of the actions of the cult to the divine world is an indication of the distancing of the world of the gods,¹² a theological development.

⁸ Examples of later texts are the great hymn to Osiris on the stela of Amenmose (Lichtheim 1976 p.81) and *The Memphite Theology*.

⁹ Schott 1945. The question of myth in the *PT* is discussed in Chapter 12. Zeidler (1992) has proposed that Utt.356 can be seen as "narrative" (thus supporting the existence of myth at the time of the *PT*) - apart from the problem of evaluating the narrative sequence he proposes, the obvious similarities between the mortuary cult and the fate of Osiris make it hard to assess the greater influence of myth or ritual on this spell, as in the many others.

¹⁰ See Griffiths 1960 p.12-22, Anthes 1959 p.199-202. This is also discussed further in Chapter 12.

¹¹ Allen 1976 p.24, in his discussion of the funerary texts of King Wahkare-Akhtoy.

¹² Assmann 1984 p.106.

Two further spells, Utt.422 and 553, also have Osirian images, but not such an obvious connection with ritual. Utt.422 describes the reception of the king by the gods (§754-757, also mentioning Re) and Utt.553 refers to the king's ascension (§1353-1356). The references to the Eye of Horus are not attested in any other spells: it comes (*ii*) to the king in §758, suggesting a degree of personification, with the purpose of addressing him (*mdw.s tw*). It is thus possible to interpret the following lines as the speech of the eye, the spell continuing with “the son has protected his father, Horus has protected Osiris” (§758), the king being “protected and equipped as a god” (§759). The Eye of Horus seems connected with Horus' actions for his father, and the possibility remains that it stands for a particular offering here, although the unique phrasing suggests otherwise. Roeder cites this passage as a major example to support his theory on the connection of the Eye of Horus with the *b3* and *sh̄m* (discussed further below).¹³ The use of the verb *ii* suggests that the Eye, *b3* and *sh̄m* may be portrayed as parallel here but the Eye comes first in order to speak, so that the possession of the two powers may still be seen as a result of the Eye's action. The location of the spells may be significant here. Utt.422 follows Utt.356 in N. but is the first spell on the west wall of the burial chamber in P. & M. so it seems to continue the summarizing of ritual themes. In contrast, Utt.553 occurs near the end of the *PT* sequence, on the east wall of P. and N.'s vestibule. Accordingly, in this spell the king is described as an *3h̄* (§1354a). The grammar of the phrase with the Eye in Utt.553 is slightly ambiguous, thus making it hard to assess the emphasis, but it seems to connect the rule of the *3hw* with the rescue (*šd*) of the Eye of Horus by the king (§1354b). This spell occurs on the east wall of the vestibule (i.e. at the end of the series of *PT*) and could be seen as the king in possession of the Eye of Horus. This suggests that all the rituals that have gone before were clearly an enabling factor in his ascension. The Eye of Horus' role in this theme of ascension is examined in the following chapter.

The spells in Section F describe the results of being presented with the Eye of Horus in terms of the subsequent possession of certain powers. These include qualities such as *b3*, *sh̄m* or *wsr* which are often hard to translate precisely and which can be grouped together in various ways and contexts. Their effects have received attention in various studies, and their connection with the Eye of Horus has also been seen as significant for different reasons. The most recent study is that of Roeder who takes the following as his central theory: “es sind

¹³ Roeder 1994 p.65.

zwei Größen, die eine zentrale Rolle in beiden Sinnhorizonten spielen, einmal der jeweilige abstrakte Machtbegriff, das andere Mal das dazugehörige konkrete Objekt oder Symbol” and thus he connects “bestimmte kultische Handlungen mit bestimmten kultischen Objekten”.¹⁴ He analyses the rituals in which the Eye of Horus occurs and traces a connection with specific terms of power, such as the acts of anointing or the presentation of material and the “Sinnhorizonte” which he labels “Rule”, as symbolized by the assumption of the *Wrrt* crown.¹⁵ In order to evaluate his theory on the use of the Eye, the major terms for power are discussed in some detail below.

The *b3* is generally defined as a manifestation of power - Zabkar interpreted it as the total of a man's psychic and physical capabilities and, more specifically, in the context of the *PT*: “either the manifestation of power or the distinction of the king (or a god) or denotes the king (or a god) in a state in which his power is manifest”. He goes on to say that “other texts state that the deceased king becomes a *b3* by receiving royal insignia (uraeus, Eye of Horus) from the gods, and here again the use of symbols of royal power to render the king a *Ba* most appropriately reflects the meaning of the *Ba* as the manifestation of power”.¹⁶ The results of Roeder's study of the *b3* have not yet been published but he sees it as fundamentally “eine dem ‘Leben’ (*nh*) zugrundliegende Mächtigkeit”, connected with the Red Crown and the uraeus.¹⁷ Wolf-Brinkmann interpreted the *b3* as “die Fähigkeit, Gestalten anzunehmen”,¹⁸ an ability attested in the epithet *wrt b3w* (*š3t wmw* (§901b), applied to the Eye of Horus as the Red Crown. Finally, Hornung sees it as being essentially the efficacy of a deity which could produce visible activity.¹⁹ The *b3* is written with the hieroglyph of a bird, alluding perhaps to the resulting freedom of movement of the possessor of this power, a desired ability for the deceased in the mortuary cult.

The references to the Eye of Horus and the *b3* also refer to *shym*, another term of power that the deceased wishes to possess. Hornung summarizes this quality as “an active emanation of deities or a charisma, so that it embodies an ‘impersonal power’ that can attach

¹⁴ Roeder 1994 p.55 and p.57.

¹⁵ eg. the diagram on Roeder 1994 p.58.

¹⁶ Zabkar 1968 p.57, citing §139 (misleadingly as referring to the Eye) and §578c-579a as examples. For further studies of the *b3* see Zabkar 1975 col.589, Wolf-Brinkmann 1968.

¹⁷ Roeder 1994 p.55. See p.37 n.2 and his bibliography for forthcoming works.

¹⁸ Wolf-Brinkmann 1968 p.31.

¹⁹ Hornung 1983 p.61-62.

to any individual deity and is additionally visible in the *sh̄m* sceptre which is held by officials as a symbol of authority".²⁰ Roeder has studied *sh̄m* with particular reference to the Eye of Horus, and he defines it as "eine Macht, die es ihrem Besitzer ermöglicht, Personen und Dinge zu ergreifen und darüber zu verfügen",²¹ associated particularly with the White Crown, the opening of the ways and the royal palace. In connection with the *b3*, he states: "die Verbindung ist die von Herrschaftsausübung mit Lebensverfügung".²² If the *sh̄m* can be considered as the "charisma" or aura of authority, then the *b3* might be seen as the effectiveness and source of energy that could put this into practice. These abilities would clearly be a major concern of the mortuary cult for the king. The Eye of Horus results in possession of the *b3* and *sh̄m* in a spell for anointing (§2075a-b) and in Utt.356 (§579a), which may well have a ritual purpose. Most interesting is §758a-b, discussed above, where the Eye comes to speak to the king followed by the approach of the *b3* and *sh̄m*, seemingly as a general result of Horus' actions for his father. Roeder notes that this shows that the Eye of Horus could feature on one level as a similar quality to the other two powers, and, in other contexts, symbolizes offerings that could confer the *b3* and *sh̄m*.²³ Wolf-Brinkmann sees several further references as alluding to the Eye of Horus in the same context as the *b3*, such as §139b-d (which refers to *imy-ḥ3t Hr*), 162b-c, 1730 (presuming the Eye as a symbol of rule) and §1558a-1559b; but none of these actually mentions the Eye of Horus and they are thus unjustified assumptions. Indeed, these references illustrate well the variety of ways in which the king can be endowed with the *b3* and *sh̄m*: he is endowed with them by the gods (§799), they are conveyed by bread and beer (§859), by anointing with sacred oil (§53, just *sh̄m*) and, in a host of spells, by identification with Osiris (§621, 833, 1730, 1921, 2228). The few mentions of the Eye of Horus and the *b3* and *sh̄m*, especially in Utt.422, show that there was a connection, but this should not be exaggerated. The qualities were essentially those desired by the king for the afterlife, and conveying them was a major concern of the mortuary cult, a variety of methods being employed to effect this, of which the transfer of the Eye of Horus was one. Thus one cannot claim a special role for the Eye in this function - its ritual symbolism as an agent conferring power was part of the general scheme of the mortuary cult.

²⁰ Hornung 1983 p.62-66, cf. Barta 1984b col.773-774: "eine Wirkung, die im allgemeinem als Macht oder 'Mächtigkeit' verstanden wird" and Demarée 1983 p.201: "a divine quality and the most important designation for deity next to *ntr*".

²¹ Roeder 1994 p.51.

²² Roeder 1994 p.55.

²³ Roeder 1994 p.65.

Apart from these two major terms for divine power, the Eye of Horus is also presented many times as a source of strength, awesomeness and protection. This is seen in the sequence of spells (Utts.255, 256 & 260) which describe the deceased king as Horus with a powerful eye. Hornung's observations on the king's divinity show the link between the different terms used in these spells: "a god may be sensed and seen not only in his attributes of fragrance, radiance and power, but also and more forcefully in the way he affects men's hearts - in the love, fear, terror, respectful awe, and other feelings that his presence evokes".²⁴ The *irt Hr rwdt* conveys strength (*imim.k*) against the king's enemies or Seth (§614c, 113, 249b) in a phrasing used with the ritual of the Breaking of the Red Pots.²⁵ This was a ritual of sympathetic magic where the smashing of pots effected the crushing of the king's enemies, the act reflecting his strength. Other terms for strength are *wsr* (§297d, 320b, 1147b), *nht* (§301c, 320a, 1147b) and *w3š* (§2075b, the Eye as oil). As Renenwetet cloth the Eye will cause fear (§1755c, 1794c) and it will rage as oil (§2072d, *dnd*). In association with items of insignia it can bring fear (§900c, *š(t)*) and protection (*nd* in §901c, *z3w* in §195e and 198d²⁶). Other terms for protection are *mkt* (§301c, 320a) and *nht* (§320b). As well as the spells in Section F, whose ritual significance is not clearly stated, the Eye's function as provider of intimidating strength and protection is closely linked to the presentation of royal insignia (cloth, crown, uraeus; discussed in Chapter 3) and the act of anointing (see Chapter 4). These all symbolically endow the king with his royal powers, and the Eye can function in the same way. It was a mythical image from the divine world that could embody in a ritual context the transfer of authority and the power to back it up. Another result of possession of the Eye is the right to rule, often represented by the acquisition of the *Wrrt* crown.²⁷ The king can subsequently be at the head of the *3hw* (§579a, 1354b, 1792), the gods (§634d, 737d with Eye as garment, §1241b with the Eye's perfume) and the Two Enneads (§902a, the Eye as the Red Crown). Thus the Eye of Horus (and its perfume) can provide the validation of the king's rule, again a function of royal insignia and also seen throughout the *PT* as a result of the actions of the gods and the effects of the mortuary rituals (eg. §408-409, 1707, 2012).

²⁴ Hornung 1983 p.134.

²⁵ See Chapter 1.

²⁶ Hornung 1983 p.62 discusses the concept of *z3*, magical protection, as a general function of deities in the *PT*.

²⁷ See Chapter 3.

Possession of the Eye of Horus is also one way of restoring life to the king (§1793, 1798 & 2050b) and conveying the important condition of *wḏ3*, being well and complete (§21a, 2050a). The latter has been particularly associated with the Eye of Horus due to the later occurrence of the *Wḏ3t* Eye. The Eye of Horus can certainly have this epithet (eg. §451, further examples in Chapter 11); but as a quality it can be conveyed to the king in many other ways, such as comparison with other gods (§683, 1811) and through their favour (eg. §565, 628). The restoration of vision with the Eye of Horus was discussed in Chapter 5 in the context of the ritual of the Opening of the Eyes.

The Eye of Horus is thus associated with many qualities throughout the *PT*: the power to rule, the powers of a god, the capacity to intimidate and impress one's subjects as a ruler and to defeat one's enemies, the condition of well-being and vitality restored after death. It is also capable of effecting the king's ascension, as will be seen in Chapter 7. The qualities that the deceased receives when he is presented (or identified) with the Eye of Horus are those which he hopes to receive generally as a result of the various rituals and transfiguring spells in the *PT*, all directed to the single aim of his well-being after death in terms of his power and position. The significance of the Eye as a transferral of power in ritual must be seen as part of the wider process of mythologizing that includes the assigning of the role of Osiris to the deceased, a major source of power for him. It is also possible that the Eye of Horus could have been equally effective in other non-mortuary contexts, such as childbirth or preventative measures for illness, but these were not preserved in the royal mortuary texts.

The mythologizing of items as the Eye of Horus would thus accomplish a transferral of power, drawing on the innate qualities of the Eye which are described most clearly in Utts.255, 256 & 260. It remains to consider how the Eye compared with these other terms discussed above as a symbol of power. In most spells the Eye is a vehicle for the transmission of powers to the deceased; it enables him to achieve his own empowered state, which is described in terms of the acquisition of the various qualities discussed above. In the context of a presentation of the Eye to the deceased, the Eye is explicitly called that of Horus, i.e. it is not an aspect of the deceased like the powers that he subsequently enjoyed. To understand the exact significance of the Eye of Horus, or indeed any symbolic Eye, it is most illuminating to consider it in the possession of its owner. Utts.255, 256 and 260 are good examples of this,

and here the Eye is a source of aggression (§298a), strength and protection (§301c, also seen in §195e and 198d as *z3*). While the actively protective eye is reminiscent of the definition of the *b3*, the eyes are also associated with Horus' *3t* in §253a-b which has been defined as the striking power of a god.²⁸ Equally, the concept of Eye is connected with the crown (eg. §1624b-c, 1832b) and the accession (§2037), so it also marked the possession of authority like *shm*. It seems clear that different aspects of the Eye's powers were emphasised according to the context, and that it displayed similar qualities to the *b3*, *shm* and many of the other powers attributed to the gods. I suggest that as a physical part of a deity the Eye could contain an essence of all the god's powers which could be detached or transferred if required.

²⁸ Gardiner 1957 p.549, Faulkner 1962 p.1. This description of a god is also seen with Geb in §1032 (see Chapter 10) and also in the *CT* (v 376, vi 206) where the connection with blue eyes is continued.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE KING'S ASCENSION

Many spells in the *PT* detail the king's ascension to join the gods and his subsequent existence in the afterlife. Assmann has summarized their differences from the ritual "dramatic" spells as follows: "Sie stehen ab von den kultischen Handlungen und beschränken sich auf die götterweltlichen Ereignisse, die sie summieren und expandieren. Die Auflistung und Ausmalung dieser Ereignisse, deren Mittelpunkt immer der verstorbene König ist, soll seine eigene Transposition in diese götterweltliche Sphäre bestärken und bestätigen".¹ A closer relation to ritual has been suggested, by Schott in particular, namely that the spells were to be read out in a prescribed order as an accompaniment to the funeral. He would see, for example, the wing of Thoth as symbolic of the royal bier or the divine ladder as part of the tomb equipment.² Themes familiar from the ritual spells, such as purification or the provision of food for the king, also feature in these spells which have been discussed in the previous chapters. The belief in the importance of food or clothing was manifested both in the acts of the mortuary cult and the descriptions of the king's idealized existence among the gods. However, the major theme in the spells of Section G is the king's ascension by various means. It may be possible to trace a chronological development in this genre, with all due reservations on the transmission and editing processes of the *PT* which remain unknown to us. The spells in Section G do not occur in Unas' collection and only Utt.359 in Teti's, the majority being attested from Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II. This may reflect an adaption of the role of the Eye of Horus into this genre - in Utt.402 it subsequently replaces the Eye of Re. There is also a marked increase in this genre of spells in the *CT*, especially the transformation spells.

This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the afterlife portrayed in the *PT*; but a brief summary of its key features is necessary, for the significance and symbolism of the Eye of Horus must be assessed against this tapestry of images and beliefs. It is from these spells that we gain a wealth of detail on the royal afterlife in the celestial world of the gods, the ways of getting there and dangers to be avoided, its localities and inhabitants. Jacq describes the key qualities of this new existence: "Permanence, car elle est le tissu de l'éternité, de la stabilité du

¹ Assmann 1984 p.110.

² Schott 1952 p.108.

divin; mutation, car cette éternité ne saurait être atteinte que par le voyage au-delà de la mort”.³ It is clear that this transition to the afterlife, and the final destination, could be portrayed in many different ways. In the past it has been suggested that there are traces of different theological beliefs: an ancient stellar religion which became merged with solar beliefs originating from Heliopolis and, later, Osirianization as this god gained in importance.⁴ More recently the emphasis has been placed on an astronomical interpretation of the texts and the identification of deities and locations with actual celestial bodies - this approach is discussed further below.⁵ However, Allen has proposed that “this cosmology reflects a single, coherent vision of the afterlife”,⁶ and the stellar and solar imagery is certainly very closely linked in the *PT*, especially in terms of celestial passage, rebirth and renewal,⁷ a scenario which can also accommodate Osiris with whom the deceased had been consistently associated in the spells for the mortuary cult.⁸ The goal of the king's journey is thus expressed in different ways. Joining Re in the solar bark is a frequent aim (§209-210, 461, 888); but the Imperishable Stars (*ihmw-sk*) in the northern sky are also powerful guarantees of eternal life (§818, 1000, 1123). The king can become the Lone Star (§877) or a companion of *S3h* (§882). Furthermore, the solar and stellar concepts are often united, as in “the stars who surround Re” (§732) or stars ferrying the king to Re (§2173-4). These celestial beings all inhabit an essentially watery sky with canals, lakes and fields; but there are also obstacles like a celestial gate (§981, 1252) and dangers (§334) to be overcome. Allen observes that it was conceived as “a domain of passage rather than residence”⁹ - the main aim is the integration of the king in this eternal celestial cycle. The various descriptions of the afterlife should not be seen as reflecting conflicting or muddled theology: they were all valid and complementary visions for the king, combining solar, stellar and Osirian themes. Allen has suggested a unifying symbolic interpretation of the pyramid's chambers, namely that the burial chamber is the *Dw3t* where the king rests as Osiris

³ Jacq 1986 p.219.

⁴ A discussion of the composition of the beliefs in the afterlife reflected in the texts of the *PT* is beyond the scope of this work. For stellar beliefs see Faulkner 1966 and Briggs 1952 p.49. The most recent study (as yet unpublished) of the astronomical aspects of the *PT* is by Rolf Krauss (1992). Breasted (1912 p.142-164) discusses Osirianization of the afterlife; see Griffiths 1980 for the development of Osirian beliefs. Assmann's study of the afterlife (1977a col.1208) mentions the king's goal as changing from the northern sky to the east-west solar axis. For Heliopolitan influence, see Altenmüller 1984 col.17. Köhler (1980 col.258) states concerning the Osiris and Re beliefs: “ein systematische Verbindung beider Vorstellungskomplexe ist in den *PT* nicht gegeben”.

⁵ eg. Krauss 1992, Sellers 1992, Bauval 1994.

⁶ Allen 1989 p.1.

⁷ For example, compare §821 and §888. The significance of the eastern sky is discussed below.

⁸ eg. §749, 757. See Allen 1989 p.1 and Barta 1981 p.149-150.

and from which he journeys to the *3ht* (the antechamber) and then out into the sky at dawn.¹⁰

The diversity of approaches in the *PT* is illustrated further by the different means of ascension for the king which reflect beliefs in the value of transformation to a different form and the power of words to effect this change. The king is thus described as ascending through transformation into a variety of forms: birds being most common (eg. §366a-b, 891b, 1225), but also as a locust (§891c), a flower (§544a) or a beetle (§366) for example. Identification with a god can achieve the same end: “this ascent of yours from your house, O Osiris the king, is the ascent of Horus seeking you” (§1539) or the king as Atum (§992). Alternatively, the gods can assist the king: he is raised by Shu (§1090) or on the hips of Isis and Nephthys (§379c). Help also comes from the celestial ferryman (Utts.516-520), or the tail of a bull (§543). There is also special equipment at the king's disposal: a ladder (§479a, 2079a), stairs (§365a), boats (§337, 1092a), a *šdšd* (?) (§800). Natural forces can come to the aid of the king in the form of sunlight (§852e) or hailstorms (§336b). The shape of the pyramid itself has been seen as a means of climbing to the sky.¹¹ The images used are generally drawn from the living entities of the natural world, but not necessarily ones that have freedom of movement to ascend (such as plants). It was clearly desirable that the form of the deceased be changeable at will, so that he could draw on the diverse nature of all these aspects of life.¹² These are all symbols for the king's transition to the sky - the many images are unified in the expression of his desire for ascension.

As well as its important functions in offering and ritual spells, the Eye of Horus has its place as a symbol in this celestial afterlife. In these spells the Eye occurs in a variety of contexts, all of which are geared to the successful ascension and integration of the king. The first three spells to be considered, Utts.359, 475 and 478, all have a common theme and are found in the antechamber as the king seeks to journey east. They begin with dual invocations involving Horus and Seth (§594a, 946b-c, 971), two of which refer to the gods' mutual

⁹ Allen 1989 p.9, cf. Jacq 1986 p.220 “un champ universel dont les éléments sont eux-mêmes en perpétuel voyage”.

¹⁰ Allen 1994 p.24-8.

¹¹ Assmann 1977a col.1207.

¹² The desire of the deceased to share in this multiplicity of forms and names is discussed by Hornung 1983 p98. Jacq (1986 p11) also speaks of “l'être doit devenir intégralement mutable et mobile, adopter la form qui convient à telle ou telle période du voyage de sorte qu'il ne connaisse aucune entrave”, suggesting that the stage of the journey was a factor in determining the form of the deceased.

injuries. The spells go on to mention the Eye of Horus leaping (*stp* : §594b & e, 947a) onto the wing of Thoth (§594f, 976a) as a means of rescue after Horus was wounded (§594b-c, 947a). The king is to be transported likewise, either with or as the Eye of Horus. These passages are also seen in *CT* 396-8, clearly having been established as an effective approach to the ferryman scenario. In *Utt.*359 the king is included in the recovery of the Eye and bringing Seth to justice (§596c), thus making him indispensable in the fulfilment of this mythical situation. *Utt.*478 actually identifies the king with the Eye of Horus (§976c) which seems to be an entity that can ascend unhindered, coupled with the image of an ascending serpent (*ḏ*). The destination in these spells is the eastern side of the sky to join Re in his celestial cycle (§595b, 602a-c, 947b, 950a-b, 976b). The ferryman is mentioned as a means of transportation (§597a-b, 946a) and the ladder of the gods as a means of ascending (*Utt.*478). These spells all have the Eye of Horus as an ascending entity, by its own powers (suggested by *stp*), but also assisted by other gods - this could be seen as a summary of the king's condition at death too. The Eye of Horus functions as a projection of the king's desire to ascend; but there has been innovation in the relationship of the king to the symbol, namely identification, accompaniment or assistance.

The provision of a boat for the king was a major concern: the image of the Eye "on the wing of his brother Seth"¹³ is coupled with that of a boat at the ready, suggesting that the reference to the Eye reflects potential transport. In *Utt.*566 the king is not boatless as he possesses the Eye of Horus. The king can also be identified with Horus, Thoth and Atum to avoid the stigma of being "boatless" (*Utt.* 566 & 615), a state that was "symbole par excellence de l'être faible, impuissant économique et spirituellement" as Jacq assesses the implications of the phrase.¹⁴ One way of avoiding this was to employ the services of the celestial ferryman, and the Eye of Horus could form part of the king's negotiations for passage. The king brings the restored Eye of Horus to the ferryman in *Utt.*522, and in return *irt Hnm* is to be brought to him (§1227c-d). Another appeal to the ferryman has the king bringing a *sšd* fillet to bandage the sick finger of Osiris so that he may travel in a boat with Osiris' pure ones (§1202a-c). The fragmented *Utt.*696 might also refer to the king bringing cloths to the

¹³ This is an unusual reference, as the Eye of Horus was most commonly described as on the wing of Thoth. Seth was seldom depicted as a winged creature.

¹⁴ Jacq 1986 p.43 - he discusses this theme in the *PT* (p.37-40) and its social, economic and ethical background in Egyptian daily life that has been projected into the afterlife.

ferryman which are symbolized as the Eye of Horus. The traditional cry for a boat, *in mw*, is echoed in an appeal to the ferryman for the Eye of Horus and the testicles of Seth: the desire of the gods for their body-parts by inference equalling that of the king for a boat (Utt.475 §946b-c). The Eye is only a small part of the ferryman / boat scenario but its divers functions reflect the king's varied approaches to the attainment of his goal. The many "Ferryman Texts" that are found throughout the *PT* show the importance of this mysterious yet powerful figure who must be persuaded to transport the king in his boat.¹⁵ He has several names, such as *M3-ḥ3.f* and *Hr.f-ḥ3.f*, and the king's attitude towards him varies: he summons him and persuades him of his worthiness to travel (§1188), says spells for him (§1251), offers him items (the Eye in §1227), or can threaten him (§1223). The well-known test of ability in counting one's fingers which the king must demonstrate to the ferryman has received much attention.¹⁶ Sethe and Gunn saw it as connected with the mathematical properties of the Eye; but §601a, the only reference to this rite in the *PT*, is not sufficient proof to establish such a connection. The mention of the ritual alongside the Eye may occur because both feature in the king's attempt to convince the ferryman of his worthiness. Heerma van Voss summarizes the king's approach: "er legitimiert sich und seine Reise, zeigt dem Fährmann seine Kenntnisse und Macht, setzt wenn nötig mit Drohungen seinen Willen durch".¹⁷ This is a good description for the king's attitude towards ascension in many spells, and the Eye of Horus accordingly had its role as an offering or needing rescue.

Although the Eye of Horus seems to symbolize an offering with which the deceased king hopes to gain acceptance in the world of the gods, its symbolism differs from the offering spells (Section A) where it was an offering from Horus to the deceased Osiris-king. The Eye does, however, still seem to function as a means to an end for the king: here he possesses and uses the Eye for his purpose. The reference to the Field of Tumult (§1227c) suggests that this can be the return of the Eye to Horus after his wounding, and this theme is developed further with the integration of the king into a mythical situation (as was seen in Utt.359). The king is often portrayed as performing good deeds, thus being justified by his actions before the gods

¹⁵ For example, Utts.270, 300, 481, 516-522, 528.

¹⁶ Studies of this theme : Brunner 1977 col.22-23, Sethe 1918 p.16-39, Gunn 1921 p.71-72, Jacq 1986 p.70-71. The references in the *CT* (v 73f-i, v 115b-116e, v 154e-155c) mention the Eye also but making puns with numbers as the king counts.

¹⁷ Heerma van Voss 1977 p.86. Jacq also discusses "la psychologie du passeur" (1986 p.72-78) and summarizes the references from the *PT* and *CT*.

and proving his worth to stand among them and rule them. This has been seen in some of the spells from other Sections: the king offers "the great eastern Eye" to Horus in the guise of various offerings in Utt.301, which compares with an earlier section of the spell where the king offers propiation to the primeval gods (§448). The king can also take an even more active role in the recovery of the Eye, as in Utt.524 (var. Utt.724) where the king is initially cast as "Thoth who protects you" ("you" being the Eye of Horus, §1233b). The king then has the power of flight to ascend with the Eye, having been summoned by Geb and Atum to restore it to Horus. The king's seeking, finding and rescuing the Eye is stressed again at the end of the spell (§1242a-c), his rewards being acceptance and power (§1241b-c). In §2246d the celestial gates are opened for the king bearing the Eye, showing how it gains him access to the world of the gods. The king is also described as finding the Eye in Utt.589 and consequently ascending with it (§2089b). A final example of the king's character being defined in relation to the Eye of Horus is in Utt.570 §1450b where we hear that he would not swallow it (nor a limb of Osiris); in other words, he will do no harm to the gods. Several of these examples presuppose the Eye as an injured entity, separated from Horus and in need of rescue - some mythological details about the roles of Seth and Thoth are also given.¹⁸ The king is presented as part of a mythical scenario: he has a part in a divine drama and is thus integrated into the divine world. The Eye is a means for the king to prove his worth and it empowers him for ascension by its role as a vulnerable and immensely valued symbol, as well as one charged with power. It is the king's passport to the divine world. It is interesting that the thought behind these spells seems rooted in social relations, as Assmann has noted,¹⁹ expressing the need for acceptance, welcome, influence and power by means of good character and deeds or sometimes by assertion. The king often proves his good character in relation to the Eye of Horus, ensuring that he is a welcome and necessary addition to the company of the gods. This also brings him influence and power. The qualities of the Eye as a valued possession of Horus, and also its vulnerable position after the conflict with Seth, are emphasised here, and it is clear that the gods were extremely concerned with the well-being of the Eye of Horus.

¹⁸ See discussion on the mythology of the Eye in Chapter 12.

¹⁹ Assmann 1977a col.1208 "Der Himmelsaufstieg wird in diesen Texten weniger in kosmischen, als in sozialen Kategorien begriffen" i.e. not as areas and regions of the afterlife, but more concerned with "constellations" of deities.

The Eye of Horus also has a role in the king's afterlife transformations as one of the multiple forms that he can adopt. Utts.655 and 704 are closely related: after a description of the king's divine celestial birth (§1842, 2206a-d), this event is also depicted in terms of a transformation process. The king is “a falcon gone forth from the Eye of Horus, a uraeus gone forth from the falcon” (§1843) or in Utt.704 “a falcon gone forth [from Re], a uraeus gone forth from the falcon and gone forth from the Eye of Horus” (§2206d-e). Other (later) versions mention the Eye of Re or the Eye of Atum²⁰ - so this is a role common to the other divine eyes too (see Chapter 10). The concept of going forth, along with the previous mention of celestial birth in these spells, symbolizes the emergence into the eternal, celestial existence desired by the king, both in terms of movement and transformation. The phrase *pr m* designates the Eye of Horus (along with Re and the falcon) as a point of departure, the creative source or prototype for the new form. In the *CT* there are several references to creation from a divine Eye (eg. ii 33d-f, iv 75c, vi 389m), and it may be that Utts.655 and 704 have early traces of this theme. The fluid images of transformation, featuring the falcon, uraeus, Re and the Eye of Horus, all have celestial and royal connections - their combined powers all accrue to the king. The key image is the falcon (§1845b, 2206f) whose high flight and divine status from predynastic times made it an ideal form for ascension. The king also has this form in Utt.668, where he is flying round (*dbn*) the Eye of Horus in Dat (§1959a), destined for rebirth in the east - the Eye of Horus is best interpreted here as a symbol in the celestial cycle, association with which can enhance the king's celestial role. Again, it is the departure point for the king's rebirth from Dat (and the spells 655, 668 & 704 are all located in the burial chamber). Ritner notes the method of ritual encircling (*dbn*) as a means of purification²¹, hence maybe the reference to censuring in §1959b. This may be compared with the daily purification of the sun before it began its new cycle. Utt.402 actually identifies the king with “the Eye of Horus²² which comes (var. is conceived) and is born every day” (§698d). This symbolically describes the stellar and solar passage which has been such a prominent image in all these spells. Utt.523 is slightly different in that the king arises *as* (*m*) the Eye of Re *to* (*ir*) the eastern Eye of Horus. The Eye seems best interpreted here as a celestial entity which is connected with the king's receiving an authoritative word from the

²⁰ Sethe has “the Eye of Re” for §2206e using Cairo 28083, a much later text which reflects *CT* v, 25b-c : see discussion on the other eyes below.

²¹ Ritner 1993 p.53.

²² T. and P. have “the Eye of Re” which is also described in these terms elsewhere - see Chapter 10.

gods, a role that the Eye of Re can also take (§1734a) . The east occurs frequently as the desired region of the sky: it is “the place where the gods fashioned me, wherein I was born new and young” (§344), in other words, “the king rests in life in the west...the king shines anew in the East” (§306). The east features in both solar (§888, 919, 1835) and stellar (§821, 877, 1038) cycles as the place of rejuvenation or rebirth: it thus has the power of resurrection that the king seeks after his death. This explains the frequent association of the Eye of Horus in the east - it leaps up from there as Horus is fallen and is actually called the eastern Eye of Horus (§451a, 1231a). The region of *D3t* seems primarily a place for awaiting rebirth in the east, and the Eye is also placed here (§1959a). The case for celestial symbolism of the Eye is discussed below; but it seems clear that its eastern connections are part of the general scheme of ensuring the king's rebirth there.

The king's state in the afterlife can also be enhanced by identification with the Eye of Horus for reasons other than ascension. Identification with a deity or symbol is a very common method of empowering the king in the *PT*, and the Eye is merely one of many images used in this way. In Utt.510 the king is identified with a list of images, thus gaining their attributes. One of these is the Eye of Horus, “stronger than men and mightier than gods” (§1147b-c), obviously perceived here as an extremely powerful entity. One version of Utt.570 describes the king, who has been identified with the Eye, as not having been chewed or spat out (§1460b), presumably implying a state of *wḏ3t* . This is a key characteristic in Utt.683 where the Eye is sound and alive in Heliopolis (§2050a-b) and the king likewise, the use of juxtaposition implying identification. Utt.562 seems to have the same sense: the king arrives before Horus, and the Eye is described as safe from Seth, the alternative interpretation being that the king has ensured the Eye's well being, in line with other spells discussed above. The properties that the king gains by identification with the Eye are power or intactness and well-being (*wḏ3t*). The Eye can thus be seen here as the restored injury, an empowered divine attribute, thus a positive symbol which can enhance the king's status.

There are more mythical details associated with the Eye of Horus here than has been seen previously. The theme of myth and the Eye is discussed in Chapter 12, but certain scenarios seem especially prominent in these spells. The Eye is saved on Thoth's wing as Horus lies fallen (Utts.359, 475 & 478), and the king is depicted as Thoth saving the Eye in

Utt.524. There are several possible references to a judgment scenario (§596c, 977d, 2088b) where the king is again written in to help the Eye. The reason for this greater emphasis on mythical detail connected with the king is suggested by Assmann: “he transposes the action into the AKH-sphere and he projects his own situation onto a mythical plane where it may be resolved in the context of an appropriate mythological precedent”²³: in other words, the king’s ascent is translated into a divine context and is thus rendered effective by these episodes, the outcome of which is established in the predetermined course of action in myth. The king is justified by his role, gaining acceptance and favour. The Eye of Horus is an appropriate symbol for this process, being connected to the major royal god and a powerful entity in its own right.

Little evidence has emerged from these spells to connect the Eye of Horus with a specific celestial body but the Eye is certainly attested as a feature of the eternally rejuvenating celestial cycle, just like other gods such as Horus or Osiris (who can be connected with *S3h*). This is also a role which it shared with the Eye of Re. The Eye may have independent celestial connections, but it may also well be that it gained these connotations due to its introduction as a sacred symbol in these spells for the king’s ascension. The Eye of Horus appears in these spells as much more of an independent entity, with a degree of personification (which recalls the later representations of sacred eyes with wings or arms). The Eye is no longer simply presented to the king as an offering, instead the king is empowered to ascend by possessing the Eye, by seeking to restore it as a good deed or by identification with it to gain its special powers. In a way, these spells can also be seen as sequels to the ritual texts - the king has the Eye and we see how it helps him in the afterlife. In these spells there are changes in emphasis on the Eye’s role, in that it can empower the king by its power, but can also symbolize something rescued. However, the Eye of Horus’ role in these spells is relatively minor among the wealth of images used and the other sacred eyes also featured (see Chapter 10).

²³ Assmann 1989 p.145. See also Assmann 1984 p.110 for further discussion of “sakramentale Ausdeutung”, here not applied to ritual actions but solely concentrated on the deceased.

EXCURSUS: the celestial symbolism of the Eye of Horus.

The discussion on the textual material of the *PT* above has led to the conclusion that one aspect of the Eye's symbolism could be associated with the celestial cycle and the east as the place of rejuvenation and rebirth, as reflected in the rising of the sun and stars. There seems to me no clear reference that proves an identification of the Eye of Horus with a specific celestial body. This is, of course, not excluded by the evidence of the *PT*. While some might argue that the significance of many passages is dependent on an astronomical meaning, the general hypostasis remains the same in terms of the Eye as a symbol for divine power which can effectively enable the deceased in various rituals and spells. Guenon discusses the concept of symbols representing the movement of the stars as "intended to express analogically something altogether different, because the laws of the movement of the heavenly bodies express physically the metaphysical principles on which they depend".²⁴ The representation of the motion of the stars as the ideal eternal existence for the Egyptians seems to demonstrate this well, whilst the desire for an eternal life was probably not inspired by the stars but resulted from a natural human reaction to the idea of death. Through the mortuary ritual the Egyptians sought the power to overcome death, a power which the celestial world seemed to possess, and it is therefore not surprising that the Eye of Horus, a symbol of divine power, could be seen also as a celestial body. This process is seen again in the connections made between Osiris and *S3h* or Isis and Sirius, where deities were associated with astral counterparts. The Egyptian monarchy was strongly connected with celestial symbolism already: the king was the "Son of Re" and, as has been discussed, the royal afterlife was largely conceived among the sun and stars.²⁵ This connection of the cosmos with the kingship could have worked in two ways: either the king was associating himself (and his insignia) with celestial phenomenon to enhance and entrench his divine position, or royal concepts were inspired by the phenomenon in the skies. Westendorf favours the cosmic origin of many royal items (eg. bearer of the sun = Isis = throne), whereas Anthes sees the celestial counterparts as secondarily identified with royal ideas.²⁶ Junker also discusses the combination of political and celestial symbolism as a

²⁴ Guenon 1984 p.65.

²⁵ Tobin 1989 p.46-47 "there was created a means whereby the peculiar kingship of Egypt was given its foundation in the eternal and unchanging world of the divine".

²⁶ Westendorf 1977 p.101ff cf. Anthes 1959 p.193: "except for the strictly cosmic concepts like sun and heaven, the earthly entities existed, as a rule, before their heavenly counterparts doubled them".

means of “Mythenbildung”,²⁷ and Schott has his theory about the development of the eyes as crowns and suns.²⁸ If we cannot trace the exact chronological development of these themes in relation to the symbolism of the Eye, then at least their essential compatibility and complementary functions can be appreciated. The hypostasis of divine power embodied in the Eye could be visualized in many complementary ways.

The idea that the Eye of Horus primarily represents the sun, moon or a particular star has become quite entrenched and is often cited as its major symbolism in more general works on Egyptian religion. I shall briefly discuss the principal theories on the celestial symbolism of the Eye in order to evaluate their validity for the evidence of the *PT*.

Junker's theory of a primitive sky-god with the sun and moon as eyes has been extremely influential,²⁹ hence Bonnet begins his analysis of the Eye of Horus: “Den Ausgangspunkt bildet die Vorstellung, daß Sonne und Mond die Augen des Licht- und Himmelsgottes, also Horusauge seien”.³⁰ The most obvious candidate for this role is Horus. A full discussion of the celestial characteristics of Horus is beyond the scope of this work. The origins of the god seem almost irretrievably lost in prehistory. Thus it is difficult to ascertain whether he was originally a celestial deity or a royal god, or neither, perhaps having had localized associations which developed for reasons we cannot know. Those who favour an original cosmic function cite evidence such as his name (*ḥr*, “the distant one”) or representations such as the 1st dynasty ivory comb of King Djet which depicts a falcon in a bark over a pair of wings, which has been interpreted as the sky.³¹ Equally, though, Horus appears as the royal god from the earliest times (eg. featured on the Narmer palette or above the serekh; however all these early representations of falcons lack the actual name Horus). This question of the origins of Horus undoubtedly has implications for the Eye of Horus' earliest associations - if he were originally a royal figure who gained celestial significance, then the Eye may well have developed likewise, so Horus' role in the *PT* is worth considering briefly. He is primarily the king, or, more specifically, the successor and dutiful royal son who

²⁷ Junker 1941b p.16, also Kees 1941 p.246.

²⁸ Schott 1945 p.73ff.

²⁹ Junker 1917 p.134ff.

³⁰ Bonnet 1952 p.314. See also Bleeker 1973 p.115, Mercer 1952d p.174.

³¹ Engelbach 1930 p.115. Also discussed by Gardiner (1944 p.47), cf. Anthes (1961 p.6): “die Vorstellungen vom stehenden himmlischen Falken im Boot kann, wie gesagt, schwerlich den Gedanken hervorrufen, daß seine Augen Sonne und Mond seien”.

tends Osiris (eg. §1683, 1730). In his royal function Horus can often be paired with Seth (eg. §141-2, 211, 218). Horus is also associated with Re, and the form *Hr 3ht* seems to be especially solar (§337, 342, 856, 1049, 1449). It is linked with the east (§525, 450, 1478), and the king can rise like Herakhty (§1384, 1449). Two other forms of Horus, *Hr D3t*³² and *Hr Spd* (§633, 1636), have stellar associations, linking Horus with Sirius and the Morning Star. (The Eye of Horus is linked with *Hr hry-ib D3t* in §1959). Horus is called *nb pt* in §888, but this is an isolated case. In conclusion, Horus certainly has many celestial associations³³, but nowhere does he appear as the sky itself. Rather he seems to be identified with many of the prominent celestial features.³⁴ His solar connections may derive from the growing influence of Re and Heliopolis.³⁵ His celestial functions are many and complex which may reflect the way Horus acquired new characteristics, as his influence spread to stellar and solar (perhaps later lunar) phenomenon. Thus perhaps the symbolism of the Eye of Horus could also have developed in such a fashion.

Considering Horus as a sky-god with celestial eyes, Rudnitzky states: "dieses nach unsrem Dafürhalten klare Vorstellungsbild läßt sich in den Pyramideninschriften nicht finden".³⁶ Schenkel maintains an original celestial concept for Horus, but adds: "Problematisch ist dagegen, die erst spät sicher Identifikation des Horus-falken mit dem Firmament und die Deutung von Sonne und Mond als seine Augen in die frühe Zeit hineinzuprojizieren".³⁷ Junker's original theory thus seems unlikely, more so when one considers that he was mainly using evidence from later times and then seeking similar phrases and allusions from the *PT* : "wenn auch hier vereinzelt auftretende Wendungen weitere Deutung erst durch späte Parallelen erhalten, so zeigen sie doch, daß schon damals der Grund für all die Weiterungen gelegt war, die später den Mythos umranken".³⁸ His discussion of the Eye of Horus was part

³² The occurrences of this form in the *PT* include §877: "You are this Lone Star which comes forth from the east of the sky, and who will never surrender himself to *Hr D3t*". In §1207 *Hr D3t* is mentioned parallel to the Morning Star and in §362 the dweller in *Dat* is parallel to "this star which illumines the sky". Allen (1984 p.24) proposes that *D3t* was a region beneath the earth and the rim of the sky where the stars await rebirth at dawn, thus forming part of the cosmic cycle.

³³ For example *hwt Hr* which was located in the sky (§1027, 1278, 1327), which may be connected with the goddess Hathor.

³⁴ Anthes (1959 p.171) suggests Horus could be identified with any conspicuous celestial body as he was the permanent ruler of the sky.


³⁵ Griffiths 1960 p.127: "the astral associations are therefore secondary, and originated in Heliopolis.

³⁶ Rudnitzky 1956 p.12.

³⁷ Schenkel 1980 col.14.

³⁸ Junker 1917 p.136.






of his proof that Horus was the first god to be identified with a great sky-god, and this seems to have generated a circular argument: Horus was a sky-god because his Eye was the moon, and the Eye was the moon because Horus was a sky-god. Thus, one cannot use the idea of a sky-god Horus as a starting point or as evidence for the role of the Eye of Horus as a celestial light. The original nature of Horus, celestial or royal, cannot be resolved conclusively to allow any speculation on the Eye's origins with its owner, a relationship which may, or may not, be the primary influence behind its symbolism.

The prominence of the eyes in the name of *Mhnty-irty*, and the corresponding negative designation *Mhnty-n-irty*, has led to speculation on his connection with the Eye of Horus. Junker proposed that he was also originally a sky-god with the celestial lights as eyes, an original name for *Wr*, the Great God who became identified with Horus.³⁹ *Mhnty-irty* is first attested in the *PT*, so his role there may provide clues as to his origins and any connections with the symbolic eyes. The negative form of the name is lacking from the *PT*, except possibly §601 (T): . *Mhnty-irty* is prominent in ritual roles where other gods are listed for a cumulative effect (§17, 148, 601 etc.). He is also described as a herdsman who is the king's brother (§1864, “lie in his embrace as your calf, for he is your herdsman”, also §771). The king is described as on the thighs of *Mhnty-irty* (§1211, 1367, 2015) which seems to be a reference to the prestigious position of the king in relation to the god. *Mhnty-irty* is associated with *Hm* (§1270, 2086), Letopolis, and another local ram god there called *Hrty* (§1547). Horus is associated with Letopolis (§810, 2078), but it is impossible to tell if this were any more than merely the association of the influential Horus with another local falcon deity. Thus there is no obvious evidence for a celestial nature for *Mhnty-irty* in the *PT*, nor do his eyes seem to have any special functions. His name may just stress his keen-sightedness, like *M3.f-h3.f* and *Hr.f-h3.f* the ferrymen, (and thus his subsequent blindness) which could be attributed to his falcon form or the need for watchfulness as a herdsman. The origins of this god remain obscure, and he certainly cannot support any theory of celestial eyes at this stage. As the eye-theme causes us to link him with the Eye of Horus, this might also have been the same for the Egyptians, leading to a secondary role for the god.⁴⁰

³⁹ Junker 1942 p.16.

⁴⁰ For the later associations of the god with the Eye of Horus see Junker 1942, Brunner-Traut 1975 col.926 who sees him as a form of “Horus-Augengott” and Scene 17, column 55 of the *RDP*.

Westendorf has proposed more recently that the origins of the Eye of Horus were celestial and that it was originally a representation of the day and night sun, being the eyes of a sky-goddess in the form of a winged panther.⁴¹ She was later replaced by the falcon, Horus, who secondarily acquired her eyes and celestial symbolism. Westendorf also suggests this goddess to be the original form of Osiris (from her name *Wst-irt*, "seat of the Eye"), having undergone a sex-change. His evidence is the form of the *wd3t* Eye (he sees human, panther and falcon elements), although this is not connected with the Eye of Horus in the *PT*, and the big cats on the predynastic slate palettes (eg. the Oxford palette from Hierakonpolis, the Narmer palette); but these may be part of a conflict and hunting symbolism - there is nothing to prove they were celestial. Westendorf himself admits a lack of evidence,⁴² and Zandee states: "man hat den Eindruck, daß diese Himmels-Raubkatze tatsächlich nur eine Rekonstruktion ist und daß deren Bestehen noch nicht für erwiesen gehalten werden kann".⁴³ The celestial panther goddess theory thus remains unconvincing.

Re also had his own symbolic eye, but it does not follow that this can be equated with the sun, although the eye does have celestial associations. There is also the description of eyes emerging from Nut in Utt.443. The phrase *pr m tp* and the epithet *wr-hk3w* strongly suggest that these are to be linked with the crowns, but this remains the only definite mention of eyes for a known sky deity in the *PT*. The words used for sky are usually *pt*  which suggests a roof with supports, also *qbhw* . *Nwt*, , the goddess, was an anthropomorphic image of the sky, embodying the idea of the passage of rebirth of sun and stars. The celestial cow was another female image of the sky; but there does not seem to have been any prominent conception of a particular god's face as the sky which would support the notions of divine eyes as heavenly lights. The sky is said to weep (§1366) and its face is washed (§1443) but there are also references to *ptrwy*  , usually translated as "windows" or the opening through which the sun appeared, such as §468 where the daughter of Anubis is *hrt ptrwy pt*. The use of the pair of eyes as a determinative may just reflect the origins in the verb *ptr* "look, see", but it also suggests that eyes were associated with the sky. There are, however, no mentions of symbolic divine eyes in this context. Much more commonly, the sky is depicted as a watery region with canals and fields which requires some form of boat for crossing purposes,

⁴¹ Westendorf 1966 p.35ff; Westendorf 1977 col.50. Helck 1984 col.193 also mentions this idea.

⁴² Westendorf 1966 p.12.

⁴³ Zandee 1968 p.181.

the most prestigious being the solar bark in which the sun was believed to travel (eg.§1167). The gods and celestial bodies seem to traverse (*d3y, hnz, dbn, wdn* etc.) the sky (eg.§128, 152, 1019), and the stars are described as being on the underside of the sky (eg.§347, 2061).⁴⁴ Given the richness of Egyptian symbolism, the association with eyes cannot be ruled out (hence the few possibilities above), but does not seem of any apparent significance for the Eye of Horus in the *PT*. Conversely, Otto saw the symbolism of the Eye as giving rise to this image of the sky: “Die beiden Himmelskörper werden als zwei Augen verstanden; Augen pflegen aber einem Wesen zu gehören. Folglich muß der Himmel, zu dem die Augen gehören, ein Augen besitzendes Wesen sein”,⁴⁵ but this does not necessarily follow, even if one were to accept such a symbolism for the eye. The symbolism of the Eye of Horus and all the other divine eyes does not require that they be seen as part of a face or a being - their function generally being much more complex and independent.

Celestial symbolism for the Eye of Horus cannot then be proposed on the basis of its belonging to any sky-god who was supposed to have the sun and moon as eyes. This idea may be common in later times, but there is nothing to suggest it was current at the time of the *PT*. This does not rule out other forms of celestial symbolism for the Eye as a more independent entity. For example, the Eye of Horus is often cited as the Moon-Eye,⁴⁶ an interpretation seen as valid for the *PT*. Derchain's major work on the moon discusses the *PT* references to the Eye of Horus and he summarizes by saying that, although they may not be totally obvious, “on peut être certain que le redacteur des formules gardait en vue sa théologie de la lune”.⁴⁷ Similarly, Otto states “Schon die ältesten Quellen schreiben das Mondauge dem Himmelsgott Horus zu, und es spielt eine feste Rolle im Kampf zwischen Horus und Seth”,⁴⁸ but without citations as reference from the *PT*. The initial impression is that the moon paled into insignificance beside solar theology in Egyptian religion; but this may be misleading, as Derchain claims: “Sous des allusions souvent difficiles à saisir, sous des représentations qui ne sont pas toujours claires, on entrevoit que la lune est présente partout”.⁴⁹ This presents a problem for evaluating textual evidence, as the implication is that the evidence for the moon

⁴⁴ See Allen 1984 p.5-17 on Egyptian terms for the sky.

⁴⁵ Otto 1958 p.7.

⁴⁶ Derchain 1962 p.19: “Le célèbre mythe de l'oeil d'Horus est lunaire en grande partie”; Kees 1925 p.1f; Bonnet 1952 p.472ff “Mondauge” etc.

⁴⁷ Derchain 1962 p.56.

⁴⁸ Otto 1975d col.563, also Mercer 1952d p.174.

⁴⁹ Derchain 1962 p.19.

will not be straightforward. $I\overline{q}$, the moon, occurs in the *PT* as one of the images with whom the king is identified (§732): “You belong to the stars who surround Re, who are before the Morning Star, you are born in your months as the moon”, also seen in §1001 “I will stand among them (the Imperishable Stars) for the moon is my brother, the Morning Star is my offspring”. The king is thus associated with the moon, along with other stars, for his ascension. The moon is termed the king's father in §1104a, where his offspring again is the Morning Star. The moon ideogram is also used for *3bd* “month” and in the following (§794): “You are pure for the New Moon ($\circ \overline{q}$), your appearing is for the monthly festival”. The moon's phases were thus a means of reckoning the days especially for the festival calendar. The moon's role in the *PT* seems to be that of a rather minor celestial body with whom the king was associated, as he was with many other stars, as part of his ascension and integration into the celestial afterlife. Its monthly changes seem to have been a prominent feature, as reflected in the glyphs, and one can imagine that this was of great importance for temple worship in early times.

Thoth's connection with the Eye of Horus, most notably with its rescue, is incontrovertible (see Chapter 12). He is commonly seen as a god predominantly connected with the moon, sometimes the moon itself and, therefore, his actions regarding the Eye of Horus are often taken as proof of its lunar symbolism, namely the moon-god as instrumental in the recovery (i.e. waxing) of the moon after its wounding (waning).⁵⁰ The validity of this assumption in the *PT* must be assessed. Thoth is prominent in the *PT*, but his role lacks clear definition - he seems to be partly functional in that he reconciles Horus and Seth and helps Horus in subduing Osiris' enemies (§575, 651). He also provides transport on his wings, recalling his ibis form, and has his arm restored parallel to the Eye and testicles of Horus and Seth (§535c), possibly a reference to his strength.⁵¹ The evidence in the *PT* for his role as moon god is usually seen as §128: “O you two companions who cross the sky, who are Re and Thoth, take me with you...” and §130 “I go round the sky like Re, I traverse the sky like Thoth”. This relies on a duality between sun and moon as the explanation for the pairing of Re

⁵⁰ Hornung (1983 p68) notes that the names of cosmic deities were not necessarily the same as the feature that they came to embody which should lead to caution before interpreting any god in a restrictive sense, i.e. labelling Thoth as “the moon god”.

⁵¹ Griffiths (1960 p141) suggests that Thoth could represent the intervention of a third power in the process of arbitration. He also notes Rusch's suggestion that Thoth's role in the Osiris scenarion was later taken by Horus (Rusch 1925 p.82), although this may well represent similar cult functions attributed to the gods.

and Thoth (and an assumption of his lunar role). This is also seen in §709: “May I see you (i.e. Re, §706) when you go forth as Thoth”. This assumes Thoth's lunar role, i.e. the sun is seen as going forth at night as the moon,⁵² cf. §1761. References such as §420 (“Thoth is my champion when it is dark”) invoke Thoth's protection and possibly his celestial light at night. Similarly, the king is called “Thoth in authority over the sky” (§2150) which may suggest a celestial context or as merely supervising the gods. There are also references to Thoth's possession of a knife (*mds*) which came forth from Seth (§1906, 1927, (1999); also §962, 2176) which has been interpreted as a symbol of the sickle moon.⁵³ Thoth's ibis form is interpreted as a lunar symbol by Bleeker,⁵⁴ his bird form being invoked as an image of transport when Thoth carries the Eye of Horus and the king (§594f, 976a), the king (§387, 1377, 1429b), the gods (§595a) and the two kites (§1254). This transportation of the Eye has been invoked as a lunar image,⁵⁵ but this ignores the other people ferried in this way in favour of a lunar symbolism for the Eye. The tenuous nature of much of this evidence often hides the fact that Thoth's lunar role is by no means prominent in the *PT*, certainly not sufficiently prominent to be used as evidence for a lunar connection with the Eye of Horus. It could equally well be an extension of his role in the Osiris / Horus / Seth scenario as protector or peace-maker described further in Chapter 12.

Definite references to the moon in the *PT* do not give it a very important role in the celestial beliefs about the royal afterlife. This seems strange, considering the moon's dominance of the night sky. Kees speaks of the waxing and waning of the moon as “größeren Anreiz zur mythischen Ausmalung als die einfacheren Vorgänge des täglichen Sonnenlaufes”;⁵⁶ yet this is far from apparent in the texts. This may be due to the strong solar traditions of Heliopolis, leading to the idea of a day and night sun; or maybe the moon's role was essentially functional as a time reckoner. Ignoring later evidence, we find nothing in the *PT* to suggest that the Eye of Horus was seen as the moon or as part of a moon myth.


⁵² Derchain 1962 p.56 “le remplaçant de Ra”; Spiess 1991 p.67.

⁵³ Kees 1925 p.2.

⁵⁴ Bleeker 1973 p.110 “The ibis is a lunar symbol. The beak of the ibis resembles the crescent moon, the gait of the ibis suggests that of the moon”.

⁵⁵ Derchain 1962 p.56, as one of the “themes lunaires”; Kees 1941 p.242.

⁵⁶ Kees 1941 p.241.

Solar symbolism has also been suggested for the Eye of Horus: Jéquier has stated “le caractère solaire de l'oeil d'Horus apparaît de toute évidence; il personnifie ou bien l'astre lui-même, ou bien le dieu qui l'anime, ou encore une émanation divine qui permet d'envelopper d'autres et de leur communiquer les propriétés divines. Aucune de ces formules ne peut se rapporter à la lune”,⁵⁷ and he sees the eyes of Horus as the day and night sun. Westendorf also sees the eyes in this way, the moon later replacing the night sun.⁵⁸ Schott had discussed the eyes as the double suns and as a synonym for the two barks which carried them; but he admits that this is only seen partially in the Old Kingdom.⁵⁹ The sun's course was often represented in terms of the Day (*Msktt*) and Night (*Mꜥndt*) Barks, for example in §335: “I have seen the *dt* in the Night-bark, and it is I who row in it; I have recognized the uraeus in the Day-bark, and it is I who baled it out” or “may you sleep in the Night-bark, may you wake in the Day-bark” (§1479). The barks are part of Re's daily travels and, as such, are a goal of the deceased king too. A potential link with the eyes is Utt.681. These eyes are the king's and their appearance is part of his restoration by Isis and Nephthys. Anthes has pointed out that Isis and Nephthys could grammatically be identified with the barks, as they are in §210. On the other hand, the eyes of the king are identified with the barks in *CT* vi 124a and vi 384f-g where it seems an identification of a body part with a divine counterpart. Either way, the Eye of Horus is not connected with the barks. The food spell Utt.208 has the term  which is a real hint that the Eye of a god could be termed as his bark, the god in question being Atum and maybe also Re (Utt.207).

Several spells locate the Eye in Heliopolis which, given that this town was the home of solar theology, might indicate that the Eye too had a solar symbolism here, for example, “they have swallowed the bright Eye of Horus which is in Heliopolis”, §118b. However, Heliopolis was also thought to be the location for mythical judgment of the gods, sometimes referred to with the Eye (eg. §1614b), perhaps due more to the town's prestige than its solar associations. In Utt.204 the Eye of Horus is also associated with the quality of light, this being seen elsewhere in connection with the restoration of vision (§641a, 1807c) and is referred to in offering spells (§33a, 48a-b). Of course, light and shine is a natural characteristic of the eyes and does not require the Eye to be the sun, the supreme source of light.

⁵⁷ Jéquier 1946 p.42-43.

⁵⁸ Westendorf 1966 p.35-38.

⁵⁹ Schott 1945 p.73-74.

This study of the celestial symbolism has both negative and positive conclusions. The astronomical interpretations for the Eye do not find explicit proof in the *PT* and, given the many different celestial bodies proposed,⁶⁰ suggest that the references to the Eye of Horus do not find a striking similarity with the attributes of one star in particular. There is no reason why the Eye could not have been interpreted as different celestial bodies as the context required. A particular feature of Egyptian religion is the multiplicity of symbols for a given phenomenon and the many interpretations possible for a given symbol. As the *PT* are mortuary literature and their spells are geared towards the needs of the deceased king, the symbolism of the Eye of Horus may have been dictated by this function. That is to say, even though the Eye seems most prominent in ritual roles (eg. coronation, purification, offerings), outside the *PT* it may well already have had the celestial symbolism attested in later sources and which might be only occasionally and elusively evident from these texts. Rudnitzky speaks of “eine geheimnistuerische Sprachfassung” which would be required for a cosmic interpretation⁶¹, but it may just be that this aspect of the Eye was not especially significant in the *PT*. On the other hand, it may be that the Eye of Horus was yet to develop fully its astral role which was a further extension of its already considerable symbolism, just as Horus acquired solar traits (eg. the form *Hr-3hty*), and just as Osiris found a later connection with the moon.

⁶⁰ eg. Krauss (1992) suggests that the Eye is to be seen as Venus, the morning and evening star; Sellers (1992 p54) sees the Eye as the diamond ring effect of a solar eclipse, see above for the proposals for the sun and moon.

⁶¹ Rudnitzky 1956 p.13.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EYE OF HORUS AND THE COSMOS

The evidence of the *PT* suggests that the Eye of Horus could play a significant role in the wider context of the Egyptian world view, in terms of the creation of the land and its maintenance by the king and the symbols used to express this. This theme is not necessarily one that would be included in mortuary texts, and the reasons for the inclusion of these spells must be taken into consideration. Utts.486 and 570 both have the tone of assertion - the king is claiming his rightful place among the gods, justified by his divine nature. Utt.587 presumably serves the same function of glorifying the king, but there are no obvious references to the afterlife, the whole spell appearing a genuine hymn to Egypt.

The king's claim to a divine birth is clearly important for his recognition in the afterlife. This is described in terms of a primeval time when only the king and the divine *ht* were in existence. The method of describing the situation before creation by using a formula for stating what was "not yet" in existence occurs in much religious literature, both in Egypt and elsewhere.¹ The emptiness of this time is defined by the lack of features from the created world. In Egyptian there was a verb form *n sdm.t.f* which conveyed the idea of "not yet" or "before",² used here with the verb *hpr*, usually translated "come into existence, become, develop".³ The particular aspects of the world that are yet to appear are illuminating in terms of the Eye of Horus' role. In Utt.486 there was no sky, earth, *smnti* (most likely the mountains supporting the sky), tumult (*hnnw*) or fear (*snd*) on account of the Eye of Horus (§1040b-d). The list has three physical features of the world followed by two more abstract qualities: *hnnw* is described by Boylan as "a *terminus technicus* for the conflict between Horus and Seth";⁴ the word can also be determined by the Seth animal⁵ but generally means "tumult, uproar".⁶ The fear on account of the Eye of Horus could be interpreted as fear for its safety in the conflict of the gods, but the word *snd* is also used for the awe felt when

¹ Grapow 1931 has a collection of comparative material, eg. Genesis I, 2 "and the earth was without form or void" and Genesis II, 5.

² Gardiner 1957 p.317-319 (§402-405).

³ Faulkner 1962 p.188, cf. Allen 1988 p.29 who notes the essential implication of "an ending state different from that which existed before the process began".

⁴ Boylan 1922 p.40.

⁵ Te Velde 1977 p.22.

⁶ Faulkner 1962 p.203.

confronted with divine insignia and the king's all-powerful nature (eg. §194d, 197b). Another similar description of the divine birth in this way, which makes no reference to the Eye, occurs in Utt.571: the king was created by Atum before the sky and earth. The inhabitants of the world are included here, namely gods and men, and death (§1466), an essential part of existence, which the king will escape by virtue of his divinity.⁷ In Utt.570 the time before the *ht* had no rage (*dnd*), voice (*hrw*), strife (*šntt*) or tumult (*hnnw*). The final clause is that the Eye of Horus was not *qnit* ("yellowed"?) and the testicles of Seth not removed (*s3dt*). These terms are all suggestive of conflict, disorder and commotion - Grapow sees the negation of these things as an indication of a "goldene Zeitalter",⁸ but the absence of these qualities is not necessarily a good thing. Hornung interprets these references as "more generally a negation of all positive struggle, as can be seen from the affirmative description of this state as being 'weary' or 'inert' - there is nothing that could begin to move or struggle, there is total repose".⁹ This undifferentiated state of the world must be seen in contrast with the Egyptian "perception of a world in conflict, real or potential, between chaos and order",¹⁰ and the term *m3(t)* as the fundamental expression of the world in its perfect order as established at creation. This fits well with the observation of Zandee that "*hnnw* steht im Gegensatz zu *m3't*".¹¹

The references to the Eye of Horus are included among expressions for the unavoidable and essential conflict in the world, which can be depicted with the mythical image of the struggle between Horus and Seth.¹² The mention of the Eye and testicles in §1463e shows how they can function as archetypal injuries, mutually sustained in mythological strife which contains all the disturbances discussed above. Griffiths sees the conflict as "a great and disturbing event, marked by violence and terror... it is ranked with occurrences of primeval and cosmic import"¹³ - mythical symbols are thus introduced into the factors not yet existing as an illustration. In his study of conflict in the *PT*, Tobin notes that as a theme it could

⁷ Later comparisons are *CT* 80 (Atum's primeval loneliness where there was no place to sit or stand, no gods, no Heliopolis etc.), *BD* 17 (Re appears before the supports of Shu) and *BD* 50 (the ennead existed before tumult).

⁸ Grapow 1931 p.36.

⁹ Hornung 1983 p.176; he discusses the theme generally on p.148 and p.174-176.

¹⁰ Kemp 1989 p.50. See further his comments on political order and stability expressed by the reconciliation of conflicting powers (p.28), namely Horus and Seth.

¹¹ Zandee 1963 p.147, based on *CT* vi, 187b-c.

¹² eg. Frankfort 1948 p.22 "strife is an element in the universe that cannot be ignored; Seth is perennially subdued by Horus but never destroyed"; Te Velde 1980 col.26 "the mythological symbols of all strife, the antagonists *per se*". See also Tobin 1993.

¹³ Griffiths 1960 p.1.

represent the creative process and a struggle for order, and that the "fighting monarch" was seen as a positively active king.¹⁴ Hornung further notes that a great commotion in nature could be one of the signs of a god's presence.¹⁵

The mythological theme of the conflict between Horus and Seth is discussed further in Chapter 12. Whilst seeming here to represent the theme of conflict on a cosmic scale, it is also often seen as a struggle for the kingship - a notable later example being *The Memphite Theology*.¹⁶ This brings us to the third spell in this section which interprets the Eye as a symbol for the land of Egypt. Some very grand claims have been made for Utt.587 : Drioton called it "le plus vieil hymne national de l'Egypte et, sans contredit, le plus vieil hymne national du monde".¹⁷ He saw the first half as an ancient prototype and the second as a funerary adaption for Pepi II, the main concept being a hymn to the Eye which symbolized a country with its natural products. Mercer, following Breasted, views the spell as "the oldest solar hymn extant".¹⁸ The spell is certainly unusual for the *PT*, and its concerns with the land and kingship, although not out of place in the *PT*, suggest that it may have existed as a hymn outside the context of the royal mortuary cult. The spell divides into two sections: first the Eye / land is addressed, stressing the role of Horus in founding and restoring the land which thus should recognize him alone. This is then repeated with the king in the role of Horus (§1596c). The spell expresses the fundamental dogma of kingship, namely that the king (or rather his royal line) established and maintained the land, thereby commanding its loyalty and economic control. The removal of any threats to the land is expressed first as the vanquishing of Seth by Horus (§1594b, 1595c) and then by the king's defeat of the people (*rmt*) who caused disruption (§1604c, 1605c). However, the restoration of the Eye of Horus is used in both sections as a symbol for the present sound condition of the land of Egypt (§1588a, 1596c). The representation of the conflict between Horus and Seth is here presented as a struggle for the land. This is unique in the *PT* - although it may be seen as inferred in other spells, only Utt.587 attests this major symbolism for the Eye in terms of the mythical combat.¹⁹ This role

¹⁴ Tobin 1993 p.105.

¹⁵ Hornung 1983 p.131.

¹⁶ See Lichtheim 1973 p.51ff for a recent translation, the text dates to the Late Period.

¹⁷ Drioton 1943 p.5.

¹⁸ Mercer 1952d p.30. See also Breasted 1912 p.13ff.

¹⁹ Kemp 1989 p.52 sees the myth as having "combined the old concept of an ultimate harmony through balanced opposites with the newly perceived need for a superior force". Otto 1975a col.76 discusses other examples of the Eye as a symbol for Egypt.

of the Eye of Horus on such a cosmic scale is seen further in the *CT* where the eye of the creator has a significant role in the creation of the world.²⁰

The Eye of Horus features as part of the negative definition of primeval time alongside physical features of the world, its inhabitants and the more abstract dynamic qualities of disturbance and conflict. Only through change was the passage of time initiated and the cycle of life and death. The Eye is clearly mentioned in terms of the conflict of Horus and Seth, the mythical symbols for *hnnw*, although more precise interpretations of their archetypal function are sometimes possible. In *Utt.587* the context is the land of Egypt and the establishment of the kingship. The Eye of Horus thus symbolizes the focal point of conflict which was subsequently restored (*db3*) - a positive outcome.

²⁰ eg. Atum sends out his sole Eye (*CT* 261, iii 383) and myriads are said to be created from his Eye (*CT* 312, iv 75 & 86).

CHAPTER NINE

THE EYE OF HORUS IN SPELLS AGAINST DANGEROUS CREATURES

"Magical" spells to combat dangerous creatures form a separate genre in the *PT*,¹ and Altenmüller has suggested an early origin due to the archaic language, perhaps derived from a long oral tradition.² In his study of these spells Sorensen notes the existence of "this well-defined group, traditionally called magical texts, which neither belongs to temple cult nor to funerary and mortuary ritual",³ but remarks upon the similarities with the mortuary literature. Ritner's more recent analysis led to the following observation on the relationship between so-called "magical" spells and religious literature: "Spells and theology both derive from the same literate priestly authors, were conserved together in the temple scriptoria ("Houses of Life"), and have equal claims to "official" status".⁴ Thus their origins should not be assumed to be distinct from that of the bulk of the *PT*, although use outside the mortuary cult remains a possibility. These spells are unified by their specific function of removing dangerous creatures, which was not a major concern of the royal mortuary cult, but which was very much part of the general scheme of the *PT* in origin and aim, namely the manipulation of *hk3*⁵ for the deceased's benefit.

The *PT* include several series of spells against dangerous creatures, for example Utts.226-243 and 276-299 which are preserved in Unas⁶. Osing has demonstrated that in the layout of the chambers in Unas' pyramid these were located above the false door near the coffin (at the west end of the burial chamber), above the entrance to the serdab (in the east) and in the entrance to the antechamber, thus protecting all ends of the tomb from intrusion, but also, perhaps, for the king's use in the afterlife if he should encounter dangerous creatures.⁷

¹ Schott 1945 p.30 includes them as one of his categories of spells.

² Altenmüller 1984 col.20.

³ Sorensen 1984 p.5.

⁴ Ritner 1989 p.113. See also Ritner 1992 and Ritner 1993 p.3-13 on the distinction of "magic" and religion in Egypt.

⁵ *Hk3* is defined by Altenmüller 1982 col.1137 as an "impersonal, morally neutral, mystical force". For its role in religion see Ritner 1993 p.14-28.

⁶ Other sequences include Utts.375-399 in T., 727-733 in N. and the series of *502A-P (see Allen 1984 p.676) which occur in P.

⁷ cf. Ut.241 which envisages creatures crawling out of the wall. See Osing (1986 p.131-144) and also Allen (1994 p.17) who interprets these spells as "non-ritual sequences meant originally for the personal use of the king". He also notes that their location on the west gable of Unas' burial chamber was unique, as the spells were usually found on the east wall of the antechamber.

These spells are typically very short and make use of a special range of vocabulary which was obviously considered magically effective. This technical language has been analysed by Ogden, such as the use of interjections and "imprecatory words". The direct address to the creature, seen in the spells mentioning the Eye (§418b, 670c, 679e), reflects Ogden's observation about the spell being "imposed" on the creature.⁸ It is hard to tell from the *PT* whether a special style of recitation or specific actions were needed as well, but this seems likely. The use of special reduplicated words, which often defy translation, suggests strongly that reading the spell aloud would be important for its effectiveness. The logic used in these spells has been discussed by Sorensen: "by identifying the present situation as the parallel mythical one, the formula subjects the case in question to the rules laid down in primeval time, insisting on the relation between myth and actuality so well illustrated in Egyptian hemerological calendars".⁹ The mythical counterpart to the present situation varies greatly: gods are appealed to for help (eg. Utts.279, 733), the means of opposing the creature are identified with a god (Utts.229, 384) or the triumph of the White Crown reflects victory over the creature (Utt.239). Some spells remain obscure (eg. Utt.232). The gods' misfortunes are also used as reflections of the creature's desired downfall - for example, the Majesty of the Pelican's falling into the water (§226a, 671, 680¹⁰) and also the wounding of Horus and Seth. The Eye of Horus' role in these spells must thus be seen against this background of enigmatic creatures, deities and images being invoked.

The Eye of Horus only occurs in four known snake spells from the *PT*, one of which (Utt.277) occurs in the earliest corpus. This was obviously not a major role for the Eye, compared with its use in the ritual spells for example, but even from these few illustrations a pattern of usage appears. In three of the four spells we have a dual image of the wounding of Horus and Seth, Horus suffering from his Eye and Seth from his testicles (§418a, 679d, col.30). The spell P233+1-3 has a second dual image of homosexual activity between Horus and Seth, which seems here to be part of their conflict and thus might be seen as an assertion of power over an enemy. The use of these mythical images is clearly to achieve a similar

⁸ Ogden 1989 p.59.

⁹ Sorensen 1984 p.8. He notes (on p.7) that this use of an "epic formula" is well attested from other cultures too. This definition of the logic of these spells is very similar to the "sakramentale Ausdeutung" of Assmann in the ritual spells, but he sees the temporal perspective differently, as a visualisation of a mythical present rather than as an allusion to a mythical past with established results (Assmann 1977b p.27).

¹⁰ This may be a reference to Osiris. Griffiths (1980 p.171 n.94) notes the fear and dread of falling into the waters of the Nile.

wounding of the snake, as the parallel verbs show in Utt.277. There does not seem to have been any problem in using an image of Horus, usually the royal god triumphant, as being wounded. The wounding of the two gods is not necessarily a negative episode - its implications are discussed further in Chapter 12 - particularly with its symbolism of strife as an essential part of the cosmos, and here its value seems to lie in the powerful infliction of wounds between gods which can then be directed onto the offending creature.

Utt.382 is slightly different as it only mentions Horus and can be interpreted in two possible ways. Horus is described as seeking his Eye (§670b), presupposing that he may be in a wounded state and needing to recover it; but the word *p_{hr}* can also be used in connection with the magical act of encircling as a means of asserting power over something by containment and control.¹¹ Therefore, there are two possible implications for the snake: either it is to be compared with Horus' wandering in a vulnerable state in search of his Eye (a negative image of the god would not be out of place in these spells, as is discussed above), or it is to be subject to a magical control like that of Horus with his Eye. The snake is to get in reverse and go to ground (§670c), either weakened like Horus or in fear of him. A comparison with the other spells suggests the former might be more likely, but it is hard to be sure.

The Eye features in these spells as the traditional injury of Horus in his conflict with Seth, an image which will be effective against the creatures that might threaten the king. This relies on the theory discussed above, whereby the latent power in a mythical image can be projected onto the specific situation in hand through the words of the spell and possibly other ritual effects. Although these spells can be viewed as a unique textual category in terms of content and intent, the references to the Eye of Horus are very similar to those in several ascension spells, in terms of the mutual wounding (§594a, 946b-c, 1463e), where they are used to the king's advantage as part of his ascension. The theme of the wounding of the Eye is discussed in more detail in subsequent chapters, but it is interesting to note here that spells were often specifically directed against the eyes or face of snakes - Borghouts has collected some material in his study of the "Evil Eye of Apophis".¹² It is impossible to tell if the references to the Eye of Horus had extra effectiveness for repelling snakes in this way. The

¹¹ Gardiner (1957 p.134) notes the metaphorical meaning for *p_{hr} m s3* of "go round after" i.e. "seek for". Ritner (1993 p.57-65) discusses the magical implications.

¹² Borghouts 1973. Compare Col.131 and the reference to blinding the snake.

parallel mentions of Seth's testicles perhaps suggest otherwise unless a strike against generative power was also intended.

CHAPTER TEN
OTHER DIVINE EYES IN THE PT

It has been suggested that the symbolic eyes of other gods are an imitation of a concept that originated with the god Horus¹, his Eye gaining its significance from the mythical episode of wounding and recovery. This cannot be proved on chronological grounds, as the Eye of Re and the Eye of *Tbi* are attested in W.'s corpus alongside the Eye of Horus. If the Eye drew its significance from a particular mythical episode then there is still the problem of defining why the Eye was selected as the wounded part. It seems much more likely that the Eye of Horus stemmed from a wider concept of eye symbolism which is attested in the *PT* in the references to other divine eyes. These do not have the same variety of usage or mythical detail but there are several close similarities with the symbolism of the Eye of Horus.

The Eye of Re is the next most popular divine Eye in the *PT*, but still occurs in only seven spells. It appears in a food text (Utt.207), one of a series of spells from W.'s burial chamber that also includes the Eye of Horus (Utts.204 & 212) in rather cryptic references. The Eye of Re is apparently the place where the butcher and fowler of Re are to be found. The later variation (Utt.207), which mentions the Eye of the God (most probably Atum's), suggests that this might be equated with the divine bark. The divine eye is portrayed as a source of provisions for the king, as in *CT* 817 (vii, 16) and this may reflect a concept of the bark as the location of the god's powers, his means of sustenance and transport. One might tentatively connect this general idea with the Eye of Horus' symbolism of food, the provision of which requires the employment of divine power. This idea of a divine eye as a location is seen in the *CT*² but although the Eye of Horus is associated with boats for the king (eg. Utts.566 & 615), he is never said to be "within" it in the *PT*. The Eye of Re also appears in two spells with reference to the king's ascension. The king is purified "as a god" and then goes forth as the Eye of Re, which is followed by references to his appearing as Geb (§1919) and receiving the crown as the Lone Star (§1920), the main theme of the spell being summarized in §1925 "lift yourself to the sky in company with the stars which are in the sky". The Eye of Re is an image

¹ eg. Rudnitzky 1956 p.12, Anthes 1961b p.89.

² eg. *CT* ii 119j-k "I am the sun of this day, I am Horus within his Eye", also ii 124a-c, vii 16u-v, vii 177k, vii 409b.

to effect the king's ascension, in Jacq's words "un but du déplacement",³ implying it has the power and motion to ascend to the sky. The Eye of Horus also has this quality (see Chapter 7). The reference to purification may recall the daily solar cleansing in the primeval waters or an accompanying ritual libation. Utt.612 also refers to the king's purification as Horus (§1733), followed by his ascending (*šw*) to (*r*) the Eye of Re for his divine name made by the gods. The Eye seems most likely to represent a place or possibly a being here. Utt.523 has a very similar sense, and this spell is unique in mentioning the Eye of Horus and the Eye of Re side by side. Here the king is ascending on the sunlight (§1231a), rising (*sw*) to the sky as the Eye of Re (*irt R^c is*) and standing (*ḥ*) at (*r*) the eastern Eye of Horus, where the words of the gods are heard (§1231b-d). The expressions seem best interpreted as parallel, expressing the same concept of ascension to the sky, either as or to an Eye. The mention of both eyes may give a double effect by invoking both Horus and Re in the king's ascension (cf. §702b). The reception of the authoritative words of the gods must be similar to the divine name in §1734a as a sanction of the king's position, just as on earth the composition of the titulary was part of the enthronement.⁴ These spells show that the king can ascend as the Eye of Horus or as the Eye of Re as well as to the Eye of Horus or to the Eye of Re, an interchangeability of function.




This functional similarity of the Eyes is also seen in Utt.402. This spell occurs in T., P. and M., where the king is identified with the Eye of Re as part of the daily celestial cycle of rebirth. The king's star is already said to have joined Re (§698b) and he travels in the *šht ḥtpw* (§698c). This therefore supports the idea that the Eye is to be seen as a celestial body. However, in N. the Eye of Re has been changed to the Eye of Horus, and this cannot be easily dismissed as an error as Re has also been altered to Nut in §698b. This interchangeability of the Eyes is also seen in later texts. Sethe uses a later stela (Cairo 28083) to restore Utt.704 which has *p^rt m irt R^c*, whereas the version in Nt. has *p^rt m irt Hr* (§2206e). The Eye of Horus has this role in another transformation spell in the *PT* (Utt.655); but the Eye of Re does not appear in such a phrasing. However, in comparison with Utt.402, the Eye of Re is also identified with the king in terms of joining the celestial cycle in Utt.405 (which is also found in N.). The reference to Hathor recalls the later myths where the goddess is associated with the

³ Jacq 1986 p.87.

⁴ Jacq (1986 p.30) discusses the words of the gods as a means of ascension: "un moyen de déplacement des plus efficaces, puisqu'il permet d'atteindre la félicité céleste et solaire".

Eye of Re, but there are no grounds for assuming that that is the case here. The goddess had celestial associations in the *PT* which fit with the concerns of this spell.⁵ The Eye of Re may be symbolic of a specific celestial body in these spells - Anthes has proposed the Morning Star⁶ - but the limitations of the texts allow no specific conclusions. The Eye of Re represents an eternally, cosmically rejuvenating entity which can similarly empower the king through its identification, a role which can also be taken by the Eye of Horus.

The references to the Eye of Re thus bear close comparison with those to the Eye of Horus in Section G in terms of the king's ascension and joining the celestial afterlife. The food spell further suggests that the Eye of Re could denote the god's bark, or at least a spatial location for the god's servants. The symbolism of the Eye of Re is thus restricted to the sphere of the afterlife and the world of the gods. It does not appear in any of the ritual spells for the mortuary cult where the Eye of Horus features so prominently. This seems to reflect the fact that the rituals were portrayed primarily in Osirian terms, a scenario where the Eye of Horus could be easily incorporated as a symbol, but where the Eye of Re had no place. If one sets apart the ritual use of the Eye of Horus, which may be a separate development of its symbolism, then the role of the Eye of Re does not seem so insignificant in comparison.

The god *Tbi* is a more mysterious owner of a divine eye. The reference to the Eye of *Tbi* as an expression of power (§290) is very similar to §301c and 320b where the king's eye appears as a source of power and protection for him, in imitation of Horus. The other reference in the *PT* does little to clarify *Tbi*'s nature (§1394). He is referred to a few more times in the *CT* (see J5) and, although there is little light shed on his function or character, it is interesting that there, also, his Eye is mentioned in terms very similar to the Eye of Horus (ii 296) and also parallel to the "Eye of the Destroyer" and the Eye of Atum (vi 146). In a variation of Utt.254, it is said that the deceased's power and strength is that of *Tbi* rather than that of his Eye (a similar variation is seen in §1755c and 1794c with regard to Horus and his Eye). The name of this elusive deity appears as *Tb*, *Tbi* and *Tb* with a determinative of  but also  in §1394 and  in *CT* ii 296a.

⁵ For example, references to the celestial *Hwt-Hr* in §1026-7, 1278, 1327.

⁶ Anthes 1961a.

Divine eyes are attested in a series of spells that are only found in Unas' pyramid at the entrance to his antechamber, Utts.313-321. They primarily concern the king joining the gods and, in some, he assumes animal form.⁷ In his symbolic interpretation of the layout of the pyramid, Allen sees the king as "on the point of rising into the sky with, or as, the sun".⁸ The king is identified with the god Sobek in Utt.317 and brings life and greenness to the fields of the horizon, likewise to the *irt wrt ḥrt-ib sḥt* (§509b). By making the Eye gleam, the king is clearly doing a positive thing, the quality of light being indicative of a state of power. The owner of the Eye may be a great goddess denoted by *wrt* (possibly *Mḥt-Wrt* in §508a or Neit who is called the mother of Sobek in §510a) or it may be an adjective (i.e. an unspecified "Great Eye"). In Utt.319 the king is identified with the *k3 i3ḥwy ḥry-ib irt.f* (§513a) who has a sound (*wḏ3*) mouth and horns. The concept of double-sunshine in his Eye would be a further indication of his condition, again with the idea of light in the eye as a sign of power and well-being. The alternative is that the bull is described as within his Eye, a concept seen more in the *CT* and possibly evocative of an empowered, creative state at the heart of a divine presence or a celestial location.⁹ This spell also continues with the king making plants flourish (§513). These two spells thus share the themes of flourishing life connected with eyes gleaming with light in the context of the afterlife, where the king is being identified with deities to assure his well-being.

Utt.404 usually appears in the same sequence of spells, which includes Utts.402 and 405 (see above), both of which mention the Eye of Re in terms of the celestial cycle. This spell is addressed to an enigmatic *nḡwti* (§702a) whom the king wishes to join. The king's greatness is proclaimed, and mention is made that his eye-paint is the *nis* of an Eye (it is unclear exactly to whom it belongs) which is in flame. The determinative of *nis* is a papyrus head which is associated with greenness (eg. §569) - this fits with the green eye-paint (*w3ḏw*). The connection of an eye with flame is usually an indication of power (eg. *nsr*, §298, the same word being used of the uraeus' blast in §302a) - this is seen more in the *CT* where there are descriptions of flame as a characteristic of divine eyes (eg. iii 343, iv 91, vi 375, vii 306) and as an aggressive weapon (eg. iv 98, v 323, vii 91). Hornung notes that fire was one of the

⁷ Osing 1986 p.133.

⁸ Allen 1994 p.20.

⁹ See n.2 and also Utt.208 discussed above. The *CT* also has many references to creation from the eye of a deity (ii 5a-b, ii 33d-f, ii 143e-f, iv 75c, v 378a-b, vii 222a, vii 222x).

ways in which a god could manifest himself, and it seems this power could be expressed through the eye symbolism.¹⁰ The use of a divine eye with reference to eye-paint is also seen with the Eye of Horus (eg. Utts.79, 80 & 605) and, possibly, with an Eye of *Dw3w* (E18). This may be a symbol for the eye-paint - the god *Dw3w* had a connection with eye doctors. The aim in Utt.404 is clearly the well-being of the king (*w3d*, §702d), his eye-paint having the powers of a divine Eye. In Utt.254 the king is described by the Beautiful West as a bull with shining horn and as *iwn sdmw* (§283a). The comparisons to this passage (eg. *CT* v 384, vi 237) show that being eye-painted is a desirable condition and possibly an indication of status. It was also associated with the ritual slaughter of animals.

Several other reference to eyes in the *PT* also merit discussion here. The passage in Utt.534 has the locks on the doors of the king's tomb identified with two "evil eyes" (*irtwy dwt(wy)*) to add divine strength to the physical components of the king's tomb. The pair of eyes could thus ward off danger, being evil in intent against intruders and with the ability to project their power against them. These eyes may actually be attested from false doors of the late Old Kingdom (see Conclusion) and, more importantly, reveal a concept of eye symbolism unconnected with a particular deity but as powerful entities in their own right. The similarities with the belief in the Evil Eye in other cultures are discussed in the Conclusion.

The "evil eyes" are a pair, which contrasts to the previous spells where there is one symbolic divine eye. There is a possible reference to Geb possessing *qnitwy* in his face. The determinative suggests that these may be eyes, possibly yellow, given the associations of the word *qni* which is also used with the Eye of Horus (see H2 §1463e). Geb is described as approaching with his power upon him (*3t tp f*, §1032). A reference to Horus in a similar state also features his red and blue eyes (§253a), supporting the theory that colour could be indicative of power, as is the quality of light discussed above.¹¹ These two mentions of colour also refer to the eyes in the dual, possibly as they are describing the gods' physical appearance rather than emphasising the characteristics of a symbolic eye. All the colours mentioned are unnatural and unusual for the Egyptians, creating a strange and foreboding impression. The *CT* have further examples of this, again associated with a god's might (*CT* 467 & 468).The

¹⁰ Hornung 1983 p.197

¹¹ Wolf-Brinkmann (1968 p.37) also mentions the connection between coloured eyes and the power of a glance.

association of colour with the Eye of Horus is discussed in Chapter 11. Ogdon discusses examples of unnaturally coloured depictions of sacred eyes which he connects with the sun, but which may equally well be using colour to express their unique divine power.¹²

The references to the king's eyes have been discussed in Chapter 5 with regard to their use in the offering ritual and the Opening of the Eyes, and the interplay with the symbolism of the Eye of Horus. The analysis of the other divine eyes supports the idea that the king's eyes could have their own symbolism, as well as being organs of vision. The reference in §2036 also has the sacred eye glyph (𓆎) which is later used extensively in the *CT*.

It is also interesting to note here a couple of other expressions: in §429b (a snake spell) "o eye of mine, do not look at him!" is to be recited, which suggests that merely looking on the creature might be dangerous, as it could strike at the eye, obviously a vulnerable and important organ. Thus in §440 Mafdet strikes the offending creature's face and scratches its eyes. There is also the notion that the dread of the king could be placed in the eyes of the spirits and the gods (§53, 900c & e), obviously the most effective place to impress them. These basic beliefs in the eye as a source of power, the entry to a person's soul, as it were, where pain or fear would register most effectively, support the theory that the divine eye could be seen as a source of a being's power.

The spells collected in Section J show that the concept of a singular, symbolic divine eye can be applied to other gods and that this is attested in Unas' *PT* already. The owner of the Eye is not always easy to establish, but it seems clear that it was a possession not restricted to the major deities and, equally, not all of the supreme deities are credited with an Eye in the *PT*. The food spell Utt.207 is the only hint of an Eye of Atum which is prominent in later texts¹³, but it uses the more general expression *irt ntr* also seen in Utt.208. These references to other Eyes were presumably dictated by context. The Eye of Re appears in ascension spells as an image to help the king, the other eyes feature in spells where the king is being identified with a particular deity to empower him. In contrast to the Eye of Horus, other divine eyes do not appear in the dramatic texts of the mortuary cult, which have predominantly Osirian

¹² Ogdon 1985 p.37-38.

¹³ eg. *CT* spells 76, 80, 312.

imagery, or in the spells against dangerous creatures. They also lack any comparable mythical context. It must also be noted that the references to these eyes in the ascension spells occur in *W.*, whereas the Eye of Horus appears in this context in the later versions of the *PT*. However, there are many comparisons with the symbolism of the Eye of Horus - the similarities in the ascension spells with the Eye of Re, the power of the Eye of *Tbi*, the connection with eye-paint and the qualities of light and colour (see Chapter 11). The *CT* has even more references to divine eyes, particularly the development of the *w \overline{d} 3t* eye, but it seems clear that in the *PT* we already have evidence for a wider concept of eye symbolism of which the Eye of Horus is a part, but not necessarily the origin. The Eye of a god could function as an expression of his (or her) power and nature in an appropriate sphere of influence. Thus, for Re it was the ascension spells, while Horus has an important part in the mortuary cult, the Osirian spells, kingship and celestial spheres. The references to the king's eyes show how they were also incorporated into different types of text.

The evidence discussed here suggests that Egyptian thought on the eye may have stemmed from the natural recognition of eyes as the indicators of mood, intention, brightness and, therefore, life; also the actions of animals who engage in staring battles of will to establish their power. The eye could thus be interpreted as a source of strength and power - an aggressive weapon - but also the obvious place to aim for when striking at an enemy. It seems likely that the idea of a symbolic divine eye was conceived as an expression of a god's power which became objectivised and a separate entity from the god. This would certainly account for the wounding of the Eye of Horus; also the similarities detected above with the other divine eyes. Ideas that are developed more fully in the *CT* are the fiery eye, creation from a god's eye, the sending out of an eye (seen of course in the later myths about the Eye of the Sun) - it is hard to ascertain if these represent traditions that were current but did not have a place in the *PT* and thus represent a widening of the themes for mortuary texts in the *CT* or if they were new developments in religious thought.¹⁴ Whatever the case, these new ideas are certainly not at all incompatible with the eye symbolism seen in the *PT*.

¹⁴ Silverman 1989 p.36.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE EYE OF HORUS - A SUMMARY

The previous chapters have had a thematic approach to the source material in the *PT* for the symbolism of the Eye of Horus. This chapter summarizes two aspects of that symbolism to give an overview of their general significance.

i) Characteristics of the Eye of Horus

Throughout the *PT* the Eye of Horus appears with a tremendous variety of adjectives, locations, epithets and attributes. It is clear that many of these relate closely to the referent in a particular spell but it should also be possible to separate the significant from the incidental requirements of a spell. Also, some are qualities that could be considered natural attributes for an eye, while others are more peculiar and thus reveal unusual features of the eye symbolism in the *PT*.

The Eye of Horus appears in a selection of colours for all occasions.¹ In the offering ritual it appears as white and green in co-ordination with the offerings of fruit (§96a, 96c, 108b-c). It has been suggested that this corresponds to the colours of royal insignia² due to the verb *sšd* (which puns with *sšt* fruit) but this seems coincidental to the purpose - the symbolism of the offering has no obvious connection with insignia, unless one assumed this as a fundamental role of the Eye, whereas the colour of the fruit is presumably an unalterable fact of nature. The *irt Hr w3dt* is also offered as *t w3dt*, but perhaps the sense of "fresh" is more appropriate than colour here (§107a). The word *w3dt* is often indicative of a healthy, thriving condition for the king, particularly in connection with plants (eg. Utt.317) - it is also very close to the word *wḏ3* (see below). White (*hdt*) is the colour of Upper Egypt and of light which can lead to celestial connections. The *hdt* Eye occurs in Utts.69 & 70 where it is connected with vision (*sm3*) - this may be connected with the references to illumination in the ritual for the Opening of the Eyes, an interpretation which has also been suggested for Utt.43 where black and white eyes, as symbols for black and white vases, are said to illuminate (*shd*)

¹ For general studies of colour symbolism in ancient Egypt see Kees 1943, Brunner-Traut 1977a, Eschweiler 1994.

² eg. Rudnitzky 1956 p.45, Griffiths 1960 p.120.

the face. Similarly, the Eye is described as *b3qt* in Utt.204 where it has been swallowed. The word *b3q* is used for bright white, the sky or a state of well-being and is often used for sacred eyes in later times, where it can likewise have celestial connotations or refers to a good (or restored) condition.³ The idea of brightness is also connected with an Eye in Utt.319 where the bull has *i3hwy* within his Eye, and Utt.317 where the Eye has *thnt* as a result of the king's actions. The light could be celestial, but Hornung includes radiance as one of the attributes of a deity.⁴ It is also a natural quality for an Eye. In Utt.468 the Eye is juxtaposed with the *hdt* and *dšrt* crowns, the determinatives showing that this is the intention rather than assigning these colours to the Eye, although the colours of the crowns are integral parts of their symbolism.⁵ The word *qni* may be associated with the colour yellow (as seen in *CT* 80), and it is applied to the Eye of Horus in §1463, possibly also to Geb's eyes in §1033. If so, it seems a dangerous and threatening colour. The description of Horus in Utt.246 suggests that the colour of the eyes could be seen as indicative of mood or power. It certainly seems that the Eye of Horus was credited with the ability to change colour as the situation required, such as to match the colour of offerings, and often to unnatural eye colours. It also seems to possess a brightness, which is connected with the restoration of vision and which may recall celestial imagery, certainly seen in later texts but not obvious here - brightness being in any case a quality one naturally associates with the eyes. The proposed connections with insignia are probably unfounded - for example, the symbolism attached to the colour green reflects the fertility and health seen in the natural world of plants, rather than the role of the *W3dt* crown which may well originally have drawn on this association too.

The references to eyes in the singular and dual has been discussed in Chapter 5 with reference to the king's eyes and in Chapter 10 with other examples of eye symbolism. In by far the majority of cases the Eye of Horus is referred to in the singular, as are the Eye of Re and other divine eyes (see Chapter 10). This strongly suggests that there was an established concept of a singular symbolic eye in Egyptian religious thought. The fact that one of Horus' eyes was wounded has been seen as the motivating factor behind the Eye concept, but this is less convincing given the ample evidence for other divine Eyes in the *PT* and provokes the question why one wounded eye became the established motif. There is one clear reference to

³ eg. *WB* I, 425.18 and *CT* 1094 (vii 373) where it is clearly a result of healing.

⁴ Hornung 1983 p.133.

⁵ There is a mention of a red (*dšrt*) Eye of Horus in the *RDP* (Scene 23, column 75).

an *irt Hr wʿt* in Utt.57N where it puns with a *wʿtt* tail (the text in Utt.746 is problematic but may have the same phrase). This word can describe the uniqueness before the differentiation of creation and is often seen in later texts with the Eyes of Re or Atum (eg. *CT* ii 5a, iv 86w).⁶ There are also many references to the eyes of Horus in the dual form in the offering spells. A series of spells for bows has this feature - the versions in *Nt.* seem to have dual offerings, so this may well account for it. The two eyes match two jars in Utt.43, two uraei in Utt.748 and Utt.749 also refers to two kas and two crowns. The only references to two eyes of Horus outside the offering ritual is §1240a where the king returns the Eye to Horus, who is then said to see with both his eyes, and §253. The spells for restoration of vision usually refer to eyes, as facial characteristics and organs of vision, yet they still use a singular Eye of Horus as a symbol (see Chapter 5). Utt.43 also has the designations “left” and “right” eyes, but elsewhere only the “left” or “eastern” Eye of Horus is mentioned (eg. §451a, 1231a). The significance of the east as the place of celestial rebirth, and thus the king's desired destination, has been discussed in Chapter 7, and it is in the ascension spells that the Eye appears with this characteristic to associate it with this concept. It would also suit the idea of a returned or restored Eye to be termed as eastern or located in the east, as this was the place for assured regeneration (eg. Utts.359, 475 and 478). Analysis of the Eye led Anthes to conclude that it was a symbolic third Eye, which Horus possessed in addition to his normal pair, but this seems rather too literal an explanation for the complexities of Egyptian symbolism.⁷ The extent to which the Eye of Horus was to be seen as a “natural” eye is debatable - it certainly had qualities associated with physical eyes, but was also attributed with many more unusual abilities and independence from its owner.

The most famous epithet for a sacred Eye is *Wd3t*, the term also being used for a separate entity in the *CT* (*WB* i, 401), which does not occur in the *PT*. This adjective is however applied to the Eye of Horus on several occasions. The word has the basic meaning of “hale, uninjured, sound”. The examples with the Eye of Horus seem largely uninfluenced by offerings. In Utt.746 the offering is *mqrt* and in Utt.57L a *mstrt* kilt where the Eye is *swd3t*, although in Utts.79-80 it puns with *w3dt*. It is stressed in other spells that the king is to share the condition of *wd3t* with the Eye (eg. §21a, 2050), and it can also convey that condition to

⁶ eg. Anthes 1961a p.1.

⁷ Anthes 1961b p.88.

other items, such as the crown (§900a) or a garment (§1642). The word may be particularly linked with the restoration of the Eye, as in Utt.301, where this is repeatedly stressed in the context of the king's bringing the Eye to Horus (§451). There are, however, other words used in this context which seem to express the same idea of completeness, such as *tzti* (§1227c), *tmti* (§1240a) or *m rwh̄tt* (§451a).⁸ *Wd̄3t* was clearly a quality associated with the Eye of Horus, but the connections with the mythical fate of the Eye should not perhaps be overstated. The word is used frequently throughout the *PT* to describe the desired condition of the king without reference to the Eye of Horus.⁹ It is used to describe garments (§740, 1378) and the *Wrrt* crown (§749) - these references have been interpreted as alluding to the Eye of Horus, but this seems unwarranted given the wide use of the word. Its meaning relates to the importance of bodily restoration after death and the idea of "not lacking" (eg. §828, 834). This is not the place for a detailed study of the use of the *Wd̄3t* Eye in the *CT*, but it clearly does not always refer to the Eye of Horus as is sometimes assumed.¹⁰ The distinctive eye shape is only attested once in the *PT* with the term *n̄rt.wy* (§2036c).

Other miscellaneous adjectives used with the Eye of Horus include *bnrt* "sweet, pleasant" with an offering of sweets (Utts.169 & 194) which is also repeated in longer spells (eg. §591c, 1858a). In Utt.605, a spell for eye-paint, we hear that Horus has filled (*mḥ*) his empty Eye (*šwt*) with his full Eye (*mḥt*). The comparative reference in *CT* 551 (vi, 151) with the use of the verb *tz* implies restoration and the use of the adjectives "empty" and "full" suggest the idea of a return to completeness (see above) - the verb *mḥ* is commonly used for the application of unguents, and the action of applying the eye paint may be expressed in these terms accordingly. The Eye is called *rw̄dt* in Utts. 197, 244 and 364 (§614b), a word used for strength ("tüchtig" in terms of bodily parts, *WB* ii, 410-412), endurance (for a name) and hard stone. The text which accompanies the breaking of the red pots refers to the strengthening of the king and intimidating enemies so that the Eye could symbolize a club used to break the pots.¹¹ Other adjectives of power are *wsrt*, seen in §1234b with the wearing of the *H̄dt* crown (the Eye is also *Ḷ3t w3̄t* in the later version of this spell, §2246d), and in §1147 where the

⁸ The use of the verb *tz* to indicate bodily restoration is discussed under Utt.522 (G7). The verb *tm* can mean "undifferentiated" as well as "complete" which suggests that Horus was seen as restored to his former bodily unity that had been violated. The meaning of *m rwh̄tt* is less certain (see Utt.301, D6) but seems to refer to a healed condition.

⁹ eg. §163, 513, 565, 628, 683, 893, 908, 1378, 1513, 1620, 1810, 1811, 1969.

¹⁰ eg. Altenmüller 1975 p.53-54.

¹¹ Schott 1945 p.72 for this suggestion - see Utt.244 (A121).

king is identified with the Eye as *wsrt ir rmt nht ir ntrw*. In connection with the *Dšrt* crown the Eye is said to be *wrt b3w* (š3t *wnw* (§901) which is suggestive of many different manifestations of power - rather appropriate, given the Eye's varied symbolism. The determinative of the word *k33t* (𓂏), also seen with *3t*) suggests that it, too, is associated with the idea of power, but the meaning of the word has not been conclusively established. It occurs more in the *CT*, only being used of the Eye in §2087a. The word *swt* is also of uncertain meaning: Faulkner sees its derivation from *sw* "be harmful, dangerous" (*WB* iv, 59 "schaden"), but it could be used passively (i.e. the Eye threatened by Seth) or actively (i.e. the Eye is scary). Edel has also suggested a connection with the independent pronoun *swt*.¹² The epithet *Wrt-Hk3w* stresses the power to manipulate *hk3* to the desired effect and is especially associated with the crowns in the *PT*. Its use with the Eye of Horus also seems restricted to spells involving insignia (see Chapter 3).¹³ The descriptions of the Eye of Horus in terms of strength and power seem most common in spells concerning the royal insignia, and when it is being brought by the king in the afterlife where the emphasis on the Eye's importance reflects on the king as its rescuer.

As well as this collection of adjectives applied to the Eye, it was also described as possessing certain attributes. The quality of perfume (*st*) has been discussed in Chapter 4. This is mentioned in spells for fragranced offerings, such as incense (§18d, 19a-c, 20c, 29b, 1643c, 1754, 2287c) and sacred oils (§1803a, 2072c, 2075a). Its perfume is also attributed to the king in §1241a (and §2250a) where it may allude to a purification ritual being performed, but, as a divine entity, the Eye might be seen as having its own characteristic smell (cf. the references to the perfume of *Iht-wtt*). Water is another substance that could be seen as natural for an eye, such as tears or the fluids in the eye. In §451b it occurs alongside blood and *htw* (possibly breath or ducts)¹⁴ as physical components of the Eye that have been restored. The water of the Eye of Horus occurs in the offering spells where the verb *szwnt* puns with the offering of *mzt* cake (Utt.144), and also in a series of spells for sceptres (eg. Utts.62, 62a, 68) where Thoth is said to have seen it and the king must take it. The special connection with sceptres remains obscure, apart from a possible pun with the word *mdw*. It is, however, also seen in *CT* 857 (vii 60), a spell about the *3ms* club. The word *nswt* 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 is also something

¹² See Faulkner 1969 p.4 n.2 and Edel 1955 p.162 (§375).

¹³ §194c, 1795a, 2279, 2285; also with an unspecified Eye in §1832 and the Eyes from Nut (§823).

¹⁴ Faulkner 1969 p.91 n.11.

of a mystery: it occurs in Utts.180 & 181 where the king is told to take it and *nb3b3* it (§104a), or “they” are said to have licked it (§104b). It has been translated as “pupil” but there appear to be no further references to support this. The word may be connected to *nswt* “flame”¹⁵ or possibly the *nis* of the Eye in §702c. It is possible that the eye is the determinative for the word. The word *hwnt* is also translated as “pupil”, but the word means “maiden”, from the root “be young, rejuvenated”.¹⁶ The king is told to take it in Utt.155, and the dual form appears in Utt.748. The suggestions for ideas of female personification and the Eye that have stemmed from these references remain problematic until the exact significance of the term, which appears in a masculine form in *CT* 935 (vii 136), is fully understood. The king is told to take the *hph* of the Eye, and his mouth is also opened with it (§12, 79), thus providing a pun with *hps*, but the meaning remains obscure (*WB* iii, 268.3). In two other meat offering spells (Utts.96 & 129) the king is to take the *iswyt* of the Eye of Horus which seems to mean something like “representative” or “equivalent” - this puns with the offering of *swt* and suggests a certain awareness of the process of symbolism (see further below).

The Eye of Horus is located in a variety of places: in spells for cloth and clothing it is said to be in *T3it* (eg. §737c, 1642, 1794a). This Lower Egyptian town (possibly Buto) was renowned for being a centre of weaving, which also had a goddess of the same name. The association of the Eye of Horus with this town is seen in many later texts too for the same purpose (eg. *CT* 608, *BD* 936). The Eye is also said to be in Heliopolis where it is swallowed (§118b), recognized in the *Hwt-sr* (§1614b), found or sought there (§1242b, 2250c), and is alive and well there (§2050a-b). This Lower Egyptian town was very influential in the Old Kingdom, being associated particularly with the doctrines of Re and Atum. A strong Heliopolitan influence has been detected in the *PT*, which may well account for the location of the Eye here. It is depicted as a very prestigious place which evoked an aura of sanctity and authority, being something of a mythical focus, as it became the traditional site for the judgment on Horus and Osiris by the Ennead. Parallel to the mention of Heliopolis in Utt.524 (and the later version, Utt.724), the Eye is sought or found in Pe. This town was a major Lower Egyptian site; together with Dep it constituted Buto: “Horus wird speziell mit Pe

¹⁵ Faulkner 1962 p.139. *WB* ii, 324. See Chapter 10 for a discussion of fiery eyes.

¹⁶ *WB* iii, 53 where it is noted as an epithet for various goddesses including Hathor, Nephthys and the goddesses of the Two Crowns. Westendorf (1975 col.562) and Mercer (1952b p.52) cite the culturally widespread association of the pupil with a “maiden in the Eye”.

verbunden, während Uto hauptsächlich Dep vorsteht".¹⁷ The Eye is also said to awake in peace in Dep, parallel to a reference to the *hwt-Nt*, also connected with Lower Egypt (§56b).¹⁸ The Eye of Horus is indirectly located in the Upper Egyptian capital of Nekheb, when it is identified with the *Hdt* crown and the snake goddess in Nekheb. The significance of the bias towards Lower Egyptian locations is hard to assess, given the limited nature of the evidence - this seems a general trend in the *PT*, given the prominence of Heliopolis and Buto. The Eye's location seems linked to its symbolism of certain items (eg. cloth, the crowns) and the wider mythical scenario concerning Horus.

The Eye of Horus can be customized according to the requirements of the context, and particular aspects of its being could be emphasized depending on the circumstances. The general qualities that emerge show properties that one might associate with an eye - such as colour or water. Others make reference to the qualities that are associated with the Eye of Horus in particular - power and soundness - and which the king also desires to acquire. It is interesting to note that the Eye is never ascribed emotions - although it is "alive", there does not seem to be a high degree of personification involved. The qualities mentioned are usually shared with the referent - the fact that the Eye possessed them too strengthened the symbolic effect. Quite a few of the Eye's attributes remain relatively obscure, perhaps due to the need to provide puns which prompted word-formation or an unusual reference.

ii) Grammatical Expressions for the Eye's Symbolism

The grammar of the *PT* has been the subject of various studies¹⁹ - this section is only a brief survey of the grammatical means by which the Eye's symbolism is conveyed with regard to its referent, based on existing knowledge, with no attempt at a full scale study on linguistics and symbolism. The meaning of the Eye is expressed in various ways - the thematic collections of spells have demonstrated the different perspectives used for the Eye, such as in the ascension spells where the king can be identified with the Eye, or rescue it himself. This

¹⁷ Altenmüller 1975 col.887.

¹⁸ Jelinkova 1950 p.327-328.

¹⁹ eg. Firchow 1953, Edel 1955 & 1964, Sander-Hansen 1956, Allen 1984 (see his bibliography for more detailed studies).

reveals a great flexibility of expression, and the variations in the phrasing of the spells may further suggest slight changes of emphasis.

The name formula has been seen as originating in the transfer of the divine speeches from the dramatic texts into longer hymns, where where objects or people were placed in the context of the divine world. It was, according to Assmann, a form of visualisation, invoking a name of a god to connect the cult sphere and the divine world,²⁰ and which relied on the effects of the explicit word play created. The names that the gods were given in these formulae were often invented for the specific purpose, although Gilula notes that if there were no apparent word play the name might also exist independently, as in §741.²¹ The phrase *m rn.k pw* could be paraphrased as "in your special quality / power / identity". The Eye of Horus occurs in a name formula on several occasions, and it can be regarded as a way of denoting its symbolism by means of an illuminating epithet. The process of adapting the dramatic spells is illustrated in the alteration of §114 to a name formulae in §614d and §1858b, where the phrase *m rn.s n* has been inserted, so that instead of being offered as an oblation, the Eye is offered in its name of "oblation" (*w3ht*). The food spells (Utt.666 §1924a, Utt.700 §2185) are problematic as there is some corruption in the text with the use of the plural pronoun *gn*. The Eye seems to be offered in its names of *hnqt* and *w3g*, both types of offerings punning on the verbs used. In Utt.635 the Eye is placed on the king's brow in its name of *Wrt-hk3w* (§1795a), which is an epithet mostly associated with the crown as an expression of its power (see Chapter 3), thus indicating here that the Eye is an item of insignia. The spells about the Opening of the Eyes state that the king will see with his eye in its name of *Wpt-w3wt(-nr)* (§643a, 1806), punning with the opening, and suggestive of the enabling effects of the ritual (see Chapter 5). Utt.301 contains a list of name formulae connected with the presentation of the Eye by the king to Horus, providing a series of punning names for the recipient and the Eye which refer to the items being ritually presented, a variation on the offering ritual spells. This method of indicating the referent of the Eye of Horus' symbolism is thus used to place material objects in a relationship with the Eye of Horus in terms of a name or epithet. This was considered an integral part of a god, indicating essential traits or features. Assmann states that a deity was present in its name just as in a cult statue, so that the invoking the Eye's name in

²⁰ Assmann 1984 p.103.

²¹ Gilula 1982 p.259ff.

this way would be considered an effective way of mythologizing the ritual with its sacred presence. Hornung considered the multiplicity of names and epithets as a crucial feature for understanding the gods - they were a means of extending their sphere of influence. This is equally true for the Eye of Horus' varied symbolism - its names and attributes covered a multitude of different offerings.²²

The grammatical juxtaposition of the Eye of Horus and its referent was another way to stress its symbolic role, placing them side by side to indicate their common nature. Three spells employ this method with the Eye: an example in the offering ritual (§78a), juxtaposed with a relative form in §192b and with the crowns in §900a-b and §901a. Gardiner notes that the normal order was logical subject followed by the logical predicate, but that this could be inverted for emphasis (as perhaps in §192b). By the Middle Kingdom, it had become more usual to use the independent pronouns.²³ The construction with *pw* seems to be a further development from juxtaposition, the order now being logical predicate followed by *pw* and the logical subject, thus causing a change of emphasis.²⁴ This is seen in §698d, 976c, 1147b and 1460. These are all phrases which identify the king with the Eye of Horus, and his name consistently precedes the Eye.

The use of the *m* of equivalence or predication indicates that something is to be seen "as" or "in the position of" a predicate. Gardiner notes that the predicate can be seen as an acquired attribute rather than a permanent characteristic, which fits well with the adaptability of the Eye.²⁵ The use of *m* imbues the referent with the qualities of the Eye, such as the bread in §93. The king's eye is ascribed a variety of strengths in §301c and §320a-b. This can be compared with the phrase *Hr im Wsir*, which implies the concept of syncretism.²⁶ The phrase *pr m* is used in connection with the crown (see Chapter 3) and transformations (see Chapter 7). The use of the preposition *m* in this phrase is clearly similar to the expression *hpr m* which Anthes interpreted as "indicating the basic identity of what comes forth with that from which it came forth",²⁷ so that it combines the sense of "going forth from" and "going forth as". The

²² See Hornung 1983 p.86-91.

²³ Gardiner 1957 p.100 (§125).

²⁴ Gardiner 1957 p.103 (§127).

²⁵ Gardiner 1957 p.41.

²⁶ eg. Hornung 1983 p.91ff for the idea of a deity temporarily "inhabiting" another.

²⁷ Anthes 1959 p.211, see also Jacq 1986 p.31

word *mi*, or *mr*, has the meanings “as, like” as a preposition, or “as when, according to” as a conjunction. It is expressive more of “likeness” and could be compared with a simile, where comparison is used as a means of illustration. It is used in §1755c, 1923c, 1924b, 2185a and 2230a to show the relationship between actions concerning the Eye and the king. The use of the word *iswtyt* (§64d, 81a) suggests that the Eye could be seen as a “representative” of an offering, perhaps indicating the symbolism involved in the imagery of the Eye more explicitly than is seen elsewhere.

By far the most common method of referring to the Eye of Horus is the use of characteristics (such as those discussed above), shared by the Eye and its referent - which Rudnitzky refers to as “Hypostasen-Aussage”, and its use to express “das unmittelbare Gleichnis”.²⁸ The Eye is also said to be used in the same way as the object it symbolizes, such as the use of the verb *wnh* with a garment or *mḥ* with ointment. In the offering spells the repeated phrase *m-n.k irt Hr* parallels the presentation of the offerings. In other spells the verbs used with the Eye, such as *stp*, *si3* and *wḏ3*, denote actions or states desired by the king in the afterlife. This technique can also be interpreted on a less literal level, in that the transfer of the Eye of Horus was also the effective accomplishment of the ritual aim by a transfer of power. These citations could be seen as metaphorical but, as with the mention of simile above, these essentially literary terms are not really applicable to religious texts where a very real presence was invoked. The use of puns must also not be underestimated - it may be that the reading aloud of a spell, or perhaps even in written form, could summon an implicit identification by means of similar sounding words.

The kind of problems that seem to arise in the interpretation of religious symbolism are illustrated well by the Christian Eucharist where the exact significance of the biblical passage has led to severe disputes. In contrast, the evidence of the *PT* shows that there was not a set grammatical method of expressing the symbolism of the Eye of Horus; all those discussed above were equally effective. It is hard to assess the changes of emphasis, as we do not have direct evidence for the level of awareness of symbolism that the Egyptians felt when composing these mortuary spells, or the effect on the participants that they produced.

²⁸ Rudnitzky 1956 p.42: “Ferner ist noch an die Verwendung des Wortes ‘Horusauge’ als Wechselwort für die Hypostase zu erinnern” (citing §31a, 19b).

Frankfort has noted that in ancient times the relationship between a symbol and its referent was perceived as much closer, in terms of a coalescence.²⁹ They may have added value and effect to the items of the mortuary cult by the powerful terms of reference, or invoked the actual presence of divinity or effected an actual change in the substance of the items. The use of the name formula, for example, may express a change in religious thinking, but generally it attests a belief in the power of words as the means of securing a successful afterlife for the king.

²⁹ Frankfort 1946 p.12. Smith's study of African symbolism notes the mystical energy believed to reside in a symbol "efficacious in the production of certain definite results" (1952 p.20).

CHAPTER TWELVE

MYTH AND THE EYE OF HORUS

The existence and status of myth in the *PT* has been the subject of much discussion. A short summary of the current situation is necessary in order to evaluate effectively the references to the Eye of Horus which have previously been termed here as "mythical", with the general sense of "referring to the divine world". The *PT* have the overall aim of securing resurrection and a place in the afterlife for the deceased king - any references to myth are geared to this purpose. One approach to the mythical references in the *PT* has been to collect together citations scattered about the corpus and to reconstruct a myth from them based on what is known of particular myths from other (usually later) sources. In other words, this presumes that the authors of the *PT* used material from myths known elsewhere, either orally or in written form, which had been selected for a particular ritual purpose and required previous knowledge to ascertain the full significance of the citation. This method has been tried in the past, particularly with regard to the conflict between Horus and Seth, and thus also the Eye of Horus,¹ for which later texts, such as *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* and *The Memphite Theology*, provide fuller accounts which seem partly compatible with the *PT* evidence.² One of the problems with this methodology is the assumption that religious ideas remained unchanged throughout Egyptian history despite much evidence to the contrary. The projection of themes attested in later material back onto the material from the *PT* is a dangerous approach - to gain an accurate, if necessarily limited, insight into the status of myth in the *PT*, the material should be judged in isolation.

The *PT* seem to contain many varied and often contradictory mythical details. However, the basic mythical situations to which spells refer are quite consistent, suggesting a certain flexibility in any myths that may have existed. This in itself is a possibly unwarranted assumption - Assmann has proposed that the Egyptians may not have had any myths before the Middle Kingdom, using his narrower definition of myth based on its developed narrative qualities. He concentrates on the "iconicity" of the gods,³ the use of "constellations",⁴

¹ eg. Junker 1917, Kees 1941.

² For example, the recently restored spell (P233+1-3) mentioning a homosexual encounter between Horus and Seth, an episode well known from *The Contendings*.

³ Assmann 1982 p.38-42. His views on myth are developed in the following works: Assmann 1977b, Assmann 1982, Assmann 1984.

relatively fixed groups of gods in relatively fixed relations to one another, but around whom narrative tales had not yet developed to the length seen in later texts. It is to these that the “sakramentale Ausdeutung” of the *PT* refer, most notably the group of Osiris (the deceased) and Horus (the son).⁵ Assmann's theories have been supported by Junge,⁶ and Tobin has similar views, although he prefers to speak of the “symbolicity” of myth.⁷ Baines' survey of Assmann's work, and the question of myth generally, reaches slightly different conclusions: “it is desirable to return to a more diverse model of early religion, in which myths play a part outside the central forms of written transmission”.⁸ Even more recently, Zeidler has suggested that the *PT* can be seen to have narrative elements, even using Assmann's definition of myth, taking a model created by Propp for textual analysis.⁹

One of the main problems is the degree of “narrativity” required for a “myth”, definitions of which vary - Baines criticises Assmann's “Aristotelian” interpretation (i.e. requiring a beginning, middle and end) and prefers the more general criteria that the end situation must merely differ from that at the beginning.¹⁰ The *PT*'s limitations as source material for myth are also problematic - one would not necessarily expect to find “narrative” material in ritual texts. The lack of comparative evidence makes it hard to define a contemporary role for myth in relation to ritual, in oral tradition for example. The very nature of Egyptian myth is also significant, namely whether narrative stories about the gods were an important part of their religion,¹¹ or whether the iconicity / symbolicity of the gods was more important, in terms of their general characteristics and relationships to one another.¹² There is also debate on whether, in the context of the *PT*, the mythical references seek to recall a mythical past by the repetition of an act already established in a mythical precedent, or if they are a visualization of mythical acts in the present, the words invoking the divine action as if for

⁴ Assmann 1977b p.14.

⁵ Assmann 1984 p.118.

⁶ Junge 1978.

⁷ Tobin 1988a p.108. See also Tobin 1988b, Tobin 1989, Tobin 1993.

⁸ Baines 1991 p.105, Tobin 1988a criticises some of Baines' remarks.

⁹ Zeidler 1992.

¹⁰ Baines 1991 p.85 & n.29, also p.94.

¹¹ eg. Baines 1991 p.96 “without myths, the many deities who existed by the dynastic period, and who were worshipped in temples and grouped in lists, would have formed a rather abstract and bloodless world”.

¹² eg. Tobin 1988a p.108: “the true essence of Egyptian myth does not lie in narrative but in the symbolic use for which the deity or mythic event was originally created. The validity of this role of myth holds true even if the symbol is totally static, i.e., lacking in either action or personal development within the mythic structure”. This description is useful but the possibility of development of the symbols must also be considered. See also Baines 1991 p.94 on the generally unusual nature of Egyptian narrative tales.

the first time.¹³ This is not the place for a detailed discussion on such matters but I hope to take these issues and the current state of debate into account in my analysis of the Eye of Horus. Rather than presume to define "myth" and its status in the *PT*, I hope to present an objective overview of the material available for discussion on the Eye of Horus.

The preceding chapters on the Eye of Horus as a symbol in different types of spells have shown the diversity and adaptability of its role. It is a crucial part of the process of mythologizing ritual which relates the deceased king's situation and the cult actions, and thus also their implications, to the divine world. Some particular scenarios with the Eye of Horus recur in different types of spells, and they are compatible with what is known from later mythological material, but the *PT* do not provide much firm evidence for a continuous narrative. It is possible, however, to distinguish the major mythical themes from the details that are added for a particular spell's purpose or perspective.

The loss or injury of the Eye of Horus due to the actions of Seth is a theme that recurs throughout the offering spells, usually in the past tense (*sdm(w).n.f* relative form, eg. §61a, 73a, 73b, 109b), but also as a continuing threat where the king is told to "prevent lest" it happens again (eg. §96a, 97a, 99c). These descriptions of the damage to the Eye of Horus and its recovery (eg. §87, 95) provide the ritually effective word-play with the offering. Considering the early composition suggested for the dramatic spells, it could be proposed, but not necessarily proved, that this act of aggression was an important mythical situation for the Eye of Horus. The other images used in the offering spells, such as the fluids of Osiris or the breast of Horus, are not given additional descriptions like the Eye,¹⁴ and they are also not used as frequently. It may be that these mythical references to the Eye of Horus were adding variety and richness to what would otherwise be a rather repetitious offering ritual, and they represent elaborations on a basic theme, as noted by Rudnitzky and Assmann.¹⁵ The theme of Seth's aggression does occur in other spells - his anger is mentioned in §1407b, and he steals the Eye

¹³ Discussed in Assmann 1977b p.27, for example.

¹⁴ The finger of Seth is said to have illuminated the Eye of Horus (§48), but this may refer to the symbolism of cult items rather than a mythical event. The fluids of Osiris have been connected with his death by drowning, but Griffiths (1980 p86) notes "the positive aspects of the water symbol...the inundation is no longer the symbol of the death, but of the resurrection of Osiris". The fluid symbol matches the liquid substance of the offering and has divine essence.

¹⁵ Rudnitzky 1956 p.56 and Assmann 1984 p.118-119.

in §1233b. The Eye is also rescued from Seth by Horus and by the king in §578d, 594c, 947a and 2071b-c.

A different set of spells refers to the mutual wounding of Horus and Seth. The spells against snakes mention the injury to Horus' Eye and to Seth's testicles (§679d, col.30 P233+1-3, §418a). There is also a mention of mutual homosexual acts in P233+1-3, presumably as part of their conflict. Baines states: "the reciprocity of the action has more to do with the structure of magical spells than with a narrative, where an asymmetrical outcome would be more normal....but it is good evidence for a myth because it reports an episode known from an extended version".¹⁶ There are certainly many later references to a homosexual encounter between Horus and Seth,¹⁷ and indeed Te Velde sees it as the main theme of their conflict: "it seems that the Eye became small not as a result of the conflict of Horus and Seth, but as a result of homosexual acts between these two gods".¹⁸ However, this new spell remains the only clear reference to homosexual advances in the *PT* and its balanced composition together with its position subsequent to the mention of the mutual injuries suggests that the duality of Horus and Seth in their conflict is being stressed here. This is also apparent in spells concerning the king's ascension and the celestial ferryman: in §594a it seems to set the scene for the subsequent rescue of the Eye (see below), whereas in §946b-c and §535a-b the gods are being brought their injured parts, the king hoping to gain transport and a meal from the image. There are similar references to the mutual healing of the gods' injuries in §142 and §850a-e where the king will likewise be free from harm. The references to the reconciliation of the "Two Lords" (§34), gods (§26) or "the god to his brother" (§738) recall the more positive side of their conflict, namely the duality that is embodied in the king which becomes symbolic of the unification of the Two Lands.¹⁹ Finally, the Eye of Horus and the testicles of Seth are mentioned as acts of cosmic significance in a typical description of the primeval state by the negation of significant aspects of creation (§1463e). The Eye of Horus is also mentioned alone in §1040d. The conflict of Horus and Seth must be seen as a firmly established and important mythical theme; the dual wounding of the gods and thus the Eye of Horus is a fundamental issue. It should be noted that many passages refer only to Seth's actions against the Eye with

¹⁶ Baines 1991 p.95, referring to the comments of Brunner-Traut 1982 col.281.

¹⁷ Griffiths 1960 p.41-46, see also Barta 1992, Westendorf 1987a.

¹⁸ Te Velde 1977 p.35.

¹⁹ See discussion of this in Kemp 1989 p.52.

no mention of his testicles, so that even this image of wounding can vary. Whether there was a narrative explaining the causes (which are not mentioned in the *PT*) and thus the symbolic significance of the image of conflict, it is impossible to tell. Horus and Seth function as the archetypes of all conflict and reconciliation: thus we see them as symbolic of the struggle for the kingship, as light and darkness, as falcon and bull, or in any number of interpretations.²⁰

The recovery of the Eye of Horus is another scenario which occurs in several types of spells, with different aims and results. The ascension spells contain a relatively detailed version involving Thoth as the saviour of the Eye, Horus being “fallen on yonder side of the Winding Waterway” (§594). In Utt.359 this is clearly in the context of the conflict of Horus and Seth discussed above (mutual injuries in §594, the Eye needs saving from the anger of Seth in §594). Thoth spots the Eye which then leaps up onto his wing and he carries it across the Winding Waterway (§594). In Utt.475 the Eye of Horus leaps up in the east of the sky, with no mention of Thoth, but the Eye is on his wing on the east of the ladder of the god in Utt.478 (§976a). The point in all these spells, also in §1742a where the Eye is unusually described as on the wing of Seth and §1176, 1254 and §1377 where the wings of Thoth are mentioned without the Eye of Horus, is the ascension and transportation of the king. The wings of Thoth were clearly an established mode of transport for the afterlife, but there is no reason to suspect that this image was part of a myth concerning the Eye of Horus. The state of the Eye after its removal and its subsequent recovery was a good analogue for the deceased king's condition after death, but additionally the previously prevailing situation with the Eye still vulnerable provided a role for the king as its saviour: in Utt.359 we hear that the king is to join the gods in the dispute with Seth about the Eye of Horus (§596), and in §600 the king is seeking the Eye of Horus. The king is described as bringing the Eye back to Horus in §451b & 1227c, Horus' joy at its return is mentioned in §977c & 2076a-b. These same themes are also seen in Utt.524, and the later version Utt.724, where the king states “I am Thoth who protects you, not Seth who stole it” (§1233b). The role of Thoth as the rescuer was a useful image by means of which the king's position among the gods could be justified, and it seems clear that Thoth was connected in some fundamental way with the Eye of Horus.²¹ Thoth's role in these texts is varied. He is often cast as the protector of Osiris / the king (§956, 1153) and is instrumental in

²⁰ Hornung (1983 p.217) summarizes the themes as “the complementary duality of the world and the necessity for constant confrontation”.

²¹ This is also seen in the *CT* eg. 649 (vi 271).

crushing his enemies, most notably Seth and his followers (§16-7, 635, 651, 1336, 1979). His strength is emphasised (§1237, possibly §535). In contrast, there is also a trace of hostility where he is associated with Seth (§163). Nonetheless, the king is often identified with Thoth (§796, 1233, 1713, 1725, 1900, 1914, 2150, 2176). Thoth is also described as “Treasurer of Life, Seal-Bearer of the gods” (§1523) and “in whom is peace of the gods” (§1465). The evidence for his role as a moon god is discussed in Chapter 7 but this aspect of his nature is not especially prominent in the *PT*. The influence of ritual on the role of Thoth cannot be ascertained and his origins are not clear, but his role with regard to the Eye seems to be that of intermediary and helper to Horus, just as he also protects Osiris.²² The rescue of the Eye is also carried out by Horus when he subsequently gives it to Osiris (see Chapter 6). The core idea of theft and recovery is thus open to interpretation on the details.

Some other recurring details emerge from the spells: the seeking of the Eye is mentioned several times (§600c, 1242b, 2250b-c), being performed by the king who is doing a good deed and assisting the gods (§1242a, 2250). This recalls the later eye myths, such as that of the Eye of Re and Onuris,²³ and divine eyes also perform the seeking themselves, such as Atum’s sending out his Eye to seek Shu and Tefnut (*CT* 76, ii 5 and *CT* 331, iv 173). The Eye of Horus is found located on Seth who is still in the place where he fought Horus (§1227, 1242, 2250). The idea of a subsequent judgment scenario involving the Eye of Horus and Geb, which is detailed in the much later *Memphite Theology*, may appear in the *PT*. Horus is told to take his Eye “which was recognized for you in the house of the leader in Heliopolis” (§1614b) - this occurs in a spell for the presentation of the *Šzmtt* apron, a piece of insignia which would ensure that the king was recognized from his foes. The mention of the *Hwt-sr* in Heliopolis as the place of judgment reflects the fact that the *PT* show strong Heliopolitan connections: the Eye was also sought and found there (see above) and is described as alive and well (§2050a-b, the king likewise). The *hwt-sr* has been interpreted as the place of royal legitimization and also the place of the divine court of the ennead.²⁴ The building does seem to have special significance as a place of council or judgment concerning the king (§14c, 215c, 1451b), and we hear of the threat made to Seth by the gods there (§957c), also a reference to Osiris

²² For further studies of the god Thoth see Boylan 1922, Bleeker 1973, Kurth 1986 and Spiess 1991.

²³ eg. Junker 1917.

²⁴ Kaplony 1977 col.351-356. See also *CT*587 (vi 208) for another reference to a judgment involving the Eye at the *Hwt Sr*.

(§622b). The fact that the *hwt Sr* seemed to be the location for judgments involving Horus and Osiris suggests that the common theme was the vindication of the king against Seth: Anthes has suggested that the process by which Horus was declared *m3^c hrw* was a reflection of the procedure for the recognition of a new king.²⁵ The role of Geb is seen in Utt.689 where he raises the Eye with a subsequent mention of judgment (*w^dl*, §2087-8), Horus is also given his Eye in the presence of Geb in §977d, he discusses his Eye with Geb in two incense spells (§1643c, 2287c) and Geb is also prominent in the Osirian spells where he assists Horus (§578d, 583b-c, 612a, 634a). Miosi sees Geb's role here as “the receiver and transmitter of kingship”,²⁶ and he can certainly function as the predecessor of Osiris and Horus as king (eg. §301, threatened in §277). Geb's function as father and esteemed judge is further seen in §1219 where “Horus took possession of his father's house from his father's brother Seth in the presence of Geb” and in the vindication of Osiris (§961). However, Geb seems a flexible figure in the *PT* like Thoth. Both are present in ritual spells (eg. Utts.71h, 82, 172) and both can help subdue Seth (§575, 578d). The restoration of the Eye of Horus as part of a more judicial procedure may reflect another adaptation of the basic fact of its recovery to coincide with the idea of the recognition of the king before the gods.

The presentation of the Eye of Horus to Osiris, as the deceased king, seems certainly to have arisen from the basic funerary scenario (see discussion on offering spells), although it is also elaborated in other (possibly later) spells (see Chapter 6).²⁷ The presentation of offerings is equated with Horus' giving his Eye (§1923c, 2230a, 1643a) - it is part of the restoration of Osiris, the vanquishing of Seth and his empowerment (§641b-642a, 578c-d, 591b, 1859a). In Utt.637 Horus seeks Osiris in *Ghsty* and fills him with his Eye (as ointment), demonstrating the idea of the son endeavouring to save his father. The problem of the Eye, which is Horus', being presented to Osiris may be more apparent than real: the nature of the gods as seen in the *PT* supports Tobin's idea that the Egyptians had the ability “to hypostasise each one in such a way that fluidity of character and function was an essential hallmark of the gods”²⁸ which is seen especially in the royal functions of Horus, Osiris and Geb. Presumably

²⁵ Anthes 1954a. See Griffiths 1980 p.10-11 and Griffiths 1960 p.8-10 for his interpretations of this episode, also Anthes 1959 p.200-201.

²⁶ Miosi 1989 p.106, an emphasis possibly due to the royal nature of the *PT*. For another study of Geb see Te Velde 1977.

²⁷ See Zeidler 1993 p.105 who analyses the role of Osiris from two basic standpoints, namely that the deceased king acquires the mythical fate of Osiris or that Osiris has the fate of the deceased king.

²⁸ Tobin 1988a p.109.

the ability of the Eye of Horus to empower could be easily transferred to Osiris without requiring that this be an existing mythical scene. The scenario with Horus giving his Eye to Osiris seems generally to occur in ritual spells,²⁹ where it may well have originated, and, although the Eye symbolizes the empowerment resulting from the ritual, there may also be connotations of filial duty, restoration and the donation of a valued attribute.

The final, and possibly most interesting, scenario is the description of the king as Horus in full possession of his restored Eye. This is a different context from the usual references to the transfer or wounding of the Eye. Horus is described as rescuing his Eye for Osiris (eg. §1799-1800), but also for himself, as in Utt.686 where the Eye will rage against enemies (§2072). The king is also similarly described as “the lord of power who is strong through the injury that was done to him” (§297c), also as “Horus the elder, his Eye is his strength” (§301). The similarity of the Eye and royal insignia in these spells stems from the hypostasis of royal power and authority, also aggression against enemies. The significance here is that we are seeing Horus, or the king in that role, with his Eye in action - not a common situation in the *PT* perhaps, as the emphasis is on the deceased rather than the living king who fits this role rather better. It is tempting to see this empowered, legitimized monarch as close to the original significance of the Eye of Horus - the core of the mythical images. The term “Eye of Horus” is fundamentally an expression of possession of an externalisation of power. As can be seen above, the embellishments on this basic theme, for example in the rituals for the Osiris-king and the ascension spells where the king seeks to legitimize his transposition, have to be seen in context and as adaptations to a particular purpose.

Having identified the core areas of the mythical details concerning the Eye of Horus, it remains to consider their implications. Zeidler has used Utt.359, discussed above, to illustrate a narrative sequence. He terms these spells “Zaubermärchen”³⁰ and considers that the details have the literary prerequisite of an established myth which existed elsewhere, without which they would have no meaning. However, the content and sequence of ideas in the spells of the *PT*, with their many changes of perspective and seeming contradictions, gain meaning from the purpose of the spell, usually the transfiguration of the king. An independent narrative

²⁹ In Utt.519 the king seeks justification for his ascension as Horus bringing a bandage woven from the Eye for Osiris, but this too can be seen as a form of offering.

³⁰ Zeidler 1993 p.101.

myth elsewhere might well have acted as a restriction upon this - for example, the Eye of Horus could not be separately restored by Thoth and Horus. There are, however, recurring scenarios which suggest a mythical theme or episode - the archetypal figures of Horus and Seth in conflict, the wounding of the Eye and testicles, the recovery of the Eye which was still effective as a symbol of power. The *PT* do not provide evidence for an established Eye of Horus Myth, but the references in these texts could be seen as indicative of compositions based on established but extremely flexible traditions about the Eye, whether from folk or royal origins we cannot know. The overall impression of a vague narrative involving a wounding, loss and recovery is somewhat deceptive, as the unfolding of these themes rarely happens in a single spell. The basic framework, seemingly lacking motivation and a definite result or "moral",³¹ could be used for a multitude of ideas and themes, such as the celestial interpretations, but the most significant being the connection with the kingship which seems more prominent in the *PT* as royal texts. It is easy and tempting to read so much into the "myth" - the loss of the Eye could represent death, whilst its restitution to Osiris meant resurrection. It could be the loss of a king and the accession of the new monarch - but from the evidence of the *PT* it is hard to tell if the Eye of Horus indeed had all these implications or whether we are paying tribute to the flexibility and polyvalence of the symbol. The recurring mythical situations associated with the Eye of Horus show that it was more than a divine attribute and had become the focus of specific divine actions and results. It remains to consider how far the Eye might have gained its significance from these situations, or whether its unique qualities were the inspiration for them.

³¹ For example, Tobin 1993 p.97 considers how the significance of the conflict does not seem always to lie in its victorious outcome for Horus. The emphasis could also be placed on the wounded or vulnerable Eye if the situation required. The question of morality in Egyptian myth is probably misplaced, the emphasis being more on the upholding of *maat*, of which the restoration of the Eye may be seen as a part.

CONCLUSION

The symbolism of the Eye of Horus has been summarized in relation to the specific themes of the *PT* in the previous chapters. It remains here to consider its major, fundamental characteristics as a symbol that transcend its specific use in the spells of the *PT*. The limitations on these conclusions must first be emphasized. A symbol is essentially a dynamic entity whose meaning can develop, through political or theological changes for example. We have no direct evidence for the Egyptian awareness of symbolism, the emotional response it produced or how it featured as part of their religious experience. The development of symbolic representation is seen early on with the ceremonial palettes, for example, which showed stylized conflict motifs and royal insignia, but with few clues as to how or where these symbols developed. This is the case with many other common Egyptian symbols, such as the *dd* pillar or the *tit*, whose origins are obscure but seem to have been more practical than mythical. The lack of earlier evidence means we are being presented with occurrences of the Eye of Horus at a certain stage in its development, namely at the time of the inscription of the *PT*, the late 5th to 6th dynasties, although the inclusion of earlier material remains a distinct possibility, but unproven. It is equally possible that the symbols of the *PT* developed in meaning during the time between the pyramid of Unas and the end of the 6th Dynasty. The damaged condition of some of the pyramids makes it hard to do quantitative measures for the Eye of Horus' use, but tentative suggestions have been made on the possible later use of the Eye in the ascension spells (Chapter 7) and the interplay with the Eye of Re (Chapter 10). It also seems likely that the development of the *CT* was partially contemporary with the later *PT* - fragments of text have been found on a shroud from Balat which has been dated to the 6th Dynasty, although the main development of the corpus is generally held to be during the 1st Intermediate Period.¹ Willem has suggested that the *CT* developed earlier in the south than the north, reflected in the general absence of *CT* spells derived from *PT* spells in the earlier southern collections.² He further suggests that there were separate traditions that became fused, which implies caution in using the evidence for symbolic eyes in the *CT* to elucidate the *PT* material as the texts may well reflect fundamental differences in religious thought or shifts

¹ See Willem 1988 and Heerma van Voss 1984 for general summaries of the *CT*.

² Willem 1988 p.247.

of emphasis in belief for the private tradition.³ Even with those spells derived from *PT* material, the inclusion of originally royal texts in private tombs may have also meant changes in the significance of aspects of symbolism.

The conclusions presented here are thus limited to the operational use of the Eye of Horus in the royal mortuary texts of the 5th-6th Dynasties. We may be justified in assuming that the revelations about the Eye of Horus here reflect the position of this symbol generally in the official or state Egyptian religion at this time which may be particularly linked with the religious centre of Heliopolis. With regard to later developments, the *PT* seem to contain many of the major themes of Egyptian religion that can subsequently be traced through collections of mortuary literature and other religious texts so that the role of the Eye of Horus in later texts may be proven to develop from the traditions in the *PT*.⁴ As regards any earlier traditions about the Eye of Horus, given the lack of comparative material and the sadly limited chances of uncovering any earlier texts, there is some justification for suggesting a hypothesis for the symbolism of the Eye that goes some way beyond the scope of this material.

The Eye of Horus emerges from the mass of references in the *PT* as a predominantly instrumental symbol, featuring among the many means to an end for the deceased king, the end, of course, being his successful transition to the afterlife. The Eye is part of the positive change that the words of the *PT* were evidently considered capable of bringing about. In short, it is a means of empowerment either through direct presentation to the king or indirect reference, such as its wounding in the snake spells. In the ritual spells the Eye's interpretation as an expression of power is based on its function as a repository for that power which was considered to be invoked by the various ritual acts. It was the means by which the intentions of the officiant were brought to fruition, through the actual acts and words that evoked the Eye's presence. In effect, the belief in the power of the ritual to achieve its purpose was anchored in the symbol of the Eye. The repeated references to the presentation of the Eye of Horus to the deceased king, where it can usually be interpreted as representing a specific ritual item, act as a means of unifying the varied offerings with one mythical image, providing a consistency and

³ See Silverman (1989 p.36) for some of the influential factors on the composition of the *CT*. There were clearly some new developments in eye symbolism - compare the spell for "Becoming the fiery Eye of Horus" (*CT* 316) which features a fiery, aggressive eye termed "the lady of slaughter".

⁴ This is a subject which requires further research.

a centralising force, as all the offerings had essentially the same aim. Additionally, the use of terms which were not necessarily literally applicable to the Eye, but associated more with the offering or the use of word play, highlight the resemblance between the symbol and its referent and thus increase the effectiveness of the text.

The Eye's supreme role in the ritual spells, particularly the offering ritual, shows that it must have been perceived as an extremely effective image for this purpose. However, it should not be emphasized in isolation as it was clearly part of the wider scheme, which has been termed "mythologizing", whereby the mortuary cult and its participants were equated with divine counterparts. In effect, the material in the *PT* represents a mythologizing of the whole scenario of death and the wish of the king to survive it intact. This use of religious symbolism has the function of invoking a further religious dimension, other than that directly presented, and possibly even of establishing a union with the divine presence. The central roles, although by no means universally attested, are those of the deceased king as Osiris and the officiant as Horus. This certainly suggests one reason why the Eye of Horus was so prominent here, reflecting his importance as a royal god also seen in the early dynastic iconography. Other symbols used in the offering ritual can belong to other gods or the king's own body. This suggests that their effectiveness stemmed from the divine nature of the owner, which was equally resident in a part of the body, and therefore conveyed immense value to the ritual item. The Eye of Horus has a significant role among the many deities and religious symbols of the *PT*, reflecting its inherent power and essential connection with Horus as a term of reference. A detailed analysis of Horus' part in the *PT* may benefit the study of his Eye, but the Eye's own role is somewhat distinct from that of its owner.

In addition to the ritual or "dramatic" spells, the texts describing the king's progress in the afterlife among the gods also have the same overriding aim of securing his transfiguration into an *3h*, one of the glorified dead, or into a *ntr*, one of the gods themselves. These spells mention the familiar themes of purification or provision of food as necessary acts for the king to achieve this aim and also depict the king's ascension as taking place in the context of the afterlife and among the gods themselves. The Eye of Horus features here accordingly, as do other symbolic divine eyes. The king is associated and identified with the Eye of Horus for his ascension and well being, the Eye's referent being a condition desired by the king, whether a

state of transportation or being *wꜣd3*. The Eye is also used in more "magical" ways, for example as an image to combat snakes and dangerous creatures, or as the object of an act of swallowing as a means to acquiring power. These additional uses show the great versatility of the Eye of Horus - it not only featured as one of the "multiplicity of approaches" whereby many gods, sacred locations, religious symbols, rituals and traditions were invoked, but also could function in a multitude of ways itself to achieve the various aims of the deceased king. It was thus not unique in its functionality, except perhaps with reference to its mythical fate (see below). It is interesting to note the similarities of the Eye of Horus with Hornung's analysis of the characteristics of the gods. He noted that their nature was expressed by a multitude of names and epithets which attested their richness and diversity - this is certainly true for the Eye of Horus in the *PT*. It shows the same "unrestricted nature" and "abundance that tolerates no dogmatic restriction".⁵ In terms of Allen's analysis of the architectural layout of the pyramid's chambers, the general distinction between the presentation of the Eye in "ritual" spells and its symbolism in the "non-ritual" ascension spells may be reflected in the location of a text. The king receives the Eye in the burial chamber and goes forth equipped with its power through the antechamber. This is rather a generalisation; hopefully, more detailed studies of the location of the different spells in the *PT* in each pyramid will benefit the study of the connection between the many different uses of the Eye of Horus.

The use of a symbol essentially relies on a "detected similarity"⁶ or "an underlying rationale"⁷ between the symbol and its referent. The previous chapters have emphasized the different contexts in which the Eye of Horus is used but it is also important to consider the fundamental similarities that are not always obvious but which are crucial for the study of the Eye. The basic aim of the *PT* is to ensure a new state of being for the deceased king, as an *3ḥ* or a god, where he wants for nothing and has supreme power. These texts describe this condition and the means of achieving this empowerment. The presentation of food and drink provided sustenance and thus were a source of power for the king. Similarly, the substances used in purification rituals were believed to be innately efficacious in rendering a state of purity and divinity. The royal insignia were symbols of power and their presentation, as with the coronation, signified the conferral of the unique powers of the king. Other rituals, such as the

⁵ Hornung 1983 p.86.

⁶ Power 1986 p.448.

⁷ Beattie 1970 p.242.

Opening of the Eyes or the Mouth, were concerned with enabling the king after death in terms of restoring senses so that he could perform various activities. The use of the Eye in all the ritual spells was essentially beneficial and positive: it empowered and effected a changed state. This was also the case in the ascension spells, where it essentially enabled the king for ascension and integration into the afterlife. The anti-snake spells also have the same principle of empowerment via the Eye, but in terms of the wounding of the Eye being projected onto the snake to wound it likewise. All these contexts require the ability to effect change, whether of condition or in terms of movement (for ascension). The common thread throughout the *PT* is thus the symbolism of the Eye of Horus as a source of divine power utilized for the king's benefit.

A deeper analysis of the Eye's symbolism requires caution. It is not clear how far the use of the Eye can be seen as metonymy - to consider it as such may result in a rather reductionist view of its role. When the term *irt Hr* occurs, it denotes something fundamentally connected to the god Horus. As such, the Eye could function as an expression for his power, but perceived as something independent which could be transferred, lost or recovered. In his discussion of the symbolism of giving, Firth notes "the basic element is an outgoing from the self" which has an effect upon another, being not only the transfer of a material object but "the concepts and emotions of the giver".⁸ The Eye of Horus conveys all these implications as an offering, having had a physical connection with the god. This is seen especially in its wounding. Perhaps it was felt to be a more effective image than more abstract terms, such as *b3*, *sh̄m*, *ntr* or *wsr*, which could be expressed in concrete form, for example as the *b3* bird or the *sh̄m* sceptre, but which could not convey such an intimate and fundamental connection.⁹ These terms all recall Firth's observations on symbols as "repositories of value" and as being able to reduce what can be a magnitude of meaning to a comprehensible dimension.¹⁰ The Eye could also be an independent entity that occurs where there is no reference to Horus himself, such as in Utts.402 and 704 in the context of the celestial cycle. As such, it can be constantly reinterpreted, giving rise to the adaptability and scope of its symbolism seen in the *PT*. Some of the statements about the Eye remain enigmatic and obscure to us, perhaps attesting a mystical power for the symbol which made it an effective term of reference. The Eye of Horus

⁸ Firth 1973 p.372.

⁹ See Chapter 6 for the relation of the Eye of Horus to these terms.

¹⁰ Firth 1973 p.76f.

has a degree of personification in that it is sometimes attributed animated characteristics, such as speaking (*mdw*) or leaping (*stp*). This may be compared with the adaptation of symbols in art to express a particular concept, such as the sacred eye with hands or wings.

The emphasis on the Eye of Horus' symbolism of power must also be considered in relation to the mythical details that are consistently associated with it. It seems clear that there was a particular fate associated with the Eye, namely its wounding by Seth and its subsequent recovery, but which was also extremely flexible in terms of any further details being added. The core scenario of a conflict between Horus and Seth seems established in the *PT* but is never described in particularly "narrative" terms, nor with any firm evidence for its causes or basic significance, other than as an archetypal conflict and its resolution. The connection of the Eye of Horus with this scenario is crucial. The Eye could be interpreted as condensing the implications of this conflict and gaining significance from this scenario alone, as is seen, for example, with other religious symbols such as the cross in Christianity. In this sense the symbol is analogous to myth, containing in itself the concepts that a myth expresses by narrative. On the other hand, the Eye could function originally as a condensation of a distinct concept which was subsequently included in a mythical episode. The loss and recovery of the Eye of Horus are significant traits in the *PT*, but are not the limit of its symbolism. Although the Eye has been seen as primarily representing the concept of damage and restoration, which might be seen as symbolic of the king's death and recovery, I would suggest that this was a theme that arose subsequently from its original and essential symbolism of the power of a god. The symbolism of the Eye of Horus in the *PT* can be summarized as follows: it functions as an expression of Horus' power and occurs as a very positive means of empowerment to suit the various concerns of the *PT*. As such, it has a tremendous versatility of expression, acquiring many traits and attributes, but always retains its essential condensation of Horus' energy and divine associations, which include the scenario of conflict with Seth. I would now like to discuss this development further by relating these conclusions to the wider theme of eye symbolism. The ideas expressed hereon for the Eye of Horus are thus conjecture and only suggest a likely scenario for its development.

Rasmussen discusses the problem of “verifying” a symbol, in the sense of elucidating the particular meanings and intentions which went into its production within a culture.¹¹ The Eye of Horus could be seen as being fundamentally an extension of the religious concepts that surrounded the god Horus, such as his conflict with Seth; but, given the references to other eyes in the *PT* it seems far more probable that it stemmed from a more general symbolism surrounding the eye in Egyptian culture. The evidence for eye symbolism in the *PT* has been discussed in Chapter 10. It seems common for other deities also to be attributed with a symbolic Eye, the role of which bears close comparison with that of the Eye of Horus, although in more limited contexts, usually in ascension spells. The eyes of the king appear in a wider range of spells, including those of the offering ritual, as his restored bodily parts, and are also equated with his royal insignia. This strongly suggests that the concept of the Eye was part of the symbolic structure of the divine world at the time of the *PT* and that the Eye of Horus had achieved an especially prominent role. The eye is also found as an artistic symbol towards the end of the Old Kingdom where it is attested in mortuary contexts, such as on false doors, coffins, stelae and as an amuletic form appearing among the grave goods, but which must have also been worn in life. The emergence of the Eye as a decorative motif seems to be roughly contemporary with the inscription of the 6th Dynasty versions of the *PT*. This may be some time later than their actual composition, but shows that there was a contemporary concept of eye symbolism outside the royal mortuary texts. The interpretations of the symbolism of these pictorial eyes will be discussed briefly.

An amulet can be defined as “a personal ornament which, because of its shape, the material from which it is made, or even just its colour, is believed to endow its wearer by magical means with certain powers or capabilities”.¹² The “magical” function, as opposed to a purely decorative one, is supported by the spells for various amulets in the *BD* and the prescribed locations for amulets on the mummy. Some of the Egyptian words for amulet are *mkt*, *nht*, *s3* and *wḏ3*, all words which are associated with the Eye of Horus in the *PT*¹³ and which may suggest a generally similar functionality. Amulets are found from predynastic times but the first examples of eye forms date to the 6th Dynasty - Müller-Winkler demonstrates that

¹¹ Rasmussen 1974 p.3.

¹² Andrews 1994 p.6.

¹³ eg. §301c, 320a-b, 195e.

there are no firm grounds for earlier examples.¹⁴ This also seems to be the period when other major religious symbols appear, such as the $\langle nh \rangle$ and the scarab,¹⁵ but there is a general increase in the number of amulets occurring in burials from the 1st Intermediate Period on, with the appearance of royal insignia, such as the crowns. The distinctive stylized shape of the eye amulet is usually called the *Wd3t* Eye,¹⁶ but there are also examples, mostly from the Late Period, of the plain human eye.¹⁷ The significance of the eye amulet may include the notion of protection and substitution for the eye¹⁸ or endowing the wearer with the power of sight¹⁹. The form of the *wd3t* Eye may invoke the royal and divine associations of the falcon (the common god determinative in the *PT* was 𓆎) and emphasise the eye-shape, as with the use of eye-paint. Müller-Winkler suggests: "Ausschlaggebend ist bei ihm nicht wie bei jenen der Bezug zum Menschen und seinem Leib, sondern es gehört der göttlichen Sphäre an: es schützt als göttliches Auge".²⁰ She also suggests that its name provides a mythological connection with the Eye of Horus that was lost and restored, although the term *wd3t* is not uniquely connected with the Eye of Horus in the *PT*. The term may imply that the eye was protective and ensured a sound condition for the wearer. Although the *CT* include a spell to be recited over 7 sketched eyes,²¹ the lack of related textual material means that at present only speculation is possible on the significance of eye amulets. The general functions of an amulet do seem close to the symbolism of the Eye of Horus in passages of the *PT*, in terms of empowering and protecting the possessor.

By the 6th Dynasty at least a pair of eyes appears as a motif on false doors, along with door bolts: 𓆎 . Examples include the door of Mena at Denderah,²² the mastaba of Sena at Giza²³ and the door of *Wsr* from Khuzam in the Cairo Museum. Both the *wd3t* form and the

¹⁴ Müller-Winkler 1987 p.108-112.

¹⁵ Andrews 1994 p.86 & 51.

¹⁶ This may be misleading as the shape first occurs as a determinative for the word *nr.t.wy* (§2036).

¹⁷ Müller-Winkler 1987 p.78-85. On p.78 she states that the plain eye "zum Udjat-auge besteht archäologisch keine Beziehung". The relationship of the two eye shapes remains a problem: in the *PT* only the king's eyes have the *wd3t* shape in one occurrence, and on coffins the two forms seem interchangeable.

¹⁸ The hieratic papyrus of Men states that *wd3t* eyes were to be placed over the eyes of a mummy, amongst other locations.

¹⁹ In other cultures eye amulets were also used to attract the gaze of the Evil Eye and thus ward it off from the eyes of the wearer.

²⁰ Müller-Winkler 1987 p.93.

²¹ *CT* 341, iv 345g. The actual text of the spell concerns access to the Netherworld and does not mention any eyes.

²² Petrie 1898 plate 1.

²³ Aldred 1980 p.77.

plainer eye shape are attested in this context. The false door was the focus of private tomb decoration in the Old Kingdom, usually associated with a representation of the deceased at a funerary meal and offering lists. Sometimes the false door contained a statue of the deceased and it functioned as the point of contact for the deceased with the world of the living. The significance of the passage §1266 in the *PT*, referring to protective "evil-eyes" on a door, has been discussed in Chapter 10. In her study of the false door, Wiebach notes this protective function and also states: "durch die Augen ist der Tote mit der Außenwelt verbunden, sieht er das Geschehen außerhalb des Sarkophages; so können sie mit dem Augenpaar des Verstorbenen gleichgesetzt werden".²⁴ The inscription from the mastaba of Rawer at Giza, referring to the "eyes of the ka-house", may be an allusion to the belief in the need for vision from the tomb that led to the development of the eyes as a motif.²⁵

The significance of eyes on false doors must be connected with the pairs of eyes that appear on coffins from the 6th Dynasty with a representation of a false door. The coffin was primarily the container for the corpse, but also had a further symbolic role, such as the identification with the goddess Nut attested in the *PT*.²⁶ It carried a scheme of decoration to help the deceased. Since the predynastic period, this was the palace façade panelling with doorways in the recesses, suggesting that the coffin was to be viewed as the eternal dwelling place of the deceased. A new scheme appears in the 6th Dynasty with inscriptions of offering spells starting from the focus of the decoration on the eastern side, where there was a false door and a pair of eyes at the head height of the mummy.²⁷ The interpretation of these eyes has also varied considerably - suggestions include the idea of amuletic protection or solar symbols,²⁸ but the general consensus seems to be that the eye panel was "the 'window' through which the dead look out on the world and receive offerings and, because it faces east, the life-restoring rays of the sun".²⁹ This is supported by the texts that later accompanied the eyes, for example on the coffin of Sebekaa (12th Dynasty) quoted by Taylor: "opened is the face of this Sebekaa, so that he may see the Lord of the Horizon when he crosses over the

²⁴ Wiebach 1981 p.160.

²⁵ Blackman 1916.

²⁶ eg. Utts.1-7.

²⁷ Taylor 1989 p.15, Lapp 1984 col.430.

²⁸ eg. Capart 1946 p.32, Jéquier 1946 p.45.

²⁹ Bourriau 1988 p.89. See also Blackman 1916 p.252, Bonnet 1952 p.657, Lapp 1984 col.430. Spencer (1982 p.171) states "these eyes, representing those of the god Horus" but there is no textual evidence for this.

sky”.³⁰ Furthermore, Barguet has analysed the *CT* that are consistently located on the same place on a series of Upper Egyptian coffins and has found that spells 239 and 241 are found on the eastern side in connection with the eye panel. He concludes “ce qui montre bien, du reste, que ceux-ci ne servent pas seulement de lucarnes, par lesquelles le mort peut regarder, mais qu'ils sont des yeux vivants”.³¹ The *CT* spells are addressed to a female deity called “Lady of (many) faces” of whom it is asked “give me my face, for I am Osiris... clear my vision in the paths of the Netherworld”³² which suggests, perhaps, that vision is a primary function of the eye panel. This is supported by the position and orientation of the panel and the text of Sebekaa mentioned above. Vision has been linked to the “opening of the ways” of the deceased (i.e. enabling him) in the *PT*³³ - it could well be that these eyes serve the same purpose as the references to the Opening of the Eyes in enabling the deceased for the afterlife by restoring his vision and thus could compare with the references to the king's eyes in the *PT*. Blackman has also suggested a connection between these eyes and the determinative for the verb *ptr*.³⁴ It should also be noted that these texts on the coffin make no mention of the *wd3t* eye or the Eye of Horus. These eyes also appear on tomb stelae from the end of the Old Kingdom, which can be seen as the successor of the false door, and this usage is attested through the following centuries along with the development of other associated symbols.³⁵

Beyond this mortuary context, we have no other evidence for popular beliefs on the eye in Egyptian culture. Comparative evidence from other cultures, and from later periods in Egypt, suggests that it is more than probable that such beliefs existed (see further below on the concept of the Evil Eye). The eye is a “natural” symbol - a distinctive characteristic of humans and animals - and scientific reasons can be adduced for its incentive to symbolism: “the eyes are a provocative source of social stimulation, and this may account for the intense fascination with the eyes by many cultural groups”.³⁶ Humans and animals are innately sensitive to the glance of the eye - hence the staring battles between animals³⁷ and the gaze as an important factor in the relationship between mother and child. The basic effect of the eyes is generally to

³⁰ Taylor 1989 p.17.

³¹ Barguet 1971 p.20.

³² *CT* iii, 321.

³³ See Chapter 5 and discussion in Roeder 1994.

³⁴ Blackman 1935 p.2 n.3.

³⁵ See Müller 1933, Hermann 1940, Westendorf 1966, Martin 1986.

³⁶ Coss 1981 p.182. See also Argyle 1987.

³⁷ Coss (1981 p.188) describes the actions of primates: “dominant males deliberately employ the fixed stare to intimidate rivals who either flee or display submissive gestures”.

attract attention and increase arousal, although the meaning can vary from aggression to intimacy according to the situation and facial expressions. This is also reflected in the markings around the eyes, seen with the natural colourings of animals, and in the use of eye-paint by humans for eye emphasis. This may be reflected in the development of the shape of the *wd3t* Eye which combines the markings of a falcon and the human eye with distinct cosmetic lines. In general, the eye has inspired countless literary and philosophical metaphors over the centuries but, more significantly, also provoked widespread folk beliefs and religious imagery. Conceptions of gods in many cultures emphasize the significance of the divine eyes, as the following more or less randomly selected examples illustrate. They can function as an indication of divine power, such as in Revelations I, 14 where it is said “his eyes flamed like fire”, and Ishtar is described in an Akkadian hymn in the following terms: “her figure is beautiful, her eyes are brilliant at her glance there is created joy”.³⁸ The eyes are a means of revelation for the divine qualities of a god. This kind of visual effect does not really feature in the *PT* apart from the references to Horus' coloured eyes and the qualities of light associated with the Eye of Horus. This concept is developed further where an eye is used as a weapon, such as that of Medusa or Athene Glaukopis, who turns on her enemies with “a sharp one, an eye of bronze”.³⁹ The heroes of Germanic and Celtic mythology are often attested on coins with one eye enlarged to be extra scary, and this is borne out in the legends of Cú Chulainn who closes one eye and expands the other when made angry. De Vries comments on this theme of using an eye in conflict: “der den Feind durch den gräßlichen Anblick des unheimlich stierenden Auges verwirren sollte”.⁴⁰ Again, we are seeing a belief in the efficacy of the eye in combat to inflict actual injury, spiritual as well as physical, on an opponent which recalls some of the examples with the Eye of Horus (for example, Utts.255, 256 and 260). Other cultures also attest the identification of the eyes of a god with the celestial lights. This can be seen as part of the common tendency to identify what appear as miraculous phenomenon of nature with aspects of divinity, but can also be further linked with the idea of divine omniscience.⁴¹ There seems to be no real indication that there was any suggestion that Horus had universal vision from his Eye⁴² and, as has been discussed in

³⁸ Pritchard 1973 p.232, cf.also the prayer of Enheduanna to Ishtar in Pritchard 1975 p.131.

³⁹ Meslin 1987 p.237.

⁴⁰ de Vries 1957 p.84. See also de Vries 1961 for references to the eye in Celtic mythology.

⁴¹ See Pettazzoni 1956 p.6ff.

⁴² This concept is seen in the *CT* with regard to the vision of deities eg. *CT* 317 (iv 117), 321 (iv 146), 331 (iv 172) and 1168 (vii 510).

Chapter 7 above, the celestial symbolism in the *PT* is only one facet of the symbolism of the Eye of Horus, although it is developed considerably in later periods in Egypt.

The appearance of a god or mythical creature can either be enhanced by the possession of multiple eyes, such as the Greek Argos, or the use of the singular eye, such as Cyclops. This seems to represent the concentration of power to the gaze of one eye, rather than implying any weakness of vision, hence the use as a weapon above. The Egyptian singular symbolic Eye also reflects this general concept of a succinct and concentrated expression of power. The motif of wounding the eye also occurs in other cultures, for example Odin's sacrifice of an eye to gain inner vision.⁴³ A fundamental link has also been observed between blinding and castration in folkloristic data,⁴⁴ showing that the motif of the mutual wounds of Horus and Seth is echoed in other cultures. The observations above on the power generally attributed to the Eye, coupled with the significance of the testicles as the source of sexual potency, suggest something of the origins of the Egyptian mythical image.⁴⁵

There is also later Egyptian evidence for the widespread folk tradition of the Evil Eye.⁴⁶ This is essentially a belief that a glance has the power to cause injury or death on whom it falls. It is sometimes seen as involuntary, but usually as resulting from malice or envy.⁴⁷ The explanations for this belief, which is attested from a tremendous variety of cultures,⁴⁸ tend to concentrate on psychological theories of envy and fear, but also general gaze and stare behaviour,⁴⁹ the heart of the concept being the belief in the ability of the eye to effect change on a person or object. Borghouts has studied the images in the *PT* and *CT*, used with snakes in his study of "the Evil Eye of Apophis",⁵⁰ and the later evidence suggests that the general concept of the Evil Eye would not be in conflict with the earlier evidence for eye symbolism in Egypt. It cannot be ruled out that this kind of folk belief existed at the time of the *PT*.

⁴³ Fleck 1971 p.399.

⁴⁴ Dundes 1981 p.259.

⁴⁵ Griffiths (1960 p.39 n.1) cites examples of castration also being used as a symbol of loss of sovereignty.

⁴⁶ eg. Gardiner 1916, Schott 1931, Bonnet 1952 p.122, Ritner 1993 p.42.

⁴⁷ eg. Schoeck 1981 p.192-200.

⁴⁸ Dundes (1981 p.259) notes the absence of this belief in Oceania, the Americas and sub-Saharan Africa (ignoring later imported beliefs) and suggests an origin in Indo-European and Semitic cultures.

⁴⁹ Coss 1981.

⁵⁰ Borghouts 1973.

This diversion into the material from other cultures has shown the universal recognition of the qualities of the eye in terms of revealing the powers of its owner, by the effects of a glance or stare, the brightness or colour being an indication of inner nature. It also suggests that the interpretation of the Eye of Horus as a symbol of power has many comparisons in other religions despite the cultural peculiarities of expression. Trigger's study of religion in selected ancient civilisations led him to conclude that there was "a basic uniformity in the pattern of religious beliefs shared by all seven civilisations a rather simple type of cross-cultural regularity occurs even in the realm of symbols which can be seen in the royal images such as the sun, hawks, lions, bulls rams etc".⁵¹ There was undoubtedly a degree of uniformity in the creation of metaphor, shaped by the generally similar experience of life. For example, the general concepts that the natural world was imbued with supernatural powers, the projection of political struggles into religious ideology and the importance of cosmology as a revelation of the divine. Trigger's findings suggest that symbolism of the eye may be seen as a phenomenon evolving separately in each culture, but linked by the common factors of humanity and a generally similar cultural existence. In the past, the widespread evidence for eye symbolism has prompted theories of a universal eye god, but these have not been widely accepted.⁵²

The effectiveness of a symbol relies on a general consensus on its meaning. For the Eye of Horus this is reflected in the general acclaim of Horus as the royal god and possibly also in a general cultural concept of eye symbolism. We have no contemporary evidence for this, but the material discussed above renders it plausible that the eye was seen as a powerful and vital part of the body. With no biological analysis of its mechanisms, the mystery of such a miraculous organ must have added to its significance. This theory has the added attraction of suggesting a common rationale for the development of a myth around the wounding of Horus' Eye and of the symbolism of divine eyes generally, with the later myths about the Eye of Re and the Eye of Atum, and the popularity of the eye as a decorative motif.

⁵¹ Trigger 1993 p.86. He studied Egypt, Mesopotamia, China and kingdoms in Africa.

⁵² eg. Riemschneider 1953, Crawford 1957.

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