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Khaled Hassan

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# A Solar Hymn Ostrakon from Deir el-Bahari

KHALED HASSAN<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The ostrakon under discussion is currently stored in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (no. 467).<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, there is no documented data concerning its provenance, except that it was found among a group of hieratic ostraca originating from Deir el-Bahari. It represents a Hymn to the first hour of the day. The other known parallels of such a text were usually written in hieroglyphs on the walls of tombs or temples, as well as in a very few cases on statues. Thus, it is the first attestation of this text copied on an ostrakon. This paper will try to shed more light on the text itself and its function on this kind of material. A dating will also be proposed in comparison with the other known parallels.

## Description

[FIG. 1, 2, 3]

Six fragments forming an incomplete text written in cursive hieroglyphs with black ink. After its recombination, it shows up that this ostrakon measures at least 36 cm without the missing parts and consists of ten columns of text in retrograde writing. The handwriting is clear, also elegant and readable, in most of the text.

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr Soad Abd el-Aal (Cairo University), and to Prof. Dr Ursula Verhoeven (Mainz University), for reading the manuscript and giving me valuable comments. This ostrakon was

a part of my PhD thesis that was under their supervision.

<sup>2</sup> This number represents the serial number that has been assigned by a team at the Cairo University, who was authorized to make a classification of

the whole ostraca that are housed in the basements of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and does not relate to the entry or the temporary numbers of the museums' registers

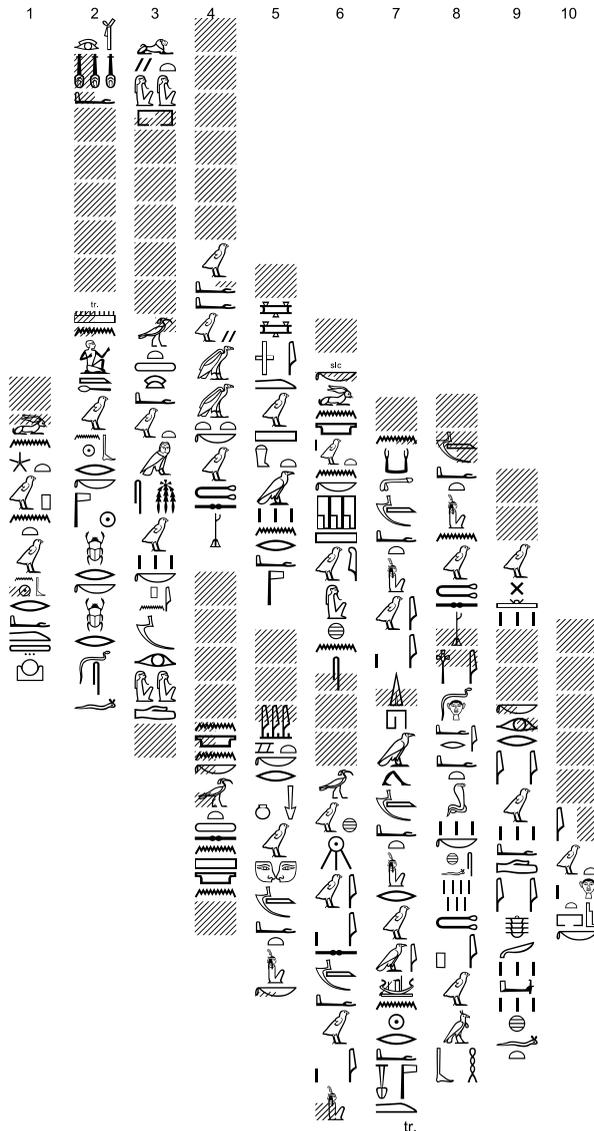
*Dimensions of the 6 fragments: (A) W. 5 cm × H. 3 cm; (B) W. 5 cm × H. 7,5 cm; (C) W. 4 cm × H. 10 cm; (D) W. 11 cm × H. 11 cm; (E) W. 13 cm × H. 10 cm (F) W. 10,5 cm × H. 7,5 cm.*

*Material: pottery.*

*Colour: brown.*

*Current location: Egyptian Museum in Cairo.*

### Hieroglyphic Transcription<sup>3</sup>



<sup>3</sup> According to the reconstruction of the text, it seems that the text columns don't have the same beginnings.

## Transliteration

- [1] *wnw.t pw n.t wbn R<sup>c</sup> m t3-3h.t*  
 [2] *rs-nfr[.w] ‘[h<sup>c</sup>=s n M3<sup>c</sup>.t. Dd mdw in ...]mn<sup>4</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw, wbn-r=k R<sup>c</sup> <sp-sn> hpr-r=k <Hpri><sup>5</sup> hpr ds=f.*  
 [3] *Rw.ty, p[r m ihhw dw3 tw ntr.w] 3h.t<sup>6</sup>, h<sup>c</sup>=tw m ms.w=k, ipn<sup>7</sup> m33 rmt<sup>8</sup>, d[g3]*  
 [4] *[ntr.w, pr=k wd3.ti m hn]w<sup>c</sup>.wi<sup>c</sup> mw.t=k<sup>9</sup> wts [nfr.w=k r<sup>c</sup>-nb, w]n n=k 3h.t, sn n[=k]*  
 [5] *[w3w].t imy.w st3.w n R<sup>c10</sup> [r ib] sh.t=k, r sn.w<sup>11</sup> M3<sup>c</sup>.t=k.*  
 [6] *{.k} wn=tw n=k hw.t Šw, hns[.n=k <hw.t><sup>12</sup> i]3hw, iw=i sm3<sup>c</sup>=wi M3<sup>c</sup>.t*  
 [7] *n k3 M3<sup>c</sup>.t, iw=i [di] h3y M3<sup>c</sup>.t r wi3 n R<sup>c</sup>, sm3<sup>13</sup> m*  
 [8] *[M3<sup>c</sup>.t n wts. [In]d-hr i<sup>c</sup>.tyw=k sph.w=t<sup>14</sup> ipw, nhb*  
 [9] *.w [k3.w]=k iry.w <š><sup>c</sup>d<sup>15</sup> hft[y.w]*  
 [10] *[=k m mr nh3wi, h<sup>c</sup>y]=tw hr st=k.*

## Translation

- [1] *It is the hour, when Re rises in the land of the horizon.*  
 [2] *Beautiful a rise, [it rises for Maât. Recitation said by ...]men justified, rise Re <rise Re>, occur <Chepre> who came into being himself.*  
 [3] *Routi, who comes [from the twilight, the gods of the light land adore you], appearing you in those of your birth, the people see, [the gods]*  
 [4] *look, you step out hale] during embrace of your mother, which raises [your beauty every day], opened for you the light land, opening for [you]*  
 [5] *[the roads], which are in the secrets of Re [to make advantage] of your field, to kiss your righteousness.*  
 [6] *The temple of Shou has been opened for you, [you] travelled [through <the temple of> the shi]ning, I have offered the right*

4 Most probably represents the remaining part of the deceased's name (i.e. the one to whom this text is dedicated).

5 Most of the parallels of the Late Period did not mention the name of *Hpri*.

6 The word *3h.t* is a very typical spelling for the 26th Dynasty examples, where it is determined with the sign  instead of the word determined with the sign  in earlier examples (cf. Nb. 1).

7 The demonstrative pronoun *ipn* was used in the all parallels dated to the 26th Dynasty instead of *ipw*, except in the tomb of Ibi.

8 The word *rmt* is written here in a unique form. The scribe used two signs of the seated god instead of the seated man and woman.

9 The word *mw.t* is written in an odd form. The scribe used two signs of the vulture to write it.

10 The word *R<sup>c</sup>* as “sun god” is determined in the present ostracon with the sign , which is similar to other examples dated to the 26th Dynasty (cf. the examples of Pb and P).

11 The word *sn.w* is used at least twice in parallel texts dated to the 26th Dynasty, instead of the word *snq*, “suck”, that was used in earlier times (cf. A and I).

12 According to the estimated size of the broken part, there was not enough space to write this word.

13 J. Assmann (*Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern, Theben 1*, 1983, p. 239) in his transliteration of the text of Nb1 restored it as *hmw* instead of *sm3*.

14 This word is written in the same form in the tomb of Pb, and also in an earlier example of A.

15 I would prefer to read this word as <š><sup>c</sup>d rather than ‘d, which is used in the texts of A and I, as well the first plural strokes are to be deleted.

- [7] *to the bull of Maât, I [caused] that Maât descend to the barque of Re, [Ma]ât has united*  
 [8] *with the Seat. [Hail] to these your seven Uraei, the forces*  
 [9] *[of your Ka], that make a massacre [for your] enemies*  
 [10] *[in the lake of the knives], you [appearing] on your throne.*

## Palaeographical Remarks

Col. 10.  could represent an unusual ending sign. One suppose that it could have been developed from the hieroglyphic ending sign .<sup>16</sup>

## Commentary

The current ostrakon bears an hymn to the first hour of the day.<sup>17</sup> This kind of text addressed to the sun god is called a “Solar Hymn”, in which the sun god is often referred to as Re. Furthermore, the sun god is also attested in other specific identities associated with one or two phases of the daily solar cycle.<sup>18</sup> Some solar hymns are derived from the Theban liturgy and others from the royal funerary rituals.<sup>19</sup> However, the genre of these texts is prefigured by a short “morning litany”, which occurred in the Pyramid Texts.<sup>20</sup> The earliest attested solar hymns belongs to a cycle intended for recitation at the hours of the day. It first appears in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.<sup>21</sup>

Most probably, these hourly rituals helped to ensure the continuation of the solar cycle, in which the words mark the passage of time, as well as they safeguard it.<sup>22</sup> Texts of this kind typically describe the daily evaluation of the god in cosmic terms such as the triumph of the light over darkness, motion over inertia, life over death, and order over chaos.<sup>23</sup>

In this hourly ritual, each hour stood as a personification with its own name, but Ramesside and later sources indicate that each daytime hour is aligned with a god and a goddess.<sup>24</sup> As time moves round in the daily cycle, each hour in turn “rises up” or stands for its deity. Some of these gods and goddess are the same beings so often depicted in the boat of the sun god.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>16</sup> M. ALLAM, “Marking Signs in Hieratic and Glosses in Ancient Egyptian Texts”, *BEM* 4, 2007, p. 30. The ending signs were used to indicate that the text or a part of it came to end. Several of these signs have been used in the Egyptian texts such as , . For more information about these signs, cf. M. ALLAM, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> The first hour of the day was called                                

Day hour	Deity	Day hour	Deity
1	Maât	7	Horus
2	Hu	8	Khons
3	Sia	9	Isis
4	Asbet	10	Heka
5	Igeret	11	The god who [is] entrusted with the row[ing]
6	Seth	12	The god who gives protection in the twilight. <sup>26</sup>

The Egyptians added ritual actions to be performed at the same time as the text recitation; presumably intended to be carried out first and foremost by the king himself.<sup>27</sup> This hourly ritual remained in use into the Ptolemaic period, but progressively associated with the kind of restricted knowledge embodied in the nether world texts of the royal tombs.<sup>28</sup> Most of the solar hymns were found in Thebes, covering a long period of time from the early 18th Dynasty to the Late Period.<sup>29</sup> The most common hymns were of the first and twelfth hour of the day. According to E. Graefe, there are many published and unpublished sources containing the hymn of the first hour of the day. They are displayed as follows:<sup>30</sup>

Abbreviation <sup>31</sup>	Source	Provenance	Date
S	Seti (Brooklyn statue) <sup>32</sup>	Thebes	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.
H	Hatshepsut temple <sup>33</sup>	Thebes	18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.
Nb1	Nebsumenu (his tomb) <sup>34</sup>	Thebes (TT 183)	19 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. Ram. II
Nb2	Block statue form the same tomb of Nb1 <sup>35</sup>	----	----
R	Ramesses IV (his tomb) <sup>36</sup>	Thebes	20 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.
A	Amenirdis <sup>37</sup>	Thebes	25 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.
I	Ibi (his tomb) <sup>38</sup>	Thebes (TT 36)	26 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.
Pb	Pabasa (his tomb) <sup>39</sup>	Thebes (TT 279)	26 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.
P	Padihorresnet (his tomb) <sup>40</sup>	Thebes (TT 196)	26 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>28</sup> J. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>29</sup> J. ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, *MÄS* 19, 1969, p. 16-17; E. GRAEFE, *Stundenritual*. Online on the Internet URL: <http://www.unimuenster.de/IAEK/org/WMA/graefe/stunden/index.html>.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*; J. Assmann (*op. cit.*, p. 150) indicated that the tomb of *P3-di-Imn-m-ipt* (TT 33) contains an excerpt of a hymn for the first hour of the day. However, this tomb contains only a part of the hymn for the fifth hour.

<sup>31</sup> The present abbreviations are based on the abbreviations of E. Graefe.

<sup>32</sup> B. von Bothmer, "Statuette Brooklyn Mus. Nr. 37.263 E", in *BMA* 8, 1966-67, p. 64; M.E. Cody, *Egyptian Art. Selected Writings of Bernard v. Bothmer*, Oxford, 2004, p. 174.

<sup>33</sup> E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, *MEEF* 29, 1901, pl. 114-115.

<sup>34</sup> J. ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern*, *Theben* 1, 1983, p. 238.

<sup>35</sup> E. GRAEFE, *op. cit.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> J. Daressy, "Descriptions de la Chapelle d'Ameniritis à Médinet Habou", *RT* 23, 1901, p. 4-5.

<sup>38</sup> K. KUHLMANN, *W. Schenkel, Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemablin des Amun, Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36*, *AV* 15, 1983, pl. 66.

<sup>39</sup> E. GRAEFE, *op. cit.* This tomb is still unpublished.

<sup>40</sup> E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet*, *MonAeg* 9/1, 2003, p. 109.

Abbreviation	Source	Provenance	Date
PS	Pestjenfi (his tomb) <sup>41</sup>	Thebes (TT 128)	26 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.
E	Edfu temple <sup>42</sup>	Edfu	Ptol. Time
Ph	Philae <sup>43</sup>	Aswan	Ptol. Time
Ar	Armant <sup>44</sup>	Armant	Ptol. Time
D1	Dendara <sup>45</sup>	Dendara	Roman Time
D2	Dendara <sup>46</sup>	Dendara	Roman Time. Unpubl.

### The Writing Variations of the Present Text with the Other Parallels<sup>47</sup>

Col.	HO. Cairo 467	Parallel texts
Col. 2	<i>wbn-r=k R<sup>c</sup> &lt;sp-sn&gt;</i>	R: <i>wbn-ir=k sp-sn R<sup>c</sup></i> I: <i>wbn sp-sn ir=k R<sup>c</sup></i> Ps: <i>wbn-ir=k R<sup>c</sup></i>
	<i>hpr-r=k &lt;Hpri&gt; hpr ds=f</i>	R: <i>hpr-ir=k hpr.w</i> A, I, Pb, Ps, P: <i>hpr-ir=k hpr ds=f</i>
Col. 3	<i>h<sup>c</sup>=tw m ms.w=k ipn</i>	A, I: <i>h<sup>c</sup>=tw m ms.w=k ipw</i>
Col. 4	<i>[pr=k wd.ti m h<sup>n</sup>]w<sup>c</sup>.wi mu.t=k</i>	A: <i>pr=k wd.ti m h<sup>n</sup>w mu.t=k</i> Pb: <i>pr=k tw wd.ti m h<sup>n</sup>w n<sup>c</sup>.wi mu.t=k</i> Ps: ... <i>m h<sup>n</sup>w<sup>c</sup>.wi mu.t=k Nwt</i>
	<i>wts [nfr.w=k r<sup>c</sup>-nb]</i>	Ps: <i>wts.w=k R<sup>c</sup>.w nfr.w<sup>c</sup> nb ?</i>
	<i>[w]n n=k sh.t sn n[=k] wsw.t</i>	Nbr: <i>wn sh.t snw w.t</i> A, I: <i>wn n=k sh.t ish.t, snw n=k wsw.t</i>
Col. 5	<i>[r ib] sh.t=k r sn.w M<sup>c</sup>.t=k</i>	Nbr: <i>r ip sh.w.t=k</i> A: <i>ip.t sh.w=k snq=k M<sup>c</sup>.t=k</i> I: <i>ip sh.t=k snq=k M<sup>c</sup>.t=k</i> Pb: <i>ipt sh.t=k r snw M<sup>c</sup>.t=k</i> P: <i>r ip sh.t=k snw M<sup>c</sup>.t</i>
Col. 6	<i>wn=tw n=k hw.t Šw hns[.n=k] &lt;hw.t&gt; ish<sup>w</sup></i>	A: <i>wnt=tw n=k hw.t Šw, hns=k hw.t ish<sup>w</sup></i> P: <i>wn=tw n=k hw.t Šw, hnw.n=k hw.t ish<sup>w</sup></i>
Col. 6-7	<i>iw=i sm<sup>c</sup>=wi M<sup>c</sup>.t n k<sup>3</sup> M<sup>c</sup>.t</i>	A: <i>iw NN s<sup>c</sup>r=s M<sup>c</sup>.t n k<sup>3</sup> n M<sup>c</sup>.t</i> I: <i>iw NN s<sup>c</sup>r=f M<sup>c</sup>.t n k<sup>3</sup> M<sup>c</sup>.t</i> Pb: <i>iw=i sm<sup>c</sup>=wi M<sup>c</sup>.t n k<sup>3</sup> M<sup>c</sup>.t</i>

<sup>41</sup> W. SCHENKEL, "Die Gräber des P<sub>2</sub>-tmf-j und eines Unbekannten in der thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129)", *MDAIK* 31, 1975, p. 127.

<sup>42</sup> É. CHASSINAT, E III, 213.

<sup>43</sup> G. BÉNÉDITE, *Le Temple de Philae*, MMAF 13, 1893, p. 135.

<sup>44</sup> CHR. THIERS, Y. VOLOKHINE, *Ermant I. Les cryptes du temple ptolémaïque. Étude épigraphique*, Le Caire, 2005, p. 68.

<sup>45</sup> S. CAUVILLE, *Dendera. Les chapelles osiriennes*, Le Caire, 1997, p. 165.

<sup>46</sup> E. GRAEFE, *Stundenritual*. Online on the Internet URL: <http://www.unimuenster.de/IAEK/org/WMA/graefe/stunden/index.html>.

<sup>47</sup> This paper will focus only on the variations and parallels until the 26th Dynasty.

Col.	HO. Cairo 467	Parallel texts
Col. 7	<i>iw=i [di] h3y M3'.t r wi3 n R'</i>	Nb1: <i>di=i h3y M3'.t r wi3 n R'</i> A: <i>iw NN di sb3 M3'.t r wi3 n R'</i> I: <i>iw=f di=f h3 r wi3 n R'</i> Pb, P: <i>iw=i di h3 M3'.t r wi3 n R'</i>
Col. 7-8	<i>sm3 m M3'.t n wts</i>	A: <i>sm3 n M3'.t n wts</i> I, P: <i>sm3 M3'.t n wts=s</i> Pb: <i>sm3 m M3'.t n wts=s</i>

## Retrograde Writing

The present text is in retrograde writing, in which the signs are inverted against the direction of reading. Such an order contradicts the well-known rule, according to which the Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions should be read from the side, to which signs “look”.<sup>48</sup> This way of writing was much known through the Book of the Dead, and other religious books.<sup>49</sup> According to the known texts of the hymn of the first hour, the present ostracon and the text of the tomb of Padihoresnet (P) are the only ones that were written retrograde. There is no sufficient explanation for this unique writing; however some ideas that try to shed more light on the reasons behind this type of writing can be shown.

### *Theological Considerations*

– The text of the Book of the Dead as well as the solar hymns belong to the otherworld, where many things appear reversed in relation to this world,<sup>50</sup> e.g. the transformation of the old sun god when entering the west horizon turning into the young child, or scarab in the morning in the east horizon, or like time running backwards in the symbol of the time-snake.<sup>51</sup> So the retrograde could be related to the idea of the reversibility of time in the underworld.<sup>52</sup>

– The direction of the writing from left to right originated from the belief that human life was a way towards the west,<sup>53</sup> or was put in relation with the course of the sun (from east to west = from left to right), or like the funeral procession going from left to right to the tomb entrance as seen in the vignettes of BD chapter I.<sup>54</sup>

### *Technical Consideration*

The retrograde writing was a non-intentional result of a mistake, due to technical difficulties facing the scribes. This notion of A. Niwiński was based on the fact that all texts on papyrus i.e. literary and administrative, before the creation of the pattern of the Book of the Dead, were written in hieratic and were read from right to left. When the scribe was in charge to prepare

<sup>48</sup> M.A. CHAGODAEV, “Some Remarks Regarding the So-called ‘Retrograde’ Direction of Writing in the Ancient Egyptian ‘Book of the Dead’”, *DE* 35, 1996, p. 19; O. GOELET, “Observations on Copying and the Hieroglyphic Tradition in the Production of the Book of the Dead”, in: S.H. D’Auria (ed.), *Offering*

*to the discerning eye: an Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, Leiden, 2010, p. 128-130.

<sup>49</sup> A. NIWIŃSKI, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, *OBO* 86, 1989, p. 13.

<sup>50</sup> M.A. CHAGODAEV, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>51</sup> B. Lüscher, email, March 28, 2013.

<sup>52</sup> A. NIWIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>53</sup> A. NIWIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>54</sup> B. Lüscher, email, March 28, 2013.

For more details about the directions of east to west that equal to left to right, cf. M.A. CHAGODAEV, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>55</sup> A. NIWIŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

the pattern scheme of the Book of the Dead, some difficulties faced him.<sup>55</sup> First, he had to copy the hieratic pattern, which was most probably written in horizontal lines, into columns with hieroglyphic writing, and also the composition should begin on the left, so the scribe has two tasks: transcribe the text into hieroglyphic columns and change the sign's direction to face the left side. Before the scribe start to copy the text, the drawer made the first part of the work, e.g. drew the border lines and the vertical dividing lines that would separate the columns of the future text and finally he arranged the place for the vignettes having indicated that on the left side the etiquette and burial scene of BD 1 should be painted. Now the scribe had no choice and was obliged to start with the text from the left as well.<sup>56</sup> The only mistake of the scribe is that he did not change the direction of the signs. According to this theory, the retrograde writing resulted from a double fault, started by the drawer that obliged the scribe to work and continue this mistake. The formal pattern scheme, once created, was then copied without any hesitation and the retrograde writing could have been regarded as something sanctified with holy tradition.<sup>57</sup>

In his explanation, A. Niwiński relied on the Book of the Dead and did not take into consideration other texts that could disprove this theory, e.g. most of the parallel texts of the hymn of the first hour of the day were written from right to left or from left to right with the correct direction for the signs. Finally, one could incline that the reasons behind the retrograde writing were theological rather than technical faults.

## The Function of this Ostrakon

The present text of the solar hymn is the only source written on an ostrakon in cursive hieroglyphics, while most of the other known sources are written in hieroglyphs on the walls of tombs and temples as mentioned before. One can assume that this text was considered to be an educational text written by a student; however, its rarity on ostrakon could disprove this idea. Thus, it is not unlikely that, such a text was used as pattern (*Vorlage*) for another text, most probably written on a tomb wall. Similar examples of this pattern text can be seen in the tomb of Nakhtmin and his son Menkheperâseneb (18th Dynasty), where many ostraca used for the decoration of the tomb's wall have been found.<sup>58</sup>

## Dating

According to the similarity in the language and the orthography between the text of this ostrakon and other parallel texts, as can be seen in the following points, it could be dated to the 26th Dynasty, particularly to the same time of the tombs of **Pb**,<sup>59</sup> and **P**.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup> A. NIWIŃSKI, *loc. cit.*

<sup>58</sup> H. GUKSCH, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-Cheper-Ra-Seneb, Theben Nr. 87 und 79, AV 34*, 1995, p. 75, pl. 20, c, d. B. Lüscher dis-

cussed this point in her book about the ostraca, which have been used as *Vorlage* in the tomb of Nacht-Min (*Die Vorlagen-Ostraka aus dem Grab des Nachtmin [TT 87]*, BAA 4, 2013).

<sup>59</sup> Pabasa was the Chief Steward of the god's wife. His tomb is located in Asasif: PM I, p. 357.

<sup>60</sup> Padihorresnet was the Chief Steward of Amon. His tomb is also located in Asasif: PM I, p. 302.

- The word *nfr.w* is written with three signs  only in the examples of the 26th Dynasty.
- The sign  is inscribed instead of  to write the word *ds* only in the examples of the 26th Dynasty.
- The demonstrative *ipn* is found in the parallels of the 26th Dynasty instead of *iptn* and *ipw* that were used in earlier times.
- The two sign  are used for the word *sn.w* only in the parallels of the 26th Dynasty.
- The sign  is used to determine the name of the god Ra in the examples of the 26th Dynasty.
- The *K* is written using the form  in all the examples of the 26th Dynasty, instead of , which is used in the earlier periods.

## Provenance

It has been revealed through comparing this ostrakon with the other parallels that it is very similar to the examples of the 26th Dynasty, and this resemblance could prove that it was already found in the precinct of Deir el-Bahari where many of the 26th Dynasty's tombs are situated around the area of Hatshepsut temple. As well as many of the 26th Dynasty Book of the Dead Papyri were found in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari such as the ones of *Irty-rw-tsw*, *Hm-Hr*, and *Ns-pj-sfy*.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> For more information about the Book of the Dead dated back to 26th Dynasty and found at Deir el-Bahari, cf. E. DABROWASKA-SMEKTALA, “Fragment of Hieratic Papyrus of *Ir.ty-Rw-tsw*”, *BIFAO* 66, 1966, p. 183-184; I. MUNRO, “Die Fragmente zweier

Totenbücher der 26. Dynastie (pToronto Rom 910.85.222 a und b)”, in R. Lucarelli, M. Müller-Roth, A. Wüthrich (ed.), *Herausgehen am Tage. Gesammelte Schriften zum altägyptischen Totenbuch*, *SAT* 17, 2012, p. 135; U. VERHOEVEN, “Internationales Totenbuch-puzzle”,

*RdE* 49, 1998, p. 222-223; U. VERHOEVEN, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy aus der Zeit Psammetichs I*, *HAT* 5, 1999; U. VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur Späthieratischen Buchschrift*, *OLA* 99, 2001, p. 16-18.





O. 467, line. 4-5 

**Ps**  *nhm=kNN m-<sup>2</sup> jht nbt dwt* ENDE  
**P** 

**Nb<sub>1</sub>**   
**A**   
**I**   
**Pb** 

O. 467, line. 5 

**P** 

**Nb<sub>1</sub>**   
**A**   
**I**   
**Pb** 

O. 467, line. 6 

**P** 

**Nb<sub>1</sub>**   
**Nb<sub>2</sub>**   
**A**   
**I**   
**Pb** 

O. 467, line. 6-7

P

---

Nb<sub>1</sub>

Nb<sub>2</sub>

A

I

Pb

O. 467, line. 7-8

P

---

Nb<sub>1</sub>

A

I

Pb

O. 467, line. 8-9

P

---

Nb<sub>1</sub>

A

I

Pb

O. 467, line. 10.



FIG. 1. Photograph of the 6 fragments of the O. Cairo 467.  
Photo M. Sameh Abd el-Mohsen. © Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

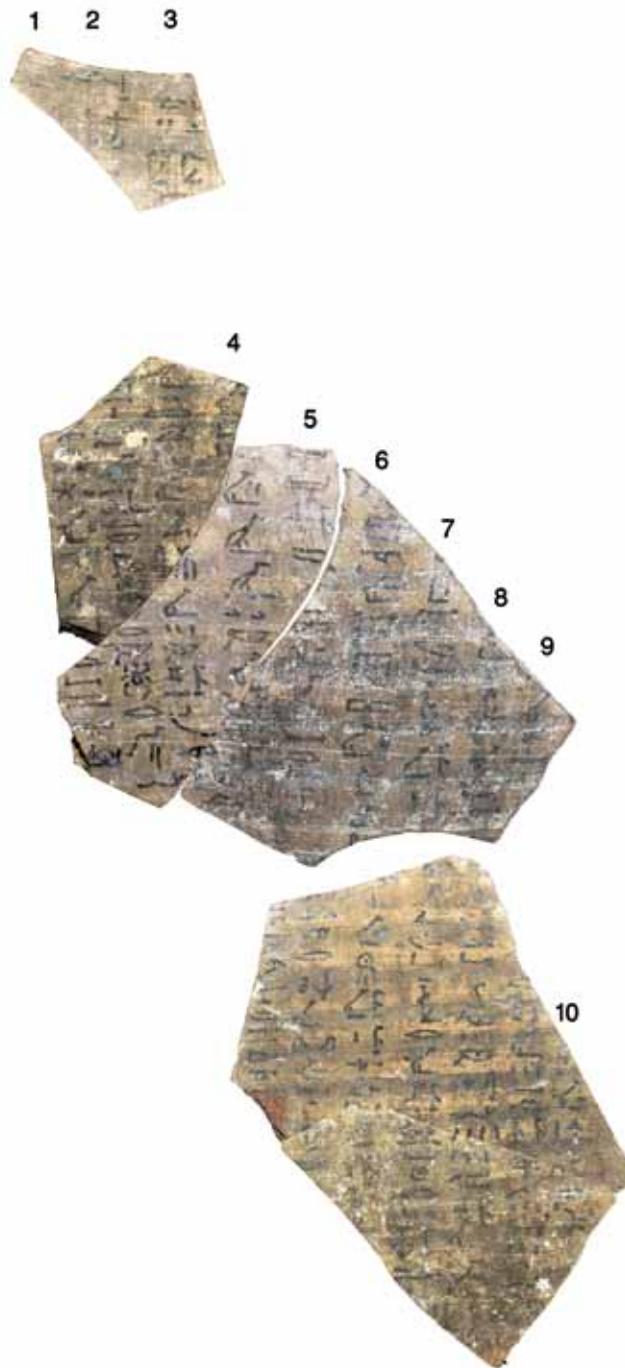


FIG. 2. The ostracon after its recombination by the author.

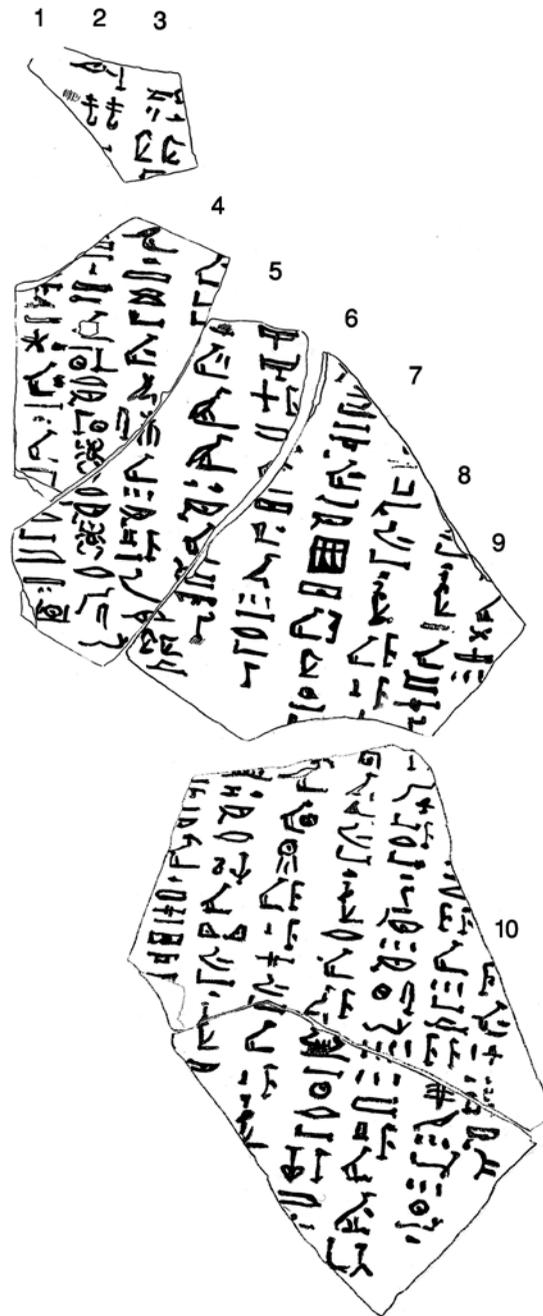


FIG. 3. Facsimile drawing (Kh. Hassan).