BIFAO 114 (2014), p. 245-260

Khaled Hassan

A Solar Hymn Ostracon from Deir el-Bahari
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 ostracon was a part of my PhD thesis that was under their supervision.

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

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According to the reconstruction of the text, it seems that the text columns don’t have the same beginnings.
Transliteration

[1] \( wn.w.t\ p.w \ n.t\ wbn\ R'\ m\ t.w=\ h.t \)
[2] \( rs-ng[.w]\ '?[h']=n\ Mz'.t\ .\ Dd\ mdw\ in\ ...\ mn^4\ Mz'-hrw,\ wbn-r=k\ R'\ <sp-sn>\ hpr-r=k\ <Hpr'[^5]\ hpr\ ds-f\ )
[3] \( Rw.ty,\ pr=k\ wqz.t\ m\ hny\ w\ .\ mw.xt=k\ \s\ [nfr.w=k\ r'-nh,\ wjn\ n=k\ h.t,\ sn\ n=k]\)
[4] \( [ntr.w,\ pr=k\ wqz.t\ m\ hny\ w\ .\ mw.xt=k\ \s\ [nfr.w=k\ r'-nh,\ wjn\ n=k\ h.t,\ sn\ n=k]\)
[5] \( [wz.w],\ t\ tmy.w\ šz.w\ n\ R'[^10]\ /r\ \s\ sh.t=k,\ r\ sm.w\ Mz'.t=k\).
[6] \( [.k]\ wn=tw\ n=k\ hu.t\ Šw,\ hns[n=k\ <hw.t.t[^5]t]zhw,\ iw=t\ smx^3\ *w\ Mz'.t\)
[7] \( n\ k:\ Mz'.t,\ iw=t\ [di]\ hzy\ Mz'.t\ r\ wż\ n\ R',\ sm[^3]^3\ m\)
[8] \( [Mz'].t\ n\ wżs\ .\ [In]\ d-br\ ?r\ tyw=k\ sfb.w=t[^4]\ ipw,\ nhb\)
[9] \( .w\ [k.2.w]=k\ tmy.w\ <\ s[^3]\ \d\ hzy.w]\)
[10] \( [z\ k\ mr\ nh\ wi,\ h'y]=tw\ hr\ st=k\).

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 <Chepren> 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

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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 Hpr.
6 The word \( \text{h.t} \) is a very typical spelling for the 26th Dynasty examples, where it is determined with the sign \( \text{ם} \) instead of the word determined with the sign \( \text{ם} \) in earlier examples (cf. Nb. 1).
7 The demonstrative pronoun \( \text{ipw} \) was used in all parallels dated to the 26th Dynasty instead of \( \text{ipw} \), except in the tomb of Ibi.
8 The word \( \text{rmṯ} \) 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 \( \text{ms} \) is written in an odd form. The scribe used two signs of the vulture to write it.
10 The word \( \text{R'} \) as "sun god" is determined in the present ostraca with the sign \( \text{ḥ} \), which is similar to other examples dated to the 26th Dynasty (cf. the examples of Pb and P).
11 The word \( \text{sn.w} \) is used at least twice in parallel texts dated to the 26th Dynasty, instead of the word \( \text{snq} \), "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 \( \text{ẖnw} \) instead of \( \text{smȝ} \).
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 \( \text{š} \), rather than \( \text{ḏ} \), 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 Kā, that make a massacre [for your] enemies

Palaeographical Remarks

Col. 10. ﬃ could represent an unusual ending sign. One suppose that it could have been developed from the hieroglyphic ending sign 𓊲.[16]

Commentary

The current ostracon bears an hymn to the first hour of the day.[17] 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.[18] Some solar hymns are derived from the Theban liturgy and others from the royal funerary rituals.[19] However, the genre of these texts is prefigured by a short “morning litany”, which occurred in the Pyramid Texts.[20] 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.[21]

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.[22] 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.[23]

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.[24] As time moves round in the daily cycle, each hour in turn “rises up” or stands for its deity. Some of these gods and goddesses are the same beings so often depicted in the boat of the sun god.[25]


[17] The first hour of the day was called 𓊲 to the bull of Maât, I [caused] that Maât descend to the barque of Re, [Ma]ât has united
with the Seat. [Hail] to these your seven Uraei, the forces
of your Kā, that make a massacre [for your] enemies
in the lake of the knives, you [appearing] on your throne.

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 𓊲. For more information about these signs, cf. M. Allam, op. cit., p. 30.


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. 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. Most of the solar hymns were found in Thebes, covering a long period of time from the early 18th Dynasty to the Late Period. 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:

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

The present abbreviations are based on the abbreviations of E. Graefe.

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. 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. Most of the solar hymns were found in Thebes, covering a long period of time from the early 18th Dynasty to the Late Period. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Seti (Brooklyn statue)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>18th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Hatshepsut temple</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>18th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb1</td>
<td>Nebsumenu (his tomb)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>19th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb2</td>
<td>Block statue form the same tomb of NbI</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Ramesses IV (his tomb)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>20th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Amenirdis</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>25th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ibi (his tomb)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>26th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pb</td>
<td>Pabasa (his tomb)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>26th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Padihorressnet (his tomb)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>26th Dyn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 Ibid., p. 58.
27 Ibid., p. 59.
28 J. Allen, op. cit., p. 147.
30 Ibid.; J. Assmann (op. cit., p. 150) indicated that the tomb of P:dl-Imn-im-py (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.
31 The present abbreviations are based on the abbreviations of E. Graefe.
35 E. Graefe, op. cit.
36 Ibid.
39 E. Graefe, op. cit. This tomb is still unpublished.
The Writing Variations of the Present Text with the Other Parallels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col.</th>
<th>HO. Cairo 467</th>
<th>Parallel texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Col. 2 | wbn-rk R’ <sp-sn> | R: wbn-ỉr-k sp-sn R’  
I: wbn sp-sn ỉr-k R’  
Ps: wbn-ỉr-k R’  |
| | hr-rk <Hpr> hpr ḫs[f] | R: hpr-ỉr-k hpr ḫs[f]  
A, I, P, Ps, P: hpr-ỉr-k hpr ḫs[f]  |
| Col. 3 | b’tw n ms.wk ḫpn  | A, I: b’tw m ms.wk ḫpw  |
| Col. 4 | [prk wd:t.t m hn]w’.w[mw:rk] | A: prk w[d:t.t m hn]w’.w[mw:rk]  
Ph: prk tw wd:t.t m hn n’.w[mw:rk]  
Ps: ... m hn n’.w[mw:rk] Nwt  |
| | [wb]n n wk 2h.t sn n[k] wsw[t] | Nbt: wn zb.t snw w[t]  
A, I: wn n wk zb.t lw[t], snw n wk wsw[t]  |
| Col. 5 | [r b]h ṣḥu.t.k r sn.w Mȝʿ.t.k | Nbt: r ṣḥu.t.k  
A: ṣḥu.t.k snw[k] Mȝʿ.t.k  
P: ṣḥu.t.k r snw Mȝʿ.t.k  |
| Col. 6 | wn-tw n k huct Św bhu[n.wk] <huc.t> ḫtw | A: wn-tw n k huct Św, bhu[n.wk] ḫtw  
P: wn-tw n k huct Św, bhu[n.wk] ḫtw  |
| Col. 6-7 | lwʾi smȝʿ-wt Mȝʿ.t n k2 Mȝʿ.t | A: lwʾi smȝʿ-wt Mȝʿ.t n k2 Mȝʿ.t  
I: lwʾi smȝʿ-wt Mȝʿ.t n k2 Mȝʿ.t  
P: lwʾi smȝʿ-wt Mȝʿ.t n k2 Mȝʿ.t  |

42 É. Chassinat, E III, 213.  
47 This paper will focus only on the variations and parallels until the 26th Dynasty.
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”.48 This way of writing was much known through the Book of the Dead, and other religious books.49 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,50 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.51 So the retrograde could be related to the idea of the reversibility of time in the underworld.52

– The direction of the writing from left to right originated from the belief that human life was a way towards the west,53 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 1.54

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...
the pattern scheme of the Book of the Dead, some difficulties faced him.\textsuperscript{55} 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.\textsuperscript{56} 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.\textsuperscript{57}

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 Ostracon

The present text of the solar hymn is the only source written on an ostracon 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 ostraca could disprove this idea. Thus, it is not unlikely that, such a text was used as pattern (\textit{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 Menkheperrâseneb (18th Dynasty), where many ostraca used for the decoration of the tomb’s wall have been found.\textsuperscript{58}

### Dating

According to the similarity in the language and the orthography between the text of this ostracon 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,\textsuperscript{59} and P.\textsuperscript{60}

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 16.
\item\textsuperscript{57} A. Niwiński, \textit{loc. cit.}
\item\textsuperscript{58} H. Guksch, \textit{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 discussed this point in her book about the ostraca, which have been used as \textit{Vorlage} in the tomb of Nacht-Min (\textit{Die Vorlagen-Ostraka aus dem Grab des Nachtmin [TT 87]}, BÄÄ 4, 2013).
\item\textsuperscript{59} Pabasa was the Chief Steward of the god’s wife. His tomb is located in Asasif: PM I, p. 357.
\item\textsuperscript{60} Padihorresnet was the Chief Steward of Amon. His tomb is also located in Asasif: PM I, p. 302.
\end{enumerate}
– The word nfr.w is written with three signs 𓊴𓊵𓊶 only in the examples of the 26th Dynasty.
– The sign 𓊴 is inscribed instead of 𓊵 to write the word ds only in the examples of the 26th Dynasty.
– The demonstrative ḫpn is found in the parallels of the 26th Dynasty instead of ḫptn and ḫpw that were used in earlier times.
– The two sign 𓊵𓊶 are used for the word sn.w only in the examples of the 26th Dynasty.
– The sign 𓊴 is used to determine the name of the god Ra in the examples of the 26th Dynasty.
– The Kȝ is written using the form 𓊴 in all the examples of the 26th Dynasty, instead of 𓊵, which is used in the earlier periods.

Provenance

It has been revealed through comparing this ostracon 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 İrt-ru-ṯȝw, Ḥm-Ḥr, and Ns-pȝ-sfy.61

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Parallel Texts

<p>| | |</p>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pb</td>
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</table>

O. 467, line. 2

<p>| | |</p>
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<tbody>
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<td>H</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nb</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nb</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
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<td>I</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pb</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

O. 467, line. 2

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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62. This format of hieroglyphic writings belongs to the work of E. Graefe, *op. cit.*, except the O. 467 which is inserted by the author in order to compare it with other parallels.
O. 467, line. 4-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pb</th>
<th><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

O. 467, line. 5

| P  | ![Image](image3.png) |

O. 467, line. 6

| P  | ![Image](image4.png) |

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A Solar Hymn Ostracon from Deir el-Bahari
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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).