

The Tomb of Osiris and Skyscapes of Death in the *Book of the Two Ways*

مقبرة أوزوريس وطبوغرافية الموت السماوية في كتاب الطريقين

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ملخص

تدور فكرة البحث حول رحلة المتوفى للوصول إلى مقبرة أوزوريس في كتاب الطريقين؛ حيث يقوم المتوفى برحلة عبر طريق مائي علوي، وطريق سفلي أرضي بصحبة الإله رع للوصول إلى مقبرة الإله أوزوريس، التي يجرسها مجموعة من الحراس، وللوصول إلى تلك المقبرة، على المتوفى عبور أولئك الحراس.

وتصف نصوص كتاب الطريقين؛ الطريق المائي، والطريق البري بأنهما جزء من جبانة، وتصف النصوص أيضًا كلا الطريقين بأنهما يقعان على حافة السماء. ويتناول البحث دراسة تلك النصوص التي تصف تلك الرحلة، والتي تُتلى على المتوفى في الليلة السابقة للدفن، كما يهدف البحث أيضًا إلى وصف طبوغرافية السماء كمكان للرحلة.

وفي نهاية البحث تتم مقارنة رحلة المتوفى في كتاب الطريقين، برحلة المتوفى في الساعتين الخامسة والسادسة من كتاب 'إيمي دوات'.

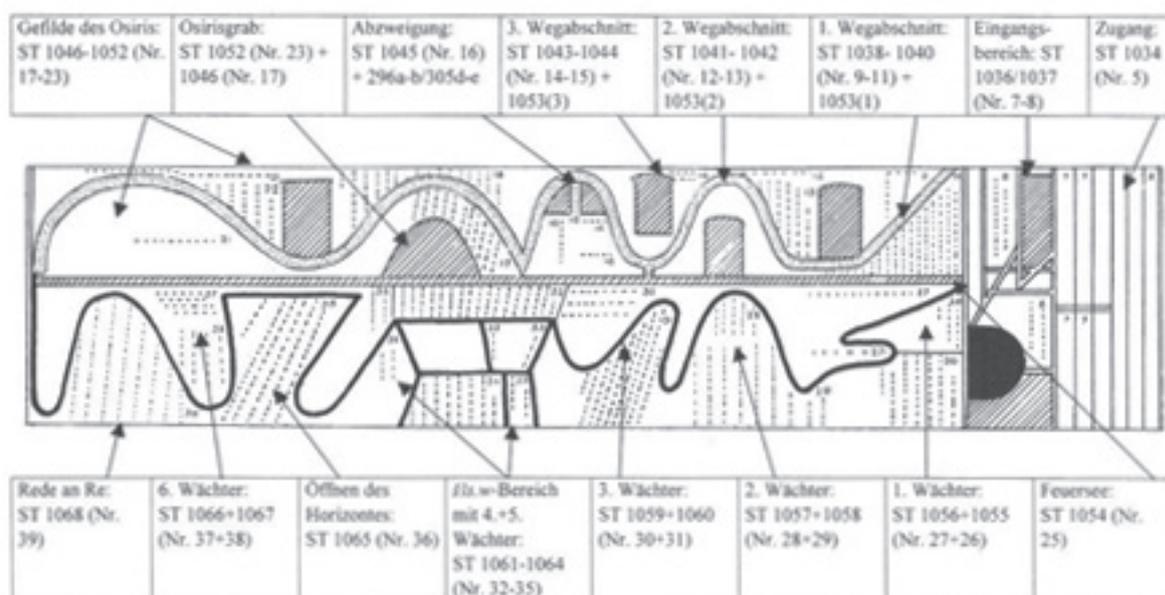
Introduction

The Book of the Two Ways is a text-image book. It was found on the floor of some Middle Kingdom coffins from El-Bersha, and deals with the maps of the Netherworld.¹ The ancient Egyptians treated the corpus as a book, with a beginning and an end, which is made explicit from the colophons of Coffin Text Spell 1031.² The Book is in three versions: long A and B, short version C and small version A-B. The deceased can use any one of them, and can have more than one version inscribed on the floor of his coffin. For instance, the deceased Sepi has the long version B on the inner coffin, encoded as B2P in de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts (plan 11),³ while on the floor of his outer coffin ((B1P) exists the short version C (plan 15). The outer coffin of the physician Sen (B4L) is an exception, where the short version C and the long version A are drawn on the same floor of his outer coffin (plan 12).⁴

The *Book of the Two Ways* has been described as the earliest surviving Egyptian cosmography.⁵ It was examined early in the 20th century by Schack-Schackenburg, who published the texts from the coffin of Sen in the Berlin Museum and facsimile copies of the texts on the bottom of this coffin.⁶ Later, Lacau published similar texts from coffins

in the Egyptian Museum.⁷ In this book there are two pictorial routes taking the shape of zigzag, and the map section generally takes up about one-third of the whole book.⁸ The other two-thirds of the book contain texts, and within the texts there are numerous gateways of darkness and of fire. The *Book of the Two Ways* is a modern name. Like later, hereafter, texts from the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the *Book of the Two Ways* can be envisaged as a guide to the hereafter, which enables the deceased to travel safely through the realm of the deceased to achieve his ultimate goal of an existence in the company of the gods.⁹ Unlike the *Pyramid and Coffin Texts*, the *Book of the Two Ways* is illustrated.¹⁰

The *Book of the Two Ways* published by Lesko includes many spells (the long version has 101 separate spells and the short version 54), and instructs the deceased, among other themes, on the routes and paths through the land of Rosetau and the Netherworld. He began a critical analysis of the *Book of the Two Ways* using various textual elements and detailed plans of the coffins published by de Buck in his edition of the *Coffin Texts*. Lesko identified and sub-divided the *Book of the Two Ways* into nine sections. These nine sections are



(Fig. 1) A plan showing sections III and IV and with the upper waterway (CT Spells 1034-1068 (After Backes, *Das altägyptische Zweibegebuch*, (Pl. 4)

divided into three versions: long A and B versions, the short version C and a small version A-B.¹¹ The long versions include the group of Spells 1029-1130,¹² while the short version includes the group 1131-1185¹³, *CT* Spell 513,¹⁴ and *CT* Spell 577.¹⁵ Section II only occurs in the short version C.¹⁶ The short version C, according to Lesko, is the oldest.¹⁷ De Buck records the *Book of the Two Ways* from 15 coffin plans.¹⁸ In addition, Lesko includes two additional examples in his analysis. These 17 copies are found inside 40 coffins from El-Bersha.¹⁹

The texts of the *Book of the Two Ways* are usually placed on the floor of the coffin, but in two cases the texts are preserved on tomb walls. Spells from section VIII of the *Book of the Two Ways* were discovered on the western wall of the tomb chapel of *Hsw* the Elder from Kom El-Hisn in Western Delta.²⁰ The upper section on the west wall of this tomb chapel contains scenes from daily life, and below the scenes are three registers of texts arranged in vertical columns. The inscriptions include 400 lines of texts. One-hundred-and-ten lines are from the texts of the *Book of the Two Ways*, corresponding to section VIII of Lesko's edition, and representing Spells 1100-1113.²¹ Spells from the *Book of the Two Ways* were also placed on walls in El-Bersha tombs. In the tomb of Nehri II, the texts are carved close to the tomb entrance.²² This may indicate that these texts are the older equivalents of the New Kingdom *Books of the Underworld*.²³ Although they may belong to different genres of text, as Assmann argues, both texts show the deceased the ways across the Underworld.²⁴

The Journey of the Deceased on the Upper Water-Way

The texts under discussion here are those occurring in section III, which occurs in the long and short versions, which are similar to each other in this section of the *Book of the Two Ways*. This section comprises *CT* Spells 1147-1185 in the short version, run in parallel with *CT* Spells 1036-1054 in the long version.²⁵ In this section, the main goal of the deceased's journey is to reach the abode of Osiris, which is located on the *Ways of Rosetau* at the edge of the sky. *CT* Spell 1035 is an introduction to the Upper Water-Way and Lower Land-Way,

and does not belong to section III, but it provides the function and location of the Two Ways. *CT* Spell 1035 reads:

<i>sw3.n.i w3wt nt R3-St3w</i>	I have passed the Way of Rosetau,
<i>hrt t3 mw</i>	which are on water and on land.
<i>w3wt nw nt Wsir</i>	These are the ways of Osiris,
<i>iw.sn m dr pt</i>	and they are at the limit of the sky.

(De Buck, *CT* VII, 282a-c)

The Ways of Rosetau are described as being the ways of Osiris, indicating that they lead to the place where Osiris is. This passage area is located to the right side of the *Two Ways* and is divided into two sections. The lower section is represented as a half disk and a square painted in red, which are described on B₄L, B₁₃C, and B₁L coffins as the Gate of Darkness and the Gate of Fire. The two gates can also be the gates of the Ways of Rosetau represented on the Lower Land-Way and the Upper Water-Way (Fig. 1).

The upper part of this area of passage leads to the Upper Water-Way. The actual starting point on the Upper Water-Way is *CT* Spell 1036 which reads:

<i>mk wi ii.kw m s^ch.i n šw</i>	Behold! I have come in my dignity of Shu.
<i>iw srwh.n.i Wsir</i>	I have restored Osiris to health. ²⁶
<i>iri n.i w3t sw3.i</i>	Make a way for me that I may pass.
<i>hwi ^c.k h3t h^dw R^c pw ntt m^c.i</i>	Clap your hand, (for) it is the best of the maces of Ra which is in my hand.
<i>rwi tw</i>	Pass away.
<i>r3 n sw3 hr.f</i>	A Spell for passing over him.

(D. Buck, *CT* VII, 284a-285c)

There is a gatekeeper depicted on coffin B₁C, represented as a crocodile with a ram head and a knife in his hand, guarding the Gate of Fire and the Gate of Darkness. This gatekeeper is described as *Hsf-Hmiw* (Opposer-and-Demolisher).

These Gatekeepers in the Two Ways were interpreted by Altenmüller as ‘apotropaic gods’; a group of demons guarding the bends and passages in the *Book of the Two Ways* with their magical knives.²⁷ These gods protect the sun god Ra in his battle against the chaotic power of darkness in the *Pyramid Texts*.²⁸ The occurrence of these gods in the *Book of the Two Ways* can be evidence that the cult and religion of Osiris is as old as that of the sun god Ra.²⁹ The cult of Ra was widespread in Memphis. The Ways of Rosetau, the Memphite necropolis, are described as the ways of Osiris in *CT Spell 1035*. Both Ra and Osiris exist side-by-side in the *Book of the Two Ways*. These gatekeepers guard the bends and caves of the Underworld which is pictured in *CT Spell 1035* as the Memphite necropolis. They protect the body of Osiris,³⁰ which is the main aim of the deceased’s journey on the Upper Water-Way.

Before reaching the Upper Water-Way, the deceased has already finished his journey on the Lower Land-Way in the company of the sun god Ra. This was, perhaps, a nocturnal journey in which the deceased descends in the Netherworld in the barque of Ra (*Msktt*). This is made explicit in the group of *CT Spells 1069-1054*. The aim of this nocturnal journey was to reach the Lake of Fire, the place where the deceased is reborn early in the morning, and in his capacity as the son of Ra, he can pass the place of passage. After finishing this journey, the deceased proceeds to another area. This area is occupied by *CT spells 1034-1035* and is not a part of the Two Ways. It has two gates: the Gate of Darkness and the Gate of Fire. These two Gates might represent the two eastern entrances to the Lower Land-Way and the Upper Water-Way.³¹ The deceased has to prove his identity to pass safely this dangerous place of passage.

The following spells deal with a gatekeeper. To reach the abode of Osiris, the deceased has to pass this gatekeeper. *CT Spell 1037* reads:

<i>sdt</i>	Flame.
<i>m33.n.i srwh(t).n.i m</i> <i>Wsir im</i>	I have seen what I have restored to health in Osiris there.
<i>imi km3 m iwff</i>	Do not mourn on his body.
<i>Hsf-Hmiw rn.fpw</i>	Opposer-and-Demolisher is his name.

<i>ᵚrrwt nt sdt ᵚrrwt</i> <i>nt kkw</i>	Gate of Fire. Gate of Darkness.
<i>r3 n Š Nby rn.f</i>	A Spell for the Lake of Fire is its name.
(De Buck, <i>CT VII</i> , 286a-287c)	

The deceased says that he has restored Osiris to life. This means he has played a role in the mummification and embalming of the god. This also might refer to the fact that the deceased has played a role in the liturgical recitation on the body of the god in the place of embalming. The image here is that of Osiris lying on his bed, in a place surrounded by fire and protected by a gatekeeper whose name is the Opposer-and-Demolisher. The deceased wishes to pass to see Osiris, and to take part in the restoration of his body to life. The next passage names the gate, which provides entrance to the place where the god is. The role of these guardians in the next Spell is to resuscitate the deceased who is pictured as Ra and Osiris. *CT Spell 1037* is inscribed in the section that separates the Two Ways. In the upper section there is a label which reads *flame* and is painted in red, which may refer to the *sdt* occurring at the beginning of *CT Spell 1037*.³²

The Gate of Darkness and the Gate of Fire occurring in *CT Spell 1037* might be entrances to the Ways of Rosetau, which occur in *CT Spell 1034*. The Two Ways belong to the underworld. In *CT Spell 1034*, these Ways of Rosetau are said to be on water and land, and are located at the edge of the sky. They are also described as the Ways of Osiris. Lesko argues that the deceased will expect to travel on the Two Ways as the circumstances demand, or to make a circuit of the Two Ways. On both Ways, the deceased will travel in the company of the sun god Ra on his barque; the Upper Water-Way represents the day sky, and the Lower Land-Way represents the night sky.³³

The next is *CT Spell 1038*, which names one of the gatekeepers, the deceased has to pass. The Spell reads:

3*hi-hrw iri.s pw* One-with-Roaring-Voice is
.its gatekeeper
r3 n sw3 hr.s nw nt hr.f This is a Spell for passing
.here who is under him
(CT VII, 287d-e)

This gatekeeper is represented on coffin B1C as a human-head crocodile with a knife in his hand. The following CT Spell 1039 also names other gatekeepers that the deceased has to pass on his way to the abode of Osiris and these are named as š3p (Leaper), 3sb (Fiery One), 3tti (She-of-the-Knife?), T3i (Robber), W3wi (He-Who-Curses), and 3tim(?) (Aatem).³⁴

On the Upper Water-Way, the deceased crosses the sky in the company of Ra and is aiming to reach Osiris, whose place is guarded by gatekeepers. The vision of the sky in the *Book of the Two Ways* is that it is divided into a waterway that belongs to the sun god Ra who sails in his barque and the deceased is in his company. The other part is the Netherworld itself which has the body of Osiris. The knowledge of the names of the gatekeepers and demons was crucial for the deceased to pass safely. The gatekeepers are represented guarding the bends and hills of the Upper Water-Way. The following CT Spell 1040 connects the deceased with Rosetau and reads:

ink msi m R3-Sf^cw I am the one who was born
,in Rosetau
rdi n.i 3h in nb.i R^c-Hr- and I have been given
3hti power by my Lord Ra-hor-
.akhty
s^ch.i m Pi ,My dignity is in Pe
m w^cb.i Wsir .when I cleanse Osiris
šsp.n.i kiw m R3-Sf3w m I have received acclama-
sšm.i ntrw hr i3wt.sn tion in Rosetau in the
following of the gods on
,their hills
ink w^ci m sšmw.sn for I am one of their fol-
.lowers
De Buck, CT VII,
(289a-291a)

CT Spell 1040 is another equivalent for *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 118.³⁵ When the deceased says that he is following the gods on their hills, this might refer to the gods in the sun barque crossing the sky. The aim of their journey is to reach the place

of regeneration of Osiris in the Sixth Hour³⁶ in the *Book of the Amduat*. The hill of Osiris is depicted on the upper register in that Hour has the abode of Osiris; it is guarded by gatekeepers threatening those who pass by them. It is also crucial to note the connection between the deceased and Rosetau. It is portrayed as a necropolis having the tomb of Osiris itself. Rosetau is also the aim of the deceased's journey on the Upper Water-Way.³⁷

The following CT Spell 1041 is inscribed on a second hill as shown on the map of section III (Fig.1). The Spell also names eight additional gatekeepers the deceased has to pass in his journey on the Upper Water-Way. These gatekeepers occur also in *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 144.³⁸ The following CT Spell 1042 reads:

ink 3h nb 3hw I am a spirit, Lord of the spirits.
3h ir.i iw.f wnw The spirit which I have begotten
he exists.
3h sf3.i n ntf wn
(CT VII, 293a-c)

The spirit which I hate does not exist. In this Spell, the deceased describes himself as 3h nb 3hw which is an epithet designating Osiris as occurs in *Book of the Dead* 149. So, the deceased plays a double role; he is Osiris and he is on his way to the place of Osiris.³⁹ The following CT Spells 1043–1045 states the names of another group of gatekeepers the deceased has to pass. These gatekeepers have their parallels in *Book of the Dead*, Chapters 144 and 147.⁴⁰

The following group of CT Spells 1046–1052 describe the role of the deceased in the Field of Offerings and the tomb of Osiris. CT Spell 1046 reads:

ddw 3h nb qbw im.s m-m šmsw He who grants benefits,
n Wsir the Lord of Reversion
Offerings is in it among
the followers of Osiris.
iw šmsw ntw im.s 3hw pw The followers who are in
hmsi.sn im.s it are the spirits who dwell
in it,
m-ht stp.sn z3 im r nbw.sn when they have protected
(CT VII, 298a-299a) their Lord there.

Here the deceased is described as one of the followers of Osiris. He has already been described

as a luminous spirit *3h* in *CT* Spell 1042 and in *CT* 1046 Spell he is in the following of Osiris as the one who provides offerings to the god and protects him. He also prepares cakes for Osiris, and assists Thoth and Anubis as occurs in *CT* spells 1047/1048 which have the same readings. The two spells read:

(299b/300d) <i>iw 3ht.i</i> <i>m sht-htpt</i>	(299 b/300d) My field is in the Field of Offering,
(299c/301a) <i>m-m iriw</i> <i>hnmt n Wsir</i>	(c) among those who make <i>hnmt</i> -cakes for Osiris.
(299d/301b) <i>ink iri-ε</i> <i>n Dhwti</i>	(d) I am the (hand) assistant of Thoth.
(300a/301c) <i>ink psi</i> <i>hnmt n Wsir</i> <i>m-m irw htpt</i>	(300 a) I am he who cooks a <i>hnmt</i> -cake for Osiris among those who make offerings.
(300b/300d) <i>iw h3t</i> <i>Inpw m htp hrw rw</i>	(300 b) What Anubis bewails is the offerings on the day of straw.

(*CT* VII, 299b-301d)

The deceased describes himself here as the hand or assistant of the Lunar god Thoth. Willems makes a connection between *CT* Spell 207 and *CT* Spell 1047. He argues that the deceased is acting as the scribe of Thoth, and he approaches Osiris in order to bring him offerings. The deceased is portraying himself as a priest performing rituals for Osiris.⁴¹ The deceased is not only making offerings for Osiris, but also shares the god in these offerings. Receiving offerings with the god means that the deceased is starting a new life and participates in the regenerative cycle of the god.⁴² The following *CT* Spell 1049 deals with the same themes mentioned in *CT* Spells 1047 and 1048; having *hnmt* cake with Osiris and having bread with the god daily (*CT* VII, 301g-i). The following *CT* Spell 1050 reads:

<i>r3 n wnn m ntr n</i> <i>Wsir</i>	A Spell for being a god for Osiris.
<i>nn mni m33 Wsir</i> <i>mwt</i>	He does not die, he who sees Osiris after death.
<i>iri εrrt m zbiw</i> <i>m εw3</i>	The gatekeeper is the one who will gain through robbery.

(*CT* VII, 302d-f)

In this Spell, the Fields of Offerings is pictured as an area with a gatekeeper, where the deceased will live eternally beside Osiris.⁴³ The Spell shows also that gazing or watching Osiris is one of the privileges for the righteous and followers of Osiris.

The following *CT* Spell 1051 deals also with having bread with Osiris everyday and being with Thoth. Those who partake of their offerings together with Osiris shall not perish. *CT* Spell 1051 reads:

<i>wnn m htpw ntiw</i> <i>m šms</i>	Those who are in the following of Osiris remain satisfied everyday,
<i>n Wsir rε-nb</i>	
<i>wnm.sn t m-m</i> <i>εnhw dt</i>	and they shall eat bread among the living forever,
<i>wnn 3hwt.f im</i>	and his lands (fields) shall be there,
<i>n mni n.sn dt</i>	and they shall never die,
<i>iw.f hnε Dhwti</i>	and he will be with Thoth,
<i>n hsf.f in nbq nb</i>	and he will not be driven off by any destroyer.
<i>nbw εrrwt m-m</i> <i>zbiw m εw3w</i>	The Lords are the keepers who will gain through robberies.
<i>r3 n wnn m htpt</i>	This is a Spell to open safely.

(*CT* VII, 303a-304d)

The succeeding *CT* Spell 1052 marks the end of section III and the Upper Water-Way. The Spell describes different locations in the Field of Offerings. The Spell reads:

<i>Hf3w εft irw εrrwt</i>	The Snakes of <i>εft</i> are the keepers of the gates.
<i>st sm</i>	The place of herbage.
<i>st 3hwt</i>	The place of fields.
<i>st šε</i>	The place of sand.
<i>st inrw</i>	The place of stones (?).
<i>Pr z3(?) ihwyt rn.s</i> <i>pw</i>	The house of herbage (?) is its name.

(De Buck, *CT* VII, 304e-j)

It is not clear what these places are referring to, but they are located within the Fields of Offerings. The gatekeepers of this Spell are the snakes of *εft*.

The Journey of the Deceased to the Tomb of Osiris as a Ritual Action

In the *CT* Spells 1034 and 1052, the main concern is a journey taking place on the Upper Water-Way by the deceased to reach the Abode of Osiris. This Abode is envisaged as a hill, as it occurs in *CT* Spell 1040. This Abode is also protected by gatekeepers

guarding the entrance to the place of Osiris. The deceased is portrayed as performing a journey in a boat crossing the Upper Water-Way. He is acting as one of the followers of the sun god Ra, or an agent and assistant of Thoth on the barque of Ra. While crossing the Upper Water-Way, which is located in the sky, the deceased visits different places and he has to prove his identity to pass safely. Thus, for instance, he claims to have come in the dignity of Shu, as occurs in *CT Spell 1036*, to pass safely the apotropaic gods.

These gods have their parallels in *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 144 and *Book of the Dead*, Chapters 147 and 148, and later in *Papyrus P. MMA 35.9.21* for someone named Imuthes dating to the Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁴ Although these sources belong to a different text genre, yet they all show the roles these gods play in the protection of the body of Osiris, whose place is envisaged as a tomb located in the Field of Offerings. They also represent places of passage that the deceased has to pass in his journey to the Abode of Osiris.⁴⁵

On his way to the Abode of Osiris, the deceased assumes the dignity of Shu. In his study on Shu Spells in the *Coffin Texts*, Willems argues that the deceased can be identified with Shu. In this case, the deceased travels along the Underworld to see his father Osiris to take part in his mummification. Willems attributes all these actions of the son of Osiris to the vigil or the *Stundenwachen*.⁴⁶ On his way for the restoration of the body of his father Osiris to life, the deceased faces gatekeepers who wish to stop him. The deceased in turn assumes the dignity of Shu to pass safely the place of passage. All these themes are found in *CT Spell 1036*, where the deceased comes in his dignity of Shu, who might also be considered as son of both Ra and Osiris, and his aim is to restore Osiris to life. The deceased is Shu, son of Osiris, who tends to the body of his father. He is also the one who holds the best of maces of Ra in his hand.

The gatekeepers protecting the body of Osiris might act as the gods of the *Stundenwachen*: a core ritual of the funeral where the deceased god passes through the hours of the night and day towards his resurrection.⁴⁷ The deceased is also active in the Field of Offerings which houses the Abode of Osiris. For instance, he makes cakes for Osiris and

presents offerings to the god as one of his followers. As a result, the deceased describes himself as Ax. Serving Osiris and presenting offerings to Osiris means that the deceased will live eternally beside him and will participate in the regeneration cycle of the god. The deceased is doing so as an assistant of Thoth, and also as one who is accompanying the solar barque of Ra. The rituals of preserving the body of the god and the presentation of the offerings to him are envisaged as a journey taking place on the Upper Water-Way. The deceased operates in this journey as a servant of Osiris, and also as a follower of the barque of Ra.

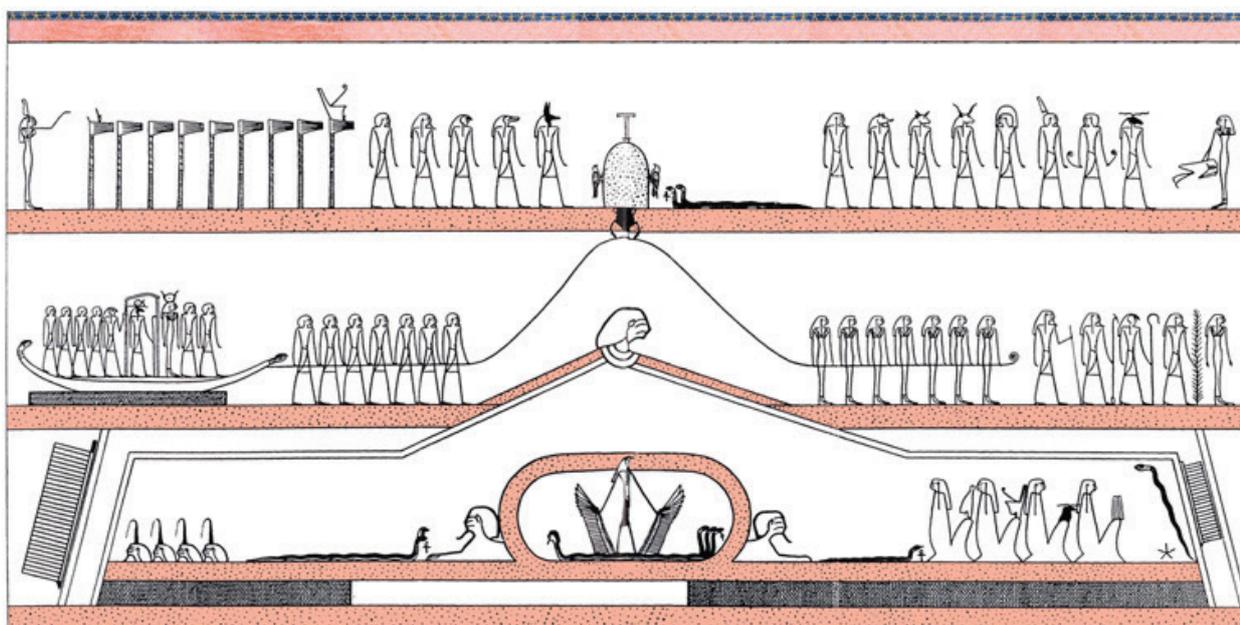
The Upper Water-Way and Skyscapes of Death in the *Book of the Two Ways* and the *Amduat*

The Upper Water-Way is described in *CT Spell 1034* as one of the ways of Rosetau, and it is located at the edge of the sky. On the Upper Water-Way, the deceased is approaching the Field of Offerings and he is also assisting Thoth in presenting the offerings for Osiris. Where is the journey of the deceased taking place? Is the Upper Water-Way a part of the sky or of the Underworld? Is there an Underworld above?

The Ways of Rosetau

Rosetau is the Memphite necropolis of the capital of the Old Kingdom. In the *Pyramid Texts*, Rosetau is envisaged as a heavenly sphere. In sections III and IV in the *Book of the Two Ways*, the Upper Water-Way and the Lower Land-Way are located at the edge of the sky; in the ordered Cosmos. The borders of the sky are the two horizons where both the night and the day skies meet, equally are places where the entrances to the Underworld and the Nethersky below are found. In the New Kingdom the Memphite necropolis, Rosetau was chosen to be a model for the *Underworld Books*, which are depicted on the walls of the kings' tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Rosetau also became a term that designated the whole Netherworld. The Lord of the necropolis is Sokar, who is described in the *Pyramid Texts* as the Lord of Rosetau, and was identified with Osiris.⁴⁸

On the ways of Rosetau in the *Book of the Two Ways*, the deceased takes a journey to the tomb of Osiris which is located in the Fields of Offerings.



(Fig. 2) The Kingdom of Sokar and the ways of Rosetau in the Fifth Hour of the *Book of Amduat* After Hornung, and Abt, *the Ancient Egyptian Amduat*, 138/139.)

In these fields, the deceased wishes to have his offerings beside Osiris. So, he is performing a journey on the Upper Water-Way in the company of Ra in the day sky and a nocturnal journey with Thoth. He is acting as a follower of Ra and an assistant of Thoth.⁴⁹ The journey is taking West–East direction starting from *CT* Spell 1034 and finishes in the Lake of Fire (*CT* Spell 1054). The passage of the deceased on the upper waterway is envisaged as a structure with gates and gatekeepers, and dominated by Ra and Osiris. In the day sky the deceased travels on the Upper Water-Way in the barque of Ra and at night this Waterway is inhabited by Osiris. In *CT* Spell 1042, Thoth replaces Ra on the day sky, and he is Thoth in the night sky.⁵⁰

The Fields of Offerings are located in the Upper Water-Way (*CT* Spells 1047–1052). These fields are dominated by Osiris, Thoth and Anubis. The deceased prepares offerings for Osiris in these fields. Section III of the *Book of the Two Ways* ends in the Fields of Offerings. The Upper Water-Way meets the Lower Land-Way in the Lake of Fire (*CT* Spell 1054).

The Lake of Fire represents a path which the deceased follows on his journey to the Netherworld.⁵¹ As a passage over water, the

Lake of Fire has the creative power of the primeval ocean Nun. In Egyptian myth, water was the first element from which life came into being; in water occurs the power of creation. This creative image of water was envisaged in the annual Nile flood which covered the whole land bringing all life substances to the land of Egypt.⁵² Nun was a place where the deceased reappear in a new life. In ritual, water was the elixir of life, which is poured to the deceased during funeral ceremonies so he can be refreshed by its means.⁵³ Water offered to the deceased is from the body of Osiris, and it returns to his body during the libation offering.⁵⁴ Water was also the means by which the deceased mediates his passage to become an *3h*.⁵⁵ The Lake of Fire in the *Book of the Two Ways* is a place over which the deceased sails through the land of Rosetau. It is a place where he will be reborn with the sun god Ra, and it is also a place from which he will start his journey towards the Abode of Osiris.⁵⁶ On the floors of El-Bersha coffins, the Lake of Fire is depicted as a red band. To reach the Lake of Fire, the deceased has to prove his identity. He identifies himself with Ra, or sometimes

as a messenger of Ra (CT Spell 1067). With this identification, the deceased has the right to pass over the Lake of Fire (CT Spell 1054), the actual place of passage.⁵⁷

Altenmüller argues that the Lake of Fire plays the same roles of the Winding Waterway which occurs in *Pyramid Texts*, and the Lake of Knives which occurs in the New Kingdom Sun Hymns.⁵⁸ Krauss' work on the astronomical concepts and afterlife beliefs in the *Pyramid Texts* is based on a textual investigation of the celestial cosmology of the *Pyramid Texts*, enhanced with relevant passages from the *Coffin Texts* and later literature, and is a good elementary study of the astronomical phenomena of the night sky in Egypt. Krauss' study begins with an investigation of the Winding Waterway. He argues that *Mr-n-H3* is a virtual strip/canal of water, winding through the sky from the East to the West, and that it is identified to the ancient Egyptian conception of the Ecliptic, where the Sun, the Moon and the Planets are apparently projected, during their motion across the sky. *Mr-n-H3* can also explain the Egyptian division of the sky into two skies (*pti*). According to Krauss, the sky to the North of the Ecliptic (the Winding Waterway) was called the Field of Offering (*Sht Htpw*), the home of the Imperishable Stars (*Ihmw-Sk*), while the area to the South of the Ecliptic (the Winding Waterway) was named the Fields of Reeds (*Sht B3rw*), and the home of the Unwearying Stars (*Ihmw-Wrd*). The aim of the deceased's journey along the Winding Waterway was to cross from the South of the sky to its North, where he could join the Imperishable Stars in the Field of Offerings.⁵⁹

Wallin studied the astronomical concepts of the Egyptians in the *Coffin Texts*.⁶⁰ Maravelia has undertaken an in-depth and serious work on the astronomical elements of the ancient Egyptians, as these are met in their funerary texts, and has thoroughly studied these concepts.⁶¹

The Fields of Offerings and the abode of Osiris are located on the Upper Water-Way and the deceased presents offerings to Osiris in these fields. So, the deceased's journey is taking place on the celestial sphere on the Upper Water-Way. The Imperishable Stars in the Fields of Offerings to the North of the Winding Waterway can also refer to

the *3hw* which occur in CT Spell 1042 mentioned above, and which refers to the deceased as a star or an *3h* beside Osiris.

The Upper Water-Way belongs to the sky, and the deceased crosses over it as a representative of the sun god Ra. It is also a place where the body of Osiris is guarded by gatekeepers and demons. The deceased also has two functions on this Waterway; he is one of the followers of the sun god Ra in his barque, and his goal is to reach the Abode of Osiris to take part in his embalming. He is also one of the servants of Osiris. He is the son who travels all the way to see the body of his father, and to take part in his mummification and the cleansing of his body.

The journey of the deceased on the Ways of Rosetau in the *Book of the Two Ways* to reach the Abode of Osiris brings to mind the journey of Ra through the Fifth Hour (Fig. 2) and Sixth Hour in the *Book of the Amduat*. The deceased as the sun god Ra in his barque has to travel along the Kingdom of Sokar, which is located in Rosetau, where the hill with the tomb of Osiris is found.

The Upper Water-Way in the *Book of the Two Ways* and the Fifth Hour of the *Amduat* are modelled after the Ways of Rosetau, and designed for both Ra and Osiris. Ra and Osiris play parallel roles. That is made explicit when the sun god Ra travels through the underworld to see Osiris. In CT Spell 1035, the Ways of Rosetau are on land and water, and are meant to serve Osiris. They are also located at the edge of the sky, the edge of Cosmos. They might also be considered as the entrance points of the deceased into the cycles of both Ra and Osiris. The edges of the sky are the two horizons, the places of death and rebirth of the sun and the deceased. It is also one of the places where the sun god, with whom the deceased is identified, punishes his enemies every day.

In the Fifth Hour of the *Book of the Amduat* in the middle register, the barque of the sun god Ra has to be dragged on the Ways of Rosetau in the Kingdom of Sokar. The upper register in the same hour has the burial mound of Osiris flanked by Isis and Nephthys. A scarab is shown emerging from this mound. The mound of Osiris is the Chest, and is guarded by Anubis. Hornung claims that this chest is another form of the whole Underworld,

where Ra (the soul) and Osiris (the body) are regenerated during night, reappearing as a scarab in the morning.⁶² The lower register has the Lake of Fire, and the texts describe the lake as a place for the sinners, and a place where the gods' boat cannot sail. Its water is described as the waves of water that cannot be controlled.⁶³ The Lake of Fire in the *Book of the Amduat* is also described as a place of punishment for sinners, and a place of nourishment for the righteous. The Lake is a fiery pain for the enemies of Ra, and cool water for his followers. In the *Book of the Two Ways*, the Lake of Fire is described in *CT* Spell 1054 as follows:

<i>š nw n sdt ʿ3tyw rn.f</i>	This is the Lake of Fire; its name is Aatiu.
<i>n wnt s nb hr m sdt</i>	There is no man fallen in the fire,
<i>šnʿ.t(w).f jm.f</i>	And can be repelled from it.
<i>šnʿ(t).f sw (im).f</i> variant	And can save himself (from) it.
<i>nmtyw 4 iwʿt pw rn.f</i> <i>š m3ʿ</i>	Oh four opposers (enemies), its name is
<i>CT VII, 508e-h</i>	inheritance, the true lake.

The Upper Water-Way ends in the Lake of Fire in the *Book of the Two Ways*. This Lake is the place where the sun god Ra is born. The journeys of the deceased in the *Book of the Two Ways* and in the Fifth Hour of the *Book of the Amduat* are taking place in Rosetau which represents the Underworld. In the *Book of the Amduat* and in the *Book of the Two Ways*, the Lake of Fire is a place located at the edge of the Cosmos, and in turn separates between existence and non-existence. This also means that the Lake of Fire, in which the Upper Water-Way ends, is at the edge of the sky. It is a place where death and rebirth are found.⁶⁴

The journey on the Upper Water-Way in the *Book of the Two Ways* can also be compared with the journey of Ra in the Sixth Hour of the *Book of the Amduat*. In the Sixth Hour the barque of Ra enters the 'Waterhole of those of the Netherworld'⁶⁵ where the primeval ocean Nun with its regenerative aspects, which is necessary for the unification of Ra and Osiris, is found. In this Hour the Fields of Offerings are found, and the deceased king is presenting offerings for Osiris as one of his followers. The sun god Ra proceeds on the waterways of the

Netherworld searching for his body Osiris. This journey is also pictured as taking place in Rosetau in the Fields of Offerings, as occurs on the Upper Water-Way in the *Book of the Two Ways*. In *CT* Spell 1040 (*CT VII, 290b*) the deceased states that he has received acclamation in Rosetau in the following of the gods on their hills, in a reference for being one of the followers of Osiris in the Fields of Offerings. He has also described himself as *šh* Lord of *šhw* in *CT* Spell 1042, which might also be an indication that he is one of the followers of Osiris, as occurs in the Sixth Hour of the *Book of the Amduat*.

On the Upper Water-Way, in the *Book of the Two Ways*, the deceased accomplishes a journey in Rosetau which houses the body of Osiris. The Abode of Osiris is located in the Field of Offerings, and the entrance to the god is guarded by gatekeepers and demons. The deceased plays the role of Ra and also is described as an assistant of Thoth. The Upper Water-Way is envisaged as a part of the Underworld which is located in the sky. The journey on the Upper Water-Way is also envisaged as a journey from death to resurrection and in which the deceased, as the son of Osiris, is travelling on the Upper Water-Way to participate in the restoration of the body of his father.

The journey is also taking place in the Underworld, which is envisaged as a part of the sky. The Underworld, according to the ancient Egyptians, belongs to the ordered Cosmos, and is also separated from this world. This may explain why the Netherworld is seen on one side as day and night on top of it, and the necropolis and the tomb are on the other side. This means that the Underworld to the ancient Egyptians has a part belonging to the sky, and the other part is represented in both the tomb and the necropolis. On the Upper Water-Way, the entire Underworld is described; the day sky is the sphere of the sun god Ra (here as the above Underworld), and the Underworld which is below as the sphere of Osiris, and the dead. The union of both Ra and Osiris, which is a core theme in the *Book of the Amduat*, appears here as the central theme in the *Book of the Two Ways*.

Conclusion

The *Book of the Two Ways* reveals the vision of an Underworld topography in plans drawn on the bottom of some Middle Kingdom coffins from El-Bersha presenting a passage through space and linear time to reintegration in the new Netherworld of Osiris. The New Kingdom *Amduat* shows the vision of the solar passage, through day and night, to present a passage through cyclical time towards reintegration into the society of Ra in his daily cycle. The two visions of the Underworld are, in a way or another, parallel and both overlap as places of reintegration.⁶⁶ The only difference is that the journey of the deceased on the Upper Water-Way in the *Book of the Two Ways* is presented in texts for recitation, while in the *Book of the Amduat* the journey is illustrated. The journey from death to resurrection, or from separation to reintegration, is envisaged as a journey by boat crossing the Underworld which is located on the celestial sphere on the Upper Water-Way in the necropolis of Rosetau in the *Book of the Two Ways*.

Notes

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 - 6 H. Schack-Schackenburg, *Das Buch von den Zwei Wegen des seligen Toten (Zweiwegebuch): Texte aus der Pyramidenzeit nach einem im Berliner Museum bewahrten Sargboden des Mittleren Reiches*. Erster Theil: Text nebst Einleitung (Leipzig, 1903).
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- 22 Willems, *Chests of Life*, 74; H. Willems, L. Op de Beek, T. Sagrillo, S. Vereecken, and R. van Walsem (eds.), *Dayr al-Barsha: vol. I, The Rock Tombs of Djehutiankht (No. 17K74/1), Khnumnakht (No. 17K74/2), and Iha (No. 17K74/3) With an Essay on the History and Nature of Nomarchal Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom*, OLA 155 (Leuven, 2007), 83.
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- 26 I am using here the translation of R.O., Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 1–1185*, vol. III, (Oxford, 1973), 132, n. 2.
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- 29 Assmann, *Ra und Amun*, 83–84.
- 30 Hermsen, *Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, 163.
- 31 U. Rößler-Köhler, ‘Das eigentliche Zweiwegebuch’, *GM* 192 (2003), 83–98.
- 32 Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways*, 42.
- 33 H. Lesko, ‘Some Observations on the Composition of the *Book of the Two Ways*’, *JAOS* 91 (1971), 37.
- 34 De Buck, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. VII, 288a-g.
- 35 Hermsen, *Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits*, 143.
- 36 Comparing to the unification of Ra and Osiris in the *Litany of the Sun*, as in QV 66 (*Wsir pw, htp m Rꜥ...*).
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