

# THE DECEASED AND HIS RELEVANCE TO *Rḥwy*, *ḥꜣwy*, *HNNwy*, AND *SNwy*

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## ABSTRACT

The twofold oppositions or contrasts that complement each other are evident in Ancient Egypt. We have heaven and earth, day and night, life and death, fertile land and desert, and so good and evil. One of the most outstanding forms of dualism was the divine *Rḥwy*: Horus and Seth. The interpretation of this word differs according to the context included. On one hand, it is translated as the two companions when talking first about the gods *Re* and Thoth; on the other hand, it is the two rivals Horus and Seth, apart from occasionally it is translated, as well as, the reconciled gods, or the two companions. This raises the question of when and where the meaning of the word should be understood as «Rivals» and or as «Companions»! In the course of this article, we shall have to ask, however, does the connection that linked between *Rḥwy* and the deceased differ from his relation to each of them separately? The study is also exposed to three words that come in the texts and that may play the same role of the word *Rḥwy* in its binary meanings: *ḥꜣwy*, *hnnwy*, and *snwy*. So, and in the interests of clarity, I have purposely confined this article to the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, and New Kingdom Book of the Dead, as thoughts about *Rḥwy* are remarkably shown in similarity and continuation.

**KEYWORDS:** *Rḥwy*; *ḥꜣwy*, *hnnwy*, *snwy*, Rivals, Companions, Contestants, Brothers, PT, CT, BD; Horus; Seth; Isis; Nephthys; *Re*; Thoth, Hetep.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Horus and Seth came into conflict over the throne of Egypt, and reconciled and separated when the dispute was settled. This reconciliation between the two deities<sup>1</sup> was attributed in particular to Thoth,<sup>2</sup> and then the two lords together ruled over Egypt through the pharaoh whom they purified and crowned [FIGURE 1]/a- b)<sup>3</sup>.

The word *Rḥwy*<sup>4</sup> is a term referring to two deities together; either the gods Horus and Seth, or either Thoth and Seth or the gods *Re* and Thoth.

Although ancient traditions viewed Horus and Seth as the traditional Rivals, some ancient texts contradict this tradition. In three texts of the PT, Thoth and Seth are regarded as hostile brothers, blaming them for their evil deeds, and their refusal to

repent: *mk irt Stš ḥnꜥ Dḥwty snwy.k ḥmw rmi tw*

«Behold what Seth together with Thoth, your brothers, did to you, who ignore lamenting you (i.e., did not cry for you) »<sup>5</sup>.

Therefore, they are threatened with heavy penalties<sup>6</sup>:

*Stš sn.k pw p(?) nn Wsir di sdb.f ḥnh.f ss.f tw ḥnh.f ḥnh N pn n mt.f n mt N pn*

«O Seth, this is your brother Osiris, who has been restored to live and punish you; if he lives, this king N will live; if he dies, this king N will die»<sup>7</sup>.

Boylan thinks that here we could have traces of an ancient myth that made Thoth and Seth a pair of pernicious gods, intertwined in an evil plot against Horus<sup>8</sup>.

In another remarkable PT text, Thoth and *Re* (i. e., moon and sun) are described as well with *Rḥwy*, despite the meaning of which should be regarded here not as the two Rivals but as the two Companions. Apparently, that, the word *Rḥwy* might first have appeared in the *Pyramid Texts* pointing out the gods *Re* and Thoth:

*Rḥwy ḥpw dꜣy pt Rꜥ pw ḥnꜥ Dḥwty šd n.tn N ḥnꜥ.tn wnm.f m wnm.tn im swry.f m swryt.tn im ḥnh.f m ḥnh.tn im ḥms.f m ḥmst.tn im wsr.f m wsrt.tn im skd.f m skddt.tn im*

«O you two Companions who cross the sky, (namely) it is *Re* together with Thoth, take King N with you, so he eats of what you eat, drinks from what you drink, that lives

<sup>1</sup> The Ritual of Abydos describes Thoth's activities after the struggle ended thus:  *shṭp.n.k Hr m irt.f shṭp.n.k Stš m hrwy.f* «you satisfied Horus through his eye, you satisfied Seth through his testicles»: MARIETTE 1869: PL. 87.

<sup>2</sup> The role of Thoth in the different stages of the legend seems to be intrinsic and necessary: Thoth acts as friend and protector of Horus, and of his eye [BOYLAN 1922: 32]. During the absence of the eye, it was under the protection of Thoth. Thoth's activity in finding, caring for, and bringing home the eye is described in a number of epithets: , ,  *ḥhy*, *gm*, *nhm* 'search, find, rescue'. MORET 1902: 82, 86.

<sup>3</sup> About Horus & Seth See: *LÄ* vol.3: 25-6.

<sup>4</sup> It is worth mentioning that, the word *Rḥwy* is not derived from a verb, See: FAULKNER 1964:151; although LEITZ mentions it without documentation as [wurzelübersicht von *rḥ*] in: *LGG* vol.4: 702.

<sup>5</sup> PT 163d.

<sup>6</sup> The next text is also applied to Thoth, See: 175 a-b.

<sup>7</sup> PT 173 a-b.

<sup>8</sup> BOYLAN 1922: 45.

on what you live on, that he sits on what you sit on, so he may be strong with that you are strong, so he sails in what you sail»<sup>9</sup>.

The use of this word referring to *Re*<sup>c</sup> and Thoth was attested once, as said above, in the pyramid text, although this spell was copied later in chapter 178 of the *Book of the Dead*, even having a text differs somewhat from it:

*bwt N pn ḥsw ṯwri.f wš mi ṯwri st Rḥwy wdꜣ Dḥwty r pt šdy.ṯn N ḥn<sup>c</sup>.ṯn wnm.f m wnm.ṯn*  
 «Excrement is what this N detests, he avoids urine, like the two Companions avoid it.

Thoth proceeds to the sky. May you take N with you. May he eat as you eat»<sup>10</sup>.

One can argue, therefore, that the ancient Egyptian concept about the word *Rḥwy* was changed and became later on as a 'noun' only confined to the gods Horus and Seth, but in two different renderings depending on the context of the text.

## II. *Rḥwy* AS THE TWO RIVALS <sup>11</sup>.

When talking about the judgment, separating the two gods, calming the tumult, pacifying them, or putting an end to the dispute of *Rḥwy*<sup>12</sup>; then we talk about the two Rivals who fought with each other, and the trials always made by the deceased who is represented as many gods to to make their ?? content. Basically, the deceased never took a bias or showed a tendency or prejudice to either of the opponents. Logically he is supposed to stand with the truth, which is the god Horus; especially that the deceased obtained the title *mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw* -the epithet first given to Horus- only if he would have said the truth like Horus the day of *ḥsb ḳdw* 'reckoning the characters'<sup>13</sup>.

*n sp wpt* <sup>14</sup> *N pn nm<sup>c</sup> m-m Rḥwy n sp sdm.f* [or: *sdm N pn*] *m ist ddt nb ḥft mdw dꜣdꜣt mi- ḳd.s*  
*hrr Rḥwy ḥr ddt.n N pn m wd<sup>c</sup>-mdw n sp whmt* <sup>15</sup> (*wd<sup>c</sup>-mdw*) *N pn m pr ḥr ṯrw.n ṯsf(t) r.f*  
*mdw.sn ... i hrhr.n N pn bꜣw.ṯn* [or: *ṯ hrhr bꜣw.ṯn n N pn*] *Dḥwty pw N pn mṯn sw ṯy ḥ<sup>c</sup>w wd<sup>c</sup>-*  
*mdw štm (m) ṯb n ṯst wrt ṯrt Rḥwy hrw* <sup>16</sup>.

«This N never judged with prejudice between the two Rivals, and he [this N] did not hear anything in the palace that was said when all the magistrates talked. The two Rivals were contented with what this N said in the referee. This N never repeated a (judgment) as someone who came out because of those who did evil to him (?) When they spoke ... be silent and hope your souls will be calm to me, for this N is Thoth. Lo, he has come with joy, executing judgment on the destroyer (at) the desire of Isis the Great and making the two Rivals contented»<sup>17</sup>.

In the sphere of myths, the conflict of Horus and Seth, ended when Thoth - with whom the deceased is occasionally identified - interferes between them, preventing the strife from continuing. Since the deceased sometimes plays the role of Thoth as said

<sup>9</sup> PT 128b-c. See: FAULKNER 1969: 39.

<sup>10</sup> BD 178, See: QUIRKE 2013: 441.

<sup>11</sup> LICHTHEIM believed that the struggle between Seth and Osiris or between Seth and Horus, recounted in the Pyramid Texts, represented the prototypes of strife within the world, See: LICHTHEIM 1976: 48.

<sup>12</sup> LGG vol. 4: 703.

<sup>13</sup> About the second kind of the judgment of the Dead, see: MORENZ 1973: 125-30.

<sup>14</sup> Should be *wꜣ*, cf. FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 1 1973: 209, note 11.

<sup>15</sup> Should be *whm*, cf. FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 1 1973: 209, note 13.

<sup>16</sup> CT vol. 4: 20 d-21 f; -22 a-c.

<sup>17</sup> FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 1 1973: 209-10.

above, of greater importance is that spell in which he is calming the two Rivals down in time of the rage, removing the traces resulting from the physical struggle between them i.e., the blood:

*Ink Dḥwtj ... iw shr.n.i Rḥwy m ʒʒt.sn nšny iḥ.n.i iʒ.i dšrw šh.n.i hnnw*

«I am Thoth ... I have made the two Rivals content in their moment of strife. I have come to wash away the red (i.e., the blood), I have calmed the tumult»<sup>18</sup>.

Within the domain of this idea, the deceased boasts that he is the one who fends off their quarrel *šntt* on the day of judging (*wḏꜥ-mdw*):

*Ink wꜥ m nw-n ḥtp.n Pth ḥr.s m dʒit bʒw Iwnw iw dr.n.i šntt m Rḥwy hrw wḏꜥ-mdw iw dr.n.i iʒkbw iw jny.n.i ḥꜥt*

«I am the unique one among those with whom Ptah is delighted at the ferrying of the souls of Heliopolis; because I put an end to the dispute of the Rivals, (on) the judgment day. I put an end to sadness and brought gladness»<sup>19</sup>.

So, in one of the texts that the deceased is identified with the god Hetep, he enumerates some of his good deeds done to the gods, one of which is to make the two gods stop the hustle, and to fend off the riot from them:

*ḥpr m Ḥtp nb šḥwt ḥtpw*<sup>20</sup> ... *šḥtp.f ḥꜥwy*<sup>21</sup> ... *kmʒ.f nfrt in.n.f ḥtpt ... dr.f ḥnw r Rḥwy*

«Becoming as the god Hetep, Lord of the fields of offerings ... He pacifies the two Combatants ... he creates the good, he brings the contentment ... he removes uproar away from the two Rivals»<sup>22</sup>.

The deceased confirmed that he is the one who put an end to this strife by separating them<sup>23</sup>: *Ink t(ʒ)š*<sup>24</sup> *ʒgb wp Rḥwy iḥ.n.i dr.n.i dḥi*<sup>25</sup> *ḥr Wsir*

«I am the one who demarcates the floodwater, the one who separates the two Rivals. I have come, I have removed the abasement from over Osiris»<sup>26,27</sup>.

Furthermore-in another text- the deceased is shown also represented as the god Horus the Elder, judging between Horus and Seth:

*Wsir N pn twt Smsw iw wḏꜥ.n wsir N pn Rḥwy m sky pt*

<sup>18</sup> *BD* 182: QUIRKE 2013: 469.

<sup>19</sup> *CT* vol.7: 16 g-k.

<sup>20</sup> *Ḥtp* is the god of the field of offerings *šḥt ḥtpw*. The ancient Egyptians took great efforts to guarantee that Afterlife would be happy after death. They used art and ritual represent the places in which they hoped to enjoy their immortality. the field of Hetep is depicted as a map-like image (Spell *CT* 466), placed in most cases on the inside of the inner coffin, annotated with descriptions of locations and activities which all seem to have been designed to enable the deceased to be provisioned for all eternity; cf. ROBINSON 2007: 131-148.

<sup>21</sup> See below about *ḥꜥwy*

<sup>22</sup> *CT* vol.5: 336 a, 340 b-e, 341 c-e.

<sup>23</sup> Separator of the two Rivals is an epithet of the god Thoth. As Thoth, the deceased obtains access to the afterlife, cf. QUIRKE 2013: 19.

<sup>24</sup> Incorrectly for *tʒš*, FAULKNER 1964: 301, 294.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. spell *BD* 4 in QUIRKE 2013: 19, where the papyrus mentions the word *šḥt* (field) instead of *dḥi*, thus giving the context no meaning.

<sup>26</sup> It might be an allusion to the right given back to the god Osiris after Horus had proved his legitimacy on the throne of Egypt.

<sup>27</sup> *CT* vol.7 346 a-b.

«O, this Osiris N, you are (Horus)<sup>28</sup> the Elder, this Osiris N has judged between the two Rivals, namely the two who would demolish the heaven»<sup>29</sup>.

A part of the strife that carried on between the two Rivals was represented in a spell that compared the vindication of the deceased with that of Horus when triumphed over Seth. The spell gives an etiological myth about the pool in the temple of Heliopolis. The two Rivals hacked up the earth (*hbs t3*) while fighting so that their legs dig the pool of the god (*šdyt ntr*) in Heliopolis. The fight is ended by Thoth:

*Rdi m3c-hrw s r hftyw.f m hrt-ntr hbs t3 h3.n Rhwy šd.n rdwy.sn šdyt ntryt m Twnw iy Dhwti db3 m s'h.f s'h.n sw Itm m-hrt phty Wrty htp.ti hr.f tm h3 htm hnnw ... ind hr.tn srw ntrw m3c-hrw Wsir N pn m hrw pn hr.tn mi m3c-hrw Hr r hftyw.f hrw.f pw nfr<sup>30</sup> n h'w*

«A man is acquitted against his enemies in the Realm of the Dead. The land was hacked up when the two Rivals were fighting, their feet have dug the sacred pool in Heliopolis.

Now comes Thoth embellished with his dignity, for the god Atum has glorified him with might, and the Two Great Ladies are delighted with him. Thus, the fighting is ended, the turmoil is perished ... Hail to you, magistrates of the gods! this Osiris N is vindicated before you on this day, as Horus was vindicated against his enemies on that happy day of accession»<sup>31</sup>.

### III. *Rhwy* AS THE TWO COMPANIONS

As it is stated above, the word *Rhwy* concerning Horus and Seth is understood and interpreted as the two Rivals when talking about the conflict carried out between them and the trials made by the gods to put an end to this struggle. But *Rhwy* sometimes best translated as the two Companions, depending on the context of the texts that ignore the enmity between them, focusing on other subjects. Interestingly, the union of the two gods as the two Companions was depicted later in the - 2<sup>nd</sup> hour, upper register of - *Amduat*<sup>32</sup> and also in the 11<sup>th</sup> Hour of *Book of Gates*, middle register, scene 78 - as a figure with two heads, one of which is of Seth and the other one is of Horus [FIGURE 2/a-b]. As PIANKOFF says<sup>33</sup>, this figure represents the two forces of good and evil conciliated and form one figure. In conclusion, Horus and Seth are to be the gods who fought, separated, and then reconciled and reunited. In the texts mentioned above, the deceased is always the one who, either playing the role of Thoth or other gods, put an end to the conflict between Horus and Seth, named together as the 'two Rivals'. But in other texts, they help the deceased; especially, if we consider the positive role of Seth that occurs already since the Old kingdom Pyramid Texts:

<sup>28</sup> Horus is added upon comparison with CT vol.4: 28 a, Cf. FAULKNER, *AECT* vol.1 1973: 211, note.5.

<sup>29</sup> CT vol.4: 29 a-b. Destruction of the sky might be a threat and an allusion about how violent the conflict between the two Rivals was.

<sup>30</sup> This is the day when Horus takes over his father's kingship. Using the word *h'w* referring to the day of coronation, See: GARDINER 1953: 23.

<sup>31</sup> CT vol.1: 19 b-d, 20 a-c, 21 a, 22 a-b, d.

<sup>32</sup> WARBURTON 2007: 54, N<sup>o</sup>.38.

<sup>33</sup> PIANKOFF 1954: 209.

*ir.tn n.i wꜣt r.f m šdyt šht Htp srd.tn nhwt ḥr š.i pn m šw mfkꜣtyw*<sup>34</sup> in *Rḥwy srd.ty sw m ḥwy.sn šḥmw*

«You (?) Will prepare a path for me to it in the plot of the god's field of Hotep, you will plant trees in this my garden between the waterways of them of turquoise; it is the two Companions are the ones who plant it with their mighty arms<sup>35</sup>»<sup>36</sup>.

Unreasonably, that the two gods while helping the deceased they fought or conflict. This idea can also be supported in an almost obscure text where the deceased -through the context- is protected, beloved from the gods, adored by the patricians, and served by the plebs - will be referred to the *Rḥwy*, who are described here as non-combatants or peaceful:

*ind ḥr.k Wsir N pn ꜣꜣ ḥr tp-nfr imyw sꜣbyw wd.k Wsir N pn n Rḥwy ḥtpyw(?)*

«Hail to you this Osiris N, O great one who surpasses the just person, who is amongst the jackals ... May you refer this Osiris N to the satisfied (?) Companions »<sup>37</sup>.

These Two Companions are to be the gods who will announce the deceased' arrival into the Columned Hall, where he is advised to entrap all those who would harm him lest not to deter from arriving the entrance of the sky: *pr.k ꜣꜣ.k m Twnyt wḥm n.k Rḥwy*

«May you go out and in in the Columned Hall, may the two Companions report to you»<sup>38</sup>

Additionally, the place where the deceased is judged is named 'the Hall of the two *Rḥwy*':

*Wsir N mꜣꜣ-ḥrw iw.k m ꜣḥ šps šḥm m ḥrt-ntr iw.k wdꜣ.tw m wsht nt wpt Rḥwy*

«Osiris N, true of voice. You are a noble and strong Akh in the Realm of the Dead.

You are judged in the Hall of the two Companions»<sup>39</sup>

Now comes the question to ask about the relationship and the deceased's attitude towards each of those two gods separately.

### III- THE DECEASED' RELATION CONCERNING THE GOD HORUS

Since the deceased is occasionally considered as the god Osiris or identified with other gods his relation is always a positive one concerning the god Horus. The deceased is usually stands at Horus' side. Although he was never biased for any of the two Rivals, the deceased always confirms his loyalty to the god Horus. Accordingly, numerous texts show the deceased playing the role of various gods in which he helps Horus in many ways; basically, concerning his conflict with his rival the god Seth. Numerous examples show the permanent positive relationship between the deceased and Horus, one of which that relates to the sacred Eye wounded by Seth during their conflict: The deceased filled the eye (*Irt*) after it was damaged on the day of the battle between the two Rivals, i.e., Horus and Seth:

<sup>34</sup> Translated in: FAULKNER, *AECT* vol. 2: 261 as waterways of them depending on the determinative sign of the god following with three strokes.

<sup>35</sup> Incorrectly written as *ḥwy šḥmw.sn*; *CT* vol. 4: 331 d-f. In an ambiguous text, the power of the two Companions is given to the deceased, see: *CT* vol. 4: 320 w-321 a-e.

<sup>37</sup> *CT* vol.4 326 e-f.

<sup>38</sup> *BD* spell 169: QUIRKE 2013: 421.

<sup>39</sup> *KRI* vol.7: 22,15.

*Ṭw mh.n.i Ṭrt m-ḥt ḥks.s hrw pw n ḥz Rḥwy Ptr rf sw ḥz Rḥwy hrw pw ḥz.n Hr im.f ḥnḥ Sth  
m-[ḥt] wdt.f stz w m ḥr n Hr m-[ḥt] itt Hr ḥzrwy n Sth*

«I restored the (sacred) Eye after it was injured that day when the Rivals fought. What does it mean the Rivals fought? It signifies the day Horus fought with Seth; when he inflicted injury on the face of Horus, and when Horus took away the testicles of Seth»<sup>40</sup>.

In conformity with this idea, playing as well the role of the god Thoth, the deceased pacifies Horus and eliminates everything evil that could have been happened to him:

*Ṭnk Dhwtw iw shtp.n.i Hr ... sḥm n.f ḥt nb dwt*

«I am Thoth, I have pacified Horus ... consuming for him all evil things»<sup>41</sup>.

Wherefore, here the deceased was not negative or neutral concerning this fight, he took the side of Horus, in contrast to what was stated above. Traditionally and normally, the relation of the deceased to Horus is positively considered. The texts always represent the deceased as the god Horus himself or acting or taking the role of him; apart from that exceptional text in which the deceased rejects surprisingly many gods to come with their evil coming, like Osiris, Seth, Khenty-n-irty,<sup>42</sup> Isis, Thoth, Nephthys and as well Horus:<sup>43</sup>

*Ṭmy iw Wsir m iwt.f tw dwt ... imy iw Hr m iwt.f tw dwt*

«May Osiris not come with this evil coming ... May Horus not come with this evil coming»<sup>44</sup>.

Now we have to ask about the deceased's attitude towards the god Seth separately away from the idea of the two *Rḥwy*. Turner, in his treatise on the god Seth, divided the religious texts in which Seth is mentioned into three categories: negative, positive, or neutral. Negative texts include descriptions of the conflict between Seth and Horus. The positive texts relate to the god Seth with the help he offers to Osiris- the deceased in several ways. Finally, texts that mainly concerned with descriptions of «the Hills of Seth and Horus» and some ritual functions ascribed to Seth<sup>45</sup>. These categories are to be applied to the Texts in the study, apart from this article is concerned only about the positive and negative role of Seth.

#### IV- THE DECEASED'S RELATION CONCERNING THE GOD SETH

Contrary to what above stated about the deceased' relation concerning Horus; the relation of the deceased with the god Seth has two faces: on one hand the traditional and normal negative role that always makes the deceased being exposed to danger through his acts; on the other hand, the positive role Seth offers astonishingly to the deceased.

<sup>40</sup> CT vol.4: 232 a-233 b; 234 a-b; 236 a-b. Cf. BD17 (= URK V 32, 3-8).

<sup>41</sup> BD 182: QUIRKE 2013: 469.

<sup>42</sup> About this god (*Mḥnty-n-irty* /*Hnty-n-irty*/*Hnty-irty* /*Hnty-n-irty*) See: JUNKER 1942.

<sup>43</sup> PT Utterance 534 is an old anti-Osirian text in which the Pyramid enclosure is not to receive Osiris, Horus, and Seth, nor is it to receive Mekhenti-irti, Thot, Isis, Nephthys, enemies, nor the deceased king unless he desires to ascend to the home of the sun-god; Cf. MERCER vol. 3: 1952: 631.

<sup>44</sup> PT 1267a; 1268a.

<sup>45</sup> TURNER 2013.

## 1- The Negative Role of the God Seth.

The negative relationship of the deceased with the god Seth is a reciprocal one. On one hand the deceased fear him; on the other hand, Seth is exposed to many actions that could be punishing ones<sup>46</sup>. The deceased is restraining Seth through the fetters with which he is tied:

*h3 Wsir N pn n mwt.n.k is mwt ... shn mdwt.k Stḥ Hnt*<sup>47</sup>.

«O this Osiris N, you have not died the death ... may your bonds wind<sup>48</sup> round Seth of *Hnt*»<sup>49</sup>.

In another text where it is recited to drive off the two *Mrwt*<sup>50</sup>, who might deprive the man of his soul, the deceased asserted not only that he has smitten Seth but as well, he cuffed him with fetters<sup>51</sup>:

*hsf Mrwt ... iw ḥwi.n.i Stš iw nttw.n.i sw*

«To drive off the two *Mrwt* ... I have beaten Seth and I have chained him »<sup>52</sup>.

*ind ḥr.k Wsir N pn ... smn.k n.k k3sw Stš ḥn<sup>c</sup> snty.f*

«Hail to you, this Osiris N' ... May you make firm for yourself the bonds of Seth and his sisters»<sup>53</sup>.

But in other texts, we find Isis calling the gods to protect her son Horus, represented as the deceased, who is said to have killed Seth:

*Irt ḥprw m bik ... dd mdwt.f ḥr it.f sm3t.f Stš ḥft n it.f Wsir*

«Taking shape as a falcon ... What he is going to say regarding his father, what he is going to kill is Seth, the foe of his father Osiris »<sup>54</sup>

As the deceased has power over Seth:

*R n shm m mw tm mwt m ḥrt-ntr ... di.k shm.i m mw mi ʿt m Stš sby*

<sup>46</sup> About Seth in this role, See: TE VELDE 1968: 37-40.

<sup>47</sup> *Hnt* is the 4<sup>th</sup> Nome of Lower Egypt, situated probably in Kom al-Ahmar, Giza governorate: See. GAUTHIER vol.4: 1927: 31.

<sup>48</sup> *shn mdwt.k* 'your bonds wind round (lit 'embrace')', Cf. FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978: 63, N<sup>o</sup>. 30.

<sup>49</sup> *CT* vol.1 286 a-287 a, 289 a.

<sup>50</sup> *Mrwt*: 'here is not the word for «well-beloved», since that interpretation would be entirely inappropriate. *mrwt* is determined with a pair of birds and is in fact regularly construed as a dual. It is possible that it may be the original form of *mrwytt*, quoted in *Wb.* 2, 104, 15 as an epithet of Sakhmet, in which case it might well carry a connotation of something to be dreaded, See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol. 2: 77, N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

<sup>51</sup> Compare the scene depicting Seth being caught, fettered and placed upside down under the seat of Osiris: (VANDIER 1961: 10).

<sup>52</sup> *CT* vol.5: 297 a; 300 a-b; cf. *CT* vol.5: 311 d; 314 o. Cf. *CT* vol.5: 316 e: *iw ḥwi.n.s Stḥ ḥr wdb pw n...* 'a coffin of a lady.

<sup>53</sup> *CT* vol.4: 325 l- m.

<sup>54</sup> *CT* vol.2: 209 c, 213 a-b. Moreover, the deceased insists on going into and coming forth from the Hall of Justice as a justified person, as he is protected from being killed by Seth' knife or being locked up in a prison, see *BD* 163: BUDGE vol. 3: 1989: 37. See as well: FAULKNER 1972: 160: *Ir ir.tw md3t tn ḥr-tp t3 nn kf3.tw.f in ipwtw thī nty irr ḥww* (ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb.* 3, 247, 7) *in t3 dr.f nn dm.(tw).f nn mwt.f n šʿt n Stš nn it.tw.f r ddḥw nb ḥr ʿk.f r knbt pr m m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw* «If this text used on earth he will not be seized by the messengers of attack who commit wrong in all the earth. His (head) shall not be cut off, he shall not die through the knife of Seth. He shall not be taken to any prison. But he shall enter the council and come forth justified».

«Spell for possessing power over water and not dying in the Realm of the Dead ...

May you grant me power over water as over a limb<sup>55</sup> of <sup>56</sup> Seth the mutinous»<sup>57</sup>.

Within a dialogue between Osiris and his son Horus whom the deceased is identified with, he replies to his father that he is coming as he had already smitten Seth and his confederacy:

*It.i Wsir mk wi iy.kwi hr.k hwi.i n.k Stš smz.n.i n.k smzyt.f iw hwi.n.i hwi tw kni.n.i knyw tw ink* <sup>58</sup> *itt m wsr iw<sup>c</sup> mi-kd iw nd.n.i dt.i ds.i shr.n.i hftyw.i*

«O my father Osiris<sup>59</sup>, here am I; I have come to you, for I have struck Seth for you, I have killed his confederacy for you, I have beaten who smote you, I have cut down <sup>60</sup> who cut you down. I am one who conquers by force, the heir of everything; I myself guarded my body, I killed my enemies»<sup>61</sup>.

As well, the deceased imprisoned the god Seth' confederacy, referred them to the slaughtering place *hbt*:

*t3š.n.i* <sup>62</sup> *smzwt Stš ir.n.i dt.sn iw rdi.n.i sn m hbt* <sup>63</sup>.

«I have put an end to the confederacy of Seth; I have caused them to be slaughtered. I have put them in the place of execution »<sup>64</sup>.

One side of the deeds done by the deceased to Osiris is, protecting him, helping him to triumphant over Seth, and prevents Seth from injuring the Eye of his son Horus. The deceased as one who equips his spirits, opens the paths in the Netherworld, entering into the horizon, that he may see his father Osiris in order to protect him from Seth:

*dd-mdw in N mk wi iw.kwi wbz.(i) dwzt m3z.i it.i Wsir ... iy.n.i nd.i Wsir m-<sup>c</sup> Stš*

«Words spoken by N: Behold, I have come to open the underworld and to see my father Osiris ... I have come in order to save Osiris from Seth »<sup>65</sup>.

And as well to prevent Seth from injuring the Eye of Horus<sup>66</sup>:

*Wsir N pn inn.(i) n.k pdt* <sup>67</sup> *ib Stš ndr n.k sn Wsir N tn mn n.t irt Hr hwi sy tm.f sy ... Wsir N tn mn n.t irt Hr irt.n Stš r.s Wsir N tn mn n.t irt Hr m3zt.n.f gs.f m-<sup>c</sup> Stš hnp.f sy*

«O Osiris this N, (I) bring to you what expands <sup>68</sup> the heart of Seth; seize them for you. O Osiris this N, take for you the Eye of Horus; protect it lest not he to consume it ... O Osiris this N, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, against which Seth acted. O Osiris

<sup>55</sup> Cf. CT vol.5: 10 o where the scribe replaced the limb with the food: FAULKNER AECT vol.2 1978, N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Note the use of m for the genitive, FAULKNER AECT vol.2 1978, N<sup>o</sup> 5.

<sup>57</sup> CT vol.5: 8 a-b, e.

<sup>58</sup> Or *N pn*

<sup>59</sup> The deceased, as Horus, replies Osiris, See: FAULKNER AECT vol.1: 1978: 223 N<sup>o</sup> .5.

<sup>60</sup> *Nki* is translated as «cut down» depending on the knife- determinative, cf. FAULKNER 1964: 279.

<sup>61</sup> CT vol.4: 56 c-h.

<sup>62</sup> *t3š* is written incorrectly as *t3šn*.

<sup>63</sup> About *hbt* as a place of destruction, See HORNUNG 1968: 20; GAD 2002: 424-428.

<sup>64</sup> CT vol.4: 213 i.

<sup>65</sup> CT vol.7: 2 n-p; s.

<sup>66</sup> See: «I have rescued the eye from its void ... I have judged Seth in the upper houses and the Elder with him»: (QUIRKE 2013: 190). This was an allusion to what happened to the eye of Horus resulting from their physical fight together. Cf. as well: «I have separated Seth from the Houses of the above because of the Elder who was with him» In: FAULKNER 1972: 80.

<sup>67</sup> Written with superfluous d.

<sup>68</sup> Might refer to the water which is in the Eye of Horus, Cf. CT vol.7: 58a.

N, take the Eye of Horus for yourself, that the half of which he saw in the hand of Seth when he grabbed it »<sup>69</sup>.

Making Horus to triumphant over Seth:

*R n tm wnm ḥs m ḥrt-nṯr ... ṯ ḥry Šwsty di iṯ.i dt.i ... iw sm3̄.i ḥrw Ḥr r Stš*

«Incantation for not eating faeces in the Realm of the Dead ... O you who are over Shusety,<sup>70</sup> let me possess my body ... because I have le Horus triumphant over Seth»<sup>71</sup>.

Accordingly, the deceased declines to confer his powers to Seth' messengers as he obtains his *b3*-soul and magic:

*In.n N pn b3.f in.n N pn ḥk3w.f nḥm.n N b3.f nḥm.n N pn ḥk3w.f n rdi.n N pn 3ḥw.f n wptyw Stš ḥnh m ʿw3.f*<sup>72</sup>.

«This N has brought his soul, this N has brought his magic, and N has taken possession of his soul, this N has captured his magic, this N will not give his powers to the messengers of Seth who live from their robberies»<sup>73</sup>.

Apart from the very meaning of the texts just stated above, and which display conclusively that, the deceased occasionally is opposed or being hostile to the god Seth, acting for the sake of Osiris or even Horus; the other aspect of the relation connected the deceased with Seth, shows that he fears Seth. The deceased even doesn't want to go on the same way on which the god Seth walks:

*mk ṯw iy.ti 3ḥ.ti ʿpr.ti šm.k irf ḥr w3t ḥr w3t wrt iwʿt wʿ tm ḥ3w Stš im.s m-ḥt ḥ3*

«Behold, you have come, spirit-like and equipped. On which way did you go<sup>74</sup>? By the great road which the Sole One inherited, and on which Seth could not go down after the strife»<sup>75</sup>.

The deceased asserts all time that he is capable to repel any attempt Seth tries to harm him. In a resurrection text, the deceased affirms that his bones are to be reassembled like those of Osiris, as he shall not die and Seth will have no power upon him:

*R n ḥnmṯt nt Wsir ... ḥ3y.n.i ḥwi.i it.i ... rḥ.n.i rn.t n mt.i n šḥm Stš im.i*

«Spell for the nurse of Osiris ... I have gone down to protect my father ... I know your name,<sup>76</sup> and I will not die, nor will Seth have authority on me»<sup>77</sup>.

It is not only the god Seth whom the deceased feared that could have power over him but as well his confederacy:

*šḥ3w-r3 ddw n Wsir N pn ... n šḥm sm3wt Ḥr Stš im.f*

<sup>69</sup> CT vol.7: 58 e-h, l-m.

<sup>70</sup> : ambiguous meaning but might recall the goddess  *šwst* in PT 123 a, See: FAULKNER AECT vol.3: 1978: 114, N<sup>o</sup>. 7; LGG vol.7: 44.

<sup>71</sup> CT vol.7: 5, 229 k; 230 m, o.

<sup>72</sup> ʿw3.f Should be read as ʿw3.sn to agree with the plural *wptyw*. See: FAULKNER AECT vol.2:1978: 238, N<sup>o</sup>. 14.

<sup>73</sup> CT vol.4: 294 j-l.

<sup>74</sup> The deceased is questioned, but by whom is not clear: See: FAULKNER AECT vol.1: 1978: 110, N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

<sup>75</sup> CT vol.2 141c-142a.

<sup>76</sup> Might refer to the Mistress of Death according to the interpretation of DE BUCK's: CT vol.3: 348, n.3\*.

<sup>77</sup> CT vol.3: 347 a-c; 349 d-f.

«Incantations which are given for this Osiris N ... The confederacy of Horus<sup>78</sup> and Seth has no authority over him»<sup>79</sup>.

It is worth noting, that many different texts are to support or help the deceased against Seth carried out through gods. Gods advocate the deceased as they do for Horus in court:

*Wsr N pn pr n.k wr.ti ʿz.ti mi pr Rʿ wrw ʿzw hr gs iʿbt n pt ntrw mdw hr- tp -n Hr shr.tn n.f Sth ntsn mdw.sn hr-tp-n Wsr N pn shr.sn n.f hftyw*

«O this Osiris N, come out great and mighty as *Reʿ* came out great and mighty on the eastern side of the sky. The gods who spoke on behalf of Horus and overthrew Seth for his sake, they shall speak on behalf of this Osiris N and overthrow his enemies on his behalf»<sup>80</sup>.

In a spell to give the head of the deceased back - in the Realm of the Dead on that day when the heads of the deities were fastened - many gods are represented helping him, among of who are Shu, Tefnut, and Ptah-Sokar:

*Tw rdi.n n.i mwt.i ʿhw.s sstz dwn.n sz.i ʿwy.f hr.i* <sup>81</sup> *r dr nkn ir.n Stš r sstz irt.n.f r.i m rn.i pwy ... N mʿ-hrw* «My mother has given to me her hidden power. My son has extended his arms over me, in order to remove the injury which Seth did in secret! which he did against me <sup>82</sup> in this my name ... N true-of-voice»<sup>83</sup>.

In another appeal,<sup>84</sup> a god is not only beseeched to guide the deceased through the Netherworld safely but as well to overcome Seth and his confederacy:

*ind hr.k Nfr-hr ... szh.k sw dzi.k n.f hftyw.f ssm.k sw r swt nfrt nt hrt-ntr hwi.k n.f smzw Stš*  
«Hail to you, Beautiful of countenance ... May you make him a spirit, may you suppress his enemies for him, may you guide him to the fair places of the Realm of the Dead, may you inflict the confederacy of Seth for him»<sup>85</sup>.

Isis is also protecting the deceased from Seth. She defends him against those who would harm him with words she pronouncing. In a spell to 'repel any who would place (ill) remembrance <sup>86</sup> in the Realm of the Dead', the deceased is threatening who would cut off heads and sever necks at the will of his enemy Seth,<sup>87</sup> that Isis is protecting him through:

<sup>78</sup> We have no clue that the confederacy of Horus could be dangerous to the deceased as those of Seth. The confederacy of Horus is not attested in *Wb*. Vol. 3 or *LGG* vol.4, apart from *Smzyt* is mentioned in binary meaning: positive one as *Smzyt* Osiris or Sokar; a negative as when talking about Seth, Apophis and *Nhʿ-hr*. Cf. *LGG* vol.4: 316-319.

<sup>79</sup> *CT* vol.7: 48 d, f.

<sup>80</sup> *CT* vol.1: 38 b-c; 39 a- 40a.

<sup>81</sup> The reading suggested by FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 155, N<sup>o</sup>. 3.

<sup>82</sup> The deceased is identified as the god Osiris.

<sup>83</sup> *CT* vol.4: 126 a, i-k.

<sup>84</sup> An appeal to other gods: Anubis, Ptah – Sokar, Shu, *Reʿ*, Thoth, Wep-wawet, the two Enneads, Isis, Nephthys and, *wn-ʿnwy* that they may care for the deceased.

<sup>85</sup> *CT* vol.4: 123 b, 125 a-d.

<sup>86</sup> 'The significance of *shz* here is not altogether clear; one would imagine that the deceased would welcome the perpetuation of his memory. To make the spell comprehensible a nuance of ill-repute has to be attached to *shz*' see FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 85, N<sup>o</sup>. 1.

<sup>87</sup> FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 84 (spell 453). Cf. *CT* vol.5: 325 g.

*n tsy ipwy dd.n 3st r.k* «Of these two sentences that Isis said against you»<sup>88</sup>.

Geb is also addressed to help the deceased to regain all of his family back, which are to be saved from the enemies of them, namely the god Seth and his confederacy once again through the goddess Isis:

*Tw wd.n Gb rp<sup>c</sup> ntrw rdi.t(w) n.i 3bt.i msw.i snw.i it.i mwt.i mrwt.i dmiw.i nb nhmw m-<sup>c</sup> Stš m-<sup>c</sup> tnwt<sup>89</sup> nt<sup>90</sup> 3st wrt*

«Geb, the head of the deities, decreed that my family, my children, my brethren, my father, my mother and all my servants and my dependents are to be given to me, and that they would be saved from the acts of Seth and from the numbering<sup>91</sup> by Isis the Great»<sup>92</sup>.

Osiris is, as well, one of the deities who offer help, he is protecting the deceased from Seth and his confederacy:

*h3i Wsir N pn iw wb3 n.k sb3w nw w3wt Imht<sup>93</sup> ... shr.n.i (n).k hftyw.k bhñ.n.i n.k sbyw.k hsf.(n).i Stš isdy.i n.k sm3wt.f rdi.n.i n.k m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw m itrt*

«Come down (to me<sup>94</sup>), O this Osiris N, because the doors of the paths of the Netherworld are opened for you ... I have felled your foes (for) you; I expelled your opponents for you, I have dismissed Seth (for you), I have spat<sup>95</sup> on his confederacy for you, I have given you vindication in the Two Conclaves»<sup>96</sup>.

What is weird here, that the god Osiris is always represented as a god in need of assistance and support; he is here offering help and protection to the deceased.

## 2- The Positive Role of the God Seth

The other side of the deceased's relation with Seth is represented in many aspects. In a resurrection text, where Seth supports the deceased, and the speaker threatening that, that 'the winds of the sky would be destroyed if the warmth upon the mouth of the deceased is destroyed' as this warmth, is the warmth issued from the nostrils of Seth:

*h3 Wsir N pn tsi tw hr ksw.k bi3 iw.f.k [nbw] [h]<sup>c</sup>w.k pw n ntr n hsd.n.f n hw3.n.f n htm.n.f [...]* pry m ms3dty Stš htm t3w nw pt htm srf imy r.k

<sup>88</sup> CT vol.5: 322 k.

<sup>89</sup> Its meaning escapes me, as it is an illegible word within the context.

<sup>90</sup> Should be in «by» to give a better interpretation.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. FAULKNER 1964: 305, where *tnw hb* is mentioned as a religious fest.

<sup>92</sup> CT vol.2: 151c-e.

<sup>93</sup> A name of the Netherworld, See: EGBERT 1995: 123-124. LGG vol.1: 367 cited *imht* as a name of the 6<sup>th</sup> mound of the Netherworld, mentioning that it is first attested! in the *BD* of the New Kingdom spell 149 and 150.

<sup>94</sup> «Me» presumably is Osiris. See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978: 238, N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Spitting on someone is a sign of humiliation, apart from other positive uses. Many words denote to «spit» or «spittle». On one hand, they have positive meanings as: Spittle *tf* could protect (*PT* 419 a-c), Seth is propitiated with the spittle *nhh* of the earth-god *3kr* (*BD* 96, 1-2), *išš* with the meaning of «create» (*PT* 1652 c), spittle *išš* with which the king is purified and as well Seth and Horus (*PT* 849a- 851 a), *bš* for curing (*PT* 426 a). On the other hand, they have negative implications as: Spitting *nš* for humiliation (*PT* 1270 a-c); spitting *psg* on Apophis (*URK* VI 5).

<sup>96</sup> CT vol.6: 97 f-g; j-l.

«Ho this Osiris N! Raise yourself upon your iron bones and [golden] flesh, because this [body] of yours belongs to a god; it will not grow rotten, it will not putrefy, it will not be destroyed. [The warmth on your mouth is] that which issued from the nostrils of Seth, and the winds of the sky will be destroyed if the warmth which is on' your mouth is destroyed»<sup>97</sup>.

Seth supports as well the deceased, through the ladder made for him. In an ascension text, the deceased use the ladder of Horus and Seth to reach the sky and join his ka-soul as many gods do,<sup>98</sup> one of whom is the god Seth:

*ḥꜥ mꜣꜣt n Hr ḥꜥ mꜣꜣt n Stš ḥꜥ swt* <sup>99</sup> *mꜣꜣt wrt ʿꜣt irt n Wsir pr.f ḥr.s r pt ... di mꜣꜣt n N pn di.tn n it.k pr.f ḥr.s r pt ... ntrw ipw wrw ʿꜣw ntyw isyw n kꜣw.sn*

«Stand up, O Ladder of Horus! Stand up, O Ladder of Seth! Stand up, O great and mighty ladder that was made for Osiris, to ascend on it to the sky... Give the ladder to this N which you gave to your father, to ascend on it to the sky ... and those great and mighty gods who went to their doubles»<sup>100</sup>.

He is one of the deities that the deceased considers an example, a role model.

*sbi sbi ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f sbi Hr ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f sbi Stš ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f ... sbi N pn ḥnꜥ kꜣ.f*

«Someone goes with his double ... Horus goes with his double, Seth goes with his double ... this N goes with his double»<sup>101</sup>.

In a spell of which the beginning is lost, it seems that the deceased is protected from being attacked from behind through an unnamed being by interfering some deities between him and the danger posed by that aggressor, one of whom is the god Seth:

*di.n.f sp-sn m sꜣ.ì n ph.n.f wi di.n.f Hr sꜣ ʿꜣst m sꜣ.ì n ph.n.f* <sup>102</sup> *wi di.n.f Stš m sꜣ.ì n ph.n.f wi*

«Twice, he set (someone) behind me, lest not to reach me. He set Horus- son of Isis- behind me, lest not to reach me. He set Seth behind me, lest not to reach me »<sup>103</sup>.

The protection given to the deceased on behalf of Seth seems to have a reason. In the following text, the deceased determine the cause:

*Ink ... ndt ntrw n šm rmt ntrw ʒḥw mwwt m šnꜥ(t.ì) m ḥmt.ì ink Nfr-ḥr ... ink pw nb ḥnh srr m pt sk Stš m gs .ì n rh.f sšm irt.ì ink nb ḥnh*

«I am ... the protector of the gods. Neither men, gods, spirits, nor the dead have the power to turn [me] back to harm me. I am beautiful of face ... I am the lord of life, governing in the sky. Behold, Seth is by my side (i.e., Seth is my protection) because he knows the procedure for what I'm doing; I am the lord of life»<sup>104</sup>.

Seth gives his strength to the deceased identified with Horus.

<sup>97</sup> CT vol.6: 108 d-j.

<sup>98</sup> These gods are: *Wsir*, *Dḥwty*, *Dwn-ḥnwy*, *Hnty-n-irty*. Cf. PT 17.

<sup>99</sup> *Sw* is an enclitic particle having the meaning of «But», «however» or little or no force, see GARDINER 1953: §243.

<sup>100</sup> CT vol.4: 402 j-s; Cf. PT 971-972 (Utt.978).

<sup>101</sup> PT 17 a-b.

<sup>102</sup> *ph* «reach» probably has here its common sense of «attack», See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 111, N<sup>o</sup>. 1.

<sup>103</sup> CT vol.2: 143 a-c.

<sup>104</sup> CT vol.4: 269 p-u.

*ḥms Wsir N pn m-bꜣḥ Gb ... twt Hr ḥdt.f m tp.f iw ms.n sw ꜣst iw šd.n sw Hꜣbyꜣt iw ꜣt,n sw ꜣtyt  
Hr iw phr n.f šḥmw Sth m-ḥꜣw šḥmw.f iw rdi.n n.f it.f Wsir iꜣꜣty.f iptn iy.n Wsir N pn ḥkn.f  
im.s m mꜣꜣ-ḥrw*

«Be seated, O this Osiris N, in the presence of Geb ... for you are Horus with his White Crown on his head. Isis gave birth to him, Khabyt<sup>105</sup> raised him, the nurse of Horus nursed him, the powers of Seth served him more than his own powers; his father Osiris conferred him these two staffs of his. Osiris this N has come and he is rejoicing over it in vindication»<sup>106</sup>.

This text enumerates many deities who offered help to Horus, among them is Seth, about whom Turner mentioned that: «Seth was unable to avoid adding his strength to that of the young Horus, a strange state of affairs if one accepts only the adversary of Horus role for Seth but perfectly acceptable if one accepts the view of Seth as the strongest of the gods helping another god»<sup>107</sup>.

Seth became a role model for the deceased. In a spell that helps the deceased – identified as Horus - not to enter into the shambles (*nmt*)<sup>108</sup> of the Netherworld, Seth appears here giving an aide to the deceased who beseech to be hale as him - in a weird context - who slew his father, and who could not be else but Seth.

*iw ts tst ḥꜣ.i in Stš psdt m wsr.f tpy n ḥprt ḥnnw swdꜣ .tn wi m nw smꜣ it.i*  
«The knot<sup>109</sup> is tied behind me by Seth, in whose power the Ennead were at first, before uproar had come into being, so that you<sup>110</sup> might make me hale as this one who slew my father»<sup>111</sup>.

This text was later copied in Chapter 50 of the Book of the Dead, but with a little amendment. Aside from the translation Quirke provided is somewhat different from mine, I disagree with him. Logically, how does the god Seth tie the knot for the sake of the deceased, and in return the deceased addresses one of the gods to protect him from his father's killers in the same spell and context? Therefore, the transliteration and translation must be submitted following the original text of the coffin text<sup>112</sup>.

The protection given to the deceased by Seth extended to that far that he is bringing under control the patricians for him:

*Ḳd ḥwt imyt mw ... I rmt I ꜣḥw I mwwt ḥꜣy ḥr sndm mꜣꜣ.sn ḥwt tn nt N pn imyt mw ... Fnfñ  
mhnty ... gm.n.f Stš im.s mdw.f m-ꜣ.f ḥr dꜣr pꜣt [n] N pn*

«To build a mansion among the waters ... O men, O spirits, O dead, cheer and be delighted when you see this mansion of this N that lies between the waters... *Fnfñ* 'the

<sup>105</sup> *Hꜣbt* or *Hꜣbyꜣt*: determined with a vulture, is clearly the origin of the vulture-shaped breast-ornament recorded under *Hꜣbyꜣt* in ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb.* vol. 3, 229 N°. 14. Here *Hꜣbyꜣt* is a goddess, a nurse of the young Horus, See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978:10, N°.6.

<sup>106</sup> *CT* vol.1: 47-50 a.

<sup>107</sup> TURNER 2013:212.

<sup>108</sup> About *Nmt* See: GAD 2002: 424-428.

<sup>109</sup> The knot was tightened behind the deceased or around him to grant him control and security; see: MAHMOUD 2019: 60; WENDRICH 2006: 23-27; OGDON 1987: 29-36.

<sup>110</sup> It is not clear to whom it refers, See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 218, N°. 5.

<sup>111</sup> *CT* vol.4: 261 e- i.

<sup>112</sup> QUIRKE 2013: 130.

ferryman' ... has found Seth in it with his staff in his hand subjugating the patricians [for] this N»<sup>113</sup>.

Besides, there is a literary genre of some texts linking the deceased and the Seth concerning foods: he dwells with Seth, sharing him foods, refusing to eat Faeces, as he eats from which the gods eat:

*R n tm wnm ḥs ... ḥns.ḯ r ḏrw mḥtyw ḯw.ḯ r pt mḥtt ḥms.ḯ ḯm.s ḥnꜥ Stš ... ḥnh.ḯ m ḥnt.tn ḯm wšḥ.ḯ*<sup>114</sup> *m wšht.tn ḯm*

«Not to eat faeces ... I will travel to the northern boundaries; I am committed to the northern sky and I will dwell in it with Seth ... I will live on what you (namely the gods asking him on what he will live) live on, and 1 will carouse on what you carouse on»<sup>115</sup>

*N wnm.ḯ n.k ḥs*<sup>116</sup> *ḥnh.k ḯrf m ḯšt mdw.ḥr.sn*<sup>117</sup> *ntrw ḥnh.ḯ m ḥt 3 tw ḯryt n Wsir ḯw wꜥt n Ḥr kt n Stḥ ḯw n.ḯ kt ḯnk ḥmt nw.sn*

«I will not eat faeces for you. What will you live on? So say the gods. I will live on those three parts that were made for Osiris; One is for Horus, one is for Seth, the other is for me, and I am the third of them»<sup>118</sup>.

*smt .... ḥnm wḯ ... ḯšt ḯnk ḯs kꜥ Knst nb t m [Ḥwnw] ḥt 4 r pt ḥt 3 r tꜥ ḯr.n.t(w) n.ḯ nn m ꜥwt m Ḥwnw .... ḯnk kꜥ.... m ḥt 5 m pr Ḥr ḥt 2 m pr Stš*

Hey listener! ... Save me ... because I am really the bull of Kenzet,<sup>119</sup> an owner of bread in [Heliopolis]; Four portions are in<sup>120</sup> the sky and three portions are on the earth. These things were made for me as gifts in Heliopolis ... because I am the bull ... with five portions in the House of Horus and two portions in the House of Seth»<sup>121</sup>.

*Bwt.ḯ pw ḯsft r Ḥtmw n-ntt ḯnk ḯs ḯmꜥḥ ... nb n ḥt 7 m Ḥwnw ḯw ḥt.ḯ 3 m pr Ḥr ḯw ḥt.ḯ 2 m pr Stš*

«What I abhor is offence against Atum, for I have indeed honor ... an owner of seven portions in Heliopolis; three portions of mine are in the House of Horus, two portions of mine are in the House of Seth»<sup>122</sup>.

*bwt.ḯ pw ḥs n wnm.ḯ sw ... ḥnh.ḯ m ḥt 7 ḯnn.tw t.s 7 ḥr Ḥr*<sup>123</sup> *ḥr Stš*

«Faeces is what I abhor, and I will not eat it ... ('What will you live on', say the gods, spirits and dead, 'in this place where you have been brought?') 'I will live on seven portions which are being brought; its seven loaves are with Horus and with Seth»<sup>124</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> CT vol.4: 170 g, 172 g-n.

<sup>114</sup> *wšḥ* has the meaning of 'Flood', and *wšḥi* is to 'be inundated'; FAULKNER 1964: 54; so, the person who drinks so much is as inundated with wine. Accordingly, FAULKNER translated it in this meaning according to the context of the text: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 184.

<sup>115</sup> CT vol.4: 196 s-w, 197 a.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978: 156, N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

<sup>117</sup> The preposition is wrongly written before the verb in CT vol.3: 89 c.

<sup>118</sup> CT vol.3: 89 b-f. Cf. CT vol.3: 137: «I will live on seven portions of bread; four loaves are in the House of Horus and three in the House of Thoth».

<sup>119</sup> Might be a place in the Afterlife, see: ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb.* 5, 133 N<sup>o</sup>. 16; *LGG* vol.7: 291: *Knstyw* «who belong to the place Kenzet».

<sup>120</sup> Compare the same text where *m* is used instead of *r*. it is probably that *r* denotes to unlimited places, whereas *m* to a specific place.

<sup>121</sup> CT vol.3: 74 e, I; 75 a-d, e-f.

<sup>122</sup> CT vol.7: 226 h-k.

<sup>123</sup> The suffix after Horus is superfluous, see: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 302, N<sup>o</sup>.6.

<sup>124</sup> CT vol.4: 406 a, I - j.

In other texts we see the deceased digging a pool in company with Seth:

*R n ḥnh m ḥk3w ... di.i sntr mw n it.i mwt ... n ink is m33 šdt šd.n.i sy ḥnḥ Stš*

«Spell for living by magic ... I give incense and water to my dead father ... because I am really the one who sees my pool, which I dug in company of Seth »<sup>125</sup>.

Finally, the deceased is given the crown of Seth:

*'Ink Nbt-ḥt iw.n.i ndr.i im.k di.i n.k ib.k m ḥt.k in.n.(i) n.k Hr Wrt-ḥk3w.f ... 'In.n.(i) n.k Stš Wrt-ḥk3w.[f]*

«I am Nephthys,<sup>126</sup> and I have come to hold you and place your heart in your body for you; I bring you Horus and his Great-of-Magic<sup>127</sup> ... I bring you Seth [and his] Great-of-Magic»<sup>128</sup>.

Just as texts are representing the deceased either as Horus or performing his role, the same concept also exists concerning Seth. The purification of the dead is the purification of Horus and Seth:

*h3 N rs ts tw wḥb.k wḥb k3.k bd.k bd Hr Stš*

«Ho N! Wake up, raise yourself, so that you may be pure and that your Ka may be pure! Your purification<sup>129</sup> is "the purification of Horus and Seth»<sup>130</sup>.

The deceased inhales as Seth:

*'Tw t3w m fnd n N pn mi Stš*

«The air is in the nose of this N like Seth»<sup>131</sup>, and who gives him as well air:

*'I Stš imy 3t.f 3 ng3<sup>132</sup> 3 ḥry-ib pt mḥtt di n.i t3w ḥryw-ib wtnw šhn.n mḥt-wrt<sup>133</sup>*

«Oh Seth, who possesses his great strength, great longhorn dwelling in the northern sky, may you give me air among the *wtnw*<sup>134</sup> who give rest to the celestial kine»<sup>135</sup>.

The deceased mimicked Seth: he has power over water as Seth:

*R n šhm m mw m ḥrt-ntr ... di.k šhm.i m mw mi šhm Stš m mw m ʿw3t Wsir grḥ pw n nšn 3*

«Incantation for having power over water in the Realm of the Dead... grant that I may have power over water just as Seth had power over water in the ʿw3t (?)<sup>136</sup> of Osiris on that night of the great storm»<sup>137</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> *CT* vol.7: 236 a; 238 p, r, t.

<sup>126</sup> The same text is recited again by the goddess Isis: *CT* vol.4: 118 p-119 e.

<sup>127</sup> The 'Great-of-Magic' is the god's crown. FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 152, N<sup>o</sup>. 1.

<sup>128</sup> *CT* vol.4: 118 f-n.

<sup>129</sup> *Bd* is the natron with which the deceased is to be purified, so here the word is used with the meaning thereof. Cf. *PT* 28 a where the word *ntr* is used as the same meaning «purification».

<sup>130</sup> *CT* vol.4: 120 a-c.

<sup>131</sup> *CT* vol.4: 255 k-m. This spell might be of «resurrection».

<sup>132</sup> Designation of Seth. He is also called the one who is in his power, *LGG* vol.4: 366.

<sup>133</sup> *Mḥt-wrt* «the great inundation», pictured as a cow lying on a pedestal, stands for «heaven», see: MERCER vol.2: 1952: 163.

<sup>134</sup> *Wtnw* according to ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1971: *Wb.* 1, 381 N<sup>o</sup>. 1-2., are beings in the sky; but according to FAULKNER this word may refer to the nobles who supported the Delta king during the war of Unification and who as a result of it became subjects of the king of Upper Egypt. *PT* 2037 b; FAULKNER *AECT* 1978: 293, N<sup>o</sup>.3

<sup>135</sup> *CT* vol.5: 214 c- 215 a; Cf. *CT* vol.5: 225 n with little differences.

<sup>136</sup> ʿw3t translated as «eye (?)» or a part thereof is not recorded by FAULKNER *AECT* vol.1: 1978: 284, N<sup>o</sup>. 10; but the orthography of which does not give a clue to this rendering.

And the tomb that belongs him is well-founded as that of Seth:

*Grg* [.....] (*m*) *mḥḥt Hr is Stš is imy Hnt* <sup>138</sup>.

«May [your grave (?)]<sup>139</sup> be as well-established as the tomb<sup>140</sup> of Horus and the burial-place of Seth who is indeed in *Hnt*»<sup>141</sup>.

Finally, the deceased will not enter the slaughter- house of the god:

*tm ḥ r nmt nṯr ink Stš bwt.i pw ḥ r nmt nṯr*

«Not to enter into the slaughter-house of the god. I am Seth,<sup>142</sup> What I hate is getting into the shambles of the god»<sup>143</sup>.

*tm ḥry m nmt nṯr ... Wnn Wsir N tn im.f nts Stš imy nṯrw n tm Wsir N tn*

«Not to fall into the slaughter-house of the god. ... This Osiris N will [not] be in it, for she is Seth who is among the gods,<sup>144</sup> and this Osiris N will not perish»<sup>145</sup>.

## V. DISCUSSION

Three words are shown up in the previous texts, might refer as well to the two gods, Horus and Seth, when mentioned both together involving in a tumult: *ḥṣwy*, *hnnwy*, *snwy*.

*ḥpr m Htp nb shwt ḥtpw ... shṯp.f ḥṣwy ... kmz.f nfrt in.n.f ḥtpṯ ... dr.f hnw* <sup>146</sup> *r Rḥwy*

«Becoming as the god Hetep, Lord of the field of offerings ... He pacifies the two Combatants ... he creates what is good, he brings contentment ... he removes turmoil away from the two Rivals »<sup>147</sup>.

In this text, the three words appear referring to the conflict between Horus and Seth. The deceased, represented here as the god Hetep, separates them in their names as *ḥṣwy* and *Rḥwy*, repelling the *hnnw* – of which *hnnwy* is derived- they caused.

### 1- *ḥṣwy* (The Two Combatants)<sup>148</sup> :

Despite the word *ḥṣwy* never came in the same context with any allusion to Horus and Seth cited separately, this word is used as a noun that refers assuredly to the two gods. The context of the texts included that word always refer to the action of pacifying 'them', the same concerning the two Rivals.

<sup>137</sup> *CT* vol.4: 392 a; 396 a-b. *CT* vol.4: 392 a; 396 a-b. It is not clear whether the Great storm, is an allusion to the day Osiris was killed or to the conflict of Horus and Seth, but most likely it refers to the legend of Osiris who was killed by Seth.

<sup>138</sup> See above note 44.

<sup>139</sup> Restored a word for «tomb» in the lacuna? See: FAULKNER *AECT* vol.2: 1978: 276, N°. 2.

<sup>140</sup> The word is damaged and so it could be restored into *mḥḥt* as what remains show the ending t; so, it could not be is.

<sup>141</sup> *CT* vol.4: 355 l.

<sup>142</sup> Varr.: *Inpw*, *Rw* :«Anubis, the Lion».

<sup>143</sup> *CT* vol.5: 59 a-b.

<sup>144</sup> Despite the deceased here is a female, she is identified as the god Seth.

<sup>145</sup> *CT* vol.4: 163 a, f-h.

<sup>146</sup> The word *hnw* translated as uproar, might be inspired by the fact that the *hnw* «sailors» always make clamor during their journey. See: the scenes of the sailors fighting in Old Kingdom tombs scenes at Saqqara as in the tomb of Ti and Ptah-Hotep: BOLSHAKOV 1993: 31, FIGS. 1- 2.

<sup>147</sup> *CT* vol.5: 336 a, 340 b, -e, 341 c-e.

<sup>148</sup> *LGG* vol.2: 186.

Several gods involved in that action, i.e., calming the two rivals or separating them. Concerning the two Combatants *ḥꜣwy*, it is obvious that the same verbs *šḥtp*, or *wḫ* were used similar to the texts the two Rivals included; but the function of calming the two combatants *ḥꜣwy*, is ascribed to two gods only: Hetep and Thoth and, as well, the deceased:

*Hḫr m Hḫp nb šḥt ḥtpw ... ḥny.ī m šw.s spr.ī r nīwwt.s ḥnt.kwī r ntr imy.s ... r-ntt inl Hḫp m šḥt.f sšm psdt.f mrrw.f šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy n irw imnt ... bhḥ.f iꜣkb r smsw.sn dr.f ḥnw r šrry.w.sn ... dr.f ḥnnw r Rḥwy*

«To become Hetep, the lord of the fields of offerings ... I paddle in its waterways, and reach their cities, for I am more prominent than any god who is in it ... because I am Hetep who is in his field, who guides his Enneads whom he loves, he calms the two Combatants for those who belong to the West ... he expels mourning from their elders, he suppresses hustle for their young ones ... he removes uproar from the two Rivals»<sup>149</sup>.

The image the text represents is a chaotic one. The deeds the deceased performing - when becoming as the god Hetep- is as making the world better, setting things straight. He pacifies the two gods who carry two names, *ḥꜣwy* and *Rḥwy*. Not only Hetep who is responsible for calming the two Combatants but as well the god Thoth who pacified (*šḥtp*) them while walking on the inaccessible path (*wꜣt ḏsrt*), moving to Pe and coming out of Dep:

*dī.s wī ḥr wꜣt twy ḏsrt ḥpt.n Dḫwty ḥr.s m šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy ḥp.f sp sn r p iwt.f r dp*  
«She (the tyet-amulet)<sup>150</sup> places me on that sacred road on which Thoth travels, when he pacifies the two Combatants, while he travels, while he travels to Pe, and comes out of Dep»<sup>151</sup>.

In other texts the two combatants *ḥꜣwy* are to be calmed down through the action of the deceased:

*ind ḥr.tn sbḥwt šꜣt rrw ḏsrt stwt nḥm.tn wī m-ꜥ ḥwī sdb nb ḏwy šḥmw m-bꜣḥ.tn r iyt.ī m-bꜣḥ nb r-ḏr shr.n.ī ḥꜣwy*

«Hail to you, you Gates whose names are hidden, whose sites are sacred! May you save me from him who would impose any evil obstacle of the mighty ones who are before you until I come into the presence of the Lord of All, (as) I have calmed down the Two Combatants»<sup>152</sup>.

*šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy n miniw ḥḥw kmꜣ.f nfrt in.f ḥtpw šḥtp.f ḥꜣwy n miniw.sn bhḥ.f iꜣkb r ḥꜣw.sn<sup>HSH</sup>*

<sup>149</sup> CT vol.5: 339 a-d; 340 a-b; 341 a-b, e.

<sup>150</sup> While passing places of mysterious underworld forces, the deceased is welcomed by the tyet-amulet, which could be an incarnation of menstrual blood (BD 156) and whose ambivalent power is echoed in those names of «sister» and «mother». These words might be recited when placing the amulet on the body. The ritual may have been performed when the funeral reached a sun-lit space, perhaps mid-way to burial; see: QUIRKE 2013: 177, 386 (BD 156).

<sup>151</sup> BD 75.

<sup>152</sup> CT vol.7: 455 d-456 c. the text is followed by another deed with which the deceased boasts: I have raised up the orphan so that he may make complaint about the injury which was inflicted on his father by *ḫbhꜣ* when his body was slain.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. «He cuts down the mourners against their fight», in: QUIRKE 2013: 244 where the meaning escapes me.

«He pacifies the two Combatants for the shepherd of the living. He creates good, he brings offerings. He pacifies the two Combatants for their shepherd. he drives away mourning away from their combatants»<sup>154</sup>

In an obscure text that might give an allusion to the conflict of Horus and Seth, the deceased is trying to find his way probably to join the gods, but after removing evil away from earth and after putting an end to the tumult between the two Combatants *ḥꜣwy*:

*dr nrw m zkrw ḥwi Wrt wp ḥꜣwy m nšn 603 600 pw m šhw n ḥry š Šw Nw 'Itm R<sup>c</sup> Nhh  
swꜣ.n.(i) ḥr Šw Nw 'Itm R<sup>c</sup> Nhh Stš 4 Pth Siꜣ imy irt.f tkꜣ ḥt.f*

«Drive off the terrible ones from the earth-gods,<sup>155</sup> protect the Great Lady, separate the two Combatants in 603 storms (*sic*). There are 600 in the breadth of what is over the lake. O Shu, Nu, Atum, *Re<sup>c</sup>*, Old One, I have passed by Shu, Nu, Atum, *Re<sup>c</sup>*, the Old One, the four Seths, Ptah, Sia who is in his Eye, the torch and his fire»<sup>156</sup>.

## 2- *Hnnwy* (The Two Contestants)<sup>157</sup>:

In a text in which the deceased king claims his right as Horus, he stated that he is opposed to political disorder (*hnnw*) and war, for he stands for truth: *isd N ḥꜣ bh.n.f hnnw*

«That the king N may smash up the fight and cut off the riotous ones »<sup>158</sup>.

This attitude of the deceased king is echoed as well in another spell. PT Utterance 254 deals with the king arriving in the sky, his advent is announced, He threatens a general disaster if no place is designated for him, followed speeches by different deities, then ended with a speech of him:

*sḥ<sup>c</sup>.s izty* <sup>159</sup> (*N pn*) *m-ḥnt Wrw sk.s š n N m sht-izrw* <sup>160</sup> *smn.s zht.f m shty-ḥtpw wd<sup>c</sup> N mdw  
m Mht-wrt imyt Hnnwy sk wsr.f m wsr irt Tbi* <sup>161</sup> *nht.f nht irt Tbi iw nd.n sw N m-<sup>c</sup> irw nn ir.f  
nhm šbt.f m-<sup>c</sup>.f*

«She (Tefnut) sets the two standards of the king N before the Great Ones; she digs a pool for the king N in the Field of Rushes; she establishes his field in the two Fields of Offerings as the king N judges in the *Mht-wrt*-cow (the heaven) between the two Contestants, because his power is the power of the eye of *Tbi*, his might is the might of the eye of *Tbi*. He protected himself from those who would do so against him, and those who would take away food from him »<sup>162</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> BD 110. Cf. QUIRKE 2013: 244. See as well DAVIS 1908: TAF.16, Z. 30.

<sup>155</sup> About the earth -gods *zkrw* and the relationship with the sun and its creation, see: DE WIT 1951; PIANKOFF 1953.

<sup>156</sup> the interpretation of the text escapes me. CT vol.7: 490 c-t; 491a.

<sup>157</sup>  The word is written with two arms as fighting with each, so it is preferable to see in it the two Contestants *Hnnwy*.

<sup>158</sup> PT 319 a. Cf. CT vol.2: 149 c-d (*sḥ<sup>c</sup>.n.i mꜣt dr.n.i isft* «I set up truth and expel falsehood»).

<sup>159</sup> Might refer to the two historical parts of Egypt, see: MERCER vol.2: 1952: 135.

<sup>160</sup> About this field as one of the places in which the deceased hoped to live, see: HAYS 2004: 175-200.

<sup>161</sup> See *tbi* and *ibi* in: LGG vol.7: 381, 461; but as FAULKNER, he translated the word *irt tbi* as it is the eye of the god *Re<sup>c</sup>*.

<sup>162</sup> PT 289 c- 290 a; FAULKNER 1969: 64.

It seems that the king who stands against tumult was rewarded by lands in the field of Rushes and Offerings as he had already separated between the two Contestants, named here as *Hnnwy*.<sup>163</sup> The same word is seen once again in BD 182, in which the deceased played the role of Thoth:

*Ṛnk Dḥwty iw šḥp.n.i Hr ... shr.n.i Hnnwy sꜥm n.f ht nb dwt*

«I am Thoth, I have calmed down Horus ... I have pacified the two Contestants, consuming for him all evil things»<sup>164</sup>.

***Snwy (the two Brothers)***<sup>165</sup>: The word *4nwy* is documented from various periods but first attested from the Middle kingdom Coffin Texts. *4nwy* was a designation of the two Rivals *Rḥwy* (Horus and Seth),<sup>166</sup> although they are not brothers as the case of *Rḥty* when referring to the two sisters: Isis and Nephthys. Two texts are there, where *Rḥwy* is followed by the word *4nwy*; the first of which mentions the deceased protected by the *Rḥwy* – who are as well called the two Brothers (*4nwy*), when they judge (*wḏꜥ-mdw*) concerning the *Mḥt-wrt* cow-:

*Ṛw.i mki.kwi in mꜣꜣw ḏfꜣw.k m-ḥt Wrw m-bꜣḥ.sn Rḥwy Snwy wḏꜥ-mdw ḥr Mḥt-wrt ... pḥ.n.i ḥft.f nḥm šbwt m-ꜥ.i ib.i r.f ...*

«I am protected by those who see your provisions in front of the great ones in their presence, and of the two Companions, the two Brothers, who hold judgement concerning the celestial kine ... I attacked his opponent who would take my meal away from me, and my heart is against him »<sup>167</sup>.

The second of which followed with some of the threats recited against whom would deprive the deceased of being copulated with his wife; who would cause his death; and who would diminish his days of life, that:

*iw ḏšrwt.f n irw pt iw snf.f n irw tꜣ m-bꜣḥ.sn Rḥwy Snwy wḏꜥ-mdw ḥr Mḥt-wrt šd wi di nn šbwt rdī n.i ṫ.i wp.n n.i ṫ.i Wsir*

«His blood shall belong to those who are in the sky, his gore shall belong to those who are on earth in their presence, (even of) the two Companions, the two Brothers, who hold judgement concerning the celestial kine; who save me and who give this food which my father has given to me and which my father Osiris has adjudged to me »<sup>168</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> cf. MERCER vol.2: 1952: 163 where he sees in the two Contestants *Hnnwy* a word that might refer to Horus and Seth, or any strife or clamor.

<sup>164</sup> BD 182: QUIRKE 2013: 469.

<sup>165</sup> LGG vol.3: 368. Interestingly, as well, *Snwy* is shown up as a designation of the two Sobek gods. From an inscription on the outer sarcophagus lid of king Merneptah, a scene depicts the god Osiris-*Reꜥ* and the goddess Neith embracing him, to whom Neith directs this speech. The text enumerates many deities and the functions they played concerning the king, of whom are the two Sobek-gods and as well the two brothers *Snwy* represented as crocodiles whose function is clearly to protect the deceased king: *sdd.i ir.k sdd.i ir.k ink Nit mrrt ḥm.k ... di.i spdt m-sꜣ ḥꜣ.k in.i n.k Hr dwꜣ.f tw ... in.i f n.k ḥftiw.k škri ḥtm.f sw? ḥr.k ḏt ... Šbkwy snwj m-sꜣ.k snty ḥꜥw ḥr tp.k mki.sn ḥꜥw.k m sꜣḥw.s(n)* «I speak to you; I speak to you. I am Neith, who loves your majesty! ... and I'll leave Sothis behind you for protection. I bring you Horus to worship you ... He brings you your enemies as prisoners, he destroys them under you forever... The two Sobek, the crocodile brothers, are your protection. The sisters have appeared on your head, they protect your limbs with their transfigurations»: see ASSMANN 1972: 56-57 (= KRI IV 70,6-9).

<sup>166</sup> *Snwy* was used frankly to denote to both Horus and Seth from the Saite Period, see LGG vol.4: 368 (GOYON 1972).

<sup>167</sup> CT vol.4: 233 h-m.

<sup>168</sup> CT vol.4: 234 d-h.

## VI. CONCLUSION

When talking about the *Rḥwy* as the two Rivals, we see the deceased always trying to put an end to the strife that carried out between the two gods Horus and Seth, calming them. The deceased never biased or show inclination or prejudice for any of the two gods.

But in mutual relation, they help the deceased. It is the two Companions *Rḥwy* who shall plant trees for the sake of the deceased with their mighty arms.

So, no aggression or fear is there against the *Rḥwy*, whether they are the two Rivals or the two Companions.

Apparently, the attitude of the deceased towards them both together as *Rḥwy* - whether it is considered as the two Rivals or the two Companions- differs from his towards them separately.

The deceased's attitude towards Horus is always positive, contrary to Seth which is a binary attitude. The deceased judges Seth, restrains his movement by the bonds, kills or, smites him together with his confederacy, as Seth has no power over him.

And within this aspect, the deceased stands next to Osiris and Horus against Seth, which is to be in contrast to what mentioned above about his neutrality within the conflict which was carried out between them. But on the other hand, Seth protects, helps the deceased in many ways. This is the outstanding role played by the god Seth.

So, whether *Rḥwy* are the two Rivals or the two Companions, no harm could be carried out to the deceased.

But when talking about them separately, it is another story. The concept of Seth as a god of confusion appears quite obvious<sup>169</sup>.

It is worth noting, though that the role played by each god is different; the texts that mentioned them both together with their direct names i.e., Horus and Seth, show positive interaction with the deceased. They set up a ladder for the deceased, protect and be a good idol him, apply him with foods, offering him their magic, and as well they together purify him.

Some texts represent the deeds done by the deceased towards the two gods as a great action worthwhile a reward. Tefnut digs a pond for him in the field of Rushes and set up a Field of his in the field of Offerings.

It is likely that the deities whom the deceased identifies when pacifying the two gods *Rḥwy*, are here the god Thoth, Hetep, and Horus the Elder. But concerning *ḥꜣwy*, texts confined pacifying them to Thoth and Hetep.

Noteworthy, the word *Rḥwy* is not only the term that refers to both gods together; there are as well the word *ḥꜣwy*, *ḥnnwy*, and as well *Snwy*. All of these words refer to Horus and Seth together in different renderings. *ḥꜣwy* and *ḥnnwy* have always a negative meaning, as they refer usually to both gods while fighting. But as for the word

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<sup>169</sup> See: TE VELDE 1977.

*Snwy*, it accompanies only *Rḥwy* when it having a positive meaning, translated then as the two brotherly companions.

It is worth mentioning that, the word *hnnwy* is derived from the verb *hnn*, the word *ḥꜣwy* from the verb *ḥꜣ*, but as *Rḥwy*, no verb attested.

And as a final note, the word *Rḥwy* refers to three couples of deities: Horus and Seth, Thoth and Seth, and finally *Re*<sup>c</sup> and Thoth. Horus and Seth are the two Rivals against each other and who later became the two Companions, while Thoth and Seth are always the two Rivals against the god Horus; whereas *Re*<sup>c</sup> and Thoth are the two Companions as being the two eyes of Heaven: the sun and the moon.

#### HOW TO CITE

Gad, M., « The Deceased and His Relevance To *Rḥwy*, *ḥꜣwy*, *Hnnwy*, and *Snwy*», *Journal of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists*, vol. 6/2, 2021. Doi: 10.21608/JGUAA2.2021.66349.1051.  
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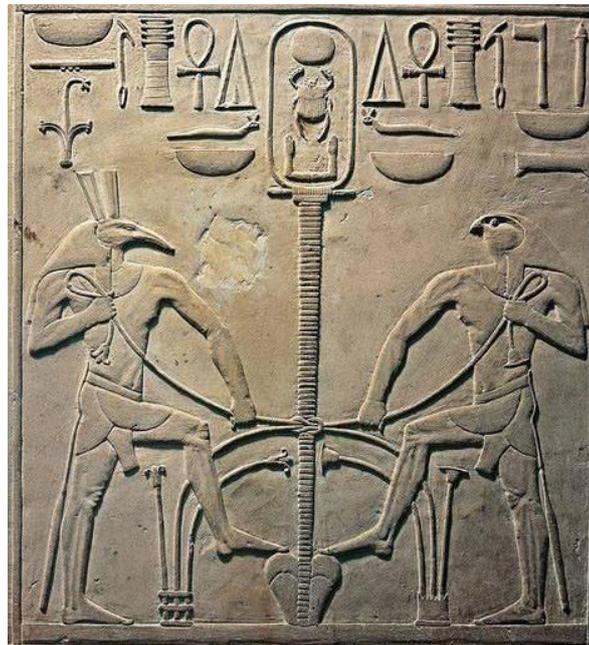
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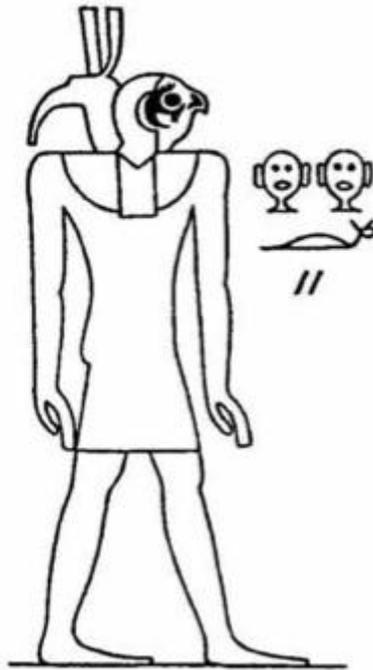
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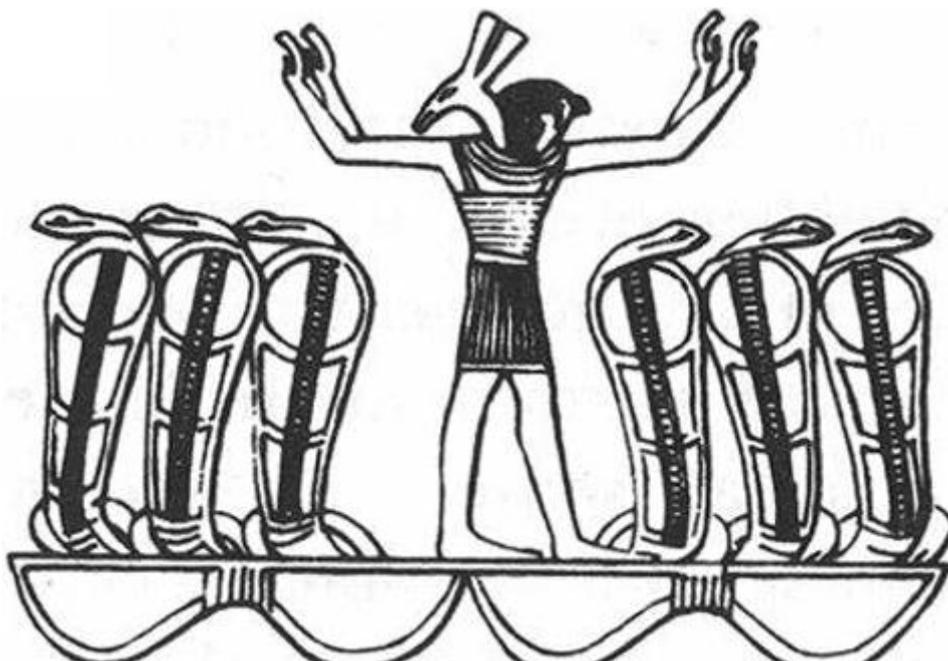
[FIGURE.1a]: The reconciled Horus and Seth crowning Ramses III statue at the Egyptian Museum (JE 31628).



[FIGURE.1b]: The reconciled Horus and Seth tying the papyrus and reed plants in the *sm3-t3wy* symbol for the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt Limestone, from Al Lisht. Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret I. Egyptian Museum (JE 31139).



[FIGURE.2a]: Horus and Seth united as *ḥrwY.fy* 'he with the two faces'  
2<sup>nd</sup> hour- upper register of Amduat, n. 138. WARBURTON 2007: 54.



[FIGURE.2b]: Horus and Seth united as *ḥrwY.fy* 'he with the two faces'  
11<sup>th</sup> hour- middle register of Book of Gates, scene 78. HORNUNG & ABT: 2014: 319.

علاقة المتوفى بـ

*Rḥwy, ḥꜣwy, Ḥnnwy, Snwy*

ماجدة جاد

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الملخص

التناقضات المزدوجة التي تكمل بعضها البعض واضحة في مصر القديمة. فلدينا السماء والأرض، النهار والليل، الحياة والموت، الأرض الخصبة والصحراء، وكذلك الخير والشر. كان أحد أكثر أشكال الثنائية تميزاً هو الإلهين حور وست. تختلف ترجمة هذه الكلمة حسب السياق. من ناحية، تُترجم على أنها الرفيقين عندما نتحدث أولاً عن الآلهة رع وجحوتي؛ ومن ناحية أخرى، هي المتنافسان حور وست، وبصرف النظر عن أنه يتم ترجمتها أيضاً في بعض الأحيان على أنها الإلهين المتصالحين، أو الرفيقين. يثير هذا التساؤل متى وأين يجب فهم معنى هذه الكلمة على أنها "منافسون أو «رفقاء»! في سياق هذه المقالة، يجب أن نتساءل، بالإضافة إلى ذلك هل العلاقة التي تربط بين الإلهين والمتوفى تختلف عن علاقته بكل إله من هذين الإلهين على حدة؟ لذا، فقد أقتصرت هذه الدراسة عن قصد على نصوص أهرام الدولة القديمة ونصوص توابيت الدولة الوسطى وكتاب الموتى من الدولة الحديثة، حيث تظهر الأفكار والمعتقدات حول الألهين بشكل ملحوظ في تشابه واستمرارية. كما تتعرض الدراسة إلى ثلاث كلمات أخرى فد تلعب نفس الدور للكلمة رحوي.

**الكلمات الدالة:** رحوي، نصوص الأهرام، نصوص التوابيت، نصوص كتب الموتى ، حور، ست، ايسة، نبت-حت، رع، جحوتي.