The paper deals with an ancient Egyptian text from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb collection. It provides the hieroglyphic text, with its transliteration and translation, of Papyrus Zagreb E-605. The papyrus fragment contains hours 10–12 from the Amduat, dated to the 21st or 22nd Dynasty, during the Third Intermediate Period. The text describes renewal of life in the natural cycle of the Sun at the end of the adventures of the joint nocturnal journey of the god Re and a human soul.

**Key words:** Amduat, Papyrus Zagreb E-605, Sun-boat, underworld, hidden chamber, iconography, Duat, image, soul, night hours

Amduat is a name used for a specific form of the Egyptian Book of the Netherworld, which was the most complex composition of eschatological texts during the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BC). The earliest attestations of the Amduat (meaning “What is in the Netherworld”) appeared in the decoration of 18th dynasty royal tombs. The text was also named the Book of the Hidden Chamber and is closely connected with the development of the architecture of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. The earliest examples of the text are known from the burials of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut, while the first complete versions were found in the tombs of the Pharaoh Tuthmosis III and his vizier Useramun. Eighteenth-dynasty examples were written on the walls of the burial chambers. During the second half of the 21st Dynasty the book was accepted by the Theban priesthood, and from the Third Intermediate Period on it become a common element of the funerary customs of the elite. At the same time, versions of the Amduat reach the coffins and papyri as well. The book was used until the Ptolemaic period. The main concern of the Book of the Hidden Chamber is the regeneration of a human soul supported by the Sun god, or even his own parallel renewal. The regeneration in the treatise flows through twelve sections until the soul of the dead person is revived on the horizon at the moment of the sunrise. Various obstacles and demonic creatures try to stop the sun boat, so the journey becomes a drama. Iconographic representations of different levels of Duat, of the gods dwelling there, and also of the destiny of the human souls, provide numerous data about the ancient Egyptian concept of the afterlife and ethics. The Amduat itself represents a further step towards the more profound esoteric concepts of Egyptian eschatology. As such, the Amduat is diametrically opposed to the

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3 Duarte 2017, 137–144.
4 Apophis, the great enemy of the Sun.
rather popular beliefs widespread in the Book of the Dead, presenting an authentic dualistic myth of the passage. The Sun and a soul are destined to travel through different reality-layers of the hidden world and to face degradation in primaeval darkness and resurrection at the end of the path. The Amduat is also based on unity with the Sun. The soul travels on the barque of Re. It could be said that the deceased unites with universal light. That could be assumed as a restoration of the primordial ideas of the solar religion based on the Old Kingdom cult of the Sun.

Description

The Ancient Egyptian collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb owns an extensive fragment of the Amduat: three chapters of the text, known as the 10th, 11th and 12th hours of the night. The papyrus originally belonged to Franz Koller’s collection. The collection was acquired by the Museum in the 19th century, and the fragment was recorded in the inventory book as inv. no. 605 (Papyrus Zagreb E-605). It seems that part of the text has been lost. The missing part of the papyrus may contain several more ‘Amduat hours’ and even the name of the owner himself. It is also possible that the papyrus was never finished, due to the fact that some sections in the lower register, below the text arranged in columns and written in red ink, are left empty.

On the left-hand side of the preserved papyrus fragment, currently on show as part of the Museum’s permanent exhibition (149.5cm x 43.5cm), eight columns of the text, written in red ink, present the 10th hour of the Amduat. Within the main part of the papyrus, vignettes and texts are arranged in three registers which symbolise the three realms: sky, earth and underworld. At the very end of the fragment, at the right, there is a fragmentary preserved ellipsoid form – part of a cartouche on which a mummy lies – where the end of the soul’s journey through the 12 night

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5 The main part of the Egyptian collection in the Museum was purchased from the Franz Koller inheritance in Prague. The collection of 1934 artefacts was brought to Zagreb in April 1868. A more detailed history of the collection can be found in: Ljubić 1889, 1; Monnet Saleh 1970, 5; Mirnik, Uranić 1999, 197-208; Tomorad 2003, 19-27; Uranić 2005, 5-6; Mirnik 2007, 16-22; Tomorad 2016, 327-329.

6 Published in: Monnet Saleh 1970, 165, cat. no. 883; Uranić 2007, 196, cat. no. 444.
hours is depicted and symbolised with the Sun in the form of a scarab elevating in the morning sky. The cartouche line seems to represent the sky. The text is placed in horizontal and vertical squares. The papyrus was mentioned by A. Niwinski7 and dated8 to 21st or 22nd Dynasty. If correct, this may mean that Papyrus Zagreb E-605 preserves one of the earlier versions of the Amduat on papyrus.

Contents of the papyrus

The fragment describes renewal of life in the natural cycle of the Sun at the end of the adventures of the joint nocturnal journey of the god Re and a human soul. The text consists of the so-called 10th, 11th and 12th ‘night hours’ of the book. The text is written from the left towards the right side of the papyrus, where the representation of the dawn and resurrection are symbolised by the scarab. The central motif of these three chapters (hours) is the image of the deceased and its magical role in successfully passing through the levels of Duat with the help of the gods. According to the text, the image was placed in the “hidden chamber.” Through magic, rituals and utterances, the image of the deceased becomes able to unite with Re on his own journey to the horizon. Magical means, which implies knowledge of the names of the gods, are required of the soul. The horizontal text placed on the uppermost part of the papyrus states: “[If] their names are known [he shall] travel and pass through Duat [and he shall] not be turned back from flying up before Re.”

The vignettes on Papyrus Zagreb E-605 are arranged within three registers which are, as already mentioned, separated text fragments. Two blocks consisting of three registers are separated by squares of text, arranged in columns. The arrangement of iconographic and textual elements creates a ‘visual impression’ of six autonomous fields. On the left side of the papyrus surface, in the

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7  Niwinski 1989, 376.
8  J. Monnet Saleh (Monnet Saleh 1970, 165, cat. no. 883) dated the papyrus to the New Kingdom, which is too early for the Amduat to appear on the medium of papyri.
upper register, nine anthropomorph gods (facing East, standing or walking, three of them riding double-headed snakes) are shown. In front of each of the figures, the god's name is written. The central register displays four goddesses, two of them wearing a white crown and the other two a red one. They are followed by the hieroglyph of Amenti, the double-headed god, and a red crown. The lower register presents two snakes, each of them named as "nh3w (x(w) - “those who live in (Two) land(s)” - lifting up the sun disc. The scene described above, in many other examples, presents the images of two seated goddesses wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt and flanking the snakes facing each other. The scene is followed by the ka-souls hanging upside down in the oval realm with the text int sxdw, “the valley of those (who are) upside down”. The scene seems to represent a separate hell-like cavern (of fire pits) for souls who have been punished and detained. In other versions of the Amduat there are usually representations of drowned people, next to those hanging upside down, in the 10th hour. Also in other versions, around the hanging people, red points are depicted, alluding to fire. In the Amduat there frequently appears “a pit of fire”, or “a pit full of corpses.” Thus, it is also possible to render the word int as “pit.” On the right there are four goddesses with a jsrw or smyt sign for the desert or necropolis, and a god with a w3s stick. All five of them are facing left (to the West – the direction opposite to the sun's movement in Duat). There is not much doubt about the nature of the gods in this place. Their names P3ty (The One Who Turns Upside Down), Rbhyt (The Fiery One), Hr3sw3 (The One Who Cuts) and S3ry (unclear meaning) indicate their function of threat and torture. The scene is followed by the inscription int s3dy, “the valley of those turned upside down.” This scene is also mentioned as part of the punishment in Hornung’s article on hell-like ideas in the Amduat, and it may be connected with the Egyptian belief according to which people who were killed by crocodiles or drowned in the Nile are not destined for eternal life. This was a consequence of the fact that their bodies were missing and could not be mummified.

Final phase of regeneration

On the right-hand side of the papyrus, the last two hours of the night, when the last preparations for sunrise are taking place, are presented. The creator god Atum is in the upper register spreading the wings of a big snake, standing on his back. The snake is holding an ankh in its mouth. Behind Atum's back is a two-headed god named pr frk d1s with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt and w3s stick. Atum holds the wings of the snake and faces another god sitting on another snake facing in the opposite direction. The figure on the snake back is elevated above the stars – nine of them, and all depicted in red. Within the same register, far to the right, five gods are shown as worshiping the scarab of the rising sun. The two snakes in the eleventh division – one standing on four legs and one elevating above the stars – could be one and the same. They, as well as the two-headed god on the left, symbolise the duality of the movement of time. Usually, in this part of the Amduat, Atum is represented with two w3s eyes above. The winged snake is an instrument of the god Atum, being enabled to annihilate time. Of the winged snake (which is male), named “He who takes away the hours”, as well as of the other (female) snake, it is said that “he (or she) swallows his (or her) images again.” The two eyes (not represented in the Zagreb Papyrus) are symbols of the Sun and the Moon. The two eyes meet in Duat on two bars (for example on texts of hypocephalus). So the two snakes seem to be the two directions of the passage of time. The picture of the two snakes and the two-headed god being in the upper register means rather the esoteric meaning of the main event shown in the middle register of the twelfth hour.

In the central register three male and two female gods are represented as pulling the sun-boat, together with a big snake. In front of them the Sun is rising up as the Khepri-scarab towards a double line with a human head of Nut at the exit from Duat. Above the scarab there is also a description “the beauty of the Sun’s eye.” In the main picture of the twelfth hour, Re is sitting on the boat preceded by Maat and Hathor, followed by three more human figures. These figures which are sitting behind Re could be gods. However, it is also possible that these are images of the deceased, i.e. of his ka and himself. If so, this would be the only place which shows the image of the dead person. Unlike the various versions of the Book of the Dead, generally speaking in the Amduat the deceased person – the owner of the text – is not named or represented.

Re is being completely renewed and ready to rise in the sky. In this hour the central motif is the picture of the great snake. The Sun-boat is pulled by his followers through the snake’s body and so finally renewed. The boat carrying Maat, Hathor, Re and three more figures, enters the snake at his tail and comes out from his mouth. Hornung has an interesting theory of that idea being “inversion of time necessary for general rejuvenation.” Indeed, not only time, but also various chthonic forces, frequently take the shape of a snake in Egyptian eschatology. While in the original version of the Amduat there were twelve human figures pulling, in Papyrus Zagreb E-605 there are five of them (three male and two female). Above the snake the Horus (the young man) and p3i – a man with a walking stick (the old man) – are shown. Above the head of the snake the text reads: k3 n d1 nh3 ntrw – “ka which gave life to the gods”. This passage of the sun barque through the great snake is the central motif of the papyrus as a whole. It is, in fact, a parallel mythic image to the snake-headed barque carrying the eye of the Sun in other Third Intermediate Period Book of the Dead compositions.

9  In Budge 1905, 253 translated as “the pit of fire.”
10  For example see: Kunst voor de eeuwigheid, Catalogue, National Museea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussel, 1966.
12  Hornung 2007, 368.
The mummy itself is represented on the borderline of Duat below. Above the mummy there is the word $\text{sm}$ for the “image” or “statue”. The image is the central motif in this part of the text. These ideas are connected with Egyptian beliefs on the revival of statues by invoking the spirit of the human or god in it. The text explains where it has to be placed in the tomb so the soul can join the Sun in transcending the sky and being born. The image has a vital role in survival of the soul. In the top margin of the papyrus text is stated: “If such image which is depicted (in) the eastern chamber of the West side (of Duat) ... (he shall) travel and pass through Duat (and he shall) not be turned back from flying up before Re”. So it seems that the “image” was partly the statue for the $\text{k}_a$, and it also had to be represented in a funeral chamber. In the last register down there are five more gods giving praise to the Sun god. The oval end of the Duat also alludes to the meaning of everything represented as being in the cartouche-shaped “hidden chamber” in the exact shape of 18th dynasty burial chambers.\(^{14}\)

In the lower register, in the same place, five more gods are greeting the rebirth of the Sun; this, with the five in the upper register (mentioned above), makes the whole scene symmetrical. In the original version of the Amduat twenty-two deities appear in the lower register, ten of them with arms raised in adoration of the Sun and the corpse or image which is also a symbol of Osiris. Five of these ten are shown in the Zagreb papyrus. They are $\text{r}_b\text{w} “\text{He who donates}, \text{ imm} \text{ R} “\text{He with brave mouth}, \text{ sb}\text{w “\text{He who praises the akhu spirits}}, \text{ dw}\text{nty “\text{He of the netherworld}}, \text{ shmw ib “\text{He of the powerful heart}.”}

Transliteration and translation of the text

The text is organised from left to right in several small fragments, and it is written in the retrograde way (although the signs face left, the text of the vertical rows flows from right to the left) which is the usual cryptography of the Book of the Hidden Chamber. Also, the name of Horus is written only with the $\text{hri}$ sign, with no determinative used. In this manner the meaning of the text gains more of an esoteric character. Most of the text is placed in the large squares which form, one alongside another, the broad lines between the vignettes. The beginning of the text is placed on the uppermost part of the papyrus. Additionally, there are two long horizontal texts in eight rows in red ink dividing the whole picture into separate parts. Below these two texts there is an empty space. The 11th hour fragments spread across the left side of the papyrus while, after the second red horizontal text, we find the fragments from the 12th hour.

\(\text{krr.t} \text{s} \text{st} \text{n} \text{gs} \text{dws.t} \text{py} \text{ntr} \text{t} “\text{He} \text{of the powerful heart}.”
\)

(From) the hidden chamber on the side of Duat the great god traverses (his) image coming out on the horizon.

\(\text{krr.t ny.t} \text{s} \text{st} \text{inn} \text{ty hpt} “\text{pr} \text{R}”
\)

(This is) the secret chamber of Amenti (where) Khnum is united with sullen $\text{Re}
\)

\(\text{kni sb}, \text{w rs n } \text{hr ssm sts n ig} \text{t} \text{t}
\)

(and) with akhu spirits and with the face of the image (which is) in the tomb.

HORIZONTAL TEXT, TOP LEFT

\(\text{iow ir mn m ssm mny m ss.w hr is} \text{b,w } “\text{t} \text{n gs dws.t}
\)

If such image which is depicted (in) the eastern chamber of the West side (of Duat)

\(\text{rhw m n.m n hns dws.t n sqs.t n n} \text{hn} \text{f shr hr R”}

(If) their names $^{18}$ are known (he shall) travel and pass $^{18}$ through Duat (and he shall) not be turned back from flying up before Re.

ELEVENTH AND TENTH HOURS\(^{20}\) (8 COLUMNS ON THE LEFT)

1. $\text{hpt in hns ntr pn “z}s \text{m krr.t} \text{ht wd mdw-wf}$

The majesty of this great God is in the circle (and) he uttered commands

2. $\text{ntr w iny.w s mn n sbt n “f}, \text{w ntr,w}$

(to the) gods who are in it. The name of the door through which the gods enter

3. “$z.s \text{w hr f}, \text{a “z} \text{m n n dws.t} \text{nwiw.t} \text{Mw-md.t “s hpr ms ir,w}$

the great gods before (him), the name of the gates to the City in Duat (is) Mu-medet the great, (where)- Khepera is born

5. $\text{gr} \text{n ssm.t-ntr pw “z} \text{r wii}$

(In) darkness the image of this great god is to arrive

6. $\text{mv ks.w qbw w mn n wnw.t}$

“Pieces of flesh on the top of water” is the secret name of the hour

7. $\text{sts nt nwiw.t } \text{ndw-tw hst hss}$

... the city ... is (where) you smash

8. $\text{kib.w hft.w n R}$

... the hearts of the enemies of Re

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\(^{14}\) There is the notion that the oval shape of the cavern of Sokar is equivalent to the whole space of the netherworld. Mostly it is held that the so-called “hidden chamber” applies to the oval funerary chamber from the tomb of Tutmosis III. So the netherworld and Sokar’s cavern and the burial chambers in 18th dynasty tombs can be equivalents for the same idea of the “hidden chamber” (Hornung 1999, 37).

\(^{15}\) The house determinative of $\text{krr}$ is rounded, alluding to the cartouche-like shaped burial chambers appearing in 18th dynasty tombs. Some authors translate this expression as “a circle.” This sign was explained as “the black hole” by Hornung 1999.

\(^{16}\) This translation is found in all dictionaries (Hannig 1995, 884, “verdrossen”; Faulkner 1988, 286, “sullen”), and it can be assumed as a mythological idea of the sun which is “obscured” in the Netherworld after it sets. The expression gives a human mood to describe the state of the fallen Sun god

\(^{17}\) The names of gods

\(^{18}\) If not a mistake, it shows the third person feminine in this place.

\(^{19}\) Follows from the $\text{hr}$ with determinative of the sky. In other versions, “becoming a companion of Re”, or “making himself a companion of Re”.

\(^{20}\) Faulkner 1988, 286, “sullen” and “verdrossen.”
ELEVENTH HOUR (15 COLUMNS IN THE UPPER REGISTER)
1. n wnn.f m shr wbn pn 2. “If f n R”
2. He is like light. He is like Re.
3. iw.ty.f r sw. 4. f m dw.t. 5. wnn.f m shr
4. He does not leave his place in Duat. He is like
5. pn gw.f ntr pn r. f. 7. pr sśm.w. ym ṯnww m 8. ṯnww m
6. this: When this god calls him Atum, he comes back forth
9. “If n ḫrw. 7. iw 8. ntr pn ḡw. f r. 10. sn m 11. ṯn.w=sn
10. made by Horus. This god, he calls them by their names
12. skh.sn 13. m sśm. 14. f. 15. nt 16. ssr.w
13. and they breathe when they hear his voice. They are those who
14. guard
15. the gate of Sais which is unknown, unseen (and) unperceived.

ELEVENTH HOUR (20 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER ON THE LEFT)
1. wnn. sn 2. m shr 3. pn 4. sūn 5. r ṯnnw m sśm 6. (det.) 7. m hft.w
7. They are like this at this gate: As this ba-soul in images
8. (det.) 9. ṯsir 10. m 11. dw.t. 12. ḡw yḥy. ṯn.w 13. f 14. m
9. of Osiris in Duat. “The one over his kettles” is
15. ssr.w 16. krr.t 17. (det.) 18. ṯnh. 19. sn 20. ḡrw 21. ḡft.w
16. the guardian of the cavern. They live on the voice of his enemies.
23. On the scream of the ba-souls and shadows, whom they throw
31. sn r 32-33. hsd.w=sn r ḡsdw=sn 24
32. into their pits.

ELEVENTH HOUR (8 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)
1. ḫp ḫn ḫm ny ntr pn “ṣ m krr.t tn ṯnt. (f)
2. Resting by the majesty of this great god in this cavern. He
3. md.w n ntr. w mlt. w s mn ṭb ny
4. gives order to the gods who are in it. The name of the gate
5. ṯn.t tn ḫk.w ntr pn "ṣ hr. ṭn ṯn.nw ṯnt
6. of this city which the great god enters is “the resting place of those
7. in Duat”.
8. ṯn mn ṭn Ṱs n krr.t
9. The name of that place is “mouth of the cavern
10. ḫp ḫn ḫm ny wnn. t tn
11. which examines the corpses”. The name of this hour
12. ḡḥ sśm.t ntr (pn)
13. of the night which guides this god
14. ṱby.t nb.t ṭn ḫt t ṭb m
15. “the starry mistress of the barque”. (Who) repels the enemy
16. ṯn.t tn ḫk.w ntr pn “ṣ hr. ḫn ṯn.nw ṯnt
17. (when) he comes forth.
They are like this: They are those who grasp the tow rope of the boat of Re when he comes out of the spine of the living god.

They are those who tow this great god on his ways (of the) high. They are those who cause what happened in the sky, in wind in calmness, in storm, in rain.

What (they) command to the living is what the great barque performs in the sky.

Live, hail to (you) Osiris the lord of life. These are gods who are behind Osiris. Who emerge with him at the beginning of time. They are around the secret chamber. They live on what it lives on. They breathe through the words of this god, and through prayers.

Nut, that the great flood (may) go from the earth, from this image.
Hieroglyphic Text

Horizontal Text, Top Right

Horizontal Text, Top Left

Eleventh and Tenth Hours (8 Columns on the Left)

Eleventh Hour (15 Columns in the Upper Register)
ELEVENTH HOUR (8 ROWS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)

1 2 3 4 5 6
7

ELEVENTH HOUR (26 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER)

1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11
12 13 14 15 16
17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26

ELEVENTH HOUR (MIDDLE REGISTER ON THE LEFT IN 14 COLUMNS)

1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13
14

ELEVENTH HOUR (20 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER ON THE LEFT)

1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13 14 15
16 17 18 19 20
TWELFTH HOUR (4 COLUMNS IN THE MIDDLE REGISTER, RIGHT)

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

TWELFTH HOUR (LOWER REGISTER IN 28 COLUMNS)

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

6. 

7. 

8. 

9. 

10. 

11. 

12. 

13. 

14. 

15. 

16. 

17. 

18. 

19. 

20. 

21. 

22. 

23. 

24. 

25. 

26. 

27. 

28. 

TWELFTH HOUR (12 COLUMNS IN THE UPPER REGISTER)

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

6. 

7. 

8. 

9. 

10. 

11. 

12. 

Igor Urankić: The Book of the Amduat on Papyrus Zagreb E-605
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