

The Relationship between *nHH* and *D.t* with the Doors of Heaven*

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Abstract

The “Doors of Heaven” are the entrances to the celestial realm which only open and close at the passage of the sun god and the blessed dead in his following during their diurnal and nocturnal journeys. Texts and vignettes that came to us from ancient Egypt in the form of funerary books mention and depict the doors of heaven in different ways. The signs of the two aspects of time, *nHH* and *D.t*, along with the deities associated with them are among the motifs portrayed and related to the portals of the sky. The research studies the relationship between *nHH* and *D.t* with the Doors of Heaven as well as the purpose and the religious significance of the representation of their symbols on the entrances to the eastern and western horizons of the sky and how this depiction contributes to the success of the daily voyage of the solar deity.

Keywords: Doors of Heaven, *nHH*, *D.t*, aspects of time in ancient Egypt, Re, Osiris, *Rwti*.

- **Conception of time in ancient Egypt:**

According to the ancient Egyptian beliefs, the two components of the whole conception of time are the *nHH* and the *D.t*.¹ While *nHH* represents the cyclic and the ‘imperfective’ side of time, the *D.t* is the linear or the completed time and hence its ‘perfective’ facet. This cyclic nature of the *nHH* corresponds to the recurring days, months and seasons; and therefore, to the process of death and rebirth. Whereas the *D.t*, was seen as enduring and everlasting as the earth.² At the primordial state of the universe, before the creation of the world, the concept of time did not exist.³

According to the Book of the Heavenly Cow, Re had first created the *nHH* aspect of time when he ascended to the sky and abandoned the earthly realm of humans which marked the first day of the new order. This actually means that before the ascension of Re to heavens the world only knew the linear facet of time, the *D.t*. Consequently, the *nHH* is more related to the sky and the celestial cyclic time rather than the *D.t* which refers to the linear eternity and the netherworld.⁴ The theory is expressed in other terms, after the creation of the universe, the separation between the sky goddess Nut and the earth god Geb was necessary for the daily cycle of the sun god and at this specific moment the ancient Egyptian world knew the conception of the cyclic time *nHH*.⁵ The appearance of the *nHH* notion had brought with it the idea of death and the end of time,⁶ since the *nHH* is eternal only during the existence of world, while *D.t* had existed before creation and will continue to exist even after the end of the universe.⁷ This actually makes the conception of *nHH* more related to the act of passing through the Doors of Heaven⁸ which is associated with death and the hope of joining the sun god in his cyclical daily journey. These two facets of time are also connected to the two aspects of the solar deity; Re and Osiris. As the *nHH* and *D.t* are the two facets of the whole unit of time, Re and Osiris are the two forms of a one great deity.⁹ The *nHH* is believed to be the embodiment of Re as it symbolizes the cyclic process of death that is followed by rebirth, while the *D.t* refers to the continuous aspect of time that is equated with Osiris and his linear netherworld realm.¹⁰

- **Door of the tomb as the Door of Heaven:**

As early as the Old Kingdom, the opening of the Doors of Heaven for the deceased king was associated with the opening of the doors of the tomb as attested in PT Spell 553 §1361, “*The two door leaves of the sky are open to you; the two door leaves of the Cool Water are open to you! The two door leaves of the tomb are open to you; the two door leaves of Nut are open to you!*”. This idea equates between the door of the tomb and the doors of heaven as well as the womb of Nut, where the later personifies the tomb, the burial chamber and the sarcophagus,

for all of them share the same function of providing an exit of the dead from the darkness of the netherworld to his rebirth. This idea was not iconographically proven before the Book of the Dead vignettes as in that of chapter 92 in the papyrus of Neferwebenef (Louvre III 93). The scene shows the deceased's *bA* and *Swt* getting out from the tomb whose façade is depicted with its upper part has two bulging ends between which the sun disk shines and emanates its rays so as to resemble the *Axt* sign of the horizon.¹¹ These two protruding sides could be equated with the two mountains of the horizon that provide an entrance and exit to the eastern and western horizons of the sky. According to the annotations of the chapter, the tomb is open for the *bA* and *Swt* of the dead so as to go out into the day which is reflected in the vignette.¹² The fact that the *bA* of the dead returns also through the same door suggests that the door of the tomb plays a dual role being an assimilation of both the eastern and the western gates of heaven.



Fig. 1: Vignette of the BD chapter 92, Papyrus of Neferwebenef, Louvre III 92, mid 18th Dynasty

After: S. Ratié, 'Le Papyrus de Neferoubenef (Louvre III 93)', *Bibliothèque d'Etude* 43, (1968), pl. IX

- **The representation of *nHH* and *D.t* on the tomb doors in the Book of the Dead Vignettes:**

In the tomb of Nebenmaat of Deir el Medina T.T. 219, the vignette of the BD chapter 92 shows the *Swt* of the deceased along with a large black solar disk representing the *Swt* of the sun god as they

leave the door of the tomb.¹³ In this version of the vignette, only the *Swt* of the dead and the sun god go out in the day to start their diurnal journey. The door of the tomb is topped with a cavetto cornice under which there is a panel decorated with repetitive patterns of *nHH* signs. Due to the correlation between the *nHH* signs and the idea of the assimilation between the door of the tomb and the Door of Heaven, the vignette of the BD chapter 92 from the tomb of Nebenmaat refers to the cyclic movement of the sun god, who is identified with *nHH*, along with the dead in his following between the eastern and the western doors of the horizon.

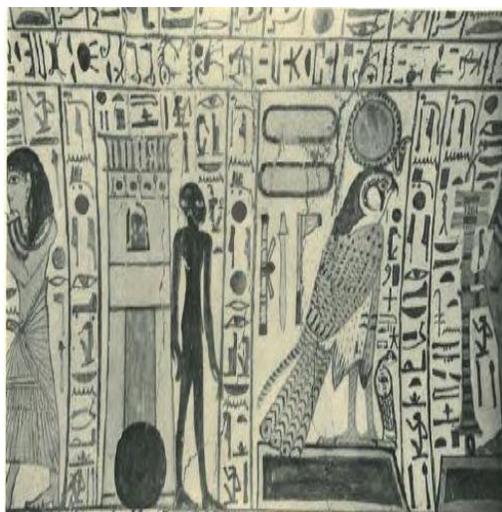


Fig. 2: Vignette of the Book of the Dead chapter 92 – Tomb of Nebmaat, T.T. 219, Deir el Medina

After: Ch., Maystre, *Tombes de Deir el-Médineh. La tombe de Nebenmât (N° 219)*, MIFAO 71, (Cairo, 1936), pl. 9

The depiction of the repetitive *nHH* patterns is also attested in the vignette of the BD chapter 72 from the tomb of Nakhtamun T.T. 335 at Deir el Medina. On the northern wall of the corridor that leads to the burial chamber, the scene shows the wife of the deceased standing while raising her hands in adoration in front of a door which lintel is decorated with *Xkrw* motives and a small figure of her husband praying for Osiris. The door jambs are ornamented with two vertical lines of

recurring *nHH* signs set against two *D.t* signs depicted at the base of each side of the door.¹⁴ Despite the fact that this scene is not accompanied with the annotations of the BD chapter,¹⁵ it is believed to be the vignette of chapter 72 whose title is “Formula for opening the *imHt* and going out into the day”. The *imHt* is translated as both the tomb chamber or the netherworld,¹⁶ which denotes that both of them are playing the same role. Thus, this door is considered as both that of the tomb and the netherworld which are in fact equated with the door of the sky.

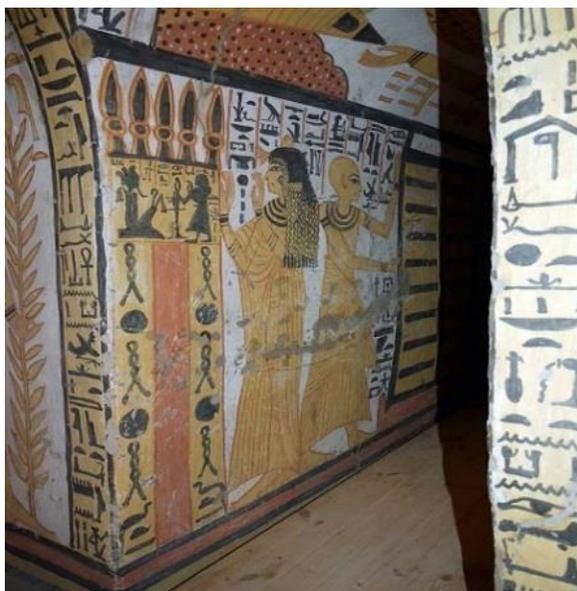


Fig. 3: The northern wall of the corridor that leads to the burial chamber C – Tomb of Nakhtamun, T.T. 335, Deir el Medina

After: www.osirisnet.net/ accessed November 1, 2019 at 08:19 pm

In the text of the BD chapter 72, the deceased also expresses his wish to join the great god “*Tkm*” whom is identified with the sun god,¹⁷ for his name is written with the determinative of a falcon on a standard .¹⁸ In an amuletic papyrus in Leiden, the deity is referred to being the “*Tkm of everyday, the great morning god*” in a clear identification with the morning form of the solar deity. In CT spell 404 V 197 – 198, the god “*Tkm*” is mentioned to have “opened the western horizon” and the one who “knows the eastern horizon” which

implies the cyclic motion “*nHH*” of that divinity equated with the sun god between the doors of the eastern and the western horizons. This actually applies on the vignette from the tomb of Nakhtamun, where the repetitive *nHH* signs on either side of the door signify the cyclic motion of Re against the netherworld indicated by the *D.t* signs at the bottom of either side.

This scene also implies on one hand the birth of Re from Osiris and the day from the night which happens at the eastern door of heaven every morning. On the other hand, the return of Re to the embrace of Osiris at night and to the netherworld which occurs every evening at the western door of heaven. This is based on the fact these *nHH* signs, compared with the day and Re, are shown as if emerging from as well as returning to the *D.t* which is equated with the night,¹⁹ netherworld and Osiris. The notion of the birth of the day from the night and the birth of Re from Osiris is mentioned in the PT Spell 636 a-c, where Osiris is mentioned as the “*Horizon from which Re goes forth*”. Servajean relates the representation of the two signs of the two aspects of time in a vertical way on either side as to refer to the eternal cycle of the solar disk from the sky towards the earth. This depiction of the deceased and his wife will actually guarantee that they participate in the cyclic rebirth *nHH* of the sun god eternally *D.t*.²⁰

According to Bruyère, the door shown in the Book of the Dead vignette 72 from the tomb of Nakhtamun is believed to be that of the netherworld given to the depiction of god Osiris.²¹ In fact, this representation of Osiris could indicate the dual function of the door as both the eastern and the western gates of the *Axt* where Osiris is residing. The existence of Osiris at the eastern and the western portals of heaven is referred to in the annotations of the Book of Nut which states that the rear and mouth of the goddess are to be similar to the eastern and the western doors of heaven.²² At the mouth of Nut, which is mentioned to be the western door of heaven, the inscriptions refer to the sun god as “*when the incarnation of this god enters is at her first hour of evening, becoming effective again in the embrace of his father Osiris, and becoming purified therein*”. While at the rear of the goddess, which is the eastern door of heaven, the text alludes to the

solar deity as “*he becomes pure in the embrace of his father Osiris, then his father lives, as he becomes effective again through him, as he opens in his splitting, and swims in his redness*”.²³ This motif, besides of assuring that Osiris is present at both the eastern and the western doors of heaven, could also be translated in the terms of *nHH* and *D.t*. Meaning Re is *nHH* and Osiris is *D.t*, they are present together at the eastern and the western doors of heaven, where they meet at the western gate of heaven and separate at the eastern one.

The depiction of the *nHH* pattern is shown on a similar door in the papyrus of Neferrenpet which is decorated with *XAkrrw* motifs on the top followed by repetitive *nHH* signs below in a horizontal way. The deceased is shown striding towards the door while raising his hands in adoration. This portrayal is the vignette of BD chapter 72 where the *nHH* signs are also referring to the unending solar cycles around the door that represents the eastern and western horizons. Comparing this vignette with that one in the tomb of Nakhtamun as well as that of BD chapter 92 from the tomb of Nebmaat, the *D.t* sign is not represented. However, it could be understood that the *D.t* is replaced in here with the netherworld itself revealed in the form of the interior of the tomb door from which *nHH* emerges and born.



Fig. 4: Papyrus of Neferrenpet, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, E. 5043

After: L. Speleers, *Le papyrus de Nefer Rempet: un livre des morts de la XVIIIe dynastie aux Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, pl.12, fig. 25

- ***Rwti*, *nHH* and *D.t*:**

The Doors of Heaven are not only shown in the form of actual doors, but their existence is implied by other depictions like that of the *Rwti* scene in the vignette of the BD chapter 17. According to the annotations that accompany this representation, the two lions are either yesterday and tomorrow or Re and Osiris, thus they are equated with the rising and setting sun from the eastern and western doors of heaven.²⁴ *Rwti* are also assimilated with the two horizon mountains, *mAnw* and *bAXw* that are regarded as the entrances to the eastern and the western horizons of the sky.²⁵ The association of *Rwti* with the gates of the celestial sphere²⁶ could be a result of a play of words²⁷ which is attested as early as the Old Kingdom. In PT §1713, the word for a gate “*rwt*” refers to the portal of Aker,²⁸ the double lion deity equated with *Rwti*,²⁹ who opens for the deceased king so that he could ascend to the sky: “*The earth speaks to you, the gate ‘Rwt’ of Aker opens to you, the doors of Geb are opened to you*”.³⁰ An evidence on the association of *Rwti*, now equated with the doors of heaven, with the two aspects of time; *nHH* and *D.t* comes from the tomb of Neferabu T.T. 5 at Deir El Medina.³¹ The scene shows the two lions seated back to back while supporting the *Axt* sign. The sun disk of the *Axt* sign is enclosing the representation of Re-Horakhty fronted by the cobra wearing the double crown.³² Under the solar disk and between the two lions, the *nHH* sign is inscribed which refers to the cyclic motion of the solar deity between the eastern and the western doors of heaven embodied in the form of the two lions. During the Greek and Roman eras, the *Axt* sign whose disk encloses the figure of Re-Horakhty is read as *nHH*,³³ which expresses the relation between the *nHH* cycle of the sun god to the two mountains of the horizon acting as the doors of heaven.

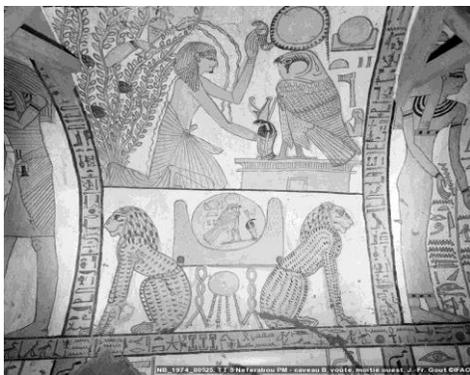


Fig. 5: Second panel on the lower register – western wall – Room B – Tomb of Neferabu, T.T. 5, Deir el Medina

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The two facets of time *nHH* and *D.t* and their relation with the doors of heaven in the form of *Rwti* is also attested in a scene from the 21st Dynasty papyrus of Herweben. It shows the sun god as a child within the *ouroboros* snake received from the top by the two arms and lifted from below by a head of an ox. This representation is fitted between the double lions of the eastern and the western mountains.³⁴ According to Assmann, the serpent whose tail joins its mouth is itself the embodiment of the cyclic continuity *nHH*, which together with the figure of the young solar deity guarantee the continuous rebirth of time.³⁵ While the *ouroboros* snake is equated with the cyclic *nHH*, the sun god shown seated inside is the generator and causer of that recurring eternity. In this case, he could be an equivalent to the figure of the falcon within the solar disk in the *Rwti* attestation from the tomb of Neferabu. Thus, the *nHH* below the *Axt* sign in the Neferabu scene could be paralleled with the *ouroboros* within which the solar child is shown indicating the eternal cycle *nHH* of the sun god between the eastern and the western doors of heaven.



Fig. 6: The *ouroboros* snake enclosing the solar child between the two horizon lions – Papyrus of Herweben A – 21st Dynasty – Egyptian Museum in Cairo SR 19325, TR 14/7/35/6

After: A. Piankoff, N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri, Bollingen Series* 40, (New York, 1957), 22, fig. 3 and pl. 1

The two lions of the eastern and western mountains of the horizon that are now known to be the embodiment of the eastern and the western doors of heaven could themselves be equated with the *nHH* and *D.t*. These aspects of time were considered as the two supports of the sky vault. This idea is assured in the depiction of the personifications of *nHH* and *D.t* in the form of divine male and female figures³⁶ on the shrine of Tutankhamun.³⁷ This depiction is an excerpt from the Book of the Heavenly Cow where the two effigies are mentioned to be “*the two great gods whose name the dead man must know*”.³⁸ According to the CT spell 80, II 28d, within which Atum narrates the creation of the world, he mentions that Shu is *nHH* and Tefnut is *D.t*.³⁹ Because these two deities are assimilated with *Rwti*,⁴⁰ as for example according to the PT spell 301 §447a-b⁴¹ which actually gives justification to the fact that the two lions acting as the doors of the eastern and the western horizons are regarded as Shu and Tefnut, who also act as the personifications of the *nHH* and *D.t*.⁴²

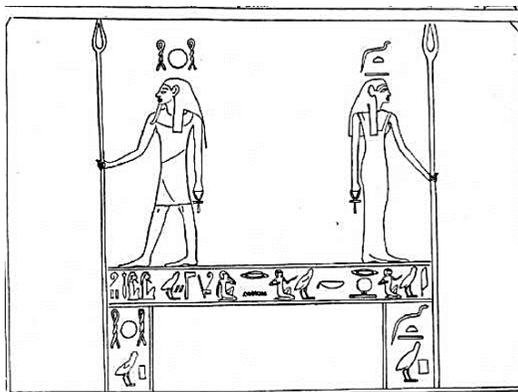


Fig. 7: Representation of the *nHH* and *D.t* as divine male and female figures supporting the sky vault – the first shrine of Tutankhamun – left interior side – 18th Dynasty – the Egyptian Museum – Cairo

After: PIANKOFF, “Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon”, Fascicule Deuxième, *MIFAO* 72 (Cairo, 1951), pl. 1

- **Male and female connotations of the *nHH* and *D.t* and its association with the Doors of Heaven:**

Based on the fact that *nHH* is personified by a male deity while the *D.t* by a female, could imply the idea of the birth of the male *nHH* from the female *D.t* which is another notion related to the eastern door of heaven where the act of birth happens. This actually indicates that the birth of the sun god from the womb of his mother goddess, either the celestial cow, Hathor or Nut,⁴³ is the birth of *nHH* from *D.t*. The womb of this mother goddess is regarded as the eastern gate of the sky, from which the birth of the sun god repeatedly “*nHH*” occurs every morning. As for her mouth, it is regarded as the western door of the sky through which the solar divinity repetitively “*nHH*” enters the netherworld realm. This conception does not actually contradict with the solar-Osirian associations of the *nHH* and *D.t* in terms of the birth of Re as *nHH* from Osiris as *D.t*. Barta, discussed the solar-Osirian unity in terms of the mother-child relationship between Re and Osiris; where Osiris in his mother role actually receives Re in the west, becomes pregnant with him and then gives birth to him in the morning.⁴⁴

- **Conclusion:**

According to the abovementioned discussed examples, the representation of the *nHH* and *D.t* signs on the Doors of Heaven not only refers to the two aspects of time in the ancient Egyptian thought; the cyclic and linear, but also embodies all the necessary aspects of the solar cycle that begins with the entry of the sun god into the western gate of the sky and ends with his rebirth from the eastern one. This is based on the fact that, *nHH* as the embodiment of the day and the solar deity Re, is born from the *D.t* which is equated with the night, the netherworld as well as Osiris. These acts of association between the day and the night as well as Re with Osiris occurred at the portals of the sky, or at the tomb doors assimilated with them. This union between Re and Osiris in their aspects of *nHH* and *D.t*, where they support each other so as to cause everlasting recurrence of rebirths of solar divinity and the continuous victory of Osiris over his enemies. The continuity of life in the ancient Egyptian mind had very much depended on the repetition of cyclic rebirths of the sun god “*nHH*” which would lead to the realization of *mAat* and the destruction of *isft* that is guaranteed at the birth of the sun god from the eastern door of the sky every morning. The gates of the sky themselves could also be embodied in accordance with the *nHH* and *D.t* connotations which appeared in the *Rwti* scenes and in the role of Shu and Tefnut as personifications of both the two lions as well as the two aspects of time. As attested on the first shrine of Tutankhamun, the male and female implications of the *nHH* and *D.t* confirms the notion of the birth of the male *nHH* from the female *D.t*. Whereas the mouth of the female mother goddess “*D.t*” which swallows the solar deity “*nHH*” in the evening is the western door of heaven, while her womb is the eastern one. Thus, the association of the signs and conceptions of the two aspects of time, *nHH* and *D.t*, with the Doors of Heaven, whether the eastern or the western one, is now clearly understood.

* A paper with the title “The Relationship between *nHH* and *D.t* with the Doors of Heaven” was presented by M. Aly in the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities 2020 Scholars’ Colloquium where the researcher included more evidence than those published in the present article.

¹ E. Hornung, 'Time in the Egyptian Netherworld', *CADMO Revista do Instituto Oriental Universidade de Lisboa* 11, (2001), 11; J. Assmann, 'Ewigkeit' in W. Helck, E. Otto, (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, (Wiesbaden, 1977), 47 – 48

² J. Assmann, 'Neheh und Djet: die zwei Gesichter der Zeit', *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* 7, (July 2010), 63-64; J. Assmann, 'Tod und Zeit im Alten Ägypten' in Ch. Voss, L. Engell (eds.), "*Mediale Anthropologie*" *Schriften des Internationalen Kollegs für Kulturtechnikforschung und Medienphilosophie* 23, (Paderborn, 2015), 20-21; J. Assmann, 'Ewigkeit' in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, (Wiesbaden, 1977), 48

³ E. Hornung, 'Time in the Egyptian Netherworld', *CADMO Revista do Instituto Oriental Universidade de Lisboa* 11, (2001), 12-13; E. Hornung, 'Black Holes Viewed From Within: Hell in Ancient Egyptian Thought', *Diogenes Volume 42 Number 165*, (March 1994), 149

⁴ Fr. Servajean, Djet et Neheh: Une Histoire du Temps Égyptien, *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 18, (Montpellier, 2007), 47-51; L. H. Roeten, 'Some Observations on the nHH and D.t « eternity »', *Göttinger Miszellen* 201, (2004), 69-70

⁵ J. Assmann, 'Ouroboros: Der Altägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenlauf' in R. Beil (ed.), *Never ending stories. Der Loop in Kunst, Film, Architektur, Musik, Literatur und Kulturgeschichte*, (Berlin, 2017), 60

⁶ Fr. Servajean, Djet et Neheh: Une Histoire du Temps Égyptien, *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 18, (Montpellier, 2007), 105

⁷ L. H. Roeten, 'Some Observations on the nHH and D.t « eternity »', *Göttinger Miszellen* 201, (2004), 77; for the conception of the end of the universe see the Book of the Dead chapter 175.

⁸ The expression of the Doors of Heaven "aA wy pt" is used to refer to the leaves of the door of the shrine housing the statue of a deity which is incorporated in the title of the priest, the Shrine Opener "wn aA wy pt", entitled with the opening of the shrine at the beginning of the temple service, J. Černý, "Note on aAwy-pt 'Shrine' ", *JEA* 34, (1948), 120. E. Brovarski in his study "The Doors of Heaven", *Orientalia NOVA SERIES Vol. 46, No. 1*, (1977), 107-115, traced the older origins of that term which he proposes it refers to the purification tent within which the body of the deceased is purified prior to his mummification and transition into the realm of the dead. He based his hypothesis on the earliest depiction to this construction found in the mastaba of Mereruka shown in the form of a building whose door leaves are open and topped with the pt sign of the sky which could be read as "aA wy pt". Another recent study that suggests the same interpretation of the purification tent is also made by Sigrid M. van Roode, "De Deuren van de Hemel", *Mehen* 2012, 143-157

⁹ S. Onstine, 'The Relationship between Re and Osiris in the Book of the Caverns', *JSSEA* 25, (1995), 68; R. H. Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic in Ancient Egyptian Art*, (London, 1994), 25

¹⁰ J. Assmann, 'Tod und Zeit im Alten Ägypten' in Ch. Voss, L. Engell (eds.), "*Mediale Anthropologie*" *Schriften des Internationalen Kollegs für Kulturtechnikforschung und Medienphilosophie* 23, (Paderborn, 2015), 21; A. Schweizer, D. Lorton, *The Sungod's Journey throughout the Netherworld: Reading the Ancient Egyptian Amduat*, (Ithaca, 2010), 176-178; J. Assmann, 'Neheh und Djet: die zwei Gesichter der Zeit', *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* 7, (Heidelberg, July 2010), 66; J. Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*, (München, 2003), 39-40; J. Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (Ithaca & London, 2001), 77-78; J. Assmann, 'Ewigkeit' in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der*

Ägyptologie II, (Wiesbaden, 1977), 50; S. Onstine, *JSSEA* 25, (1995), 67; P. A. Pochi, 'Images of Time in Ancient Egyptian Art', *JARCE* 31, (1994), 56

¹¹ S. Quirke, Going out in the Day Light prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translation, sources, meanings, *GHP Egyptology* 20, (London, 2013), 210

¹² The liberation of both the *bA* and *Swt* of the deceased is a necessary step for being able to ascend to the horizon and enter through the sky. This notion is denoted to in the CT 491 which refers to several instances where the *bA* and *Swt* of the deceased are inseparable when the dead enters into the dominion of Re and enters into the celestial realm, so that the dead addresses the guardians as not to cease them so that they are granted the freedom of movement.

¹³ M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches. Texte und Vignetten, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 46, (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), 53-54; PM I, Part 1, 322; Ch., Maystre, Tombes de Deir el-Médineh. La tombe de Nebenmât (N° 219), *MIFAO* 71, (Cairo, 1936), pl. 9

¹⁴ M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches. Texte und Vignetten, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 46, (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), 38; B. Bruyère, Tombes Thébaines de Deir el Médineh a Décoration Monochrome, *MIFAO* 86, (Cairo, 1952), 92; B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924-1925), *FIFAO* 3, (Cairo, 1926), 142

¹⁵ M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches. Texte und Vignetten, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 46, (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), 38

¹⁶ H. Milde, The Vignettes of the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 7, (Leiden, 1991), 140, 140, n. 1; K. Sethe, "Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der Heiligen Orte (Totb. Kap. 107-109. 111-109), Göttinger Totenbuchstudien von 1919.", *ZÄS* 57, (1922), 14

¹⁷ A. Klasens, 'An Amuletic Papyrus of the 25th Dynasty', *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 56, (1975), 27

¹⁸ Ch. Leitz, Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Band VII, *OLA* 116, (Leuven; Paris, 2002), 503

¹⁹ J. Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*, (München, 2003), 41-42

²⁰ Fr. Servajean, Djet et Neheh: Une Histoire du Temps Égyptien, *Orientalia Monspeliensia* 18, (Montpellier, 2007), 106-107

²¹ B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924-1925), *FIFAO* 3, (Cairo, 1926), 142

²² J. P. Allen, 'Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts', in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *Yale Egyptological Studies* 2, (New Haven, 1988), 1; O. NEUGEBAUER, R. A. PARKER, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts. I. The Early Decans*, *Brown Egyptological Studies III*, (London, 1960), 64, 81, pl. 50-51

²³ O. Neugebauer, R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts. I. The Early Decans*, *Brown Egyptological Studies III*, (London, 1960), 48, 62, pls.44, 48-49

²⁴ S. Quirke, Going out in the Day Light prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead: Translation, sources, meanings, *GHP Egyptology* 20, (London, 2013), 55; C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le Sens du Lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, (Leiden, 1951), 126-127

²⁵ D. Kurth, 'Manu' in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, (Wiesbaden, 1980), 1185; E. Otto 'Bachu' in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, (Wiesbaden, 1975), 594; *Rwti* are directly mentioned as *bAXw* and *mAnw* as in T.T. 211 of Paneb, see IFAO Archive database for the private tombs of

Deir

el

Medina

https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/TS_2000_04918.jpg;
Rwti as *bAXw* and *mAnw* are also seen totally replacing the two horizon mountains so that they carry the solar disk itself see de C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le Sens du Lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, (Leiden, 1951), 123, 125-126, 128, 148-149; G. Nagel, 'Un Papyrus Funéraire de la Fin du Nouvel Empire [Louvre 3292 (inv.)]', *BIFAO* 29, (1929), 53, pl. IV

²⁶ C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le Sens du Lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, (Leiden, 1951), 71-73

²⁷ For more information about the 'play of words' in the ancient Egyptian language and its different implications see W. Guglielmi, 'Wortspiel' in W. Helck, E. Otto, (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, (Wiesbaden, 1986), 1287-1291

²⁸ M. F. B. De La Roque, 'Notes sur Aker', *BIFAO* 30, (1930), 575-580

²⁹ E. Hornung, 'Aker' in W. Helck, E. Otto, (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, (Wiesbaden, 1975), 114-115; C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le Sens du Lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, (Leiden, 1951), 91-95, 136

³⁰ E. Hornung, 'Aker' in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, (Wiesbaden, 1975), 114-115; J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, (Leiden, 1960), 117; C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le Sens du Lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, (Leiden, 1951), 93

³¹ W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, *MÄS* 10, (Berlin, 1966), 83-84, Abb.75; J. Vandier, *Tombes de Deir el-Médineh. La tombe de Nefer-Abou*, *MIFA*O 69, (Cairo, 1935), 21-22

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³³ L. Kákósy, 'Zu Einer Etymologie zum Philä: Die «Ensel der Zeit»', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16, (1968), 45, 45, n. 25; *WB II*, 299, 2

³⁴ J. Assmann, 'Ouroboros: The Ancient Egyptian Myth of the Journey of the Sun', *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt* 4, (2019), 26; A. Piankoff, N. Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, *Bollingen Series* 40, (New York, 1957), 73; C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le Sens du Lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, (Leiden, 1951), 128-129

³⁵ J. Assmann, 'Ouroboros: The Ancient Egyptian Myth of the Journey of the Sun', *Aegyptiaca. Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt* 4, (2019), 60-61; J. Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*, (München, 2003), 57-58

³⁶ J. Assmann, 'Ewigkeit' in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, 50; W. Westendorf, 'Zweiheit, Dreiheit und Einheit in der altägyptischen Theologie', *ZÄS* 100, (1974), 137; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, *MÄS* 10, (Berlin, 1966), 17, Abb. 6

³⁷ J. Assmann, "Neheh und Djeter: die zwei Gesichter der Zeit", *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* 7, (Heidelberg, July 2010), 63; J. Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*, (München, 2003), 43; R. H. Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic in Ancient Egyptian Art*, (London, 1994), 129-130; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, *MÄS* 10, (Berlin, 1966), 17, Abb. 6

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