

Notes on the Influence of the Amarna Period on New Kingdom Netherworld Guides: Theology in Theory and Practice*

Hamada Hussein**

University of Sadat City, Egypt

Abstract: The production of funerary literature flourished noticeably in the New Kingdom with several Netherworld guides introduced. The introduction of the Amarna religion by Akhenaten divides these guides into a) pre-Amarna (the Amduat), and b) post-Amarna (the Book of Caverns, and the Book of the Earth). The exact date of the Book of Gates remains controversial. The main purpose of this paper is to figure out any possible changes in two of the post-Amarna books: the Book of Caverns and the Book of Earth. Because an entire comparison of these books is worth a single monograph, I limit myself to three main topics: the use of the term *ntrw* "gods", the Netherworld (*dw3t*), and the effect of prosecuting Re and Osiris by Akhenaten. The term *ntrw*, plural term antithesis to Akhenaten's theology, was aptly used in post-Amarna books under study. Also, following the Amarna interlude. Also, following the Amarna interlude, the West regained its place as in the pre-Amarna books.

Keywords: Netherworld guides, Amarna theology, Re and Osiris, Funerary Literature

Introduction

With the introduction of the New Kingdom, a number of Netherworld guides were introduced. These guides/books deal with several nocturnal themes. First and foremost is the journey of the sun god throughout a series of twelve hours of the night. Otherwise, themes related to the sun god's journey are also included as, for example, the fight against Apophis, Re and Osiris being united. Also, denizens of deities, ontologically distinctive, were also represented. Of these, four New Kingdom books are dealt with herein. Namely, these are: the Book of the Amduat, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns, and, finally, the Book of Earth. The Amduat is first attested in Thutmose I's tomb (KV 38). However, the most complete early version of the Book was first attested in Thutmose III's tomb (KV 34) and in the tomb of the first of his viziers, Useramun (TT61). In these tombs, the hours were distributed according

* I am indebted to my colleague Dr May Farouk, University of Sadat City, for reading and making useful comments on the draft of this paper.

** **Corresponding author: Hamada Hussein** (Ph.D., University of Liverpool, 2019), Department of Tourism Guidance, Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, University of Sadat City, Egypt, hhussein@fth.usc.edu.eg

to the cardinal points where the texts started from the west and ended in the east.¹ Excerpts from the Amduat were used in the tombs of successive rulers. Nevertheless, it is not until the reign of Ramesses VI that a relatively whole version of the Book of Amduat was used again in the Fourth and the Fifth corridors of his tomb. The hours were once again in sequential order as in the tombs of Thutmosis III and Useramun. It is noted, however, that the hours from the Seventh through the Eleventh show transposition and abbreviation while the Twelfth Hour is missing.² The exact date of the Book of Gates is somewhat debatable. An early version, though incomplete, is attested for the first time in the tomb of Haremhab.³ Thematically, the representations of the fight against Apophis shows that a political notion, as I discuss below, was still maintained as in the Amduat and quite antithetical to the Book of the Caverns and Book of Earth which are obviously of a post-Amarna date. The first exemplar of the Book of the Caverns is found in the Osirion at Abydos during the reign of Merenptah.⁴ Two scenes that would later belong to the Book of the Earth appear in the tombs of Merenptah, Tawosret, and Ramesses III, on the left wall of the sarcophagus chamber, where they serve as a counterpart to the concluding representation of the Book of Caverns.⁵ Simultaneous to the composition of these books were the new solar theology and the Amarna religion. I will limit myself only to the latter. Therefore, the following discussion addresses potential influences of the Amarna theology on post-Amarna Netherworld guides. However, inevitably, glimpses of the solar theology will be included in introducing the Amarna theology.

The traditional religion, the pre-Amarna religious conceptions, was characterised by the diversity of its deities. It could even be described as a ‘tolerant religion’.⁶ This tolerance was in part outlined by what Frankfort envisaged as a principal “multiplicity of approaches” which characterised not only religion of ancient Egypt but also many other religions.⁷ In the Eighteenth Dynasty, possibly simultaneous to the composition of the Amduat, the major religion discourse, outside the temples inner walls, was of a solar nature.⁸ The tombs’ walls, stelae and statues preserve numerous hymns which differ significantly. While some were standard, others were perhaps new compositions compiled for the situations from which we know these hymns.⁹ The majority of these hymns invoke Amun-Re rather than the sun god Re.¹⁰ Although this might suggest a Theban influence, the fact that Amun was the “state deity” who was widely worshipped explains the use of hymns similar to his in the cult of many other gods.¹¹ By the time the reign of Amenhotep III ended, the cult of numerous deities was solarised. Besides, Re’s cult, as evident from the sun hymns, was privileged with an increasing interest.¹² The sun god was presented as a supreme deity who was obviously set apart from the rest of the gods who were envisaged as part of his primeval creation together

¹ The small size of the walls in the tomb of Useramun, however, entailed a change in the distribution, see Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 28.

² Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 30.

³ Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 55.

⁴ Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 83.

⁵ Hornung, *Books of the Afterlife*, 95, on the dating of the New Kingdom afterlife Books linguistically, see Werning, in: Moers (ed.), *Dating Literary Texts*, 237-281.

⁶ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 277.

⁷ Frankfort et al., in: *Before Philosophy*.

⁸ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 277.

⁹ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 277.

¹⁰ Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*.

¹¹ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 277.

¹² Redford, *Akhenaten*, 170-171.

with men as well as animals.¹³ The stela of the twin Suty and Hor, perhaps from the men's tombs, exemplifies this new solar theology.¹⁴ It preserves a hymn which praises the sun disc and describes him as "one who created everyone and created their livelihood."¹⁵ In addition, Thutmosis IV identified the sun disc on one of his commemorative scarabs as "the giver of victory in battle."¹⁶ Besides, Amenhotep III bore the epithet "Nebmare (i.e. Amenhotep III) Is-the-Dazzling-Sun-Disc", which was introduced and used in the royal palace on the West Bank at Thebes and for the royal bark.¹⁷ These might have stood as precursors for the religion founded by Amenhotep IV whose reign witnessed drastic changes in terms of administration and religion. These changes started in the fifth year of his reign.¹⁸ The capital, for example, was moved from Thebes to Akhetaten.¹⁹ A new style of art, a new iconography, a new architecture of the temple, a new cult with different ceremonies, as well as a new written language were introduced.²⁰ In the religious sphere, Akhenaten introduced an understanding which was divergent from the conception of the traditional religion.²¹ These can be summarised as follows: only the sun god, designated in the religion of Akhenaten as Aten,²² often left without translation,²³ was the protagonist of Akhenaten's religion.²⁴ Aten had neither mythology²⁵ nor genealogy.²⁶ He was, however, identified as the creator,²⁷ whose nature appeared in light.²⁸ A speech by the deity did not exist.²⁹ The king's discourse to deities was changed into hymns.³⁰ The god's epithet was written in cartouches.³¹ After the early months of Akhenaten's reign, Aten was no longer represented in an anthropomorphic form.³² Rather, he was depicted as a sun disc from which hands ending with the *ankh*-sign were suspending towards the royal couple. While seeing the god of the Amarna religion was accessible for everyone, the knowledge of the god, who is not presented as speaking to mankind,³³ became a privilege which only the king enjoyed.³⁴ The related texts read: "He is in our sight, but we do not know his body",³⁵ and also "You are in their sight, but no one can

¹³ Van Dijk, in: *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 273.

¹⁴ Baines, in: Pongratz-Leisten (ed.), *Reconsidering the concept of revolutionary monotheism*, 58-59.

¹⁵ Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, no. 89.

¹⁶ Redford, *Akhenaten*, 171.

¹⁷ Redford, *Akhenaten*, 171.

¹⁸ Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 165.

¹⁹ Redford, *Akhenaten*, 142; Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 145.

²⁰ Assmann, *Search for God*, 209.

²¹ Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 145; Redford, *Akhenaten*, 169.

²² On the early name of Aten; *R^c hr 3hty m 3ht m rn=f m šw nty m itn* "Re-Harakhty who rejoice in his horizon in his name of light which is in his disc (Aten)" used by Amenhotep IV, see Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 82.

²³ Redford, *Akhenaten*, 170.

²⁴ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 281.

²⁵ Redford, *Akhenaten*, 169.

²⁶ Assmann, *Search for God*, 211.

²⁷ Krauss, *BACE* 11 (2000), 93.

²⁸ Assmann, *Search for God*, 211.

²⁹ Baines, in: Porter, B. N. (ed.), *One God or Many?*, 60. This was an image of the god which was completely different in the case of Amun was a god who speaks, see Assmann, *Search for God*, 218.

³⁰ Baines, in: *One God or Many?*, 60.

³¹ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*,

³² Redford, *Akhenaten*, 169.

³³ Allen, in: *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, 92.

³⁴ Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 160.

³⁵ Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten*, 89. II, 14-15; I here follow the translation of Assmann, *Search for God*, 205.

know your passage.”³⁶ This was an obvious difference of the conceptions of both religions. In pre-Amarna funerary texts, the voice of the sun god caused the Underworld beings to breathe. For example, a relevant text in the Amduat reads: *ḥḥ=sn m ḥrw ntr pn ʿ3 srq ḥtwt=sn ḏwi=f sn* “They live through this great god’s voice. Their throats breathe when he calls upon them.”³⁷ In the religion of Akhenaten, seeing was envisaged as the means through which life was given.³⁸ In terms of regio-political conceptions, Akhenaten’s new religion revolved around the god and the king, the king first then the god.³⁹ Aten was recognised as Akhenaten’s mythical father to legitimise his rule.⁴⁰ The new solar theology and the Amarna Period are uneven both temporally and in their influence. The new solar theology was a requisite for the Amarna Religion to emerge. Without the former, which can be envisaged as a cognitive revolution, the Amarna religion would not be possible. The stela of Suty and Hor was seen to have paved the way for the Amarna religion.⁴¹ Besides, the Amarna Religion was abandoned after the death of its founder.⁴² Also, the Amarna religion found no interest among the officials and people especially after his death.⁴³ However, a cognitive revolution, as in the case of the new solar theology, cannot be undone. After the Amarna Period, the new solar theology, in theology and religious view, continued to be as a decisive aspect.⁴⁴

That said, I approach three main topics that were touched upon by the Amarna theology, as the use of *ntrw* “gods” which obviously denotes multiplicity, or because of it, as the ‘persecution’ of major deities: Re and Osiris in principle.

1. The term *ntrw* “gods.”
2. Persecution of Gods; Osiris, Re and others.
3. *ḏw3t* in the Amarna Period.

***ntrw*, Term and Representations**

The Amarna texts, apart from the epithets of particular deities, did not use the plural term *ntrw* “gods.”⁴⁵ The term was no longer mentioned as it would be in pre-Amarna time; an intentional avoidance which was interpreted by Assmann as a “negative means.”⁴⁶ Further, the plural term *ntrw*, especially when associated with Amun,⁴⁷ was erased.⁴⁸ That is not to say, however, that in other contexts where Amun’s name was absent that the word *ntrw* was nor effaced.⁴⁹ The erasure of the term could be exemplified by a scene at Amada temple, an epitome which furnishes examples that well illustrate Akhenaten’s hostility towards the term *ntrw*.⁵⁰ In this scene, Amun is represented while being offered to by Amenhotep II. The figure

³⁶ Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, no. 92. 1, 26.

³⁷ Hornung, *Das Amdut* I, 33.

³⁸ See the discussion below under ‘Sun god and his entourage’.

³⁹ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 281. Assmann classifies the religion of Akhenaten as a ‘secondary religion’, see Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 145.

⁴⁰ Krauss, *BACE* 11 (2000), 93.

⁴¹ Baines, in: Pongratz-Leisten (ed.), *Reconsidering the concept of revolutionary monotheism*, 59.

⁴² Assmann, *Search for God*, 205. See the discussion below on the aftermath after the Amarna Period.

⁴³ Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 244.

⁴⁴ Assmann, *Search for God*, 205.

⁴⁵ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 248 in the German version.

⁴⁶ Assmann, in: *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 146.

⁴⁷ Amun was the only deity to whom the 18th dynasty rulers owed their successful military campaigns and thus booty was piled at his feet by them, see Redford, *Akhenaten*, 158.

⁴⁸ Assmann, *Search for God*, 199.

⁴⁹ Der Manuelian, in: Teeter and Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise*, 290.

⁵⁰ Bickel, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben*, 9-13.

of Amun as well as the epithet identifying him as *nswt-ntrw* “king-of-gods” were erased.⁵¹ Curiously enough, above the king, the term *ntrw* which was written to signify him as “protector-of-gods” was left in place. Indeed, nowhere at the Amada temple, except when associated with Amun, was the term *ntrw* chased by Akhenaten’s, using Assmann’s term, ‘militia’.⁵² Also at Amada the name of Nekhbet, a deity of the Third Upper Egyptian nome,⁵³ was erased. Although rubbing *ntrw* out could truly have denounced such category to “nonexistence”,⁵⁴ it is noted that the reality of the members of this group was not perhaps denied. Otherwise, the basic structure of beliefs would not have basically changed.⁵⁵ To put it in a cruder way, I quote a text that was inscribed on the boundary stelae of Akhenaten and marked the foundation of the new city, Akhetaten, that implies Akhenaten’s ‘acceptance’ of any god whether ‘male’ or ‘female’.⁵⁶ Akhenaten, who stated that the city was built for the worship of the sun disc, further explained his choice of the city site “when it did not belong to a god, nor to a goddess; when it did not belong to a male ruler, nor a female ruler; when it did not belong to any people to do their business with it.”⁵⁷ Also, on a representational level, a scene at the temple of Amada shows Amenhotep II in front of Amun and Hathor. The image of Hathor was left untouched. The figure of Amun, however, was partly destroyed where the torso was hacked out while the rest of the body showing Amun wearing a kilt was not. The hacked area was then smoothed with plaster. After that, the removed part was replaced with an upper body representing the falcon-headed deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.⁵⁸

Persecution of Gods; Osiris, Re and Others

Neither Re nor Osiris seem to have been persecuted in the same way as Amun. At Amada, after erasing the name of Amun in the epithet Amun-Re, Re’s name was left. The epithet was therefore read as ‘Re, King of gods’, and ‘Re, Chief of the gods’.⁵⁹ Osiris’ name was rubbed out from some monuments and objects.⁶⁰ However, there are other examples at our disposal which show that the name of Osiris or a depiction of him beside those of Amun were left unimpaired while the latter’s were erased.⁶¹ Suffice it to refer to a vessel found in a pit in El-Amarna related to the magazines of the royal estates. On this vessel, there is an inscription of the name as well as the epithets of Hatshepsut, an earlier ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty. All the occurrences of the name of Amun which form part of Hatshepsut’s throne name, *hnmt-imn h3t-špswt*, were erased. The name of Osiris, however, was left untouched.⁶² Akhenaten’s persecution against Osiris seems to have been spatially limited to Osiris’s representations in the Theban temples while Osiris and his cult were not affected elsewhere by Akhenaten’s movement.⁶³ Therefore, it could be safely concluded that persecuting traditional gods by

⁵¹ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 272.

⁵² Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 145; Krauss, *BACE* 11 (2000), 93. Der Manuelian discusses the level of literacy of Akhenaten’s agents who were sent to erase the plural term *ntrw*, see Der Manuelian, in Teeter and Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise*, 290.

⁵³ Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, 213-215.

⁵⁴ Hornung, *Conceptions of Gods*, 172-184.

⁵⁵ Baines, in: *One God or Many?*, 61.

⁵⁶ Krauss, *BACE* 11 (2000), 96.

⁵⁷ Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period*, 75.

⁵⁸ This was a composite funerary deity who combined Ptah’s features with those of the falcon god Sokar and Osiris, see Wilkinson, *Complete Gods and Goddesses*, 34 and 125.

⁵⁹ Krauss, *BACE* 11 (2000), 93.

⁶⁰ See Der Manuelian, in Teeter and Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise*, 289, especially n.11. For the existence of traces of Aten’s cult in the cult centre of Osiris, see Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 170.

⁶¹ Smith, *Following Osiris*, 278.

⁶² Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, 167; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 278.

⁶³ Krauss, *BACE* 11 (2000), 96.

Akhenaten could be taken as an indication to Akhenaten's intolerance and discomfort of the gods and other supernatural entities who were condemned.⁶⁴ However, Akhenaten, without apparently having a personal interest, might have accepted some deities in certain context. The depiction of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris at Amada serving the funerary cult of his deified father Amenhotep III is an obvious example.⁶⁵

Netherworld in the Amarna Period

Although a mention of the Netherworld (*dw3t*) does not exist in the Amarna hymns,⁶⁶ belief in the beyond clearly continued to exist in the course of the Amarna Period.⁶⁷ However, some differences between traditional religion and that of Amarna can be outlined. The Aten, envisaged as a deity of life-giving light, was absent during the night. We are left with the speculation about where he was thought to go. The texts from Amarna give vague indications about night which makes it difficult to make a clear conclusion. Few conclusions, however, can be deduced from the texts. For example, the dead were simply thought to be sleep. The dead were therefore no longer thought to be in the Beautiful-West as in the pre-Amarna religion.⁶⁸ In traditional religion, darkness and death were considered as positive and necessary state of regeneration. These conceptions were avoided in the Amarna religion. The *ba* concept was maintained in the Amarna Period.⁶⁹ The deceased, represented as a *ba*, was shown coming forth from his tomb addressed the sun god as: "O living Aten, ... may you grant to come forth in the morning from the Netherworld (*dw3t*) to behold Aten when he rises, every day without ceasing."⁷⁰ The tombs were not located in the west anymore. Rather, they were placed in the east, where the sun rises. Finally, morning, the time when the Aten rose, marked the resurrection of the dead.⁷¹

The Aftermath Following the Amarna Period

The Amarna period lasted merely twenty years.⁷² It was not long enough to build up and maintain a textual record of its own.⁷³ As a result, we have only few hymns extant from that period. The most famous of these are the 'Greater' and 'Shorter' Hymns which were composed by Akhenaten to the deity.⁷⁴ The changes initiated by Akhenaten were soon taken apart.⁷⁵ For example, Akhenaten's siblings abandoned the name Aten in their personal names.⁷⁶ More significantly, the traditional religion was quickly restored.⁷⁷ Osiris regained his

⁶⁴ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 277.

⁶⁵ Krauss, *BACE* 11 (2000), 95.

⁶⁶ Assmann, in: *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 145; Redford, *Akhenaten*, 169.

⁶⁷ Ockinga, in: Beness (ed.), *Ancient History*, 16-37.

⁶⁸ In Book of the Dead, Chapter 32, for example, the deceased says that he was given the "Beautiful West": *rdi.n=f n=i imntt twy nfrt* "He has given to me? (the) Beautiful West", see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 100.

⁶⁹ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*, 156-159.

⁷⁰ Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, 58, line 8. This text is not to be confused with the statement about absence of *dw3t* in the Amarna Hymns above where the latter represents a formal attitude of the Amarna theology while the former represents a 'personal' attitude.

⁷¹ Van Dijk, in: Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 274-275.

⁷² Redford, *Akhenaten*, 172.

⁷³ Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 145.

⁷⁴ Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 145; Assmann, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light*, 79.

⁷⁵ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 272.

⁷⁶ Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, 244.

⁷⁷ See Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 146 where he discusses the "crisis of polytheism" and the "return to orthodoxy" represented in the Ramesside Theology. Eaton-Krauss, in Hawas (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, 194-202 discusses the restoration and erasures in the period following the Amarna period.

role as a manifestation of Re and his role in the hereafter amplified remarkably as compared to pre-Amarna times.⁷⁸ One, however, wonders if the deep scars caused by the Amarna movement were completely recovered.⁷⁹ First, I shed light on a fundamental difference between the Amduat on one hand and the Book of Caverns and the Book of Earth on the other. There is a tendency in the Books of Caverns and Book of Earth to represent the enemies, apart from Apophis, than in the Amduat. In the Amduat, only the Fifth and the Seventh Hours have depictions of annihilated enemies. In the Book of Caverns as well as in the Book of Earth, not only the representations of the punished figures were frequently depicted but also the epithets that signified them vary. They are identified in the Book of Caverns as, for example, *htmyw* “destroyed ones”, *hsqyw* “beheaded ones”, *hryw* “felled ones”, *shdyw* “overturned ones”, *nttyw* “bound ones”, *snfyw* “bleeding ones”, *šdiw h3tyw* “ones with hearts taken out”, *š6tw t nnt 6wy* “Slaughtered ones with arms turned around”, *i3tyw* “mutilated ones”, *gbyw* “weakened ones”, *dm3yw* “cut off ones”. In the Book of Earth, the term *hmy* “demolished one” was employed to signify the bound figures whom the punishment befalls. It is doubtful that all the transformations in the afterlife thoughts introduced in the Amarna Period continued to exist in the post-Amarna Afterlife Books. The West was again the place where the dead were: *iw=i rf 6q=i m imnt imyw=s h6w m hsfw=i* “I enter the West, so that those who are in it are pleased at my approach.”⁸⁰ Besides, when the sun god addresses the *s3w-t3* “Sons-of-the-Earth” snakes in the Book of Caverns, he says that he rests in the Beautiful-West in order to create their slaughterhouses for them (*htp=i m imnt-nftr r shpr nmwt=sn r=sn*).⁸¹ There is also no reasoning to assume that neither Akhenaten’s negative attitude, by not mentioning, nor his hostility, by hacking out, towards the term *ntrw* had an impact on the post-Amarna afterlife books. The term was often used in the Book of Caverns and more frequently in the Book of Earth. To exemplify, in the Book of Earth, the figures *n(y)-hsqw*, *3-hsqw*, *imy-hsqw* and *š6ty*, whose epithets are basically functional and do not denote a theological status, are all identified as *ntrw*. However, the political notion of the solar cycle seen in the traditional religion, exemplified by Apophis, was lost in the Amarna Period. Akhenaten’s religion was not concerned with the concept of evil as much as kingship.⁸² Thus, no enemy opposed Aten in his daily journey. The cycle of the sun over the sky, in the traditional religion, is characterised by applying the rule and justice. In the pre-Amarna religious conceptions, this was expressed in Re’s victory as well as his entourage over Apophis. In the hymn of Akhenaten, this image was changed,⁸³ where, instead, the Amarna religion envisaged the world positively.⁸⁴ It was a world that needed not to be ruled in a context of a fight between order and chaos but, simply, to be kept alive.⁸⁵ The sun rays, to the will of the king, embraced all the lands.⁸⁶ The cycle of the sun, therefore, contented itself with performing for the men: (*n=sn*, *n ib=sn*, *n mrwt=sn*).⁸⁷ This was a serious change in the theme which would have an impact on the Egyptian notions of kingship, state as well as political action.⁸⁸ By means of comparison between the fight against Apophis in the Amduat,

⁷⁸ Van Dijk, in: Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 288.

⁷⁹ Van Dijk, in: Shaw (ed.), *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 287.

⁸⁰ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), pl.IX.

⁸¹ Piankoff, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), pl.IX.

⁸² Baines, in: *One God or Many?*, 61.

⁸³ Assmann, in: *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 149.

⁸⁴ It was a world which was “toute beauté, toute sécurité”, see Vernus and Yoyotte, *Les pharaons: les noms, les thèmes, les lieux*.

⁸⁵ Assmann, in: *Philosophy and Religion*, 66.

⁸⁶ Assmann, in: *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 149.

⁸⁷ Assmann, *Solar Religion*, 118-123.

⁸⁸ Assmann, in *Proceeding of the Israel Academy*, 149.

which is of a pre-Amarna date, and Book of the Gates, potentially dating to the same period, on the one hand and the Book of the Caverns and the Book of Earth, of a post-Amarna time, on the other, a distinction is made clear. In the Amduat, although Apophis is represented only once, a range of several deities oppose him. In the Seventh Hour, for example, Isis, the Eldest-Magician (*hk3-smw*) and a host of other minor deities repel Apophis. In the following hours, mention is made about Apophis being repelled in the intense darkness (*kkw sm3w*) as in the Tenth Hour or in the East of the Sky as in the Twelfth Hour. These deities are represented with various iconographies and brandishing numerous possessions: arrows, bows, spears, and oars. In the Book of Gates, Apophis, represented twice, is repelled by *psdt-R* in the Third Hour and by the deities *s3yw*, *s3yt* and *hryw-mdw-hk3w* in the Tenth Hour. In the Third Hour, council of the gods are humanoids. In the Tenth Hour, the deities, wielding nets, and spears, are represented as baboons, female and male figures. In the Book of Earth, there is only one representation of Apophis. The scene represents three ram-headed deities. These are designated “Extender-of-Apophis” (*3wy-n-3pp*), and the other deities are identified as “He-who-destroys-his-ba” (*htm-b3=f*). No major deity is included. Besides, the repelling of Apophis by means of magic which was well attested in the Amduat, as well as in the Book of Gates, is missing in the Book of Earth. Further, in the Book of Caverns, the fight against Apophis is not mentioned. Only in the Sixth Division a decapitated human figure is identified as *3pp* “Apophis.”

Sun God and his Entourage

The sun god, both in traditional religion and that of Akhenaten, was acted on as much as acting.⁸⁹ The cycle of the sun could be envisaged as a network of associated activities where the sun god’s role was both active and passive, transitive and intransitive.⁹⁰ The beings surrounding him repelled his enemies for him and supported his existence.⁹¹ They appeared in many manifestations pertinent to time of day and night and other elements.⁹² Both the new solar theology and the Amarna religion had a viewpoint which was different from that of the traditional religion. The deity of the Amarna Religion took the place of not only major deities as Amun or Re but rather of the entire divine realm.⁹³ Only the cobra which symbolised the solar eye and was represented suspending from the sun disc was maintained. Uraei appeared on the disk of the Aten as well as on the crowns of the king and the queen.⁹⁴ In the Amduat, punishing deities had cosmic roles. In the Third Hour, for example, the upper register shows a range of divine beings. To these, the text ascribes a cosmic role:

<i>irt=sn pw m imnt nd sbiw</i>	What they do is to grind the rebels,
<i>shpr nww irt nmtt h3pi</i>	and to bring Nun into being, to make the movement of the Nile.
<i>prr d3 m t3 hr=sn</i>	The wind come forth from the earth under them. ⁹⁵

In the Amarna religion, however, the Nile, on which the Egyptians lived, was placed in the

⁸⁹ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 281.

⁹⁰ Assmann, *Search for God*, 207.

⁹¹ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 281.

⁹² Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 281.

⁹³ Assmann, *Search for God*, 210.

⁹⁴ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 281.

⁹⁵ Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, 47.

sky by the god in the form of rain.⁹⁶ The notion of wind also underwent changes in the Amarna religion. In the Shorter Hymn we read: “The sight of your rays is the breath of life in their noses.”⁹⁷ It was also a central feature of the new solar theology that it avoided the mythical role of the beings surrounding the sun god in his cycle. The entourage of the sun god was eschewed in the new solar theology. Besides, the world of creation was demythologised. Rather, it focused on the sun god.⁹⁸

Conclusion

The traditional religion and the Amarna theology are unmistakably distinctive. The radical changes caused by the Amarna theology and the extent to which it might have had influence on the Netherworld guides were dealt with. The antagonistic behaviour of Akhenaten and his religious views seem to have no great influence on these guides. The term *ntrw* “gods”, especially when associated with Amun, survived, and was aptly used in the Netherworld guides that follow the Amarna interlude. Also, the dramatic changes brought about by the Amarna conception of night and other conceptions associated with it, were clearly disregarded in the post-Amarna books. It is also noteworthy that representations of enemies were seen more often in the post-Amarna books than in pre-Amarna ones.

Bibliography

- Allen, J.P., *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, Yale Egyptological Studies 3, 1989.
- Assmann, J., ‘Akhanyati's Theology of Light and Time’, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* VII (1992), 143-176.
- Assmann, J., *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete: Übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet*. Freiburg, Switzerland/Göttingen, Germany: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 1999.
- Assmann, J., *Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, New York, 1995.
- Assmann, J., *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, translated by David Lorton, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Baines, J., “Egyptian Deities in Context: Multiplicity, Unity and the Problem of Change,” in: B.N. Porter (ed.), *One God or Many? Conception of the Divine in the Ancient World*, vol. 1, New York: Transactions of the Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 1997.
- Baines, J., “Presenting and Discussing Deities in New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period,” in: B. Pongratz-Leisten (ed.), *Reconsidering the concept of revolutionary monotheism*, Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- Baines, J., “The Dawn of the Amarna Age,” in: O'Connor, David Cline, Eric H. (eds.), “Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign”, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1998, 271-312.

⁹⁶ Assmann, *Search for God*, 212.

⁹⁷ see Assmann, *Search for God*, 213, especially n.78.

⁹⁸ Baines, in: *Amenhotep III*, 281.

- Bickel, S., *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben. (Teil) 3: Tore und andere wiederverwendete Bauteile Amenophis' III*, Steiner, Franz, Stuttgart, 1997.
- Budge, E.A.W., *The Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum*, New York, 1967.
- Der Manuelian, P., "Semi-Literacy in Egypt: Some Erasures from the Amarna Period," in: F. Wente, E. Teeter and J.A. Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1999.
- Dijk, J.V., "The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352-1069 BC)," in: Shaw, Ian (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, 272-313.
- Frankfurt, H., Wilson, John A. Jacobsen, Thorkild, *Before Philosophy. The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man. A study of primitive myths, beliefs and speculations of Egypt and Mesopotamia*, Harmondsworth, 1949.
- Hoffmeier, James K., *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2015.
- Hornung E., *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, translated from German by David Lorton, Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press. 1999.
- Krauss, R., "Akhenaten: monotheist? Polytheist?," *BACE* 11 (2000), 93-101.
- Murnane, W. J., *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia, 1994.
- Ockinga, B., "The Non-Royal Concept of the Afterlife in Amarna," in: J. Lea Beness (ed.), *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers. Studies in Honor of Margaret Parker*, vol. 38 No. 1-2008, Macquire Ancient History Association, 16-37.
- Piankoff, A., "Le livre des Quererets," *BIFAO* 41, Le Caire, 1942, 1-11.
- Redford, Donald B., *Akhenaten, the Heretic King*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1984.
- Sandman, M., *Texts from the time of Akhenaten*, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles, 1938.
- Smith, M., *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Vernus, P., Yoyotte, J., *Les Pharaons. Les noms - les thèmes - les lieux*: Paris, 1988.
- Werning, D., 'Linguistic dating of the Netherworld Books attested in the New Kingdom. A critical review' in: Moers, G., Giewekemeyer, Antonia; Lümers, Arndt; Ernst, Ralf (eds.), "Dating Egyptian Literary Texts", Hamburg 2013, 237-281.
- Wilkinson, R.H., *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2003.
- Žabkar, L. V., *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, Chicago, 1968.