

Terms of Deprivation of Liberty in Spell 23 of the Coffin Texts

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Abstract: This paper deals with the deprivation of liberty terms that occurred in spell 23 of the Coffin Texts, their context, significance, and attestation on various occasions in funeral literature. This spell which developed to be BD 169 in the New Kingdom, expressed the fear of the deceased whether of being fettered or constrained or even executed and put sand over his face in the realm of the dead. In this spell, several terms were connected with the idea of not being imprisoned, the liberty of the deceased and his capacity to move without obstacles. The current paper also aims to analyze the variety of using these terms and the difference in their significance in the current context of the spell 23 and other contexts, with particular focus on the terms *ddh*, *hnr*, *int*, *s3.w*.

Keywords: Coffin texts - Spell 23 – Liberation – Deprivation – guarding – Imprisonment – Fetter – Evil - Condemned.

مصطلحات تقييد الحرية في التعويذة ٢٣ من نصوص التوابيت

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المخلص: تتناول هذه الورقة البحثية مصطلحات تقييد الحرية التي ظهرت في التعويذة ٢٣ من نصوص التوابيت، سياقها، ودلالاتها، وظهورها في مناسبات مختلفة في الأدب الجنائزي. عبّرت هذه التعويذة - والتي تطورت لتكون الفصل ١٦٩ من كتاب الموتى في الدولة الحديثة- عن خوف المتوفى سواء من تقييده أو حبسه أو إعدامه ووضع الرمال على وجهه في مملكة الموتى. في هذه التعويذة ارتبطت العديد من المصطلحات بفكرة عدم حبس المتوفى، حرية المتوفى وقدرته على الحركة بدون عوائق. كما تهدف الورقة الحالية أيضًا إلى تحليل التنوع في استخدام هذه المصطلحات، والاختلاف في دلالاتها في السياق الحالي للتعويذة ٢٣ وفي سياقات مختلفة، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على المصطلحات *ddh*, *hnr*, *int*, *s3.w*.

الكلمات الدالة: نصوص التوابيت - التعويذة ٢٣ - الحرية - الحرمان - الحراسة - السجن - التقييد - الشر - المُدانون.

Introduction:

When death sets in, the body stiffens and one cannot move anymore or go where he wants, this is the cause of considering death as a being fettered or imprisonment. The transformation and capacity to assume various forms were the medium of the deceased's liberty of movement between the realm of the dead and the new life on earth. These ideas have occupied a large space in funeral literature from an early period and later in the Book of Going Forth by day which was not a reference to a unique occasion of salvation from the world of death but to the daily preoccupation of the deceased with the liberty of movement between the realms of the death and life¹. In the opening of the mouth ceremonies, the women lament the sad fate of the deceased in which he lies down stiff and cannot move anymore, "he who was rich in garments, who liked to wear, now lies down in garments of yesterday"².

In the funerary literature, there are numerous indications that the dead feel worried as they will be deprived of their liberty of action or that it will be taken away from them through different demons or even Apophis. This liberty is represented in several concepts, occasions, and situations which the deceased meets during his journey to eternity. In these texts, the dead conceived his realm as a prison and dream of getting the liberty to the essential elements of his personality, for example, his *hꜣ* must be able to function freely and not be fettered to ensure getting the food and necessity needs³. While the positive concepts of depriving of liberty were shown in the context of confronting Apophis, the main symbol of evil and the head of all rebellion against the god Re, in this case, Apophis and all enemies of Re must be imprisoned and confined, the same thing also occurred with the sinners and tomb robbers who must be imprisoned and put in the iron⁴. Several passages, spells, and expressions that refer to imprisonment or bound were used in the previous contexts⁵.

Spell CT 23 and its context:

This spell is classified as one of the stanzas dealing with the deceased's Liberation and Equipment. The first sub-stanza includes spells (CT 21-27) and deals with the Liberation of the deceased from all bonds and fetters. The second sub-stanza includes spells (CT28-34) and deals with Equipment for going to court⁶.

¹ Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Translated by David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 214-215.

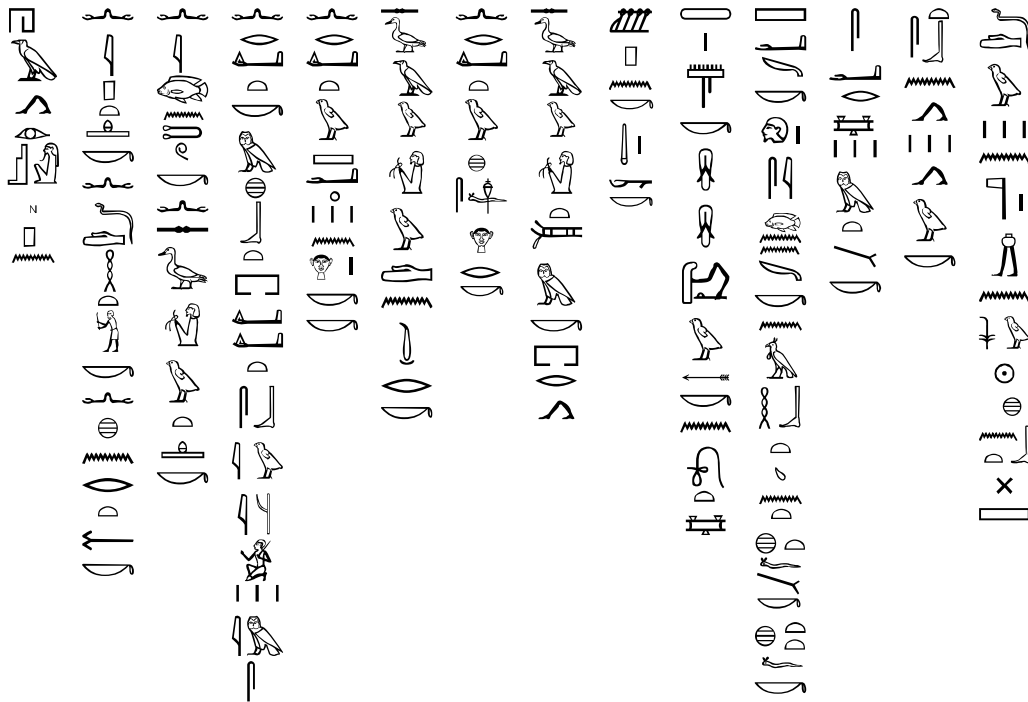
² Erich Lüddeckens, "Untersuchungen über Religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der Ägyptischen Totenklagen", *MDAIK* 11 (1943): 112.

³ This idea had been developed to represent vignettes of specific chapters of the Book of the Dead, cf. Irmtraut Munro, "The significance of the Book of the Dead Vignettes", in *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in ancient Egypt*, *OIMP* 39, ed. Foy Scalf, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017), 49-51.

⁴ Jan Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 125.

⁵ Cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 78ff.

⁶ Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 1: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002), 138ff; Jan Assmann, "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies", in *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim I*, ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll, (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1990), 15-18.



70a *h3 wsir N pn* **70b** *n ipt(w).k, n ddh.t(w).k, n hnr.t(w).k,* **70c** *n int(.tw).k, n s3.t(w).k n* **70d** *rd.t(w).k m hbt dd.t sbi.w im.s,* **71a** *n rd.tw šc n hr.k* **71b** *s3.w wdn r.k* **71c** *n rd.tw hsf hr.k,* **71d** *s3.w tm.k pr,* **71h** *šsp n.k mdw.k* **72a** *d3iw.k tbtwy.k ḥ3w.k n w3t,* **72b** *š ʿ.k tp sin.n.k nhbt nt hft.k hftt.k,* **72c** *š ʿrw mt.k,* **73a** *stbn.w iw(t).k,* **73b** *dd.w n ntr in sw hrw hbnt.*¹

“Ho N. behold, thou shalt not be examined, thou shalt not be arrested, thou shalt not be imprisoned, thou shalt not be chained, thou shalt not be kept, thou shalt not be put into the place of execution where we usually put the rebels; no sand will be placed before you, taking care that it does not weigh on you; we didn't put any barrier in front of you, taking care that you couldn't get out. You took your staff, your bundle, your sandals, and your road weapons, to cut off the heads and cut the necks of your enemies who brought your death closer, who hastened your coming, who told the god: Bring him, the day of the accusation²”.

First, noteworthy that the copies of the spell vary considerably in their vocabulary words. Several versions are completely inconsistent. In 70b, versions of T9C and BH5C only mentioned *n ipt n hnr*, while T1C only used *n ipt.k*. In 70c, the version of T1L mentioned *n int.k n ddh.k* “may you will not be fettered may you will not be imprisoned”. In T1C: *n s3.k n int.k* may you will not put under guard may you will not be fettered”, while B4C mentioned *mnyt* corruptly for *n int*.

These verses negate an aspect of death that has been aptly referred to as being bound and imprisoned³. Mummy bandages and hermetically sealed coffin chambers can act as

¹ CT I, 70a-73b.

² FCT I, 14; Paul Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1986), 168f; Claude Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien, vol. 1 spells 1-354* (Paris: Éditions du Rocher, 2004), 34-35.

³ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 78ff.

shackles and dungeons; therefore, this effect must be explicitly negated. This passage goes particularly far in the lexical development of this idea¹.

The matter of this spell, which is classified as the earlier source of BD 169 in the New Kingdom², is not the transition of the deceased through the realm of the dead and into heaven but rather his going out by day and his visit to his tomb and offerings every day. The tomb has not to restrict him, the earth has not to weigh on him, and thugs of Osiris, who protect Osiris and keep evil away from the dead' realm, have not to arrest him and take him off to the place of execution. The theme is not an issue of the Judgment of the Deceased but of the dangers in the underworld, dangers to which the dead remains exposed, despite the fact that he was vindicated in the Judgment and gained a transfigured ancestral spirit³.

Although there are several expressions that deal with the idea of imprisonment in CT 23, the current paper will only focus on the four terms *ddh*, *hnr*, *int*, *s3.w*. The expression *rdi m hbt* “give to the place of execution” has been discussed before⁴.

Terms of Deprivation of Liberty:

1. *Int*: 

Although the word *int* means “to put in irons” or to “fetter”⁵, the verb is derived from the word *ntt* “to attach” or “to tie”, which is found in civil texts from the Old Kingdom and it was used as a designation of the rope and more particularly, in the oldest texts⁶. The word *in* which means “the cordage of the ship”⁷ is also related to the same sense. Jéquier noted that this word was only found in funeral and religious texts, moreover, he added that *int* is applied to the rope with which prisoners or criminals are tied from the New Kingdom, in the texts of the Book of the Dead⁸. The last note gives a sense that the word hasn't been attested in the context of the funerary literature before the New Kingdom, although the word was used in the same context in several spells of the Middle Kingdom's coffin texts in the occasions of repelling the snake Apophis. Anyway, in the current context, the word indicates the chains or ropes that are used to tie people, snakes or even gods to give the significance of imprisonment. In CT 396⁹:

¹ Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 138.

² Stephen Quirke, *Going out in Daylight – prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead - Translation, Sources, Meanings*, *GHP Egyptology* 20 (London: Golden House, 2013), 420.

³ Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 295.

⁴ Mona Abou El Maati, “Some Remarks on the Execution Place *hbt*”, *JGUAA* 8 (2023): 26-43.

⁵ Raymond Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2017), 29.

⁶ Gustave Jéquier, “Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'un dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne”, *BIFAO* 19 (1922): 151 (n. 7); Gustave Jéquier, “Essai sur la nomenclature des parties de bateaux”, *BIFAO* 9 (1911): 64.

⁷ Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 27; FCT I, 278, n. 4; Dilwyn Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Routledge, 1988), 155 (14).

⁸ Jéquier, “Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement”: 151.

⁹ CT V, 74.

“Her *int* (chain) is the backbone of Him who is in the light”. In CT 396, Barguet translated it as “chain”, while Faulkner translated it as “cable”. Willems commented that: although there might be a connection with the *int*, which designates a kind of ropework, the consistent use of the wood determinative makes it unlikely that this was the rope meant¹. According to that, *int* doesn't mean fetter, but it means a connected flexible series of metal links used for fastening or securing objects and pulling or supporting loads. In CT 398²: “Her *int.w* is the armpit of Babi”³, Nyord commented that: Mythological identifications including this part of the body involve a part of a boat as “the armpit of Babi”, and a Deification of limbs where the identity is lost in a lacuna⁴. Furthermore, *Innwt* has occurred in CT 1131⁵: “Any man who does not know their language falls (into) the nets (of those who trap in them)”. Here *int* has been translated as “net”⁶, which means that *int* indicates the rope or net of trapping⁷.

In the Coffin Texts, this term is attested on several occasions:

- CT 105⁸: “Go out into the day; transform into a man. “O Bull, your chains are lifted. O Bull, I give you your loosened chains; O Bull, I was not grabbed by Shu, I was not grabbed by the *Akerou*, I was not slit by Ra”.
- CT 160⁹: “O he who goes on his belly, while your strength belongs to your mountain. See, I go, your strength being in my power, for I am the one who lifts the strength; I have come to take care of the *Akerou*, so that Ra may be satisfied with me, he who is in his evening, and so that we may circle the sky while you are in bonds (*Whn.f*, He-who-is-in-his-fire is meant). This is what was ordered against you before. Then Ra went to rest in life”.
- CT 313¹⁰: “Spell for transformation to falcon. Speech by Thot: Finally, I have put your foes in bonds *kꜣs*, the Scorpion in his chains”.
- CT 414¹¹: “A spell to repel Apophis. Tribute to you, *Imy -nhd.f* Glory to you, Routy! See: a flame bursts into the sky, from inside the lair of the Rebel who had said that he would rebel against Ra and commit theft against him; his head is

¹ Harco Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata: (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom, OLA 70* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers & Department of Oriental Studies, 1996), 436 (ar).

² CT V, 135b.

³ Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, CNI publications 37* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum press, 2009), 248 (4.3).

⁴ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh Conceptions of the Body*, 248 (4.3). cf. also, Ricardo Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1956), 15, n. 1.

⁵ CT VII, 473.

⁶ Faulkner indicated that it could be variant of *inyt* which means purse-net. FCT III, 170, n. 8.

⁷ FCT III, 170, n. 8.

⁸ CT II, 112 a-e.

⁹ CT II, 386. For this spell and its occurrence in the Book of the Dead, cf. Kurth Sethe, “Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte. (Totb). Kap. 107-109. 111-116.”, *ZÄS* 59 (1924): 73ff.


¹⁰ CT IV, 90. For this spell, cf.: Reymond Faulkner, “Coffin Texts spell 313”, *JEA* 85, (1972): 91-94.

¹¹ CT V, 245.

watched by the Great Destroyer, a torch is lit against him (in) the Castles of Sepa, his chains have been made firm by the gods beyond. We (thus) save you from fighting”.

- CT 619¹: “Go and wash yourself in the Field of the Netherworld, sail towards the One who is on (his) *qadet*-plant², towards him who is on top of his height! Come out of the earth, (you who are) his third in addition to his children, from his monkeys who cut off heads: see Ra in his chains; they worship (Ra) in his peregrinations in the protection of Him who is in his red linen”.
- CT 622³: “You see Ra in chains, you adore Ra in bonds, thanks to amulet-protector of the Great-who-is-in-his-red-linen, the Master of offerings (237 o;g)....O you female monkeys of the sky, your heads are cut off until N. has passed by you in peace. I saw Ra in the chains, in your bonds (238 b)”.
- CT 839⁴: “The Silent Ones come to (you), Osiris; the fear of you is on them, the reverence of you is on their hearts. Your bonds are cut, like (those of) Horus who is in his house; your chains are broken⁵, like (those of) Seth who is in *hnbt*”.
- CT 1094⁶: “This N. is someone who saves (Ra from the ra)age of Apophis; [(thus) he did not fall into his bonds (means Apophis bonds) ”.

Discussion:

In CT 160⁷, a decree has been commanded against the snake called  *imi whn.f*, (He-who-is-in-his-fire)⁸, to be in his *int.w* (chains). This spell had been developed during the New Kingdom to be BD 108 when the passage became⁹: “You are in your chains, that is what has been recommended against you from the presence”. In *plufankh*¹⁰, “You are in your chains - in other words, go away - that is what has been recommended against you before Ra”. In the later passage, the deceased himself is merged with the figure of Seth and plays an active role in repelling the

¹ CT VI, 233.

² For this plant, cf. Rémy Cotteville-Giraudet, “Le *Catha edulis* fut-il connu des Égyptiens?”, *BIFAO* 35 (1935): 99-113.

³ CT VI, 237-238.

⁴ CT VII, 44.

⁵ Faulkner translated *int* as cords. FCT III, 27.

⁶ CT VII, 377.



⁷ CT II, 379 a.

⁸ *Imi whn.f* and sometimes *imi whm.f*. This snake could be a manifestation of Apophis, cf. Gyula Priskin, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Moon: Coffin Texts Spells 154-160*, *Archaeopress Egyptology* 22 (Oxford: Gyula Priskin and Archaeopress publishing LTD, 2019), 166; 170; Sethe, “Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte”: 83. See also CT 154 (CT II 378-380).


⁹ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 239.

¹⁰ Richard Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem Hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842), Pl. XXXIX.

inimical snake in which the condemnation against the snake to be chained is emphasized with a short gloss (go away)¹.

The restriction actions in CT 313 include both enemies and the scorpion, the scorpion has been placed in his  *intwt*, while the enemies in  *k3s.w*. Like *int*, the word *k3s* indicates to boat component ('ligature')², according to Vinson³, it refers to something that is made of or comprises ropes, so, adopting "tie" or "ligature" as a translation of *k3s* would seem to be logical, and the rope becomes *k3s* only when it is used to tie, attach, or hold something. It refers to the act of binding or something that chains and bonds things together⁴.

In CT 414, chains have been made firm by the gods beyond to lock in Apophis to protect Ra from his rebelling and committing theft against him. Both CT 619 and 622 are derived from the utterance PT 254⁵, which deals with the arrival of the king to the sky. In the current position, the word *int* doesn't refer to chain or fetter in its literal or materiality sense, but rather implicitly to the night, when the temporary obliteration of the sun each night, being released from his bonds each morning⁶.

CT 839 is also derived from the resurrection utterances PT 665A *s3m n.k mdwt.k*⁷ "get rid of your chains", PT 666 *s3h3h n.k mdwt.k*⁸. In the previous liturgies,  *mdwt.k* is used instead of *intwt* to give the sense of bonds or chains⁹. The verb *mdd* means literally "to put together" or "to bound together"¹⁰, this verb may be derived from the root *dm3* which also means "to bind together"¹¹.

The theme of protecting Ra from falling down in the chains of Apophis that occurred in the Book of the Two Ways (CT 1094) has been attested in the Book of the Gates, where Apophis should brought down and put in his irons so that the god can pass safely, the accompanied scene depicts Apophis tied by a chain *int* round his neck held by four men and the fifth lies upon the chain, the serpent is attacked by eight men; four of them

¹ Priskin, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Moon*, 228.

² Steve Vinson, "On *hry.t*, "Bulwark," in P. Anastasi IV, 7/9-8/7*", *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 156-162.

³ Vinson, "On *hry.t*, "Bulwark," in P. Anastasi IV, 7/9-8/7*" :161.

⁴ Wb V, 13. 1-7

⁵ Pyr 285c.

⁶ Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten I (PT 213-260)* (Glückstadt-Hamburg: Augustine, 1962), 325; Reymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 65 n. 21.

⁷ Pyr. 1904b.

⁸ Pyr. 1921.


⁹ Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 152.

¹⁰ Wb II, 187.1; Michel Baud, "Une épithète de Rêdjedef et la prétendue tyrannie de Chéops. Étude sur la statue de Rêdjedef, II", *BIFAO* 98 (1998): 18ff.

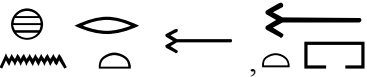
¹¹ Peter Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, Band I (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 509-510, 667.


have human heads and the four have each a fourfold snake's head¹. On the other side of this scene is another snake, whose neck is rounded by a chain which is mentioned in the

text as  *ih*, this chain according to Zandee² represents a rope.

2. *hnr*: 

hnr as a verb means “to restrain”³, “to constrain” or “to hinder”⁴, and it means “restrained person” through the determinative of the sitting human figure who touches

his mouth⁵. While *hnrt*  as a masculine name, indicates a pure bureaucratic institution that functioned according to Brooklyn Papyrus both as a prison and as a court of law⁶. In the later papyrus, *hnrt wr* “great prison” is mentioned, in which Hayes commented that this prison is located at Thebes. Given the Brooklyn papyrus, *hnrt wr* was issuing executive orders regarding people who have failed to fulfil their labour obligations to the state. Thus, it would be the central arm coordinating organizing labour in the state, and supervising the work of the *hnrt(s)*⁷. This place was mentioned in the texts since the First Intermediate Period on an inscription from Hatnub that reflects the war between the Heracleopolitan 10th Dynasty and its Theban opponents⁸. By comparing the later text with several texts, Quirke concluded that this term indicates not only a prison, but also denotes an enclosure for people, including both positive use as a defence from military attacks, and negative use as a restricted camp for corvee labour. According to his study, the last attested of *hnrt* as a functioning entity at the beginning of the 17th dynasty in which the disappearance might have coincided with the reorganization of the state under the reign of the late 17th dynasty's king *Seqenenre Taa* who began the conflict against the Hyksos and moved his old residence from Thebes to a new one at Deir El-Ballas⁹. Thus, this term refers to the prison as a building.

The word *hnrt* usually ends with the determinative  (U 31)¹⁰ that represents according to Gardiner an instrument employed in baking. The determinative is

¹ Joseph Bonomi & Samuel Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I* (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864), Pl XI nos. 11-13; 18-20.

² Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 126.

³ Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 237.

⁴ Wb III, 296. 1-7.

⁵ Wb III, 296. 8-11.


⁶ William Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1955), 64.

⁷ Stephen Quirke, “Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom”, *RdÉ* 37 (1986): 115, n. 37.

⁸ Stephen Quirke, “State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Term *hnrt*”, *RdÉ* 39 (1988): 84.

⁹ Quirke, “State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom”: 102.

¹⁰ Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 519.

sometimes used in the word  *jth*¹ which also means the prison or bond² since the Middle Kingdom, and like *hnrt*, often means fortress³.

The term has been attested in the Coffin Texts on several occasions as follows:

- CT 50⁴: “The god sees that the Rebel is repulsed and that those who said that he was put in fear were imprisoned for him”.
- CT 149⁵: “I asked to transform myself into a human falcon, who leaves as a man so that I can get out of there without a god hindering me”.
- CT 158⁶: “Then Ra said: Let Nekhen be assigned to (him) as the place of his hands, let his hands be exposed in the said Nekhen which I gave him (on the day of the festival of the month), and let both be restrained⁷, to whom they are on the feast day in the middle of the month”.
- CT 314⁸: “I am the god whom Nut⁹ bore and who struck down the enemies of Osiris, who imprisoned those who rebelled against him”.
- CT 317¹⁰: “I will not be rejected in my form of Hapy, I will not be restrained in my dignity as a blessed one equipped”.
- CT 491¹¹: “Guardians of the limbs of Osiris, who guard all the *Ba*-souls who hold prisoner the shadows of all the dead, you do not have the power to hold me prisoner and keep my *Ba*-soul, my shadow, my spirit, my magical power”.
- CT 492¹²: “O Guardians of the mysteries of Osiris, stay away from this soul of mine, do not hold it prisoner! This *Ba*-soul is (the *Ba*-soul of) Bull of the West; he was granted coitus on earth”.
- CT 493¹³: Title: “Do not hold someone's *Ba*-soul prisoner, so that it can leave the empire of the dead and enter it at will”. “Save my *Ba*-soul from the Trappers who

¹ Wb I, 148. 24.

² CT I, 45c.

³ Wb I, 148. 25.

⁴ CT I, 229a.

⁵ CT II, 230 b-e.

⁶ CT II, 357a.

⁷ Faulkner translated it as “shut up”, FCT I, 137. While Barguet and Carrier translated it as “to imprison”, Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, 575; Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien I*, 389.

⁸ CT IV, 94 f-h.

⁹ Barguet mistakenly read it as Nun, cf. Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, 447.

¹⁰ CT IV, 119d-120c.

¹¹ CT VI, 70a-71g.

¹² CT VI, 72g; 73 e-f; 74a; f

¹³ CT VI, 73 e-f; 74a; f.

take the *Ba*-souls and keep the shadows prisoner, who throw them into the place of execution, who seek testimony (against it) when it presents itself. Stay away from my soul here, do not hold her prisoner¹”.

- CT 494²: “Sia goes up into the shrine because he heard the voice of my *Ba*-soul saving itself from the Trappers who kidnap the *Ba*-souls, who hold the shadows prisoner³”.
- CT 498⁴: “The guardians of the limbs of Osiris did not hold her prisoner; the guardians of the limbs of Osiris did not have the power to hold captive my *Ba*-soul, my magical power, to keep my *Ba*-soul and my shadow, which will remain for eternity and eternity”.
- CT 499⁵: “O you who do not know your faces, guardians of the limbs of Osiris! You do not have the power to keep me, to hold prisoner my soul, my spirit, my shade⁶, which will remain for eternity and eternity. I am one who has the use of his legs, forever and ever, created for every god”.
- CT 500⁷: “She was not held prisoner, she was not guarded, every soul of mine, (nor) every mind of mine, every magic power of mine, every shadow of mine, by Those who guard the limbs and Those who guard the *Ba*-souls and hold prisoner the shadows of the dead”.
- CT 819⁸: “Spell for Don't walk upside down, don't... I was a wise man in his country, someone who remembered the West; I imprisoned the enemies of Osiris and I worship him in the pure firmament that Ra gave him”.

Discussion:

Two different aspects of the use of *hnr* have been noted, the first is positive in which the enemies of Osiris or even the enemies of the deceased himself should be imprisoned to keep Osiris and the deceased safe. In CT 50, the enemies of the god who wanted to put him in fear were imprisoned. The desire for free movement is shown later in BD 15, where the deceased wants to see the beauty of the sun disk every day to renew his limbs without stopping or turning him back⁹. Zandee commented that according to this hymn, the only people who will have the liberty of communicating with Ra are those who have

¹ B3BO omitted “don't hold her prisoner”.

² CT VI, 75n; 76a.

³ In B3BO, it has been omitted and replaced it with “which imprisoned in caverns”. CT VI, 76a.

⁴ CT VI, 81b-c.

⁵ CT VI, 83c.

⁶ In B4C: “you shall not constrain *Ba* of N”; T3Be: ‘I will not be afraid of your constraining of my *Ba*’. FCT II, 138, n. 8.

⁷ CT VI, 84 c-e;l.

⁸ CT VII, 18z.

⁹ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 46.

served him on the earth, while those who have sinned against him are locked up and prevented from seeing him¹.

In CT 314², the deceased identified himself as Osiris who imprisoned his foes. This spell is a continuation of CT 313 that deals with being transformed into a falcon to be able to move freely. In CT 313, Thot has come and placed the scorpion in his *intwt*, and the enemies in *k3s.w*, while in CT 314, the deceased himself acts the same role of Thot as a champion of Osiris who *hnr* (imprisoned) foes who rebelled against him. The same term has been attested again in CT 819 where the deceased imprisoned the enemies of Osiris.

The negative aspect of using *hnr* is that the deceased himself fears being constrained or even his body components put in prison. In CT 23, the deceased himself shall not be restrained, while in CT 149, the deceased wants to transform and fly out freely wherever he wants as a falcon, he fears that he will miss or check in his liberty. This transformation is the medium of the deceased's liberty of movement between the realm of the dead and the new life on earth³.

Several body components have been associated with the concept of confinement in Spells CT 491- 494 and 498- 500 that deal with the body components, where his *Ba*, Shade or Spirit shall not be imprisoned by the demonical helpers of Osiris. In these spells, the deceased rejects to lock up or imprison⁴, this could correspond with his wish to move freely⁵. In CT 498, B3BO omitted the references to constraint and stated that: 'those who are in charge of Osiris's chambers shall not have power over NN's *Ba* or shade. Like the deceased himself who wants to see the beauty of the sun every day to renew his limbs (BD 15), In an offering formula text from a New Kingdom tomb of *Im3w ndh* at Gurna: *snt t3w ndm n mh3yt irt hprw m ... m33 Itn tp dw3yt nn hnr b3.i m mrwt.f ...*, here *Ba* also shall not be restrained or locked up through smelling the northern wind and seeing the sun disk every morning⁶. Again, in an invocation to the god in the tomb of *Mn hpr snb* at Gurna, the deceased rejects to be checked in during ascension⁷: *nn irt.w sn(.tw) k3 .i nn hnr.tw b3.i* "Keeping my *Ka* shall not be executed, my *Ba* shall not be locked up". Furthermore, *hnr* has been associated with the

¹ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 127.

² Faulkner commented that there is no coherence in the sequence of this spell, cf. FCT I, 236, n. 1.

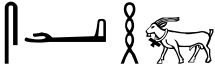
³ Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 215.

⁴ *hnr* here could be translated as "restrain" or "constrain", FCT II, 133, n. 4. The difference could be that "restrain" indicates to prevent somebody from doing something and keep him under control or within limits, while constrain indicates to compel or force somebody to follow a specific course of action.

⁵ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 127-128.

⁶ Urk IV, 938, 3-6.

⁷ Urk IV, 1193, 16-17; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 128.

incorporeal aspect  *sḥ*¹, in CT 317, he fears to be restrained in his *sḥ* (dignity).

In CT 158, knowing the mysteries of the souls of Nekhen, *hnr im̄w sni m ʒpd m smdt* “and let both be imprisoned, to whom they are on the feast day in the middle of the month”. According to Priskin², given the story of the conflict between Horus and Seth in the New Kingdom in which Horus steals the semen of Seth, it is obvious that the two hands of Horus hide the sperm of his opponent, he added that here the verb *hnr* basically means “to hinder” or “to restrain”, and the evil principle embodied by the sperm of Seth has been indeed overcome by the repeated moon waxing. So, in the context of CT 158, *hnr* should be translated as “to restrain”.

Finally, it is noted that *hnr* hasn't occurred in the context of the fettering of snakes, particularly Apophis, because snakes should be tied in order to keep them imprisoned, and *hnr* wouldn't fit with them, while *int* beside other words like *iḥ* were used to refer to the restriction of snakes, scorpions or even persons.

3. *ddḥ*: 

As a verb, it means “to imprison”, “to lock in” or “to arrest”³ and as a name it refers to “prison” as a place⁴. In pBM EA 10252⁵, it is attested as a verb and noun: *mtw.f ddḥ.f n pʒy.f ddḥ.w* “and he imprisons it in his prison”. In pCGC 58053, Allam translated it as “retained” or relegated⁶: “You will not cause the work of the god who is retained with you to be asleep”, here is the god meant and that is what prompted Allam to note that: “The pseudo participle *ddḥ* is certainly not in its exact place, it does not seem to refer to the *bʒk* work, but to the god in question here. In any case, it should directly follow the relative adjective. On the other hand, it is not surprising that the scribe used the term *ddḥ* “to relegate”, and “to imprison” in this context; indeed, his style is full of harsh words”.

In the Coffin Texts, *ddḥ* had been attested only in the spell in question here (CT 23). Like *hnr*, it had been used for locking up *Va* in BD 163 where the deceased hopes that the god Amun will rescue him from the *bʒw nty ddḥ n dwʒt* “Ba- souls imprisoned in the Underworld” to do everything in his heart without being hindered (*int*)⁷. Here *int* is

¹ For this term and its significance, cf. Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom I*, BAR International series 866/I (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), no. 3226; Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I. Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Lexica 4 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 1078-1079.

² Priskin, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Moon*, 135-136.

³ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 132.

⁴ Wb II, 635. 13.


⁵ Ann-Katrin Gill, *The Hieratic Ritual Books of Pawerem (P. BM EA 10252 and P. BM EA 10081) from the Late 4th Century BC*, *Studien zur Spätägyptischen Religion* 25 I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019), 224, Rto. 6,2.

⁶ Shafik Allam, “Trois missives d'un commandant (Pap. CGC 58053-5)”, *ASAE* 71 (1987): 12 (kk).

⁷ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 396.

used for locking up persons, while *ddh* had been used as a reference of the constraint of the sinister *b3w*.

Although *ddh* gives the same sense of *hnr* as a place or even as an action, it also refers to “arrest” as an action of seizing sinners and offenders by legal authority and taking them into custody or prison (*hnr*). This meaning could fit in CT 23, because the scribe used both of the two terms sequentially, in addition to the use of two terms with the same sense respectively doesn't make sense.

4. *s3.w*: 

The common meaning of *s3.w* is the guarding in its positive significance of protection, however, another meaning must be taken into account which is “to watch over”, “to keep something imprisoned or bonded” or “to guard”¹ in its negative aspect of fetter, this meaning with no doubt was related to fiends, tomb robbers, Condemned and prisoners, so that they do not escape². In pAmherest, the name *s3.w* designates the guarded man or prisoner: “Thieves of this pyramid of this god who have fled and whom this chief priest of Amun Ra king of Gods was instructed to cause to be brought back that they might be made *s3.w* (prisoners) in the keep”³. In BD 17⁴: “Isis chases my guards away”, here the word designates the demons who exercise the watch over the deceased. In pBM EA 10252, *s3.w* it is conjugated with *ddh*: *s3w.f sw m s3w.f* “He guards it as its warden”, this passage comes before the passage *mtw.f ddh.f n p3y.f ddh.w* “and he imprisons it in his prison”, here, both *s3w* and *ddh* give the same sense of keeping.

Besides CT 23, *s3.w* has been attested on several occasions in Coffin Texts:

- CT 55⁵: “Pain in the sky, lamentation in the otherworld, to (the voice...). I (go down) into the boat of night, I am carried into the boat of day... into the arms of Anubis, into the embalming room; I have put the rebel into bonds....the guardian”.
- CT 75⁶: “I have created my *Ba*-soul behind me; its flames will not be over my corpse nor my *Ba*-soul will be restrained by the guardians of the members of Osiris”.
- CT 76⁷: “o Bull of Millions who watch over Apophis, put the ladder together for me, prepare a way for me, for I am exhausted in the Abyss, in chaos, in darkness and depression”.
- CT 89⁸: “I've come to you, O the Thirstiest, gatekeeper of the battleground of the gods, who must guard the evil ones”.

¹ Wb III, 418. 1-6.

² Leonard Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian II* (California: B.C. Scribe Publication, 2004), 6.

³ Eric Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1930), II Pl V (4.2).

⁴ Edouard Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Verlag von A. Asher & Co., 1886), 72.

⁵ CT I, 245.

⁶ CT I, 362.

⁷ CT II, 13.

⁸ CT II, 55a-c.

- CT 225¹: “It is the one who guards you, who sets you free. It is the one who laid his hand to you, who lowered his hands (i.e., who sets you free)”.
- CT 333²: “May my *Ba* not be guarded (= locked up) on my corpse”
- CT 335³: “I’m the great Cat (Re) who split the *Ished* tree on its side, on that night of making war and of guarding the rebels...”.
- CT 335⁴: “From whose guarding one doesn’t escape”.
- CT 336⁵: “O Master of the Enneads, save me from those in charge of wounds, whose fingers hurt, those who guard the adversaries, who stand guard against enemies, who put terror into the mutilators, those from whose guard one cannot escape!”.
- CT 488⁶: “he who is in charge of their hearts and who guards hearts may not be chased away from the inundation”.
- CT 491⁷: “Who watches over all the Bas and who restrain (*hnr*) the shades of all who are deceased, may you not have the power to restrain me or to guard my soul, shade, spirit or my magic.”
- CT 535⁸: “I will not be made to enter into the chaos of the god, for I am covered with the *qny*-garment; I will not be guarded by those who guard souls, my soul and my shadow will go up because of it”.
- CT 566⁹: “I stand up in Fire Island, so that I may be vindicated, those who check me are beneath me, let your two columns and two pillars not guard me¹⁰, O Re”.
- CT 1059¹¹: “His name is the protector of the two gods. He is the guardian of this meander, and he is who watches over who goes down in it”.
- CT 1134¹²: “Open to her, since then she opened their protection. It is an equipped spirit that guards the door to the Many-Faced One¹³. I came and crossed the canal; I’m struggling”.

¹ CT III, 216 a-b.

² CT IV, 178 m.

³ CT IV, 282c-284a.

⁴ CT IV, 322a-c.

⁵ CT IV, 330 e-j.

⁶ CT VI, 67 g-h.

⁷ CT VI, 70 a-b.

⁸ CT VI, 132 f-i.

⁹ CT VI, 165 a-b.

¹⁰ Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, 208; Carrier translated *sz.w* as “to keep him prisoner”, Carrier *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien* II, 1325.

¹¹ CT VII, 313. Leonard Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Oakland: (CA), University of California Press, 1977), 72.

¹² CT VII, 476g-i. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*, 27.

¹³ Lesko commented that: Many faces could be the name of the perfect spirit that used in apposition, Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*, 27, n. d; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 129.

Discussion:

Like *hnr*, *s3.w* had been used as an indication of the constraint of the body components. In CT 75, *Ba* which is checked in its liberty by the demons of Osiris is meant¹. In CT 333 and 535, *s3.w* referred to the act of imprisonment of *Ba* and been used in the context of the fear that *Ba* may be locked up, kept from moving freely by the demons or even hindering the communication between the corpse and *Ba*², while in CT 491, “who watches over” should be interpreted as guarding the prisoner³. In this passage, *s3.w* is used with *Bas*, while *hnr* is used with shades, and thus, *s3.w* gives the same significance as *hnr*. In CT 488, a heart whose liberty of action the deceased values, it is said that it is kept in confinement by demons who are the gatekeepers⁴.

Although the meaning of *s3.w* refers to guarding prisoners in the present context, two aspects of its use can be noted. The positive aspect is represented in keeping enemies imprisoned so that they do not commit any hostile actions against the deceased himself or even the cosmic orders, specifically the sun God Ra. In CT 76, Apophis must have been watched, Faulkner translated *s3.w* as “ward off”⁵, and Barguet⁶ and Carrier⁷ translated it as “guard”, however, it gives an indication of “bond” or “imprison”. Again, in CT 335⁸, *iri s3w.t* is mentioned which means to keep enemies of Ra prisoner, specifically Apophis who represented the most aggressive, in another position of CT 335⁹, “from whose guarding one doesn’t escape”, those are revisors, to whom the lord of the universe has given *3hw* in order to keep his foes imprisoned¹⁰. In CT 89, the gatekeeper named *ibw wrt* the officer of the court must keep sinners or evil ones imprisoned and under guarding. Like in CT 335 (CT IV, 282c-284a.), In the context of CT 89, Faulkner translated it as “ward off”¹¹, while both Barguet¹² and Carrier¹³ translated it as “guard”.

There might be a confusion in the translation of CT 55 by Faulkner¹⁴, because he combined the two passages (245e and 245f) despite the lacuna which is after the word *nwh* “bond” or “rope”, then there is *nw* at the end of 245e. Barguet left passage 245f without translation¹⁵, while the translation of Carrier¹⁶ could be more accurate as he

¹ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 128.

² Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, 205.

³ FCT II, 133, n. 4.

⁴ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 130.

⁵ FCT I, 78.

⁶ Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, 468.

⁷ Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien I*, 209.

⁸ CT IV, 282c-284a.

⁹ CT IV, 322a-c.

¹⁰ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 128.

¹¹ FCT I, 91.

¹² Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, 231.

¹³ Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien I*, 239.

¹⁴ FCT I, 53.

¹⁵ Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, 197.

¹⁶ Carrier, *Textes des Sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien I*, 133.

separated between the two passages. However, *sꜣw.t* here indicates the guarding of rebels in the bonds because it came in the context of warding off the rebels.

The use of the term *sꜣ.w* in the context of enemies' imprisonment through invoking snakes who belonged to Osiris is attested later in the 1st division of the Book of the Caverns¹, those snakes are designated as: “those who are the ones from beneath whose fingers one cannot escape”, Zandee commented that the condemned in the otherworld are eternally kept imprisoned by the guards who exercise surveillance over the enemies of Osiris and then Ra placed them in the hell². Again, in the 3rd division of the Book of the Caverns³, those who exercise *sꜣ.w* caused harm to the souls: “Among them is your guard who destruct the *sꜣby.w*'s souls from under whose hands the souls cannot escape”⁴.

In the funerary literature of the New Kingdom, it is attested that the guardians eat what they watch over. In the 5th division of the Book of the Gates⁵, Both Re, Atum, and Shu exercised *sꜣ.w* actions over foes of Ra who represented on torture posts and had been designated as: “The judges of the deceased, who guard the condemned, eat them”. The same idea occurred as well in the initial passage of BD 125⁶, where the judges of the deceased who exercise *sꜣ.w* (guard) eat their blood: *ꜥnhyw m sꜣwt ꜥwt* “who live on the evil ones who are watched and eat of their blood”, Zandee noted that the expression “watched” means literally “bad guarding”⁷. Again, in the 4th division of the Book of the Gates⁸, there is a scene which depicts beings with jackal heads, with the accompanying text that mentions: “Your portions are yours, O gods who are in this pond, that you watch, your subsistence is from your pond, and your offerings are from what you guard, O jackals, that settle near your pond”.

The negative aspect of *sꜣ.w* as a guarding act is shown in the ascension text CT 225, where the deceased hopes to move freely without being bound by demons of the underworld and they must release him to be with Ra in heaven, the texts mention that the heaven and earth's doors are opened to let the dead pass freely without hindering. CT 566 consists mainly of a series of passages concerning the free movement of the dead between two columns, where he hopes not to be kept as a prisoner⁹. Zandee commented that the function of the two columns is not clear, but they may exercise an unfavourable influence on the deceased¹⁰. In CT 1059, *sꜣ.w* is used as a designation of

¹ Alexandre Piankoff, “Le Livre des Querets [1]. 1er tableau.” *BIFAO* 41 (1942): 1-11 (Pl. VIII.5).

² Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 129.

³ Piankoff, “Le Livre des Querets [2]”: Pl. XXXIV. 6.

⁴ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 129.

⁵ Bonomi & Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I*, Pl. XVIII.4.

⁶ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 270.

⁷ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 129.

⁸ Bonomi & Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I*, Pl. VIII, 30-35; Eugène Lefébure, *Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes, Seconde Divisio* (Paris: M.M.A.F.C, 1889), Pl. XXX. 23; XXXI. 30, 31, 46.

⁹ Nyord, *Breathing Flesh conceptions of the body*, 113; CT V, 251.

¹⁰ Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 130, n. 7.

the evil red-coloured demon who seizes those who try to land near the twist¹, this demon is depicted on the bottom of coffin B1C, he turned his head towards his back, and Bennet interpreted this position as an indication of the vigilance of the demon and multidirectional guarding function, as he was situated within a twist of the land path, so, this appearance has enabled him to be watchful for approaching beings and maintain vigilance². In CT 1134, the deceased struggles against the spirit guards who are near the gates in the back which may lock up the deceased. In CT 336, the two aspects of guarding are mentioned, the deceased asked the Ennead to save him from those who guard foes, and then they have been designated as those from whose guard one cannot escape. This expression occurred again in the 2nd division of the Book of the Caverns where it had been mentioned with the snake known as *s3.w*³: “O snake in its hole, doorkeeper of those within it, who don’t escape his guarding”. Thus, *s3.w* was used in the context of keeping somebody under guard with the sense of imprisonment or restriction.

Conclusion:

Terms should not be treated in their literal sense, but rather their context and meaning should be taken into account. In CT 23, the deceased expressed his fear of being hindered and kept from going out by day and his visit to his tomb and offerings every day, so, he shall not be struck by punishments that applied to men who have sinned the god. These threats included imprisonment and restriction in various forms and sequences. In the early version of CT 23, only *ip* and *hnr* are used, while in later versions, the concept of confinement and restriction has been emphasized through the emergence of its different concepts, so, *int*, *s3.w* and *ddh* have been added to the corpse of the spell.

The spell in question followed the logical and usual sequence of the actions of judging and arresting a guilty person. It starts with *ip* “examine”, which is followed by *ddh* which means in the current context “to arrest”, then the guilty should be put inside *hnr* which refers here to the prison in its materiality aspect, the next step is *int* “to put in chains”, and it has been emphasized by adding *s3.w* “to watch over” or “to guard” to keep the condemned imprisoning through guardians and couldn't escape. Later in the spell, *rdi m hbt* “give to the place of execution”. Thus, the spell included all aspects of punishment by imprisonment and restriction, whether the material aspect, the incorporeal aspect, and also the implementation of the execution.

These terms were used in both positive and negative aspects of liberty depriving within the corpse of the Coffin Texts; the negative is represented in that the deceased fears checking his liberty in the underworld whether the deceased himself or his body components and sometimes hindering the sun god through his enemy Apophis. The positive aspect is depriving the evil symbols like the enemy of the cosmic order Apophis, the sinners and tomb robbers of their capacity of movement in order to keep the cosmic order or the deceased himself.

¹ For the perception of the role of such demonic entities, cf. Zuzanna Bennet, “What's in a name? Transforming our perception of the function of demonic entities in the ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways”, *Rosetta 15* (2014): 1-18.

² Zuzanna Bennet, “The Anatomy of the Coffin Text Demon”, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections 25* (2020): 36, fig. 3.

³ Alexandre Piankoff, “Le Livre des Querets [2]”, *BIFAO 42* (1944): 1-62, P. XI. 1-2; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, 129.

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