

Frank Kammerzell (Göttingen):

## Sacred spaces, secret places, and the storage of knowledge in Ancient Egypt

### Abstract

The role that sacred spaces played as places of information conservation in the Ancient Egyptian civilization can hardly be overestimated. Like in many other communities, the religious sphere was one of the most important domains of usage of written communication. Tombs and temples, which represent two highly prominent classes of sacred spaces, are not only the physical carriers of a substantial portion of the extant body of Egyptian texts, but frequently also housed documents written on papyrus or other portable objects: An institution incorporating a *scriptorium* as well as a library and called ‘The House of Life’ was an integral part of the larger temples.

International Workshop “Creating and representing sacred spaces”

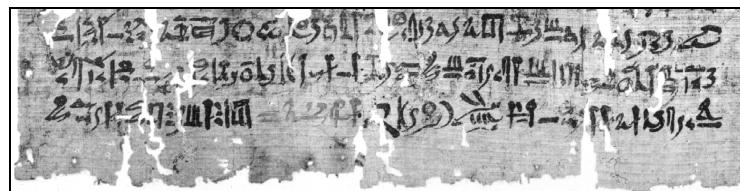
SACRED SPACES, SECRET PLACES, AND THE  
STORAGE OF KNOWLEDGE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Frank Kammerzell

Göttingen, 28.6.–2.7.2000

## (1) The fabulous appearance of a book of divine origin

From the prologue of a series of medico-magical spells, London Medical Papyrus (pBM 10059), col. 8,11-13 (Grapow 1958: 274), c. 1350 BC.



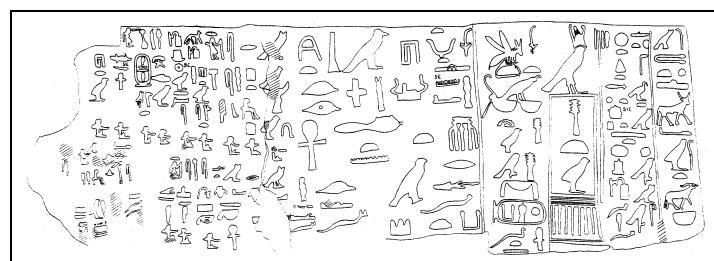
<i>gm-n-tw</i>	<i>wd<sup>3</sup>-w</i>	<i>-pn</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>gr<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>h<sup>3</sup>-w</i>		<i>m-</i>	<i>wsh-t</i>	<i>n-t-</i>	<i>hw-t- ntr</i>		
VB.-PRET.-PASS.	SBST.-ABSTR.	DEM.	PREP.	SBST.	STAT.-3sm		PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	DET.-FEM.	SBST.-FEM.- SBST.		
was found	protection	this	in	night	having fallen		in	court	that of	house of god		
<i>Gbtw</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>sšt<sup>3</sup>-w</i>		<i>n(j)-</i>	<i>ntr-t</i>	<i>-tn</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>dr-t</i>	<i>hr-(j)-h'b</i>	<i>n(j)-</i>		
TOPON.	PREP.	SBST.-ABSTR.		DET.	SBST.-FEM.	DEM.:FEM.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	SBST.	lector-priest		
Koptos	in	secret		that of	goddess	this	in	hand		that of		
<i>r-pr(w)</i>	<i>-pn</i>	<i>jst</i>	<i>t<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>-pn</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>kkw</i>	<i>jn-</i>	<i>j<sup>ch</sup></i>	<i>wbn-(n)-f</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>md<sup>3</sup>-t</i>	<i>-tn</i>
SBST.	DEM.	PTCL.	SBST.	DEM.	PREP.	SBST.	FOC.	SBST.	VB.-PRET.-3sm	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	DEM.:FEM.
temple	this	lo	land	this	in	darkness	moon		he shone forth	upon	book	this
<i>hr-</i>	<i>w<sup>3</sup>-t</i>	<i>nb-t</i>	<i>jn-n-tw-s</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>bj<sup>3</sup>-yt</i>		<i>n-</i>	<i>hm</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>nzw-bjt</i>		
PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	INDEF.-FEM.	VB.-PRET.-PASS.-3sf	PREP.	SBST.-ABSTR.:FEM.		PREP.	SBST.	PREP.	SBST.-SBST.		
upon	way	every	it was brought	in	wonder		for	majesty	of	King-Monarch		
<i>H(w)fw</i>	<i>m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw</i>											
PROP.	NPA.-SBST.											
Ghiwafwa	true of voice											

Having fallen down into the courtyard of the temple in Koptos as a mystery of the said goddess (Isis), this protection spell was discovered at night by the lector-priest of that temple. Whereas the land was in darkness at that moment, the moon shone upon this book on all its way. It was brought as a miracle to the Majesty of the late King-Monarch Ghiwafwa (“Cheops”, r. 2554-2531 BC).

## (2) A year name commemorating the supernatural appearance of a sacred text

From the rock-inscription of a quarry expedition at Maghara, Sinai (Gardiner, Peet & Černý 1952-55: I, pl. VII,13), reign of King C’it’kar-liiduw Jasasaj (“Djedkare Asosi”, reigned 2355-2317 BC), c. 2350 BC.

Only cols. 1-4 are glossed and translated.



<i>rnp-t</i>	<i>m-ht-</i>	<i>zp</i>	<i>hmt(-nw)</i>	<i>tnw-t</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>‘w-t</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>rd-t<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>ntr<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>gm-t</i>		
SBST.-FEM.	PREP.	SBST.	NUM.-ORD.	SBST.-FEM.	SBST.	SBST.-FEM.	INDEF.	VB.-INF.	SBST.	SUBJ.-PASS.		
year	after	occasion	third	numbering	cattle	small livestock	every	give	god	that was found		
<i>‘3-t</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>htp(-t)</i>	<i>n-t-</i>	<i>Nhn-R<sup>c</sup>w</i>		<i>m-</i>	<i>zh-</i>	<i>ntr</i>	<i>ds-f</i>	<i>Hrw Dd-h<sup>c</sup>w</i>		
SBST.-FEM.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	DET.	TOPON.		PREP.	SBST.-	SBST.	EMPH.-3sm	THEON. PROP.		
precious stone	in	altar	that of	Enclosure-of-the-Sun-God		in	writing	god	himself	Horus C’it’ghaadaw		

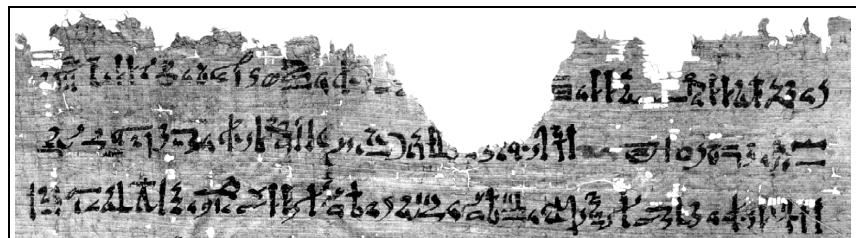
<i>nzw-bjt</i>	<i>nb-(tj)</i>	<i>Dd-h<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>Hrw- nbw</i>	<i>Dd-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>d-t</i>
SBST.-SBST.	SBST.-DU.:FEM.	PROP.	THEON.-SBST.	PROP.	STAT.:3sm	SBST.-FEM.
King-Monarch	Two Ladies	C'it'ghaadaw	Horus of Gold	C'it'karliiduw	living	infinity

Year after the third time of assessing all the cattle and small livestock / the god's causing that a precious stone with a text of the god himself was discovered on the altar of the sun-temple 'Enclosure-of-the-Sun-God' (of King Niwasalliiduw, r. 2395-2364 BC) / Horus C'it'ghaadaw, King-Monarch and He-of-the-Two-Ladies C'it'ghaadaw Horus-of-Gold C'it'karliiduw who may live eternally.

### (3) Texts copied from tomb inscriptions

Prologue of the Harper's Songs,  
pBM 10060 (pHarris 500), col. VI,2-3,  
XIXth Dynasty, c. 1280 BC.

"This papyrus is said to have been found, together with several others, in a box hidden under the ruins of the Ramesseum at Thebes." (Budge 1923: 23; cf. also Dawson, in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35, 1949, 163)

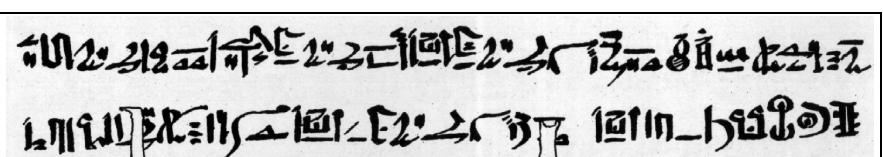


<i>hs-w</i>	<i>ntj</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>hw-t</i>	<i>Jntf</i>	<i>m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw</i>	<i>ntj</i>	<i>m-bh-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>hs-y</i>
SBST.-PL.	REL.PR.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	PROP.	NPA.-SBST.	REL.PR.	PREP.	ART.	NPA.
songs	which	in	residence	Antef	true of voice	which	in front of	the	singing

Songs that are to be found in the tomb of the late King Antef and are (inscribed there) in front of the harper.

### (4) Hymns allegedly copied from a temple wall

Introductory remarks to two hymns addressed to Amun and Thot from pBerlin 3056, col. 8,4-5 (Möller 1905: 27-32; Osing 1983: 349), a religious papyrus compiled in the reign of one of the kings of the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (946/5-730 BC) who bore the name Takelot, 9<sup>th</sup> century BC.



<i>n-</i>	<i>md-t</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>Jwnw</i>	<i>ntj</i>	<i>m-bh-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>twt</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>Jmnw</i>
ART.:PL.	SBST.-FEM.:PL.	PREP.	TOPON.	REL.	PREP.	ART.	SBST.	PREP.	THEON.
the	words	of	Heliopolis	which	in the presence of	the	figur	of	Amun

<i>twt</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>Dhwij</i>	<i>nt-t</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>p-</i>
SBST.	PREP.	THEON.	REL.-FEM.	PREP.	ART.
figur	of	Thot	which	on	the

The words from Heliopolis that are written next to the figure of Amun and the figure of Thot on the wall of King Ghapar-ka'-Ri'a (Sesostris I., r. 1956-1911/10 BC) in the Temple of Amun.

## (5) A recipe for “soothing the itch”, allegedly found in a temple

pEbers, col. 75,12-13 (Grapow 1958: 408). A medical text with a calendar from the 9<sup>th</sup> year of Amenophis I. (r. 1525-1504 BC) on the verso, 16<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<i>phr-t</i>	<i>-pw</i>	<i>n-t-</i>	<i>wn-m<sup>c</sup>3</i>	<i>gm-n-tw-s</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>sjp-t</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>hw-t-njr</i>	<i>n-t-</i>
SBST.-FEM.	DEM.	DET.	SBST.	VB.-PRET.-PASS.-3sf	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.-SBST.	DET.

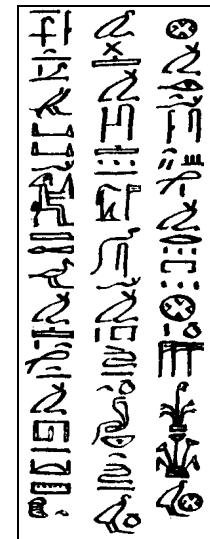
medication this that of authenticity it was found in revision in house of god that of Wenennofre

It is a veritable medication. It was discovered during a revision in the Temple of Wenennofre.

## (6) A religious spell, also said to have been found during a temple revision

Book of the Dead, postscript of Ch. 137A (pBM 9900 of *Nb-sn=j* = Naville, Totenbuch [1886] I pl. 150, l. 23-24), XVIIIth Dynasty, 16<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<i>jn-</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>-<sub>2</sub> nzw<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>Hrw-dd=f</i>	<i>m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw</i>	<i>gm</i>	<i>md<sup>3</sup>-t</i>	<i>-tn</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>hn</i>	
FOC.	SBST.-SBST.	PROP.	NPA.-SBST.	NPA.	SBST.-FEM.	DEM.	PREP.	SBST.	
son of king	Hordedef	true of voice	who found	book	this	in		box	
<i>št<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>zh-(w)</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>ntr</i>	<i>ds-f</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>prw-</i>	<i>Wnw-t</i>	<i>nb-t</i>
NPA.	PREP.	SBST.-PL.	PREP.	SBST.	EMPH.-3sm	PREP.	SBST.	THEON.-FEM.	SBST.-FEM.
secret	in	texts	of	god	himself	in	house	Unut	Lady
<i>m-</i>	<i>jr-t-f</i>	<i>sjp-tj</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>r<sup>2</sup>-(w)-pr-(w)</i>	<i>nw-</i>	<i>ntr-(w)</i>	<i>Šm<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>Mhw</i>	
PREP.	VB.-INF.-3sm	SBST.	PREP.	SBST.-PL.	SBST.-PL.	DET.:PL.	SBST.-PL.	TOPON.	TOPON.
in	his doing	revision	in	temples		that of	gods	Upper Eg.	Lower Egypt



It was the late prince Hordjedef who discovered this roll in a secret box among the god's own texts in the temple of Unut, Lady-of-Unu, when he made a revision in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt.

## (7) Two pieces from a compilation of religious texts, allegedly found in a temple

(7a) pBerlin 3057 (“pSchmitt”), col. 22,14 (= Möller 1900: 3), c. 300 BC.

<i>gm</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>ry</i>	<i>dhr</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>pr(w)-</i>	<i>md<sup>3</sup>-t</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>pr(w)-</i>	<i>Wsjr</i>
PRES.	PREP.	SBST.:FEM.	SBST.	PREP.	SBST.	SBST.-FEM.	PREP.	SBST.	THEON.
found	to	roll	leather	in	house	book	of	house	Osiris
<i>nzw</i>	<i>(Nb)-m<sup>3</sup>c.t-R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw</i>							
SBST.	PROP.	NPA.-SBST.							
king	Nib-mu'Ra-RiiRa	true of voice							

Discovered *next to* a leather roll in the library of the Temple of Osiris in the period of King Nibmu'Ra-RiiRa (Amenophis III., reigned 1388-1351/50 BC).

(7b) pBerlin 3057 (“pSchmitt”), col. 21,15 (= Möller 1900: 2), c. 300 BC.

<i>gm</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>ky</i>	<i>šfd(w)</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>rk</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>nzw</i>	<i>Mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>m-</i>
PRES.	PREP.	CONTR.PR.	SBST.	PREP.	SBST.	PREP.	SBST.	PROP.	PREP.
found	on	other	roll	in	period	of	king	Min-ghapar-RiiRa	in

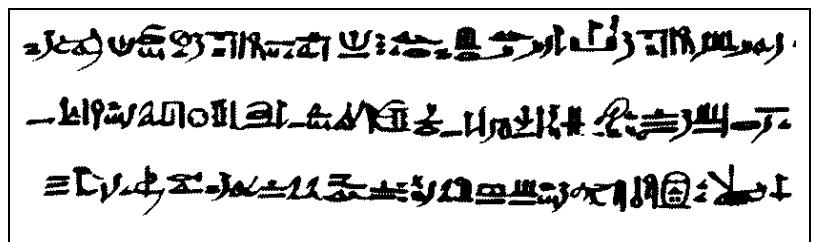
SBST. king	PROP. Nib-mu'fa-Rii'a	PREP. in	SBST. house	SBST.-FEM. book	SBST. house	THEON. Osiris	PREP. in	TOPON. Abydos

Discovered on another roll from the time of King Min-ghapar-Rii'a (Thutmosis III., reigned 1479-1425 BC) in the period of King Nib-mu'fa-Rii'a (Amenophis III., r. 1388-1351/50 BC) in the library of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos.

### (8) A spell allegedly discovered in the course of construction or restauration works in a temple

Book of the Dead, Ch. 64,52, copy written on behalf of *Snḥ=f-n-Hnsw* (pBerlin 3013, col. 3,3-5 = Lepsius 1849-59: VI 123b), XXI Dynasty, 12<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century BC.

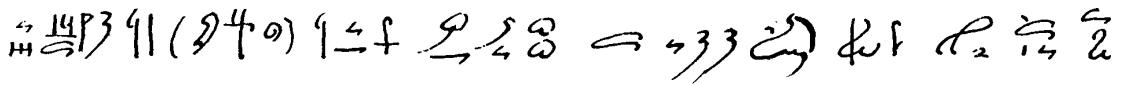
VB.-PRET.-PASS. was found	SBST. spell	DEM. this	PREP. in



SBST.-FEM. foundation-wall	PREP. of	PREP. ADJ.-SBST. the One in the Henu-bark	PREP.	PREP. ADJ.-SBST. by overseer	SBST.-PL. builders	PREP.	SBST. of wall	SBST. time	SBST. majesty
PREP. SBST.-SBST. of King-Monarch	PROP. Husaptaj	NPA.-SBST. true of voice	SBST. copy	DEM.	STAT. this has become secret	NEG.	INF. not seeing	NEG.	INF. not hearing

This spell was discovered in a foundation-wall of the One-who-is-in-the-Henu-bark by an overseer of the masons in the time of the Majesty of the late King-Monarch Husaptaj ("Dewen", r. 2889-2842 BC), and this copy has been concealed without being seen or heard.

### (9) The royal mummy – a safe hiding place?

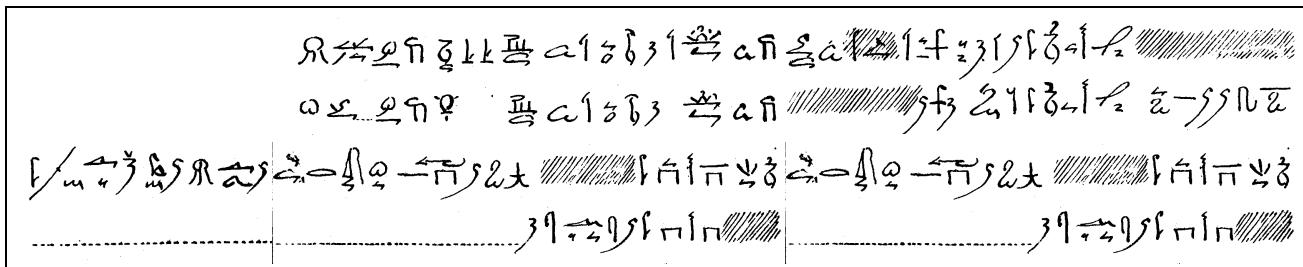


Book of the Dead, introduction of Chapter 166 (Pleyte 1881-82: pl. 111), pLeiden T 31, 4,43, XXI<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, 11<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century BC.

ART.-FEM. the	SBST.-FEM. book	NPP. found	PREP. to	SBST. neck	PREP. of	SBST. king	PROP. Wasmu'ri'a	NPA.-SBST. true of voice	PREP. in	PREP. ADJ.-FEM.-SBST. necropolis

The book that was discovered at the neck of the late King Wasmu'ri'a (Ramses II, r. 1279-1213 BC) in the necropolis.

### (10) Another spell hidden beneath a deceased



Book of the Dead, introduction of Chapter 167 (Pleyte 1881-82: pl. 126-127). Text restored by combining the extant parts of pLeiden T 31, 1,14-18 (above, lines 1 and 3) and pLouvre 3248 B,16-20 (lines 2 and 4).

<i>n-</i>	<i>z̄h-w</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>m̄h-t</i>	<i>j.gm-t</i>	<i>z̄-2 nsw<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>hrj-tp</i>
ART.:PL.	SBST.-PL.	PREP.	ART.:FEM.	SBST.-FEM.	RELTIV.-FEM.	SBST.- SBST.	SBST.
the	texts	of	the	jar	which found	son of king	supreme
<i>hr-</i>	<i>d̄d̄b</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>w<sup>c</sup>-</i>	<i>ʒhw</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>jmnt-t</i>	<i>ntrj</i>
PREP.	SBST.	PREP.	INDEF.ART.	SBST.	PREP.	ART.:FEM.	STAT.
under	head	of	a	spirit	of	the	being divine
<i>m̄h-t</i>	<i>nb-t</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>pr(w)-cnh</i>	<i>jw-s</i>	<i>jr-s</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>ht</i>
SBST.-FEM.	INDEF.-FEM.	PREP.	SBST.-SBST.	CNVRT.-3sf	PRET.:PASS.-3sf	PREP.	SBST.
jar	any	of	House of Life	as it	it was made	in	gate
<i>ʒ̄h-w</i>	<i>m(w)t-(w)</i>						
SBST.-PL.	NPA.-PL.						
spirits	dead						

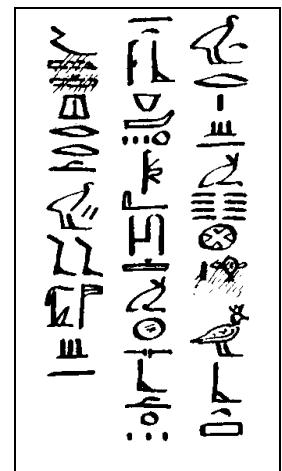
The texts of the jar which the prince and magician Khaemwase (son of Ramses II, lived c. 1279-1225 BC) discovered under the head of a spirit in the western necropolis of Memphis and which is holier than any jar in the House of Life, as it had been made in the Gate of Fire between the spirits and the deceased.

### (11) Religious spell allegedly found under the statue of a deity

Book of the Dead 64,52, copy written on behalf of *Nb-sn=* (Naville 1886: pl. LXXVI, 52; cf. Wildung 1969: 217 ff.), XVIIIth Dynasty, 16<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century BC

<i>gm-t-</i>	<i>r'</i>	<i>-pn</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>Hmnw</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>db-t</i>	<i>n-t-</i>	<i>bj̄-šm<sup>c</sup></i>
PRET.-PASS.	SBST.	DEM.	PREP.	TOPOON.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	DET.-FEM.	SBST.
was found	spell	this	in	Hermopolis	on	block	that of	haematite
<i>zh</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>hsbd</i>	<i>m<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>rd-wj</i>	<i>ntr</i>	<i>-pn</i>	
STAT.:3sm	PREP.	SBST.	NPA.	PREP.	SBST.-DU.	SBST.	DEM.	
is written	in	lapis lazuli	real	under	feet	god	this	

This spell was discovered in Hermopolis on a block of haematite inscribed with real lapis lazuli under the feet of this god.



## (12) Recipes against pains, also said to come from under the feet of a god

pEbers, col. 103,1-2 (Grapow 1958: 11-12), 16<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<i>h<sup>3</sup>.t-<sup>c</sup>(w)</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>md<sup>3</sup>-t</i>	<i>n-t-</i>	<i>hbhb</i>	<i>whd-w</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>c-t</i>	<i>nb-t</i>	<i>n-t-</i>	<i>zj</i>
SBST.-SBST.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	DET.-FEM.	INF.	SBST.-PL.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	INDEF.-FEM.	DET.-FEM.	SBST.
beginning	in	book	that of	roving	pains	in	limb	any	that of	man
<i>m-</i>	<i>gm-yt</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>zh-(w)</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>rd-wj</i>	<i>Jnpw</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>Hm</i>	<i>jn-tw-s</i>	<i>n-</i>
PREP.	VB.-NPP.:FEM.	PREP.	SBST.-PL.	PREP.	SBST.-DU.	THEON.	Anubis	PREP.	PRES.-PASS-3sf	PREP.
as	found	texts	in	under	feet			in	and it was brought	for
<i>hm</i>	<i>n(j)-</i>	<i>nzw-bjt</i>	<i>Hzptj</i>	<i>m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw</i>						
SBST.	DET.	SBST.-SBST.	PROP.	NPA.-SBST.						
majesty	that of	King-Monarch	Husaptaj	true of voice						

Beginning of a book about the roving of pains in any limb of a person, being what was discovered among texts under the feet of (a statue of the god) Anubis in Letopolis and was brought to the Majesty of the late King-Monarch Husaptaj ("Dewen", r. 2889-2842 BC).

## (13) Another medical papyrus, giving more detailed information on the same source

"Great Medical Papyrus Berlin" (pBerlin 3038, col. 15,1-2 = Grapow 1958: 12). Ostensibly found in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century AD – together with pBerlin P. 3047 (a juridical text) – in a jar that was hidden in the ground near the pyramids of Saqqara (cf. Burkhard & Fischer-Elfert 1994: 218), 13<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<i>h<sup>3</sup>.t-<sup>c</sup>(w)</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>dmd(-t)</i>	<i>n-t-</i>	<i>ht</i>	<i>whd-(w)</i>	<i>gm-yt</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>zh-w-</i>	<i>jzw-t</i>	<i>m-</i>
SBST.-SBST.	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.	DET.-FEM.	INF.	SBST.-PL.	VB.-NPP.:FEM.	PREP.	SBST.-PL.	SBST.-FEM.	PREP.
beginning	in	collection	that of	roving	pains	found	in	texts	old age	in
<i>hnw</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>c-(w)</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>rd-(wj)</i>	<i>Jnpw</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>Hm</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>h<sup>3</sup>w-</i>	<i>hm</i>
SBST.	PREP.	SBST.-PL.	PREP.	SBST.-DU.	THEON.	Anubis	PREP.	TOPON.	SBST.	SBST.
box	under	documents	under	feet			in	Letopolis	time	majesty
<i>nzw-bjt</i>	<i>Hzptj</i>	<i>m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw</i>	<i>m-ht-</i>	<i>hz-w-f</i>						
SBST.-SBST.	PROP.	NPA.-SBST.	PREP.	VB.-SUBJ.-3sm						
King-Monarch	Husaptaj	true of voice	after	that he be weak						

Beginning of a compilation about the roving of pains that was discovered among ancient texts in a box containing documents under the feet of (a statue of the god) Anubis in Letopolis in the era of the Majesty of the late King-Monarch Husaptaj ("Dewen", r. 2889-2842 BC) after he already had become weak.

## (14) A long way from blueprint to completion

Inscription from Western Crypt No. 3 of the Temple of Hathor at Dendera (Chassinat & Daumas 1965: 158,7-159,1 and pl. 583),  
1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

It was King-Monarch and Lord of Both Lands Min-ghaphar-Riiya, Son-of-the-Sun-God and Lord-of-the-Crowns C'ahauti-masesa (Thutmosis III, r. 1479-1425 BC) who – when he made his monument on behalf of his mother Hathor, Lady-of-Dendera, Eye-of-the-Sun-God, Lady-of-the-sky und Head-of-all-the-gods – discovered the great scheme of Dendera among ancient texts written on a very large parchment from the time of the Followers of Horus that was found inside a breccie wall of the palace in the era of King-Monarch and Lord of Both Lands Meryre, Son-of-the-Sun-God and Lord-of-the-Crowns Pijapij (Pepi I, r. 2285-2235 BC) upon whom may be bestowed any life, durability and stability like the Sun-God, eternally.



<i>jn-</i>	<i>nzw-bjt</i>	<i>nb- t<sup>3</sup>-(wj)</i>	<i>Mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup>- R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>nb- h<sup>c</sup>-(w)</i>	<i>Dhw<sup>tj</sup>-ms-s(w)</i>
FOC.	SBST.-SBST.	SBST.- SBST.-DU.	PROP.	SBST.-THEON.	SBST.- SBST.-PL.	PROP.
King-Monarch	Lord of Both Lands	Minghapharre	Son of the Sun-god	Son of the Sun-god	Lord of Crowns	Thutmosis
<i>jr-n-f</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>mnw-f</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>mw-t-f</i>	<i>Hwt-Hrw</i>	<i>nb(-t)-</i>
VB.-PRET.-3sm	PREP.	SBST.-3sm	PREP.	SBST.-FEM.-3sm	THEON.	SBST.-FEM.
when he did	in	his monument	of	his mother	Hathor	lady
<i>nb-t- p-t</i>	<i>hnw-t</i>	<i>ntr-(w)</i>	<i>nb-w</i>	<i>gm-t</i>	<i>sn<sup>t</sup></i>	<i>wr</i>
SBST.-FEM.-SBST.-FEM.	SBST.-FEM.	SBST.-PL.	QUANT.-PL.	VB.-NPA.	SBST.	NPA.
lady of the sky	princess	gods	all	who found	plan	great
<i>jz</i>	<i>zh</i>	<i>hr-</i>	<i>wbh n- h<sup>r</sup></i>	<i>wr</i>	<i>z<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>m-</i>
NPA.	STAT.:3pc	PREP.	SBST. PREP. SBST.	NPA.	ADV.	PREP.
ancient	are written	on	parchment	great	very	in
<i>m-hn-n- jnb-</i>	<i>tj<sup>3</sup>-t</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>pr(w)-nzw</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>h<sup>3</sup>w</i>	<i>n-</i>
PREP.	SBST.	SBST.-FEM.	PREP.	SBST.-SBST.	SBST.	PREP.
inside	wall	breccie	of	house of king	time	of
<i>z<sup>3</sup>- R<sup>c</sup>w</i>	<i>nb- h<sup>c</sup>-(w)</i>	<i>P(p)jj d</i>	<i>nh dd</i>	<i>w's</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>mj-2 R<sup>c</sup>w<sub>1</sub></i>
SBST.-THEON.	SBST.- SBST.-PL.	PROP.	NPP.	INF.	INDEF.	PREP.- THEON.
Son of the Sun-god	Lord of Crowns	Pijapij	bestowed	life	durability	any
<i>d-t</i>						<i>d-t</i>
SBST.-FEM.						infinity

## (15) Where to find the secret book of Thot

From the Demotic story of Setna Khaemwase (pCairo 30646, col. 3,29-35 = Erichsen 1937: 9-11; translation: Lichtheim 1980: 130), c. 230 BC.

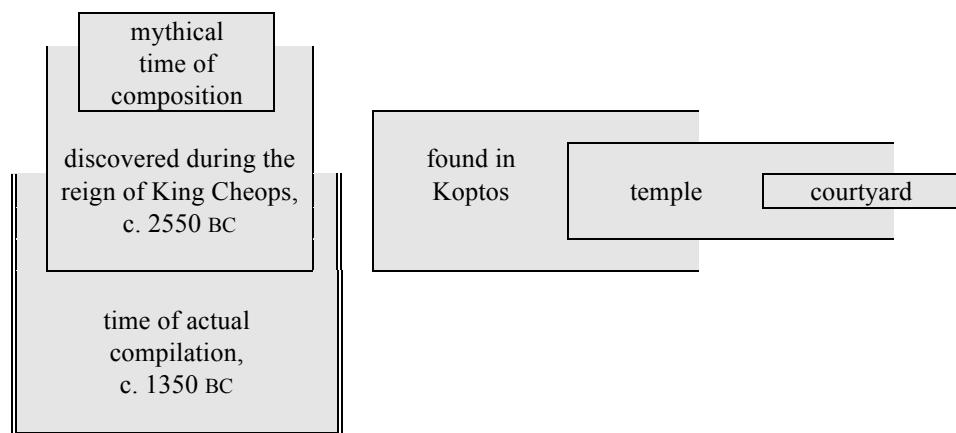
He said to the rowers: “Row me to the place where that book is!” [They rowed him by night] as by day. In three days he reached it. He cast sand before him, and a gap formed in the river. He found six miles of serpents, scorpions, and all kinds of reptiles around [the place where the box was]. He found an eternal serpent around this same box. He recited a spell to the six miles of serpents, scorpions, and all kinds of reptiles that were around the box, and did not let them come up. [He went to the place where] the eternal serpent was. He fought it and killed it. It came to life again and resumed its shape. He fought it again, a second time, and killed it; it came to life again. He [fought it again, a third] time, cut it in two pieces, and put sand between one piece and the other. [It died] and no longer resumed its shape.

Naneferkaptah went to the place where the box was. [He found it was a box of] iron. He opened it and found a box of copper. He opened it and found a box of juniper wood. He opened it and found a box of ivory and ebony. [He opened it and found a box of] silver. He opened it and found a box of gold. He opened it and found the book in it. He brought the book up out of the box of gold.

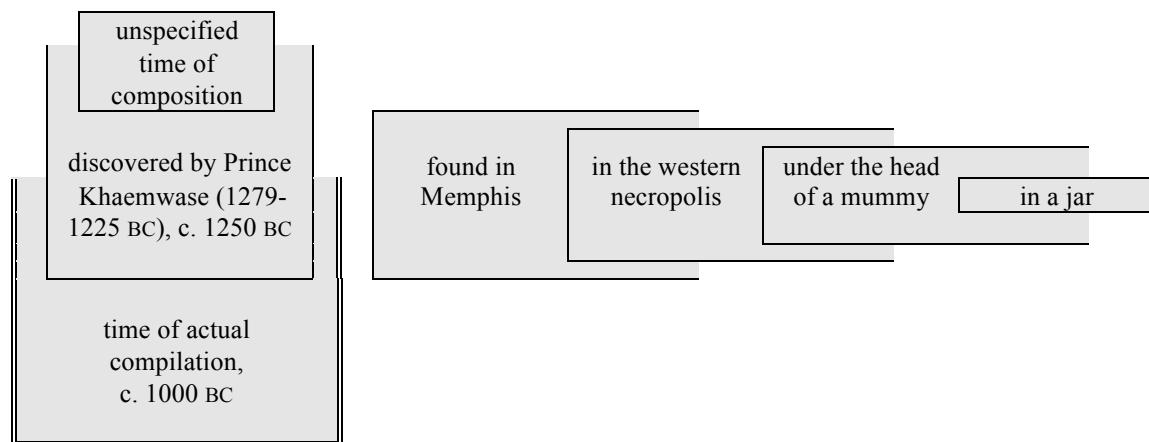
## (16) Synopsis

Source	actual date	alleged time of discovery	alleged time of origin	alleged place of discovery	alleged place of origin
(1)	c. 1350 BC	c. 2550 BC		courtyard of temple at Koptos	divine sphere
(2)	c. 2350 BC	c. 2350 BC		altar of the sun-temple of King Niuserre	divine sphere
(3)	c. 1280 BC		21 <sup>st</sup> –17 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC, or earlier	tomb of the late King Antef	
(4)	9 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC		c. 1950 BC	wall of Sesostris I in the Temple of Amun at Heliopolis	
(5)	16 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC			Temple of Wenennofre	
(6)	16 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC	c. 2550 BC		among the god's own texts in a secret box in the Temple of Unut in Unu	divine sphere
(7a)	c. 300 BC	c. 1370 BC		library of the Temple of Osiris	
(7b)	c. 300 BC	c. 1370 BC	c. 1450 BC	library of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos	
(8)	12 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC	c. 2850 BC		foundation wall of the Temple of Sokar	
(9)	11 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC		13 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC, or earlier	at the neck of the mummy of Ramses II	
(10)	11 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC	c. 1250 BC		under the head of a mummy in the western necropolis of Memphis	Gate of the Fire
(11)	16 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC			on a block of haematite under the feet of the statue of a deity	
(12)	16 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC	c. 2850 BC		among texts under the feet of a statue of Anubis in Letopolis	
(13)	13 <sup>th</sup> cent. BC	c. 2850 BC		among ancient texts in a box under the feet of a statue of Anubis in Letopolis	
(14)	1 <sup>st</sup> cent. BC ← c. 2250 BC	c. 1450 BC	prior to 3000 BC	among ancient texts on a parchment found inside a wall of the palace	
(15)	c. 230 BC	c. 1250 BC	prior to 1250 BC	in a place surrounded by monsters and an eternal snake, in the innermost of six encapsulated boxes	divine sphere

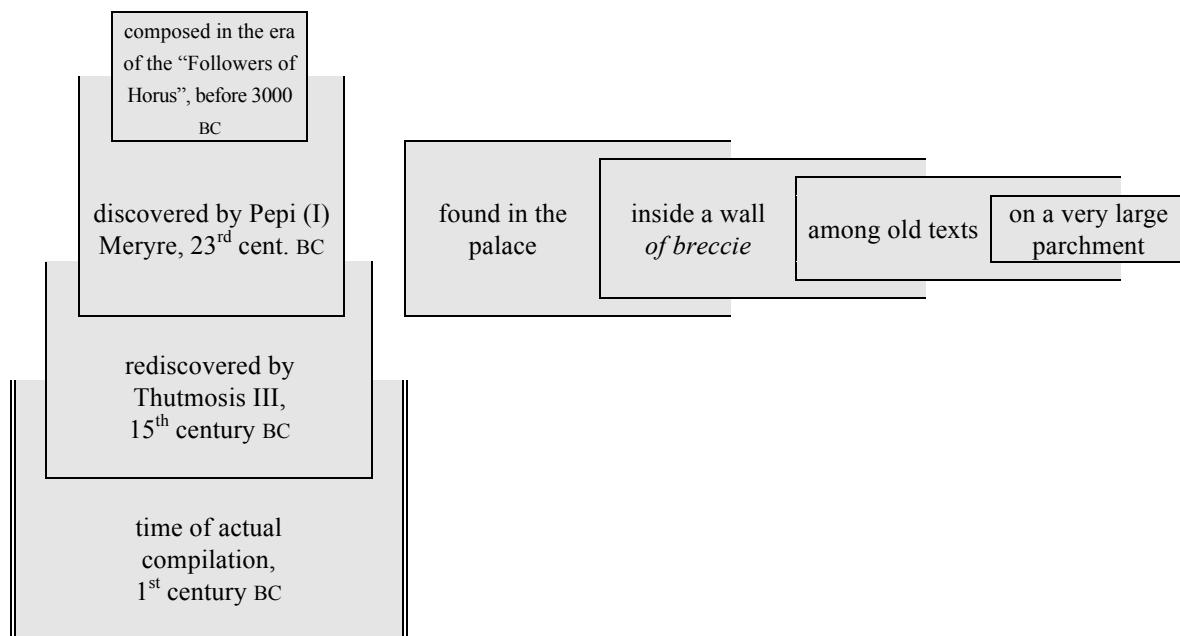
## (17) pBM 10059, col. 8,11-13, c. 1350 BC (document 1)



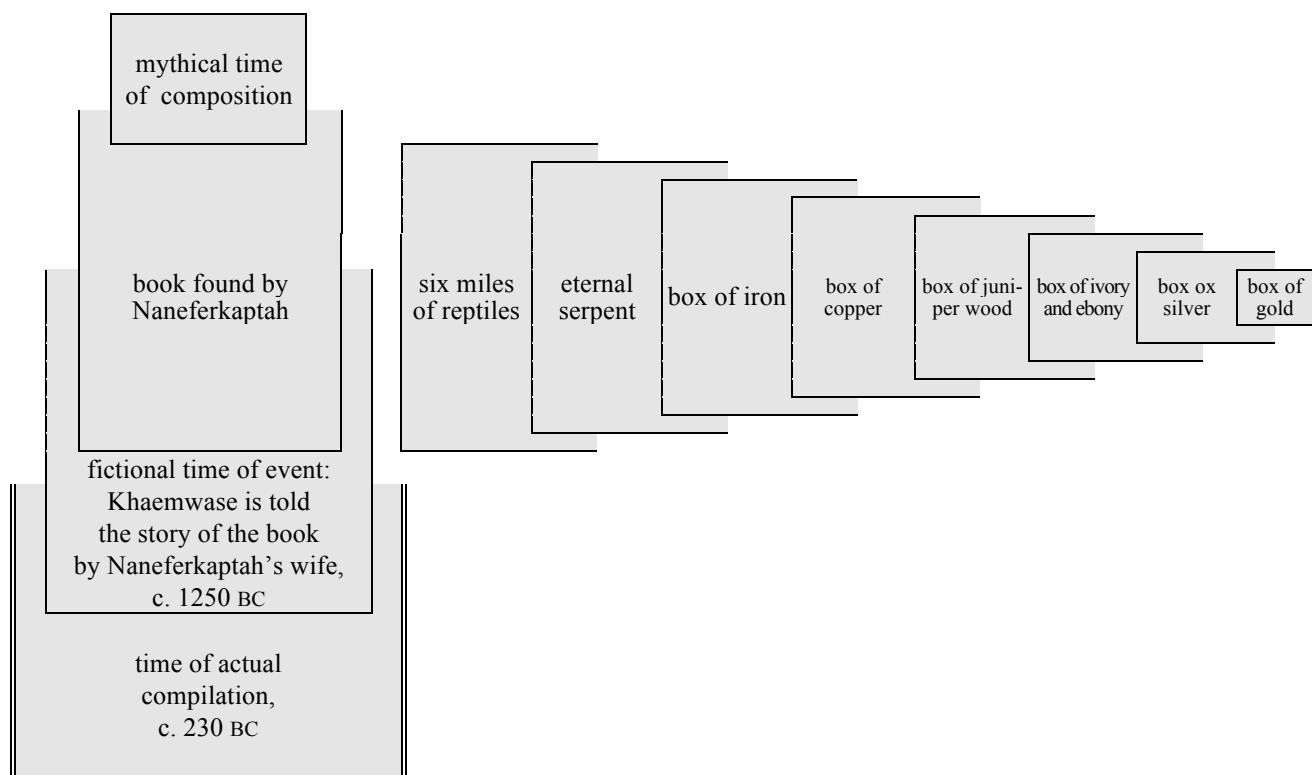
## (18) Book of the Dead, Introduction of Ch. 167 (document 10)



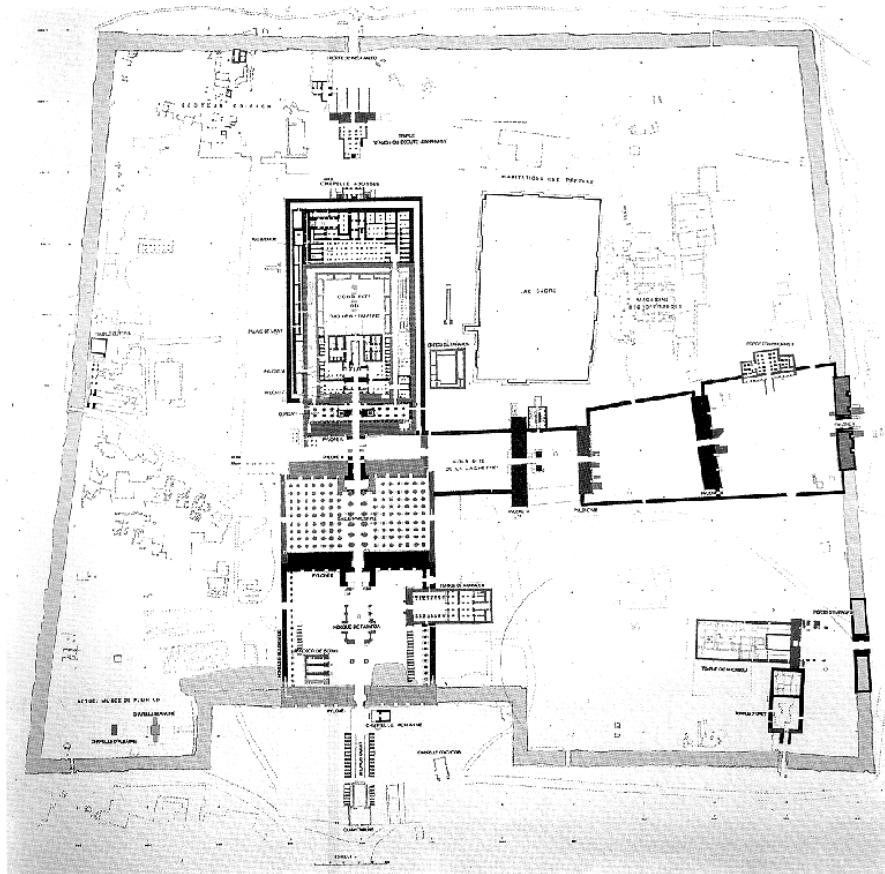
## (19) “Great Scheme of Dendera” (document 14)



### (20) The secret book of Thot (document 15)



### (21) Comparable structural constraints?



Temple of Karnak, source:  
Golvin & Goyon (1987: 14)

## (22) Conclusions

The creation and representation of imaginary sacred spaces in Ancient Egypt exhibit the following constraints:

### A) Structural parameters

- Sacred space often has a **fractal structure**. Sacred places were not only frequently superimposed onto or encapsulated into each other in such a way that a high degree of self-similarity of the whole with its parts of every size can be observed, but also seem to have been generally perceived as such.
- The traditional distinction [sacred] versus [profane] is not an equipollent or privative contrast but should rather be defined as a matter of **gradation**. Something or some place might be [sacred] in relation to another one, but at the same time can also be [profane] or [less sacred] in relation to a third entity or place.

### B) Pragmatic parameters

- The visitor's or user's perspective is significant, as (gradually) distinct degrees of accessibility for different (groups of) individuals show up.
- The "eye of the beholder": What is perceived as an entity of unstructured sacredness at one particular level of observation appears to be a more complex, structured entity of sacred and profane (or more sacred and less sacred) zones after zooming closer.
- The sacredness of places and spaces is not necessarily constant. There must have been means for temporary suspending and subsequent reinauguration of sacredness.

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## Abbreviations

1	first person	FEM.	feminine	PREP.	preposition
2	second person	FOC.	focus marker	PREP.ADJ.	prepositional adjective
3	third person	INDEF.	indefinite pronoun	PRET.	preterite
ABSTR.	abstract noun ending	INDEF.ART.	indefinite article	PROP.	proper name
ADV.	adverb	INF.	infinitive	PTCL.	particle
ART.	(definite) article	m	masculine	QUANT.	quantifier
c	common gender	NPA.	neutral participle, active	REL.	relative pronoun
CNVRT.	converter		voice	RELT. V.	relative (verbal) form
d	dual	NPP.	neutral participle, passive	s	singular
DEM.	demonstrative pronoun		voice	SBST.	substantive
DET.	determinative pronoun	NUM.	numeral	STAT.	stative
DU.	dual	ORD.	ordinal suffix	SUBJ.	subjunctive
f	feminine	p	plural	THEON.	theonym
EMPH.	emphatic reflexive pronoun	PASS.	passive	TOPON.	toponym
		PL.	plural	VB.	verb

## Zeittafel zur Geschichte Ägyptens

25.-10. Jt.	Aridisierung der Sahararegion führt zur Besiedlung des Niltals durch endpaläolithische Gruppen halbnomadischer Jäger und Sammler
um 10000	Feuchtphase ermöglicht (neuerliche) Besiedlung der Sahara, halbseßhafte Gruppen
7./6. Jt.	erneute Aridisierung treibt die Bewohner der Randgebiete ins Niltal und bewirkt im
6./5. Jt.	die Einsetzung der <b>Neolithisierung</b> Ägyptens
4500–3900	(auf der Basis archäologischer Funde vorgenommene Einteilung in) verschiedene regionale Kulturen: Naqada I (Oberägypten), Badari (Mittelägypten), Maadi (Unterägypten); kleine bäuerliche Dorfgemeinschaften in der Niederwüste mit runden Hütten aus Holz und Flechtwerk; Lebensgrundlage Jagd, Haustierhaltung, Getreide- und Flachsanbau
3900–3500	Naqada II; Vereinheitlichung der materiellen Kultur in Delta und Niltal; Siedlungen am Fruchtlandrand mit rechteckigen Häusern aus Nilschlamm; Beginn arbeitsteiliger Güterproduktion
3500–3200	Naqada III; weitere Vereinheitlichung der materiellen Kultur; politische Organisation in Fürstentümern.
3150–3000	„Dynastie 0“: Herrschergräber in Abydos; früheste hieroglyphische Schriftdenkmäler, Beginn annalistischer Aufzeichnungen
2982–2657	<b>Frühdynastische Zeit</b> (I.-II. Dynastie) I. Dynastie: politische Zentralgewalt (nach dem ägyptischen Staatsgründungsmythos erstmalige „Vereinigung der Beiden Länder“ von Ober- und Unterägypten unter König „Menes“); Konzentration der Bevölkerung in größeren Siedlungen mit Monumentalarchitektur; monumentale Königsgräber
2657–2120	<b>Altes Reich</b> (III.-VIII. Dyn.) IV. Dynastie: Pyramiden von Giza; V./VI. Dynastie: Pyramidentexte
2120–2020	<b>Erste Zwischenzeit</b> (IX.-X. Dyn., Beginn der XI. Dyn.)
2020–1793	<b>Mittleres Reich</b> (XI.-XII. Dyn.) Beginn der ägyptischen Literatur (im engeren Sinne)
1793–1550	<b>Zweite Zwischenzeit</b> (XIII.-XVII. Dyn.)
1550–1069	<b>Neues Reich</b> (XVIII.-XX. Dyn.) XVIII. Dynastie: größte Ausdehnung des ägyptischen Imperiums; Neue Sonnentheologie des Königs Echnaton (Amarnazeit); Tutanchamun; XIX. Dynastie: Ramses II.
1069–664	<b>Dritte Zwischenzeit</b> (XXI.-XXV. Dyn.)
664–332	<b>Spätzeit</b> (XXVI.-XXXI. Dyn.) XXVI. Dynastie: Saitenzeit; Rückgriff auf Ausdrucksformen des Alten Reichs; Kriege um die Vormachtstellung in Vorderasien; Ansiedlung von Griechen in Ägypten; XXVII. Dynastie: Erste persische Herrschaft; Eroberung Ägyptens unter Alexander dem Großen (332)
305–30	<b>Ptolemäerzeit</b> : Ägypten multiethnische und multikulturelle Gesellschaft; Alexandria Zentrum der hellenistischen Kultur; Verbreitung ägyptischer Kulte im Mittelmeerraum; Kleopatra VII. (reg. 51-30); Cäsar in Ägypten (47); Vernichtung der Bibliothek von Alexandria; nach den Siegen Octavians bei Aktium und Pelusium (31/30) wird Ägypten Römische Provinz; Abtransport ägyptischer Kunstwerke (u.a. Obelisken) nach Rom
30 v.Chr. – 395	<b>Römische Kaiserzeit</b> : Ägypten „Kornkammer“ des Römischen Reichs, infolgedessen stetiger ökonomischer Niedergang des Landes 2. Jh. zunehmende Christianisierung 3. Jh. Eremitenmönche; wiederholte Christenverfolgungen in Tabennese Gründung der ersten christlichen Mönchsgemeinschaft (340)
395	Reichsteilung; Schließung der heidnischen Tempel
395–640	<b>Byzantinische Zeit</b> Konzil von Chalkedon (451), Trennung der koptischen Kirche von der Reichskirche
seit 641	<b>Islamische Zeit</b> : Kalifat der Omayyaden (661-750, Damaskus); Kalifat der Abbasiden (749-1258 in Bagdad, 1261-1517 in Kairo); eigenständige Herrschaften der Tuluniden (868-905), Fatimididen (909-1171), Mamlukken (1250-1517)
1517–1914	Ägypten Teil des Osmanischen Reichs
1805–1952	Dynastie Mehmed Ali als Statthalter, Khediven (seit 1866), Sultane (1914-1922) bzw. Könige
1922	<b>staatliche Unabhängigkeit</b>
1953	<b>Proklamation der Republik</b>