

## HOOFDARTIKELEN

TRANSITIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN  
CONCEPT OF *M3TY*<sup>1)</sup>

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## Abstract

The goddess Maat is a personification of the concept of maat, which is generally understood as the order of the universe, justice and truth, etc. While the goddess Maat is usually personified as one entity, she is occasionally depicted in the form of two goddesses and named Dual Maat (*m3ty*). The words *wšht nt m3ty* (the broad hall of Dual Maat) in Chapter 125 of Book of the Dead shows that she became prominent from the New Kingdom onward. Dual Maat reflects the Egyptian notion of dualism. Although the reduplication of the goddess Maat in the netherworld has been discussed by scholars, it is not clear yet what the reason for this reduplication is.

The present article focuses on the attestation of *m3ty* in earlier texts: the Pyramid Texts, the Palermo Stone and the Coffin Texts. It will be seen that the word *m3ty* was predominantly used for the name of the bark or the two barks associated with the solar bark or the festival of Sokar, rather than with the dualistic divine name. The later, clear appearance of the reduplicated Maat may have been the result of intricate syncretic ideas attested in the Coffin Texts, identifying the bark(s) of Sokar with two Maat goddesses, the sun barks, the twin children of Atum and the Eyes of Horus.

Dual Maat (*m3ty*)

The ancient Egyptian goddess Maat (*m3t*) is a personification of the concept of *m3t*, which is generally understood as the order of the universe, justice, truth, etc. As a goddess of justice or truth, she appears in numerous sources throughout the history of Egypt. The Old Kingdom attestations of *m3t* with the goddess with an ostrich feather show that the concept of maat had become personified already in the pyramid age<sup>2)</sup>.

Apart from the goddess Maat, the word *m3t* has its dual form *m3ty*, named “Dual Maat” in several textual and iconographic sources. The first iconographical attestation of *m3ty* is in the First Hour of the Amduat (Fig. 1)<sup>3)</sup>. In the procession scene of the solar bark, *m3ty* appears in the double form of the goddess Maat beside the bark. The goddesses are also depicted in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, where they are involved in the judgement of the deceased. The Amduat being the earliest iconographical source of Dual Maat, and the Book of the Dead being the first attestation of the *wšht nt m3ty* (the broad hall of Dual Maat), *m3ty* had clearly become prominent from the New Kingdom onward, attracting much scholarly attention from the early 20<sup>th</sup> cen-

tury onward. Breasted deduced that the dual ending of *m3t* is merely emphatic usage of *m3t* illustrating an example of ‘morning’ and ‘early morning’<sup>4)</sup>. Bleeker studied the Dual Maat in the iconography of the Book of the Dead. Since one Maat was green and the other white, he concluded that the Dual Maat symbolized the concept of maat in this world and the netherworld<sup>5)</sup>.



Fig. 1: Dual Maat depicted in the First Hour of the Amduat

Dual Maat has always attracted much attention<sup>6)</sup>. Yoyotte, for instance, questioned the widely accepted idea to interpret *m3ty* as a goddess in the two worlds. On the basis of the Ptolemaic mythology of Letopolis he concluded that Dual maat was to be identified with the sun and the moon, the sun god during day and night<sup>7)</sup>. Seeber’s investigation of the judgement scene collected images of Dual Maat in various forms. They are not only the double goddess, but also a male and female god, and the two goddesses, one wearing an ostrich feather on her head, the other wearing double feathers resembling the *imntt* sign<sup>8)</sup>. Seeber also concluded that maat functioning as a navigator in the solar cycle did not represent the ‘reduplication’ of maat but the ‘division (Aufteilung)’ into two parts (in this world and the netherworld)<sup>9)</sup>. Grieshammer and Altenmüller mentioned *m3ty* in the Coffin Texts in the light of dualism and syncretism. Altenmüller pointed at the syncretic relationships between *m3t* or *m3ty* and the other divinities<sup>10)</sup>. Smith also looked at *m3ty* in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, suggesting that *m3ty* in these texts had a relationship with Re rather than Osiris<sup>11)</sup>.

While the reduplication of the goddess Maat has been mentioned by scholars, it is not clear yet what the exact reason for this reduplication is. Most studies on *m3ty* are based on the textual sources from the New Kingdom onward, even though *m3ty* dates back to the Old Kingdom. In other words, the

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<sup>2)</sup> E.g. Tomb inscriptions of *Htp-hr-3hty* (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1904/3.1-b: *hm-ntr m3t*) and *Urk I 198: ir.n.(i) m3t*.

<sup>3)</sup> Seeber 1976, p. 141.

<sup>4)</sup> Breasted 1912, p. 299, n. 2.

<sup>5)</sup> Bleeker 1929, p. 61.

<sup>6)</sup> Yoyotte 1961; Hornung 1963a, pp. 9-10, Nr. 52, 53 and Plate of Erste Stunde; Hornung 1963b, p. 17 and p. 23; Grieshammer 1970, pp. 89-90; Altenmüller 1975, pp. 71-72; Seeber 1976, pp. 139-147; Corteggiani 2007, pp. 304-305; Smith 2017, p. 260.

<sup>7)</sup> Yoyotte 1961, p. 61ff.

<sup>8)</sup> Seeber 1976, p. 139-146, fig. 52, 54 and 55. Corteggiani provides another iconographic source of *m3ty* from a relief in Temple of Kom-Ombo, where the pair of male-female god is inscribed with inscription

(Corteggiani 2007, p. 305).

<sup>9)</sup> Seeber 1976, p. 141.

<sup>10)</sup> Altenmüller 1975, pp. 71-72.

<sup>11)</sup> Smith 2017, p. 260.

concept of *m3'ty* throughout the history of Egypt still requires much further investigation. Interestingly, in a recent Middle Egyptian grammar, the author actually asked the reader: "What might *m3'tj* double justice mean?"<sup>12</sup>) The answer: "Perhaps absolute justice"<sup>13</sup>), just as Breasted had suggested 100 years ago. So the debate is still far from settled.

As part of this author's research on *m3'ty* in Egyptian civilization this article re-examines the textual evidence of *m3'ti* or *m3'ty* in the Old Kingdom sources and the Coffin Texts.

### *M3'ti* in the Pyramid Texts

The earliest attestation of *m3'ty* dates back to the Pyramid Texts of Unis<sup>14</sup>). By this time the dual form of *m3't* was written *m3'ti*. The attestations in the Pyramid Texts are Pyr. 317a; 317b; 1315a and 1785b.

The first and second attestation from the beginning of 260 illustrates the judgement scene involving the king and the gods<sup>15</sup>).

[Case 1, 2] Pyr. 316a-317c  
[316]

- a *dd-mdw i Gb k3 Nwt Hr pi W iw'w it.f*
- b *W pi zbii iii fdnw n fdw ipw ntrw*
- c *inw mw d(i)w 'b'bt irrw hy m hpš n itw.sn*
- d *i.mr.f m3' hrw.f m irt.n.f*

[317]

- a *iw wd' n W tfn hn' tfnt iw sdm.n m3'ti*
- b *iw Šw m mtrw iw wd.n m3'ti*
- c *phr n.f nswt Gb tzi.f sw n mrt.n.f*

Recitation. O Geb, Bull of the Sky. Unis is Horus, heir of his father.

Unis is the one who has gone and returned; the fourth of these four gods who bring water, who have brought purification and who make jubilation with the foreleg of their father.

He desires to be justified in what he has done.

Unis, the orphan has had judgement with the orphaness. *m3'ti* has listened while Shu was witness. *m3'ti* has commanded that the throne of Geb shall revert to him, so that he may raise himself to what he has desired.

Beginning with the compellation to Geb, this section is about the legitimacy of the king. In the Heliopolitan theology Geb is the first ruler of Egypt, whose throne is succeeded by Osiris and after that, by Horus<sup>16</sup>). After Unis as the orphan has had judgment with the orphaness, *m3'ti* (𓂏𓂐𓂑) occurs twice as some divine presence being responsible for the judgement.

The words orphan (*tfn*) and the orphaness (*tfnt*) in 317a, and the ambiguous phrase (𓂏𓂐𓂑) in 317b did invite different interpretations<sup>17</sup>). The content of *tfn* and *tfnt*

in this context is quite obscure. Although it is possible to understand *tfnt* as Tefnut, as Sethe and Mercer suggested<sup>18</sup>), this does not explain *tfn*<sup>19</sup>). It is, however, clear that *tfn* and *tfnt* are each other's counterparts. (𓂏) in 317b could be 'the air god Shu' and verb 'to be empty'. The word *mtrw* (witness) could be written both (𓂏𓂐𓂑) and (𓂏𓂐𓂑), with (𓂏) being a preposition or a part of *mtrw*. So, one could read (𓂏) as Shu and (𓂏) as the *m* of predication: 'Shu is witness'. The alternative is to read (𓂏) as a verb and (𓂏) as part of *mtrw*: 'the witness is lacking'. It is a complex issue.

By contrast, the sentences with *m3'ti* are explicit: *m3'ti* has heard (the case) and has ordained that the throne of Geb shall be returned to Unis. As subjects of verbs (*sdm/wd*) *m3'ti* appears to be the dual divinity responsible for the judgement. For this reason, both Altenmüller and Seeber recognized her/ them as the earliest attestation of Dual Maat<sup>20</sup>). But is this really an attestation of *m3'ti* as Dual Maat or is it a simple nisbe adjective<sup>21</sup>)?

Altenmüller also suggested that the pair of *tfn* and *tfnt* could still be identified with Dual Maat due to the syncretic relationship between Shu and Tefnut, and Dual Maat in the Coffin Texts<sup>22</sup>). But as was seen above, *tfn* and *tfnt* (involved in a judgment procedure) and *m3'ti* (acting as judge) have different roles in this scene and thus they cannot be identified with each other.

While all this hangs in the balance, these two attestations of *m3'ti*, involved in the judgement of the deceased king, are only occurrences from the Old Kingdom.

[Case 3] Pyr. 1312c-1315d  
[1312]

- c *phwi P pn m Hkt*
- d *prii.f rf šwii<sup>23</sup>).f rf ir pt*

[1313]

- a *hpd M pn m msktt hn' m'ndt*
- b *prii.f rf šwii.f rf ir pt*
- c *hnn n P pn m Hpy*
- d *pr(ii)<sup>24</sup>).f šwii.f rf. ir pr*

[1314]

- a *mti M m Nit hn' Srkt*
- b *prii.f rf šwii r.f ir pt*

einen Zeugen. Die beiden Wahrheiten haben befohlen,"; Piankoff 1968, p. 36: "Unas, a small orphan (tefen), went to law with the sister (Tefnet). The Two Truths judged, while Shu was a witness."; Faulkner 1969, p. 69: "I the orphan have had judgement with the orphaness, the Two Truths have judged, though a witness was lacking."; Allen 2005, p. 46: "For judgement between orphan and orphaness has been made for Unis. The Dual Maat heard (the case), Shu was a witness."

<sup>18</sup>) Sethe *Komm.* I, pp. 399-400; Mercer 1952, p. 150. In *LGG tfnt* in *Pyr.* 317a is distinguished from *Tfnt* as a goddess (*LGG* 7, p. 405).

<sup>19</sup>) There seem to be no comparable word *tfn* as a divinity (*LGG* 7, p. 405).

<sup>20</sup>) Altenmüller 1975, p. 72; Seeber 1976, p. 46.

<sup>21</sup>) In fact, there is an explicit attestation of *m3'ty* as nisbe of *m3't* in *CT* 3, 43 and also *m3'tyw* are in *CT* 4, 218a; *CT* 4, 344d and *CT* 7 489d. Besides, Allen understands Dual Maat in *Pyr.* 317 as a collective term for the gods who participate in the deceased's judgement (Allen 2005, p. 435).

<sup>22</sup>) Altenmüller 1975, pp. 71-72.

<sup>23</sup>) *šwi* (3 inf.) "to rise up" (*Wb* 6, p. 431; Allen 1984, p. 573).

<sup>24</sup>) Although *pr* in 1313d lacks *ii* at its ending, both should be subjunctive *sdm.f* as the other same phrase have the same ending.

<sup>12</sup>) Bussmann 2017, p. 132.

<sup>13</sup>) Bussmann 2017, p. 256.

<sup>14</sup>) Bleeker 1929, p. 60; Hornung 1963a p. 17; Grieshammer 1970, p. 90; Seeber 1976, p. 140.

<sup>15</sup>) It is notable that words concerning *m3't* are mentioned four times in this short spell (*Pyr.* 317a, 317b, 319b and 323a), while there are only 13 attestation of maat in the entire corpus of the Pyramid Texts.

<sup>16</sup>) Allen 1988, p. 11. In *CT* 2, 212b-213b, Isis says the one who shall rule Egypt as heritage of Geb is Horus, his (grand) son.

<sup>17</sup>) Sethe, *Komm.* I, p. 391: "NN hat als kleines Waisenkind mit der Schwester gerechtet. Die beiden Wahrheiten haben verhört, es fehlte an

- c *sbkwi M pn m b3wi hnt(iwi) sht dr*  
 d *prii.f rf swii.f rf ir pt*

[1315]

- a *tbwti M pn m m3'ti*  
 b *prii.f rf swii.f rf ir pt*  
 c *s3hw P m b3w iwnw*  
 d *prii.f rf swii.f rf ir pt*

The hind parts of this Pepi are Heqet, so that he may ascend and rise up to the sky.

The buttocks of this Pepi are the *msktt* bark and the *m'ndt* bark, so that he may ascend and rise up to the sky. The phallus of this Pepi is Apis<sup>25</sup>), so that he may ascend and rise up to the sky.


The thighs of Meryre are Neith and Selket, so that he may ascend and rise up to the sky.

The lower legs of this Meryre are two Bas<sup>26</sup>) who preside over the Field of Limit<sup>27</sup>), so that he may ascend and rise up to the sky.

The soles<sup>28</sup>) of this M are the *m3'ti* barks, so that he may ascend and rise up to the sky.


The toes of Pepi are the Bas of Heliopolis, so that he may ascend and rise up to the sky.

*Pyr.* 1312-1315 belong to Utterance 539, a so-called 'ascension' text<sup>29</sup>). Utterance 539 to 547 are about the ritual for the statue placed in the vestibule<sup>30</sup>). This spell consists of two parts. The first part is dedicated to the divinization of king's statue or mummy, identifying each body part with various divinities<sup>31</sup>). The second part refers to the ascension of the king as son of Re. In the first part there is also an attestation of *m3'ti* in 1315a, corresponding with the soles of the king. As is shown by the determinative of the sacred bark

and the two strokes , in this case *m3'ti* appears to denote the two barks named *m3'ti*. The concordance of the soles of the statue (mummy) with the two *m3'ti* barks suggests that the barks are somehow instrumental in the movement of the king in the afterworld<sup>32</sup>). This spell also men-

tions a maat-bark (*m3't*) , whose determinative differs from that of *m3'ti*, identified with the king's tongue<sup>33</sup>).

Another attestation of *m3'ti* provides an explicit image of *m3'ti* -barks.

<sup>25</sup>)  can be read as both Apis and Hapi, one of the sons of Horus. For the relationship with the phallus, the present author follows Faulkner's translation (Faulkner 1969, p. 209, n. 10).

<sup>26</sup>) *b3* is represented in dual in accord with *sbkwi*.

<sup>27</sup>) Designation of a field in the afterworld.

<sup>28</sup>) *tbt* also means 'sandal'. The author reads 'sole' as the lowest part of the deceased's body.

<sup>29</sup>) Faulkner 1969, pp. 206-209.

<sup>30</sup>) Allen 2005, p. 205, n. 133.

<sup>31</sup>) These divinities imply the aspects of Atum the creator god. Cf. Billing 2018, pp. 464-466.


<sup>32</sup>) Jacq 1986, p. 136. However, Billing points out that there is no close relationship between each part of the body and its corresponding divinity (Billing 2018, p. 466). It is true that there are some questionable combinations of the body parts and divinities such as the nose and Thoth (*Pyr.* 1305c) and the heart and Bastet (*Pyr.* 1310c), but it is hard to resist the *m3'ti* bark(s) are involved with the movement of deceased. In *CT* 4 180u, the word *tbt* is described as a name of sun-bark (*tbt R*). Cf. Nyord 2008, p. 287.

<sup>33</sup>) *Pyr.* 1306c: *Ns n P pn m m3'i ir m3't*: 'The tongue of this Pepi is the guide towards the maat-bark'.

[Case 4] *Pyr.* 1785b-c  
 [1785]

- a *////*  
 b *s3m N R' m m3'ti.f*  
 c *hrw hts rnpt*

////Neferkare guides Re in his two *m3'ti* barks on the day of completing the year<sup>34</sup>).

Although the fragmented context does not tell us about any functions of these barks in Utterance 627, it is clear that the *m3'ti* with the two bark determinative  appeared as the bark of Re<sup>35</sup>).

The four attestations of *m3'ti* in the Pyramid Texts suggest that it has two aspects. Cases 1 and 2 are about divine entities being responsible for the judgement of the deceased king. They are, in fact, the only evidence of *m3'ti* as divinities in the Old Kingdom texts. They might be the earliest attestation of *m3'ty* as two goddesses, although the scarce sources still leave us room for discussion. The later inscriptions, viz. Cases 3 and 4, are about two barks named *m3'ti*. They suggest that the two *m3'ti* barks have some connection with the sun barks and were used to transport the deceased king in the afterworld. So, what can we learn from the Palermo Stone?

### The Palermo Stone

On the Palermo Stone, *m3'ti* appears as a ceremonial event during the reign of Neferirkare.


[Case 5] PS v. V. 2<sup>36</sup>)

- h'(t) nsw-biti...*  
*s'3h m3'ti r knbt rs<sup>37</sup>)*  
*nsw-bit Nfr-ir-k3-R' ir.n.f m mnw.f [n]*  
*R' Hr(?)<sup>38</sup>) m st (ib) R' hmt(?)*  
*mh 8 msktt m'ndt...*

Appearance of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt

Erection of the *m3'ti* bark .....at the southern corner

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferirkare, he made (it) as [his] endowment to Re-Horus in the Seat of Re's Heart<sup>39</sup>): an 8 cubits of copper(?) (model) of the *msktt* bark and the *m'ndt* bark....


The ceremonial event named 'erecting the *m3'ti* bark' in the middle part of the annals. The determinative  indicates this word stands for the *m3'ti* bark, the bark of the sun god in which he travels across the sky<sup>40</sup>). So, already in the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty a bark named *m3'ti* played a significant role in the royal cult. The southern corner of the temple where the

<sup>34</sup>) Derives from verb *hts* 'complete (year)' (Hannig 2003, p. 912).

<sup>35</sup>) A suffix pronoun *f* shows the barks are in the possession of Re. *t* preceding *f* is probably an extra mark (Anthes 1957, 85-86). Similar writings can be seen in other words in the Pyramid Texts: *Pyr.* 1656b (*k3t.f*); *Pyr.* 1612a-1614a (*s3mt.f*); *Pyr.* 1971 (*3wti*).

<sup>36</sup>) Abbreviations of the source follow Wilkinson 2001.

<sup>37</sup>) The sign placed on the right of *rsw* is obscure.

<sup>38</sup>)  can be read as *R'-Hr*, Re-Horus. This is, however, not conclusive because Re-Horus appears only in the New Kingdom (cf. *LGG* 4, p. 629). Wilkinson regards it as a syncretism of Re and Horus, predecessor of Re-Horakhty (Wilkinson 2001, pp. 79-80).

<sup>39</sup>) Designation of the solar temple of Neferirkare (Hannig 2003, p. 1570).

<sup>40</sup>) Wilkinson 2001, p. 179. Clagett translated it "the Wall of the Sun-Bark", yet providing no explanation (Clagett 1989, p. 95).



*m3'ti* bark would be erected may perhaps be associated with the ship model found in the southern part of Niuserre's solar temple in Abu Ghurab<sup>41</sup>).

In a groundbreaking article, Anthes showed that the determinatives of *m3'ti* in Cases 3-5 suggested that it was to be grouped with the other sacred barks: the *m'ndt*, the *msktt* and the *šms-Hr*<sup>42</sup>). The determinatives of these barks often consist of a cabin and one or two falcon(s), resulting in an attractive reinterpretation of the words inscribed on the *recto* of Palermo Stone, that scholars conventionally had read as *hb Zkr* 'the Festival of Sokar'.

[Case 6] *PS* r. II. 7

*h3*<sup>43</sup> *smr-ntrw hb m3'ti*  
*mḥ 5 šsp 5 db'*

Planning(?) (construction of) the 'Companion of the Gods':  
Festival of *m3'ti*  
5 cubits, 5 palms, 1 finger

[Case 7] *PS* r. III. 6

*h3 swt-ntrw hb m3'ti*  
*mḥ 5 šsp 1 db'wi*

Planning(?) (construction of) the 'Thrones of the Gods': Festival of *m3'ti*  
5 cubits, 1 palm, 2 fingers

[Case 8] *PS* r. IV. 6



*h'(t) biti zp 2 hb m3'ti*  
*mḥ 3 šsp 4 db'wi*




Appearance of the king of Lower Egypt. Second occasion of the Festival of *m3'ti*  
3 cubits, 4 palms, 2 fingers


[Case 9] *PS* r. IV 12



*h'(t) biti zp 3 hb m3'ti*  
*mḥ 2 db'wi*

Appearance of the king of Lower Egypt. Third occasion of the Festival of *m3'ti*  
2 cubits, 2 fingers

All of these cases combine *hb*  with bark signs: 

(Case 6),  (Case 7),  (Case 8) and  (Case 9). The reading *hb Zkr* 'Festival of Sokar' has found wide acclaim<sup>44</sup>). However, Anthes pointed out the signs of bark are

not the sign of *hnw* bark of Sokar , rather they belong to the group of the sacred barks: the *m'ndt*, the *msktt*, the *šms-Hr*, and the *m3'ti*. Based on his observation of the common features of the abovementioned bark signs in the Palermo Stone (Case 5-9) and the double barks determinatives of *m3'ti*

in *Pyr.* 1785 ( Case 4), Anthes concluded that  and the signs of the bark should be translated as 'Fest der (Maat?) Barke'<sup>45</sup>) that is probably read as *hb m3'ti* but likewise means Festival of Sokar.<sup>46</sup>) Basing themselves on textual evidence from later periods, Gaballa and Kitchen supported Anthes's idea. They regarded these festivals as the earliest evidence of the Festival of Sokar, translating it as 'Feast of the Maaty bark' in the Early Dynasty, receiving support from Serrano<sup>47</sup>). In terms of the word *m3'ty*, these are the earliest attestations of this word dating back to before the pyramid age.




Explicit evidence from the Coffin Texts supports Anthes's interpretation.

[Case 10] *CT* 6 280a-c: Pap. Gard II [280]

a *rn n sm3-t3*  
b *ind-ḥr.k k3 i3bt nb thnt*<sup>48</sup>) *m hb m3'ty*  
c *h3.i r wi3.k gw3 r rwd mi Hmn*<sup>49</sup>) *iḥm wrd*

Spell for landing

Hail to you! O Bull of the East, Lord of Faience at the Festival of *m3'ty*. May I descend to your sacred bark tied toward the stairway like Hemen, who does not know tiredness!

In the beginning of Spell 659, in which the deceased desires to join the crew of the sun bark<sup>50</sup>), the words  and  in *CT* 6 280b form an epithet of the sun god, Re. At first glance, this phrase literally can be translated as 'the Festival of Dual Maat goddesses'<sup>51</sup>). There is, however, neither evidence indicating the existence of a Festival of Dual Maat nor any attestation for the worship of the goddess Maat in the Old and Middle Kingdom<sup>52</sup>). In the light of Anthes's approach I propose to interpret this as the 'Festival of the *m3'ty* bark'. And meanwhile, the attestation with clear phonetic signs *m3'ty*  gives strong support to his attractive interpretation.

As far as the association of *m3'ti* with Sokar is concerned, there is the false-door of Seshemnefer from the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (or later).

[Case 11] *CG* 1403<sup>53</sup>)

*imi-r ḥm(w)-ntr Šsmtt*  
*imi-r ḥm(w)-ntr Zkr n m3'ti*  
*im3ḥw ḥr ntr 3 Šsm-nfr*

Overseer of the priests of Seshmetet

Overseer of the priests of Sokar of two *m3'ti* barks

Honored by the great god, Seshemnefer

<sup>41</sup>) Shaw and Nicholson 2001, p. 10; Wilkinson 2001, p. 179.

<sup>42</sup>) See Anthes 1957, especially a table on pp. 82-83.

<sup>43</sup>) The word *h3* in the Palermo Stone is understood as a verb 'to plan' although it usually stands for the preposition 'around' (*Wb* 3, p. 8). Gaballa and Kitchen do not agree with this exceptional translation and point out a contextual contradict when reading it as a verb. Therefore, they conclude *h3* is a preposition which follows an omitted verb *phr* 'to go (around)' (Gaballa and Kitchen 1969, p. 15). On the other hand, admitting the contradiction in reading *h3* as a verb, Wilkinson supports the conventional understanding because of problems found in Kitchen and Gaballa's interpretation (Wilkinson 2001, p. 112).

<sup>44</sup>) Wilkinson 1999, p. 301.

<sup>45</sup>) Anthes 1957, p. 78.

<sup>46</sup>) Anthes 1957, p. 78. For the festival of Sokar, see also Bleeker 1967, pp. 69-90; Gaballa and Kitchen 1969; and Serrano 2002, pp. 92-94.

<sup>47</sup>) Gaballa and Kitchen 1969, pp. 14-16; cf. Serrano 2002, p. 94.

<sup>48</sup>) Probably an epithet of Re (*LGG* 3, p. 786). Another attestation of *nb thnt* in P. Greenfield does not provide any additional features of the title (Budge 1912, Pl. 79).

<sup>49</sup>) A Falcon god often identified with Horus (*LGG* 5, p. 150).

<sup>50</sup>) Willems pointed out an association between the content of the spell and a ceremony called the navigation of Hemen (Willems 1990, pp. 44-45).

<sup>51</sup>) Faulkner 1977, p. 229; Carrier 2004, pp. 1498-1499. Barguet read *m3'ty* as nisbe-adjective: 'Celui de Maât' (Barguet 1986, p. 279).

<sup>52</sup>) Helck 1980, col. 1112.

<sup>53</sup>) Borchardt 1937, pp. 63-65, Pl. 17.

The title ‘overseer of the priests of *Zkr n m3'ti*’ is unique, and it is not easy to grasp what it is about<sup>54</sup>). Still, it seems to hint at the existence of a cult of Sokar of two *m3'ti* barks that presumably had an intimate relationship with the Festival of the *m3'ti* bark.










Sources	Determinatives
PS r. II 7	
PS r. III 6	
PS r. IV 6	
PS r. IV 12	
PS v. V 2	
<i>Pyr.</i> 317a	—
<i>Pyr.</i> 317b	—
<i>Pyr.</i> 1315a	
<i>Pyr.</i> 1785b	
CG 1403	
CT 7 210o	





Table 1: Determinatives of barks appended to *m3'ti* and *m3'ty*

### Transition of the meaning of *m3'ti* and *m3'ty*

To explore the origin of *m3'ty* it is necessary to determine whether *m3'ty* stands for one bark or two barks. As the earliest attestation of the *m3'ti* -bark, the Palermo Stone deserves a careful examination. All attestations show a single bark<sup>55</sup>). In this case the bark carries two falcons on the cabin (Cases 5, 7-9), except the inscription of *PS r. II. 7* (Case 6). The fact that the name of the bark of festival, nevertheless, is called *m3'ti* (Case 10) suggests the ending *-ti* of *m3't* derives from not the number of the bark, rather that of falcon on a bark; Gaballa and Kitchen suggested the word is correctly called ‘Maaty-bark<sup>56</sup>’ in the royal annals.

On the contrary, the later texts have elements indicating some dual aspect. In *Pyr.* 1315a (Case 3) we see a bark with two strokes and *m3'ti* is identified with two soles of the king's statue (or mummy). *Pyr.* 1785b (Case 4) shows two barks carrying one or two falcons. The *m3'ty* bark in *CT* 7 210o is, in fact, the only one attestation of *m3'ty* with two sacred bark determinatives. The transition of the number of ships suggests that the concept of the *m3'ti* bark, which was originally a single bark with two falcons, was reinterpreted

as two barks by later priests, with the dual ending *-ti* referring to the number of barks. The *m3'ti* represented as two barks with two falcons in *Pyr.* 1785 (Case 4) could be a double interpretation of *-ti* as two falcons and two barks in the developing stage of the reinterpretation.




Furthermore, the second reinterpretation of the *m3'ti* bark probably occurred by the age of the Coffin Texts. Two *m3'ty* barks associated with the sun god (*CT* 6, 326p and 312o) are represented with dual determinatives of male gods , or that of an upright mummy wearing an ostrich feather with two strokes . On the other hand, we see attestations of *m3'ty* depicting some intimate relationship with Sokar by the phrase *Skr n* (or *m*) *m3'ty* (*CT* 6, 42a and 282f) in Case 11. Despite indicating the sacred bark of Sokar, each attestation has divine determinatives ( for *CT* 6, 42a and  for 282f<sup>57</sup>). Based on the determinatives, one can assume that the scribes of the Coffin Texts reinterpreted *m3'ty*, which was predominantly understood as sacred barks, as a complex notion comprehending its original meanings as the bark and the double goddess of truth.

The second reinterpretation of *m3'ty* is, more or less, effected by the syncretic notion found in the Coffin Texts. As proposed by Altenmüller, *m3't* is identified as a partner of the air god Shu; Shu and Tefnut, the twin children of Atum whose names are *'nh* and *m3't* (*CT* 2, 32), are identified with solar barks, the *m'ndt* and the *mskt* (*CT* 6, 220), and also with the eyes of Horus (*CT* 6, 124, *CT* 6, 220)<sup>58</sup>). Further Altenmüller assumed that the *m3'ti* in *Pyr.* 317 is identified with Shu and Tefnut. In light of the re-examination of *Pyr.* 316-317 (Case 1, 2) I cannot agree with this bold interpretation regarding *tfn* as substitute of Shu. However, there is more evidence indicating the presence of *m3'ty* as a pair of Maat goddess and a male god on the bottom of the coffin of Sepi (B1C).

[Case 12] *CT* 7 279a-279c: B1C  
[279]

- a *Spi wsr nb wsrtwy*
- b *Spi s'h R'*
- c *Spi nb m3'ty irty w3dt*


Sepi is the mighty one, the lord of the mighty ones.  
Sepi is the noble of Re. Sepi is the lord of *m3'ty*  
whom Wadjet made.

While 11 coffins show the common epithet of the deceased *nb m3't* ‘lord of maat,’ only in B1C and B3L *m3't* is written in the dual. B3L has the double determinative . Although the reason for this substitution is not clear, the determinatives on B1C suggest that the scribes regarded *m3'ty* as a pair of the male god (probably Shu)  and Maat goddess .

<sup>54</sup>) Jones 2000, p. 173. In his index Jones read this epithet ‘overseer of the *hm-ntr* priests of the double Ma'ty-barks of Zokar': *imi-r3 hm(w)-ntr n m3'ty Zkr*. However, it is difficult to read it in this way; the honorific transposition neither occurs in direct genitive nor crosses over other elements (*n*). It is probable that two *m3'ty* barks are in the possession of Sokar, but there is a difficulty to read here *n m3'ty Zkr* because of grammatical aspects.

<sup>55</sup>) The shape of the bark inscribed in the annals of Neferirkare (Case 5) slightly differs from the others.

<sup>56</sup>) Gaballa and Kitchen 1969, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup>) Two attestation of *m3'ty* occurs in Spell 660 in the same spelling . Yet it is probable that one of them (*CT* 6 282e) refers to two goddesses that would give their power to the deceased.

<sup>58</sup>) Altenmüller 1975, pp. 71-72.



Fig. 2: CT Spell 1034 written on the coffin of Sepi (B1C)  
(NINO, de Buck's Archive)

## Conclusions

In order to explore the content of Dual Maat, this article looked at attestations of *m3'ti* and *m3'ty* in the Pyramid Texts, the Palermo Stone and the Coffin Texts. Observations of determinatives appended to the ending of *m3'ty* imply that there have been two transitions in the meaning of this word. The name of the festival inscribed on the Palermo Stone should probably be read *hb m3'ti* (Case 6-9), in which *m3'ty* was originally a designation of a bark used for the Festival of Sokar. In the Pyramid Texts *m3'ti* represents three aspects: solar barks, divine barks identified with the soles of the deceased king and a divine presence. These texts implicate the first reinterpretation of the meaning of *m3'ty*. The Ancient Egyptian scribes considered the ending *-ti* to originally refer to the number of the falcons on the cabin of a bark and later, they reinterpret them as the number of the barks. A double interpretation of the dual of *m3'ty* in *Pyr.* 1785b (Case 4) may mark a developing stage of this reinterpretation. Through a natural process this notion merged with the notion of the two solar barks; they were identified with the *m'ndt* and the *msktt*.

The attestations of *m3'ty* in the Coffin Texts implicate the second transition of the meaning. In the earlier sources, *m3'ty* is identified with the barks of Sokar and the solar barks. Nevertheless, the determinatives are still the god or goddess Maat, so not a bark determinative, with one exception. So far these seems to be the first attestation of *m3'ty* with one or two determinatives of divinities, showing that the second reinterpretation of *m3'ty* occurred around the time of the Coffin Texts. *m3'ty* was seen as a word that included the meaning of not only the divine barks, but also two personifications of the concept of *m3't*, significantly influenced by the syncretic ideas in the Coffin Texts. The pair of Shu and Tefnut, whose names are *nh* and *m3't*, are identified with the solar barks *m'ndt* and *msktt*, and with the Eyes of Horus. Another attestation of *m3'ty* written with unique determinatives in Spell 1034 of B1C also implicates that the scribes believed *m3'ty* referred to a pair, a male god and the goddess

Maat. Future research on *m3'ty* before the age of the Book of the Dead could bring more light into the matter.

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