From Fiend to Friend: The Serpent Sata in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art and Literature

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Abstract

Ancient Egyptian funerary books are rich with incantations and depictions of an array of snakes. While some were considered evil creatures, others were deified. In this paper we are particularly interested in studying the serpent Sata, a serpent that appears in ancient Egyptian texts and representations from the Old Kingdom onwards. The serpent’s presence is predominant in the funerary context with its zenith in the Book of the Dead, where one of the Transformation Spells is dedicated to ensuring the transformation of the deceased into Sata. The material related to the serpent is studied and analyzed to reach an understanding of the perception of the creature in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians with a focus on dynastic Egypt. The material includes a corpus of 38 representations of Sata that has been classified according to shape into four categories and is included in the appendix attached to the current work.

Serpents have always intrigued the ancient Egyptians due to their dual nature and character. The creatures could simultaneously inflict harm yet also be useful, as from the same harmful venom of the snakes, the ancient Egyptians extracted the very cure to their ailment. The legless creatures that crawled above the ground and hid within also shared other auspicious traits. Their ability to shed their old skin and replace it with new skin offered a blend of symbolism, simultaneously representing destruction and creation through the shedding and regrowing of the skin, respectively. This contradiction emphasized the idea of the cycle of life and transformation into a new form, thus suggesting survival and life renewal.¹ In addition, the serpents’ ability to hide under the desert sand and rocks led the ancient Egyptians to associate them with the underworld,² and their ability to hibernate

² G. Pinch, Magic in Ancient Egypt (London, 1994), 35.
and wake up anew further enforced the notion of renewal and resurrection. The serpents’ contradicting characteristics led to their overall categorization into two groups, namely harmful serpents, and beneficial serpents. The ancient Egyptians’ mixed perceptions of serpents are reflected in the serpent named sA-tA (hereafter referred to as “Sata”), the “ground’s son,” a serpent whose character shifted from evil to benevolent as it appeared in ancient Egyptian texts and representations from the Old Kingdom until the Greco-Roman Period.

The naming of this serpent as the “ground’s son” is meant to emphasize its strong bond with earth. The snakes’ connection with earth inspired the ancient Egyptians to develop an array of magical and funerary concepts. In the Book of the Heavenly Cow, the god Re appointed the god Geb to watch over the snakes that lived within him as the earth god and to control their destructive magical powers, thus preventing them from inflicting harm on humans. This reflects the ancient Egyptians’ view of the serpents as mysterious primaeval beings representing the suppressed forces lying within the ground. Nevertheless, the Egyptians related the serpents to the world of the gods, a view that further mirrored the dual nature of the creatures.

The Nature of Sata in Old and Middle Kingdom Texts

The serpent Sata was not, to my knowledge, depicted before the New Kingdom. During the Old and Middle Kingdoms, it appeared exclusively in funerary texts. In the Pyramid of Teti, it appeared in Pyramid Texts Utterances 393 and 395 in a group of spells against hostile beings, mostly venomous serpents. The texts read as follows:

**Utterances 393 § 689d (T)**

\[sA-tA sAw Tw tA\]
\[sA-tA sAw Tw nbwt\]
Sata beware of the ground, Sata beware of the Golden (one)

**Utterances 395 § 691a-b (T)**

\[dd mdw sp-sn tA sAw Tw tA\]
\[sA-tA sAw Tw nbwt\]
\[sAw Tw it.k wtTw\]
\[Wsir\]
\[sA-tA sAw Tw nbwt\]

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8 K. Sethe, *Die ältestägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, I (Leipzig, 1908), 375 (hereafter, Sethe, *PT I*).
9 J. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, WAW 23 (Atlanta, 2005), 91. Allen gives the translation gold for nbw but we used the Golden One as it is likely to indicate Hathor; see Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 96, n. 42. Mercer translates the texts as “sA-tA-serpent, protect thyself against the earth; sA-tA-serpent, protect thyself against Geb,” S. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary* (New York, 1992), 210. However, we prefer Allen’s translation as it fits with the warning tone used in the context.
10 Sethe, *PT I*, 375.
11 For the word wtTw here translates as “producer” or “who begot,” see Wb I, 382, 10; R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1988), 72. However, the use of the word written with the determinative of the bird (Gardiner Sign List G15), wtT is a bird associated
To be recited twice, “Ground, beware of the Ground, Sata beware of the Golden (one),”
Beware of your father (Geb), who begot Osiris, Sata beware of the Golden (one).

The text indicates that the serpent is considered an enemy and sends it a warning to ward it off. However, Sata is referred to as an evil son of the god Geb. One might find here a connection with another unfavorable son of Geb, namely Seth, the enemy of Osiris and subsequently of the deceased. However, an intriguing spell of the Pyramid Texts refers to Osiris as an evil being that needs to be expelled to protect the pyramid. This notion might allow us to consider the probability that Sata, as a son of Geb and despite his apparent evil association might have had some connection with the god Osiris rather than Seth, a notion that will find supporting grounds during the New Kingdom.

Another text that mentions Sata is found at the Pyramid of Queen Neith, Utterance 727 that is another collection of spells directed against inimical beings:

\[
hr \text{ rf st-tb f hrf}
\]
Sata has fallen with his vertebrae under him.

These extracts of the same utterance take a more aggressive approach and doom the serpent Sata to fall on its back, a posture mostly taken by dead reptiles. The use of the word that refers to the vulnerable body part of the vertebra is intentional to magically weaken the serpent thus annihilating it. The text of the utterance continues in the same aggressive tone only to end with a damnation and a clear wish of death for the snake. As they were not suitable for recitation, it is likely that these spells were part of silent rituals intended to protect the corpse from real snakes and prevent their bites. In his analysis of the snake utterances of the Pyramid Texts, Christian Leitz concluded that they were of a preventive nature, serving the king when he resurrects as a young Horus in case he encounters serpents or other poisonous beings. In such instance, the king recites the necessary words to convince those creatures to turn around.

The same hostile attitude towards Sata continued through the Middle Kingdom, where it was still used solely in a funerary context. Sata is mentioned in CT 885, a collection of sentences against serpents that were collected from earlier sources.

with Osiris, see Wb I, 381.9. This determinative might have been used by mistake instead of Gardiner Sign List D53 used with the word in its sense of “who begot,” Wb I, 381.10; 382.10.

Mercer, Pyramid Texts, 211.

Allen, Pyramid Texts, 91.

In another PT utterance, the term st-tb is used without the determinative of a snake to indicate a guardian of earth who reports to Geb. See Seta, PT II, 150 § 1163; B. Mathieu, Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier, MIFAO 142 (Cairo, 2018), 448.

Utterance 534, spell 1267, Mercer, Pyramid Texts, 330.


Allen, Pyramid Texts, 145.

A snake, used in magic spells for destroying snakes: Wb II, 483.20–22.

Allen, Pyramid Texts, 330.


R. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, III (Warminster, 1978), 49, n. 1. For a discussion regarding the nsw-snake that shares
The text refers to Sata, among other snakes, as a demon—an enemy who should be annihilated.\textsuperscript{27} It repeats similar notions towards other serpents that represent harm to the sun god Re and similarly to the deceased. The similarity of the text with the abovementioned Pyramid Text Utterance 727 is unmistakable. The utterance concerning Sata in the Pyramid Texts mentions the serpent within groups of snake repelling spells that were often grouped together\textsuperscript{28} as an epithet for the $sDH$-snake.\textsuperscript{29} The same concepts continued through the Middle Kingdom as one reads almost the same annihilation spells, mostly copied into the Coffin Texts, with Sata being a designation for the $sDH$-snake as well.\textsuperscript{30} In these texts, Sata was clearly associated with harmful venomous snakes that the ancient Egyptians wished to magically control in order to prevent them from harming the deceased.

However, the term $sA-tA$ is mentioned in a contradictory sense in other spells of the Coffin Texts, where it appears as an epithet of the deceased Osiris.\textsuperscript{31} The epithet here is not followed by a determinative of a serpent but rather the determinative of a god, $A40$ of Gardiner’s List.\textsuperscript{32} The use of this epithet finds explanation in the nature of the god Osiris as a chthonic deity, a nature that will lead to further association of Osiris with Sata in the following periods of Egyptian history.

The Nature of Sata in New Kingdom Texts and Representations

Attitudes towards Sata shifted significantly during the New Kingdom. There are more references to the serpent, although most are still funerary in character. Chapter 87 of the Book of the Dead was focused exclusively on Sata, funerary hymns were dedicated to Osiris associating him with Sata, the Book of Caverns texts referred to Sata, and even a book of dream interpretation mentioned the serpent in an unusual non-funerary context. For the first time in ancient Egyptian history, we find a variety of illustrations of the serpent Sata on papyri, in tomb decorations, and on linen shrouds. These texts and representations are discussed below:

1. Sata in BD Spell 87

BD Spell 87 is entitled Spell for Assuming the Forms of Sata. The text of this chapter ensures that the deceased should take the form of Sata. The text is presented in several variations. We take the text of the Papyrus of Yuya as an exemplar and will comment on the variations of this text as needed.
irē hprw m s3-t3 dd-mdw in it-nfr Yw w m3²-hrw
ink s3-t3 šw rnpwt sdr ms r² nb
ink s3-t3 imy drw
sdr.i ms.kwi rnp.kwi r² nb

Assuming the forms of a Sata serpent, words spoken by the Divine Father Yuya, True of Voice:
“I am Sata, extended of years, I lie down, I am born, every day.
I am Sata, who is in the boundaries³³ [of earth].³⁴
I lie down, I am born, I am young every day.”

As in other transformation spells, the deceased becomes Sata (hprw m s3-t3) with the help of magical utterances and metaphors that get him into a state of analogue enabling him to act as Sata.³⁵ The deceased in this chapter is identified with the double-natured Sata. On one hand, he is sleeping like a hibernating serpent, thus reflecting the ancient Egyptian belief that the dead are sleepers who needed beds and headrests and that the underworld is the place where the dead repose.³⁶ On the other hand, this repose should not last eternally, as the deceased is identified with Sata who is bestowed with an extended lifespan in the regions of the underworld.³⁷

However, one may notice contradictory concepts in the text. Despite the strong association of the text with the daily birth of the sun, the connection with the earth is unmistakable. The name of the creature and the notion of lying down is challenged by the confirmation of rebirth. The identification of the deceased with Sata is in accordance with the notion that the deceased identified himself “with everything in which the principle of resurrection dwells.”³⁸ This principle is present in the awakening after hibernation that the text implies, and in the renewal connected to it.

The perpetuality of Sata is expressed in the text by the expression imy drw, “I am Sata, who is in the boundaries,” implying that Sata is the serpent encircling earth as interpreted by Rundle Clark,³⁹ who further suggested that Sata himself is the Primeval Ocean surrounding earth, and at the same time is its protector against the waters of that same ocean.⁴⁰

The vignette accompanying the text of BD Spell 87 represents Sata in various forms. The specimens studied here consist of thirty-eight representations that we classified into three groups as follows:

³³ Faulkner, Dictionary, 323.
³⁴ Used instead of imy drw ti, similar to Papyrus Berlin P. 3002 a-z of Nakht-Imn: I. Munro, Das Totenbuch des Nacht-Imn aus der Ramessidenzeit (pBerlin P. 3002), HAT 4 (Wiesbaden, 1997), 10, n. c. and Ps 7, 10. In the majority of specimens of BD 87, this text is found in the form imy drw ti. See for example the text of the Papyrus of Ani EA10470,3 in B. Lüscher, Die Verwandlungssprüche (Tb 76-88, Totenbuchtexte Synoptische Textausgabe nach Quellen des Neuen Reiches 2 (Basel, 2006), 401; the text of the Papyrus of Nakht P London BM EA 10471, the text of TT 6, the tomb of Neferhotep discussed below, and Wb V, 386.8.
³⁶ Pinch, Magic, 156–57.
³⁷ E. Hornung, Das Totenbuch Der Ägypter (Zurich, 1979), 460.
³⁹ Rundle Clark, Myth and Symbol, 241.
⁴⁰ Rundle Clark, Myth and Symbol, 241.
a. *Sata as a Winding Serpent*

This group is represented by twelve specimens in our study. These include the papyri of Nebseni (fig. 1a); Neferwebwnef (fig. 1b); and the linen shroud of Hapi (fig. 1c), all of which date to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Additionally, Ramesside Period representations of Sata are found in the papyri of Nakhtamun (fig. 1d), as well as the Twenty-First Dynasty papyrus of Maatkare (fig. 2). This group also includes other examples discussed elsewhere within the current work.

The serpent Sata may be represented with one, two, three or four bends and may be black, yellow, or with colored stripes. In the twelve examples of this group, the vignette follows the more widely used style of being depicted in a square. In four examples of this group, the serpent shares the square with another vignette of the Transformation Chapters, in figures 1b, 7, and 9 with a crocodile of BD Spell 88, and in figure 2 with a swallow of BD Spell 86. The windings of Sata in this group of representations led to the suggestion that the serpent represents the primordial serpent that has no beginning. A likely reason for this association is the multiple bends of the serpent that accentuate the notion of repetition. It is worth mentioning that within this group we find only one example of Sata represented as a hooded cobra.

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41 P. BM EA 9900.
42 P. Louvre N. 3092 [III 93].
43 L. Swansea W 869.
44 P. Berlin P. 3002 a-z.
45 SR IV/980 = JE 26229.
46 These are the Eighteenth Dynasty papyri of Nu (P. BM EA 10477) fig. 10a; Kha (P. Turin 8438) fig. 10c; Yuya (CGC 51189) fig. 18a; and Nebqed (P. Louvre AE/N 3068) fig. 19a; and the Ramesside Period examples of the papyrus of Neferrenpet (P. Brüssel MRAH E. 5043) fig. 7, and the tombs of Jirnfer (TT 290) fig. 9, and Inherkhoui (TT 359) fig. 20a.
b. Sata as a Human-Legged Serpent

This group is represented with nineteen representations found in the Eighteenth Dynasty Papyrus of Nakht A (fig. 4a);\textsuperscript{48} and the Ramesside papyri of Nakht B (fig. 3);\textsuperscript{49} and Rames (fig. 4b);\textsuperscript{50} as well as the Twenty-First

\textsuperscript{48} P. London BM EA 10471, referred to herewith as Nakht A to avoid confusion with the Cairo papyrus of his namesake referred to herewith as Nakht B.
\textsuperscript{49} P. Cairo JE 95720 [1], referred to herewith as Nakht B.
\textsuperscript{50} P. Cambridge E.2a.1922.
Dynasty papyri of Nesitanebtawy B (fig. 4c); and Padiamun B (fig. 5). In addition, our specimen includes other examples referred to below.

The serpents of this group are represented as either black, spotted, or striped. The winding bends are generally fewer in number, with a higher occurrence of serpents with one or no bends. The walking legs of Sata in this group are used to indicate the deity’s mobility. The legs also indicate the fields that should be walked in order for the deceased to complete his transformation. In addition, the human feet reflect the notion of the human being as an eternal wanderer. In this group, only three examples carry the depiction of Sata as a hooded cobra.

c. Sata as a Human-Headed Hooded Cobra

This group is represented in this work by seven representations. These are the shroud of Hrw (fig. 6a); the tomb of Padiherresnet (TT196, fig. 6b); papyri of Pasndjemibnakht (fig. 6c); Iahtaisnakht (fig. 6d), as well as other examples referred to in the course of the paper. All specimens of this group are dated to the Late Period except for the shroud of Hrw that is dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

These mostly Late Period representations of Sata as a human headed hooded cobra recall earlier depictions of the New Kingdom funerary representations. In the Seventh Hour of the Amduat a human headed cobra called ḫnyyt, the Living One, is requested by Re to open up her coils for Osiris’ benefit. Additionally, a human headed serpent on four human legs called ḫpy appeared in the Fourth Hour of Amduat where it acted as a guard of the way, and in an enigmatic text on the second chapel of Tutankhamun where he was represented as a human headed hooded cobra.

Fig. 6. Human-headed Hooded Cobras: (a) Shroud of Hrw, Uppsala VM MB 2; (b) Tomb of Padiherresnet, TT 196; (c) Papyrus of Pasndjemibnakht, Paris Louvre E. 11078; (d) Papyrus of Iahtaisnakht, Colon. Aeg. 10207. Drawing by Iman Elsaid.
encircling an oval representing the sarcophagus of Osiris.62 These examples reflect the notions of protection as well as resurrection and perpetuity, all of which may easily resonate with the characteristics of Sata.

We find that the choice of depicting Sata as a human-headed cobra in this group best expresses the personification of the deceased with Sata. The deceased, represented by the human head, and the serpent Sata, are indeed one creature. The transformation is fully achieved to further confirm the notion of rebirth and rejuvenation of the deceased.

2. Sata in the Hymn to Osiris Outstretched in Earth

A hieratic Ramesside text written on an ostracon that was found in KV 9 has been labelled “Hymne à Osiris étendu à terre” by George Daressy.63 However, we would rather use the translation “Hymn to Osiris outstretched in Earth” based on the context that describes the god’s actions within the ground not above it. The text, which has been studied and translated by Adolf Erman,64 includes the following passage:

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[///].k pAj pD awy.f pAj sDrj hr gs.f
hrj s'jt /// nb sSw.t s'h< h 3w m fj
s3-tj5 f 3 m rnpwt
/// tp.k pfr hr-tt tb(w).ty tw.k r hprl ps hr sNbt.k
iw.k nm:.tw m skr rwi.f kkw ntt hjr:k
shJ.f n wdt.y.k lrj.f h5w wbn hr h3t.k
i3k.f n.n.k hr-tt.f
/// you, who stretches his arms, who sleeps on his side,
Who is on the sandbank, lord of the ground, you mummy with long phallus [lit. manhood],
Sata, long of years.
Your head65 turn around your soles [lit. your sandals]. Re-Kheperi shines on your breast.66
When you are sleeping like Sokar, so that he prevents the darkness that is upon you
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63 Ramesside Ostracon oCG 25209 found in KV 9, G. Daressy, Ostracon (CGC Nos 25001–25385), (Cairo, 1901), 41, pl. XXXVII.
65 The sign used here as a determinative for tp is likely mistaken instead of Gardiner’s sign F51 which we used instead.
66 Faulkner, Dictionary, 269. The sign used here as a determinative for sNbt is likely mistaken instead of Gardiner sign F51 which we used instead.
and gives light to your eyes. He spends a lifetime shining over your corpse and mourns for you over himself.

There are numerous aspects of the identification of Sata and Osiris in this text. Osiris is referred to as the Lord of Earth, an epithet that Erman believed had been used only twice for Osiris. The beginning of this text describes how Osiris would awaken from death, stretch his arms, and lie on his side in similarity to the scenes of the Awakening of Osiris. He becomes the master of the ground in which he is buried. He is the one who is still fertile even in death. Here, the resurrection takes place with the help of Re who, during his nightly journey, shines over the deceased Osiris. The text echoes that of BD 87 where the serpent Sata falls asleep every night and is reborn every day at the border of earth.

Erman suggested that the reference to Osiris’ fertility in the text is a way of associating him with the long-lived rejuvenating Sata, thus connecting the resurrection of Sata with that of Osiris. Representations of the dead Osiris with an erect phallus were often associated with the production of his heir Horus, thus symbolizing continuity of life according to the notion that Osiris resurrected, or rather continued, in the form of his son Horus. Moreover, the concept of renewal and perpetuality is expressed in the text with the request of Sata turning his head towards his soles, a notion that is inferred in the BD 87 text discussed above, mentioning the presence of Sata at the boundaries of earth. In other words, this hymn to Osiris is a mere confirmation of renewable eternal life for the deceased.

3. Sata in the First Division of the Book of Caverns

The text starts with Re addressing the gods of the Ennead of Osiris as he enters the first cavern of the West. Sata is the third of three serpents represented in front of an ennead of Serpents.

Text of the first register of the First Division:

```
ls-t³ pf k³by {i} r³-s³w n h³k³ dw³t
k³ h³.k h³ nmn.k mk.wi f³.k.i m imnt nfrt
r irt shrw Wsir r nd-mdw hr imyw f dl.i hftw.f
r nmnw.t sn wd.i mdw ‘n-’ imyw h³
tsh³.l kkw st³y t hr nsw
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70 Griffith, Origins, 169.
O, Sata, who curl in Ro-Setau for the ruler of the Duat.
Bend your hand, restrain your arm. Behold me, I enter into the beautiful West.
To take care of Osiris, to protect those who are in him.
To put his enemies in their place of execution. I command words to those in his suite,
I light the darkness of the secret chamber for the king.72

Text of the third register of the First Division:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i psdnt nt Wsir wdt-mdw hr dwlt Wsir hnty imnt} \\
\text{lnymw-hf fpw m kr s3 tt n?}^{13}
\end{align*}
\]

O, Ennead of Osiris, judging in the Duat of Osiris Khenty-Imenty,
those who follow him rest in the chapel of the great Sata.73

These texts indicate that Sata is one of the guardians of the Netherworld whom Re instructs to protect the deceased king and not inflict him with harm.74 Frankfort suggests that rmn here is used to indicate the “fang” of a serpent rather than an “arm,” signifying a restraining fang rather than being a metaphor of bending the arm in homage, an interpretation that he believes matches the magical context of the text that is meant to protect the king from the venomous snakes of the underworld.75 In this case, the text acknowledges the harmful side of the serpent Sata as well as the protective one in order to protect the deceased king and ensure that he achieves resurrection, a concept that mirrors the double character of creation, represented in its two aspects of m3ft and lsft,76 and that resonates with the earlier texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms discussed above.

In the third register of the First Division, the text further defines the role of Sata. The passage that describes the approach of Re through the Netherworld addresses a group of divinities requesting their help through the journey. One of those divinities is the great Sata, who is said to guard the chapel of the companions of Osiris. The connection of Sata with Osiris is likewise indicated in the text in the mention that Sata curls in Ro-Setau, the mythical Memphite birthplace of Osiris that developed to signify the realm of the dead.77 Once again, the text reflects that the resurrection of Osiris will happen with the help of the sun god bringing life to Osiris and likewise to the deceased.78

4. Sata in a Text from the Dream Book

On the recto of the Papyrus Chester Beatty III is found this Nineteenth Dynasty text entitled the Dream Book:

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73 Piankoff, “Le Livre des Quererts I,” 9, pl. VI, col. 4; also compare: Werning, Das Höhlenbuch, 24–25.


75 Frankfort, Cenotaph of Sety I, 1, 37, n. 1.

76 Servajean, Les formules des transformations, 19.

77 Griffith, Origins, 136.

If a man sees himself in a dream
Seeing Sata ….. good, this means food

In this magical context of dream interpretation, Sata holds a positive position. If a man sees himself in his dream seeing Sata, that is considered a good omen that will ensure nourishment for the deceased. The dreams' interpretations are based on concepts related to the creatures or the object that the dreamer sees. For instance, if a man sees himself looking into a well, it is bad and it means that he is going to jail. One may see the connection between the depth and darkness of the well with that of jail, in addition to the similar difficulty of escaping them both. The same measure may be used in the case of seeing Sata in a dream. The serpent Sata was associated with the renewal of life, resurrection, and with Osiris, a god primarily associated with agriculture. This therefore represented a sensible sign of good fortune and nourishment for the authors of the Dream Book. This text is the only text from dynastic Egypt known to us that mentions Sata in a non-funerary context.

Manifestations of the Divinity of Sata

As noted above, the nature of the serpent Sata changed from being an enemy in the Old and Middle Kingdoms Texts to being deified in the texts and representations from the New Kingdom onwards. In addition to the aforementioned New Kingdom texts associating Sata with both Re and Osiris and BD Spell 87 implying the veneration of Sata, other texts and representations show more tangible signs of the divinity of the serpent.

Sata was depicted as a divinity worshipped by the deceased in four Ramesside Theban tombs, on the Papyrus of Neferrenpet, and on the Twenty-First Dynasty sarcophagus of Tantwenmether (see figs. 7, 8, 9, 11,

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80 TT 6 (fig. 6), TT 214 (fig. 11), TT 290 (fig. 9), and TT 359.
81 P. Brüssel MRAH E. 5043.
82 JE 29660 (CG 6214, CG 6183).
15b). The deceased in these scenes is portrayed either standing or kneeling in prayer with his arms raised towards Sata, and in some of these examples (figs. 11, 15b), he may present a pile of offerings to the serpent.

In TT 6, the deceased Neferhotep stands in the attitude of prayer in front of Sata (fig. 8). The accompanying text reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Spell for pleasing a man’s ka: Words spoken by Osiris, the Foreman of the Place of Truth, Neferhotep, true of voice:} \\
\text{I am born, I am rejuvenated every day.} \\
\text{I am born every day, I am Sata, in the entire land.} \\
\text{Words spoken by Osiris-Neferhotep, True of Voice, I am Sata who lies down in the Chapel [of Upper Egypt].}
\end{align*}
\]

In this version of BD 87, the name Sata is followed by the determinative Gardiner A40 (seated deity) used with the names of gods. The text accentuates that the rebirth and rejuvenation would be granted to Neferhotep via his identification with the divine Sata. The text emphasizes on the divinity of Sata by stating that the serpent lies down in Per-wer, the divine symbolic shrine of Upper Egypt that is strongly related to the Sed feast and the rejuvenation associated with it.

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A similar concept is found in TT 290, where the deceased and his wife and son kneel in front of Sata and the crocodile, and the vignettes of BD 87–88 respectively\(^{85}\) (fig. 9).

\[\text{di.n[i] n.k s\_t m hrt-nfr s\_t htp n iri m\_t}t\]

\[\text{s\_t nh nb hi.f ml R\_t dt}\]

I will give you a place in the realm of the dead, the resting place for those who do what is right.\(^{86}\)

All protection and life are behind him like Re, eternally.

In this text, the deity Sata assures well being and eternal life to the deceased Irinefer. Sata is here rendered as one of the divinities of the underworld with crucial influence on the resurrection of the deceased. In spite of the absence of the name of Sata and the fact that the text is not what is typically found with BD Spell 87, the adjacent crocodile has the rubric of BD 88 “Transforming into a Crocodile” written above the scene, thus confirming the identity of the text and the serpent as those of BD Spell 87.

In the tomb of Inherkhoui (TT 359), the vignette and text of BD Spell 87 are both shown (fig. 20a).\(^{87}\) The text presents a novel approach towards Sata:

\[\text{inD Hr.k s\_A-tA pr m nww iwa pn nTrw wsir Hry iswt m s\_t mAat In-Hr-xaw mAa xrw Dd.f sn tA nw nbw r HH wrw n 3bdw}\]

Hail, Sata, who comes out of the primordial sea, the heir of the gods, Osiris, the Foreman\(^{88}\) of the Place of Truth, Inherkhoui, justified, he says: kiss the earth before the lords of the Eternity, the great ones of Abydos.\(^{89}\)

Once again, this text is not typical of the usual Transformation Chapter BD Spell 87, but rather an homage and prayer to Sata and other divinities. However, its proximity to Transformation Chapters BD Spell 82, Assuming the Form of Ptah, BD Spell 85 for Assuming the Form of a Ba-bird, and BD Spell 86 for Assuming the form of a swallow—all of which are part of the decoration of the northern section of the vault, confirms its character as BD 87.

This text mentions that Sata comes out of the primeval ocean. The serpent here is clearly marked as a primordial being and is welcomed by the deceased as being the son of earth who emerged from the primeval waters and as the heir of the gods.\(^{90}\) The deceased lists other divinities that he made sacrifices to so that they would open

\(^{85}\) PM I, 1, 373.10. The snake is partly damaged.

\(^{86}\) M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches: Texte und Vignetten, AVDMK 46 (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), 49, 51, fig. 58.

\(^{87}\) B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1930), FIFAO 8.3 (Cairo, 1933), 52, pl. 15; PM I, 1, 423.

\(^{88}\) Chief Workman in the Place of Truth, in Al-Ayedi, Index, 389–90.

\(^{89}\) Saleh, Totenbuch, 49.

\(^{90}\) Hornung, Das Totenbuch Der Ägypter, 469.
the realm of the dead for him. The text here differs from the usual text of the BD Spell 87 in that it emphasizes the other powers of Sata instead of the usual rebirth and rejuvenation powers, because here the divinity of Sata is additionally associated with creation. The solar connection of Sata is stressed in his emergence from Nu.

This text recalls the image of the lotus emerging from the Primeval Ocean at the instant of creation. It is relevant to note that both the lotus and Sata, the vignettes representing Spells 81 and 87 respectively, are depicted in proximity of one another with both their figures stretching along the width of the scene in eight examples from our specimens (figs. 10a-d, 14, 15a-b, 18a). This connection between the serpent and the lotus is mentioned in the Brooklyn Papyrus where a serpent is described as having a body similar to that of a lotus, a description that relates to the rising action of a hooded cobra. This association is also echoed in later texts found in the temple of Dendara, where the serpent is described as s3-t3 wr wbn m nhb “the great s3-t3 who emerges from the lotus flower,” and s3-t3 n pry pr m twnw “the divine s3-t3 who comes from Heliopolis.” This connection reflects the association of both the serpent Sata and the lotus with creation as coming from beneath and of the notion that both the lotus and Sata wake up and rise after sleep. In addition, it is a manifestation of their shared solar liaison.

The link between Sata and the lotus is more clear on the Ptolemaic Period sarcophagus of Kha that shows the twelve forms that the sun god Re takes as he travels through the twelve hours of the day. These forms are aligned with the twelve forms of the Transformation Chapters of the Book of the Dead. Intriguingly, the form Sata is aligned with that of Nefertum, the newborn young sun god whose symbol and identity are the lotus flower.

Such an association may seem to contradict with the name of Sata that reflects its chthonic powers. Nevertheless, the stretch of the body of Sata throughout the breadth of the scene is intended to express the idea of coming from earth just like it is intended for the lotus to express the notion of coming out of the ocean. Furthermore, in

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91 Saleh, Totenbuch, 49, n. 360.
93 S. Caunville, J. Hallof, and H. Van Den Berg, Dendara: les chapelles osiriennes (Index), BdE 119 (Cairo, 1997), 459.
94 Cairo JE 49531.
95 G. Daressy, “Fragments de deux cercueils de Saqqara,” ASIE 17 (1917), 16.
the text here discussed, Sata is himself coming out of the primeval ocean, which is once again an emphasis on the symbolic association of Sata with creation.

The text reflects the double nature of the serpent. On one hand, the serpent lives on earth yet hibernates within, thus associating the reptile with earth and consequently with death and the god Osiris. On the other hand, the serpent wakes up from its hibernation as the weather gets warmer, thus associating it to the sun god Re and subsequently with resurrection and rejuvenation. This double nature of the serpent fits with the belief that spread from the New Kingdom onwards that both Re and Osiris unite into one during the nightly journey, only to be born again like Re leaving Osiris in the realm of the dead, thus emphasizing on the cyclic perpetual correlation of life and death. The notion of the sun god taking the form of a serpent while in the company of Osiris through the nightly journey is found in BD 175, “Spell for not Dying a Second Time.”

Two intriguing terms caught our attention in this regard. The reference to the deceased Osiris as imy-tA, “the one who is within earth”—a term also used to designate snakes—and the reference to Re as tAy, “the one of Earth,” also interpreted as “the chthonic sun.” The use of these terms adds more coherence to the connection of the three divinities. Sata may therefore be considered a nocturnal form of the sun god in his nightly journey as he unites with Osiris, the one who sleeps within earth, to renew and rejuvenate in order to be born again, a fate that the deceased aspired to share. In other words, Sata combines the Celestial Re and the Chthonic Osiris, two opposing powers that were united during the nightly journey only to achieve perpetuality. Such duality is reflected in later texts of the temple of Dendara, where Sata is called sA-tA nTry pr m Iwnw, ‘the divine sA-tA who comes from Heliopolis’, and sA-tA Sps pr m Ndyt, ‘the good sA-tA who comes from Nedyt’, two designations of significant relevance considering that Iwnw and Ndyt are two sites associated with Re and Osiris respectively.

Another unique feature is found in TT 214 (fig. 11), where the following text is found above a picture of a human-legged cobra:

\[\text{w'b sp-sn n k3 n t3 nbt-t5wy}\]

Pure, pure, for the ka of the Lady of the Two Lands.

For the first time we find the reference to Sata as a female divinity, contrary to the masculinity of the deity as implied by its name and in textual evidence. This example is, to our knowledge, the only instance of a feminine Sata. The tomb owner, Khoui, who kneels on a Maat sign, offers to the human-legged hooded cobra. Although the name of the divinity is not stated, it has been identified as Sata. This identification may be based on the feet and the parallel from TT 6 discussed above. It is likely that the widespread worship of Meretseger at Deir el Medineh, and the fact that both

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98 Piankoff, Ramesses VII, I, 34–35 and fig. 5.
100 P. Vernus and J. Yoyotte, Bestiaire des pharaons (Paris, 2005), 83, 293.
104 Cauville, Hallof, and Van Den Berg, Dendara, 459. A parallel to the double natured Sata is the ntw-snake that plays a double role as a protector of Re and Osiris. See Willems, Hapta, 353, n. 2176.
105 B. Bruyère, Tombes thébaines de Deir el Medineh à décorations monochromes, MIFAO 86 (Cairo, 1952), 97, pl. XXVIII.
106 PM I, 1, 310–11; Saleh, Totenbuch, 50.
divinities were serpents, led to an association of Sata with Meretseger in this tomb, to the extent that it was given the feminine title of nbt-tawy. Bernard Bruyère points out that the title nbt-tawy is enough to designate the cobra as a formidable chthonic divinity analogous to the serpent Sata and to Meretseger. It may be worth mentioning that of the four examples of Sata represented as a hooded cobra known from the New Kingdom, two are found in Deir el Medineh tombs.

In addition to the aforementioned signs of divinity, Sata is represented with a divine beard in the papyri of Nesitanebtawy (fig. 14) and of Nesikhonsu A (fig. 10d), and on the sarcophagus of Tantwenmether (fig. 15b), all of which are dated to the Twenty-First Dynasty. The feature that also appears on the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Papyri of Ankhwahibre (fig. 12a); Thaihepimw (fig. 12b), and Iptweret (fig. 12c), Sata is also represented amongst a group of netherworld divinities attending the awakening of Osiris on the Papyrus of Padiamun A (fig. 13). The latter example has been identified based on the iconography of the feet associated with Sata.

The divinity of Sata is also reflected in its association with symbols related to the sun god. For instance, some representations of the serpent Sata were linked to the east. In the tomb of Inherkhoui TT 359, Sata looks towards the east of the tomb facing the deceased who looks towards the west (fig. 20a). In addition, in the papyrus of Tamniwt (fig. 15a), Sata is represented above the sign of the east. A similar depiction is found in the papyrus of Nesitanebtawy A (fig. 14), where the deified bearded human-legged Sata is placed on the sign of the east placed on a mountain. Similarly, on the sarcophagus of Tantwenmether (fig. 15b) the deceased is

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110 P. London BM EA 10558
111 P. Paris Louvre N. 3094.
114 P. London BM EA 10002.
115 P. Cairo CGC 40017.
116 JE 29660.
represented with the sign of the west behind her, facing the bearded Sata who is depicted to the right with a table of offerings that resembles the sign of the east in front of the serpent and a lotus flower behind him.

Nevertheless, it might be worth noting that the divinity of Sata is different than that of Re and other gods. We note that in the headings of the Transformation Chapters of the Book of the Dead the names of Sata, Seshen, Menet, Bik, and Benu are usually written in red like the rest of the heading $ir\ xpr\ m$, while that of Ptah is written in black within the chapter heading that is in red (figs. 16a–b, 17). Examples of this are found in the papyri of Ani, Yuua, Senusert, Nu, Maatkare and others. The same observation is noticed for other divinities’ names, for instance the name of Re that is found in black in the middle of a text written in red, such as in the Papyrus of Nu.117 This is likely to avoid writing the name of a divinity in red, which was the color used to write the name of the god Seth and the names of enemies.118 This indicates that Sata is more of a personification of a deity in the same way that the lotus, the swallow, the falcon, and the heron are. The divinity of Sata is therefore not absolute but is related to the powers that its form and character reflect.

The Nature of the Expression “Sata”

The available texts and representations of Sata are somehow ambiguous regarding the species of the serpent, which opens the door for some inquiries regarding the nature of the creature.

One finds that the depictions of the serpent Sata take an array of forms and colors. In the papyrus of Yuua (fig. 18a), the serpent resembles the species Naja nubiae, the Nubian Spitting Cobra or the Black Cobra, a venomous nocturnal serpent with limited diurnal activities,119 or Walterinnesia aegyptia, the Black Desert Cobra, another nocturnal and venomous snake.120 These two are the only black serpents known in Egypt.121 However, we propose that our example belongs to the latter type as it is represented entirely in black similarly to the Black Desert...
Fig. 16a-b. Variations of the Use of Black and Red in Transformation Chapters Headings. Papyrus Yuya, CGC 51189. Photos by Abir Enany.

Fig. 17. The Name Sata written in Red and that of Ptah in Black within Transformation Chapters Headings Papyrus of Maatkare, SR IV/980 = JE 26229. Photo by Sameh Abdel-Mohsen courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Fig. 18a. Black Serpent on the Papyrus of Yuya, CGC 51189. Photo by Abir Enany.

Fig. 18b. Walterinnesia aegyptia, the Black Desert Cobra. Photo by Radiazav/Shutterstock.com, https://www.shutterstock.com/image-photo/black-desert-cobra-1670658253.
Cobra\textsuperscript{122} (fig. 18b), whereas the Nubian Spitting Cobra has a buff color for the venter and its back is of brownish grey rather than pitch-black.\textsuperscript{123}

Some of the representations of Sata discussed above show the serpent with striped skin (figs. 1a, 10c, 15a) similar to that of \textit{Naja annulifera}, the Banded Cobra,\textsuperscript{124} another venomous serpent.\textsuperscript{125} However, as this species is not recorded in Egypt,\textsuperscript{126} we suggest that the banded serpent in these documents might be \textit{Platyceps sinaei}, the Sinai Banded snake, a nocturnal non-venomous small snake\textsuperscript{127} that bears much resemblance to our specimens.

Other examples resemble \textit{Echis c. coloratus} and \textit{Echis pyramidium}, both of which are subspecies of the \textit{Genus Echis} species that belongs to the venomous \textit{Viperidae} family.\textsuperscript{128} The serpent on the papyrus of Nebqed (fig. 19a) bears notable resemblance to the \textit{Echis c. coloratus}, a nocturnal snake that is also known as Burton's Carpet Viper, judging by the broad triangular head,\textsuperscript{129} the light color of the serpent, and the side winding of the body indicating a side movement characteristic of this type of serpent (fig 19b). The Egyptians recognized this side movement and recorded it.\textsuperscript{130}

The serpent in the tomb of Inherkhoui (fig. 20a) resembles the \textit{Echis pyramidium}, another nocturnal snake\textsuperscript{131} known as the Carpet Viper\textsuperscript{132} (fig. 20b). Serpents of the species were described as “Dorsum gray, with a mid-dorsal series of dark-edged, whitish, narrow saddles, interspersed with large dark brown-gray blotches; a lateral series of smaller dark spots; dorsal side of head with a dark arrow-like mark (often broken); indistinct dark, diagonal band below the eye. Venter white,”\textsuperscript{133} a description that perfectly fits our example. To this species we may also suggest the serpents of our figures 21a-f as well as the snakes referred to earlier in our work (see figs. 3, 4b, 10b, 10d, 14, and 15b).

Other specimens are harder to identify. Nevertheless, judging by the bands on their necks, we may suggest that our figures 2, and 4a belong to the species \textit{Naja nubiae},\textsuperscript{134} the Nubian Spitting Cobra. Our specimens also have a black back like the suggested species. However, the available data does not allow further confirmation.

Other specimens represent Sata as a hooded Egyptian cobra, \textit{Naja haje}, (figs. 1c, 4c, 6, 8, 11, 12). However, it should be noted that the hooded cobra was widely associated with female goddesses.\textsuperscript{135} All female serpent goddesses were represented in the form of a rearing cobra, while male serpent gods were represented with a divine beard.\textsuperscript{136} Even though the ancient Egyptians rarely identified types of male serpent mythical creatures, modern researchers were able to identify some species based on the iconography, such as the serpent Apophis which was identified as the \textit{Naja nubiae}, Nubian Spitting Cobra, or the red cobra based on the number of its fangs.\textsuperscript{137} Only one male serpent god was represented as a rearing cobra, namely Netjer-anhk.\textsuperscript{138} Due to the male identity of Sata, it was therefore a more natural choice to represent the deity as a serpent of another species than cobra.

\textsuperscript{122} Sauneron, Un traité d’ophiologie, 10; Golding, Brooklyn Papyrus, 186.
\textsuperscript{123} Baha El Din, A Guide to the Reptiles, 557–560, and compare 313, figs. 110–11.
\textsuperscript{127} Baha El Din, A Guide to the Reptiles, 517, and fig. 99.
\textsuperscript{129} Golding, Brooklyn Papyrus, 150.
\textsuperscript{130} Sauneron, Un traité d’ophiologie, 30; Golding, Brooklyn Papyrus, 128–29.
\textsuperscript{131} J. Anderson, Zoology of Egypt, I (London, 1898), 338. It must be noted that the names of some of the species given by Anderson have been modified by modern reptile researchers. We therefore used this reference based on the description and the Arabic names of the snakes.
\textsuperscript{132} Baha El Din, A Guide to the Reptiles, 579.
\textsuperscript{133} Baha El Din, A Guide to the Reptiles, 580.
\textsuperscript{134} Baha El Din, A Guide to the Reptiles, 556–568; Golding, Brooklyn Papyrus, 193.
\textsuperscript{136} Rundle Clark, Myth and Symbol, 249
\textsuperscript{138} Golding, Perceptions of the Serpent, 204–5.
or as a cobra in its crawling form rather than as a rearing cobra, a form mostly associated with goddesses. The influence of the worship of Meretseger at Deir el Medineh may have been given way to the representation of Sata as a hooded cobra as discussed above.

The diversity of shapes and colors of the Sata serpent indicates that Sata designates more than one species of snakes. Nevertheless, we noticed that within this array of snakes, two traits are shared between the proposed species. They are all nocturnal, and all venomous except for one, namely the *Platyceps sinai*, the Sinai Banded snake.

In spite of this variety of representations, the name of *s3-t3* is usually followed by the determinative of a winding snake (Gardiner’s Sign List I14), used in a mythological context with words indicating snakes with no specific species specified.\(^{139}\) Another point, already noted, is that the term *s3-t3* is used predominantly in

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\(^{139}\) Vernus and Yoyotte, *Bestiaire des pharaons*, 295. In some cases, the ancient Egyptians used a specific determinative to indicate the
the funerary context, with only one exception known to us from the dynastic period, in the aforementioned Dream Book text. This may be comprehensible in the light of the texts and representations discussed above, which are rich in connotations related to the journey through the afterlife and resurrection. We therefore propose that $sA-tA$ was not a specific snake, but rather a personification of the chthonic powers that—in spite of being harmful—would serve a positive function of protection and renewal of the deceased from his nightly journey into a new life. This hypothesis explains why the name Sata is used mainly in the funerary context—to accentuate the underworld journey through the Duat. We find this to be in accordance with the view that $sA-tA$ is a metaphor or a designation for an unspecified species of snake, likely inspired by several species. In later texts, the term was sometimes used as a general term for “snake.” The use of the term $sA-tA$ is an illustration of the ancient Egyptian strategy to replace the name of a dangerous creature with an euphemistic anti-phrase such as Son of Earth to designate a “serpent.”

Concluding Comments

While examining the texts and representations of Sata, we noticed a gradual change in the character of the creature. During the Old Kingdom, as seen in the Pyramid Texts examples cited above, Sata was considered a fiend and an enemy of the sun, and consequently of the deceased. The utterances were therefore directed to neutralize its danger. This malevolent creature is one of the forces of earth and was therefore recognized as a son of Geb. These texts indicated that Sata was likely a designation for evil chthonic powers more than being a specific creature. The same view of Sata as a harmful being continued during the Middle Kingdom when spells of the Coffin Texts repeat the earlier concept. Nevertheless, we noticed that his name appeared in a different context as an epithet for the god Osiris.

By the Eighteenth Dynasty, this attitude towards Sata changed, and the serpent acquired a favorable nature to the extent that the deceased aspired to take the form of Sata in BD Spell 87, one of the Transformation Spells. From this period and more clearly later during the Late Period, Sata and the deceased would grow to be one and the same, as the former would be represented with a human head.

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snake’s type such as the use of the sign of a viper (Gardiner’s Sign List I19), to indicate a viper: Golding, Brooklyn Papyrus, 15. However, this is not a strict rule as we notice that the sign I 64 of a hooded cobra was used as a determinative for other serpents that do not fit the description of cobras. See for example Sauneron, Un traité d’ophiologie, 31–32; Golding, Brooklyn Papyrus, 150, 155, 159, and 180.

140 Andreauzzi, “Categorizing Reptiles,” 139, 141.

141 In addition to two examples from the Greco-Roman Period, in the Temple of Horus at Edfu: É. Chassinat, Le temple d’Edfou VII, MIFAO 24 (Cairo, 1932), 108, and as an epithet for the god Horus Sema Tawy in the temple of Denderah: S. Cauville, R. Boutros, P. Deleuze et al., “La chapelle de la barque à Dendera,” BIFAO 93 (1993), 127, and pl. XIV.

142 Allen, Pyramid Texts, 91, 92, and n. 42.

143 LGG VI, 96–97; Allen, Pyramid Texts, 432; Vernus and Yoyotte, Bestiaire des pharaons, 16, 88, 293.


145 Vernus and Yoyotte, Bestiaire des pharaons, 83.
Moreover, from the New Kingdom onwards evidence of the divinity of Sata is unmistakable. A text of the Book of the Caverns names a series of serpents including Sata, requesting them to protect the deceased Osiris and not to harm him. In addition, representations of Sata being worshiped by the deceased are found in tombs and on papyri.

The shared connection of both Sata and Osiris with the earth was a leading factor in the development of the former from being one of the evil creatures related to earth into an epithet of the latter, a change that led to their eventual identification with one another. In addition, their common transformational aspect led to their association with the god Re as is detected in a number of texts.

In this regard, we find that BD Spell 87 and the seemingly related texts are a reflection of the transformation not only of the deceased into Sata but also of Osiris into Re, thus transforming the deceased Osiris buried under the ground, personified as Sata, into the celestial Re who rejuvenates and is reborn into eternity.

Furthermore, the name Sata, that translates to the “ground’s son” and its appearance almost exclusively in the funerary context, allows us to reach a better understanding of the being as a personification of the chthonic double natured powers of the underworld. Despite being dangerous, mysterious, and dwelling in the darkness of the underworld, these powers have a beneficial side that would help the deceased transform into a new being that endures forever and regenerates perpetually.

### Appendix 1: Representations of Sata by Form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representation Document</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Fig. no.</th>
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<td>18th Dyn</td>
<td>1a</td>
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<td>18th Dyn</td>
<td>1b</td>
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<td>Linen shroud of Hapi</td>
<td>Swansea W 869</td>
<td>18th Dyn</td>
<td>1c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus of Nu</td>
<td>BM EA 10477</td>
<td>18th Dyn</td>
<td>10a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus of Kha</td>
<td>Turin 8438</td>
<td>18th Dyn</td>
<td>10c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus of Yuya</td>
<td>CGC 51189</td>
<td>18th Dyn</td>
<td>18a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus of Nebqed</td>
<td>Louvre AE/N 3068</td>
<td>18th Dyn</td>
<td>19a</td>
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<td>1d</td>
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<td>Brussels MRAH E. 5043</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tomb of Irinefer</td>
<td>TT 290</td>
<td>Ramesside Period</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tomb of Inherkhouri</td>
<td>TT 359</td>
<td>Ramesside Period</td>
<td>20a</td>
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<td>Papyrus of Maatkare</td>
<td>SR IV/980=JE 26229</td>
<td>21st Dyn</td>
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</table>

<p>| <strong>Human-Legged Snake</strong>  |                           |         |          |
| Papyrus of Nakht A      | London BM EA 10471        | 18th Dyn| 4a       |
| Papyrus of Kha and Merit| Paris BN 826 (Laynes B)    | 18th Dyn| 10b      |
| Papyrus of Tjanena      | Paris Louvre N. 3074      | 18th Dyn| 21a      |</p>
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<td>Papyrus of Rames</td>
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<td>TT 214</td>
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<td>Ramesside Period</td>
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<td>4c</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>Papyrus of Tamniwt</td>
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<td>21st Dyn</td>
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<td>Sarcophagus of Tantwenmether</td>
<td>JE 29660 (CG 6214, CG 6183)</td>
<td>21st Dyn</td>
<td>15b</td>
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<td>Papyrus of Tawyherit</td>
<td>Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)</td>
<td>21st Dyn</td>
<td>21f</td>
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**Human-Headed Hooded Cobra**

| Shroud of Hrw          | Uppsala VM MB 2 | 18th Dyn | 6a        |
| Tomb of Padiherresnet  | TT 196          | Late Period | 6b       |
| Papyrus of Pasntjemibnakht | Paris Louvre E. 11078 | Late Period | 6c       |
| Papyrus of Tahtaisnakht | Colon. Aeg. 10207 | Late Period | 6d       |
| Papyrus of Ankhwahibre  | London BM EA 10558 | Late Period | 12b      |
| Papyrus of Thaillepimw  | Paris Louvre N. 3094 | Late Period | 12c      |
| Papyrus of Iptweret     | Cortona 3186    | Late Period | 12d      |
### Appendix 2: Table of Figures

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