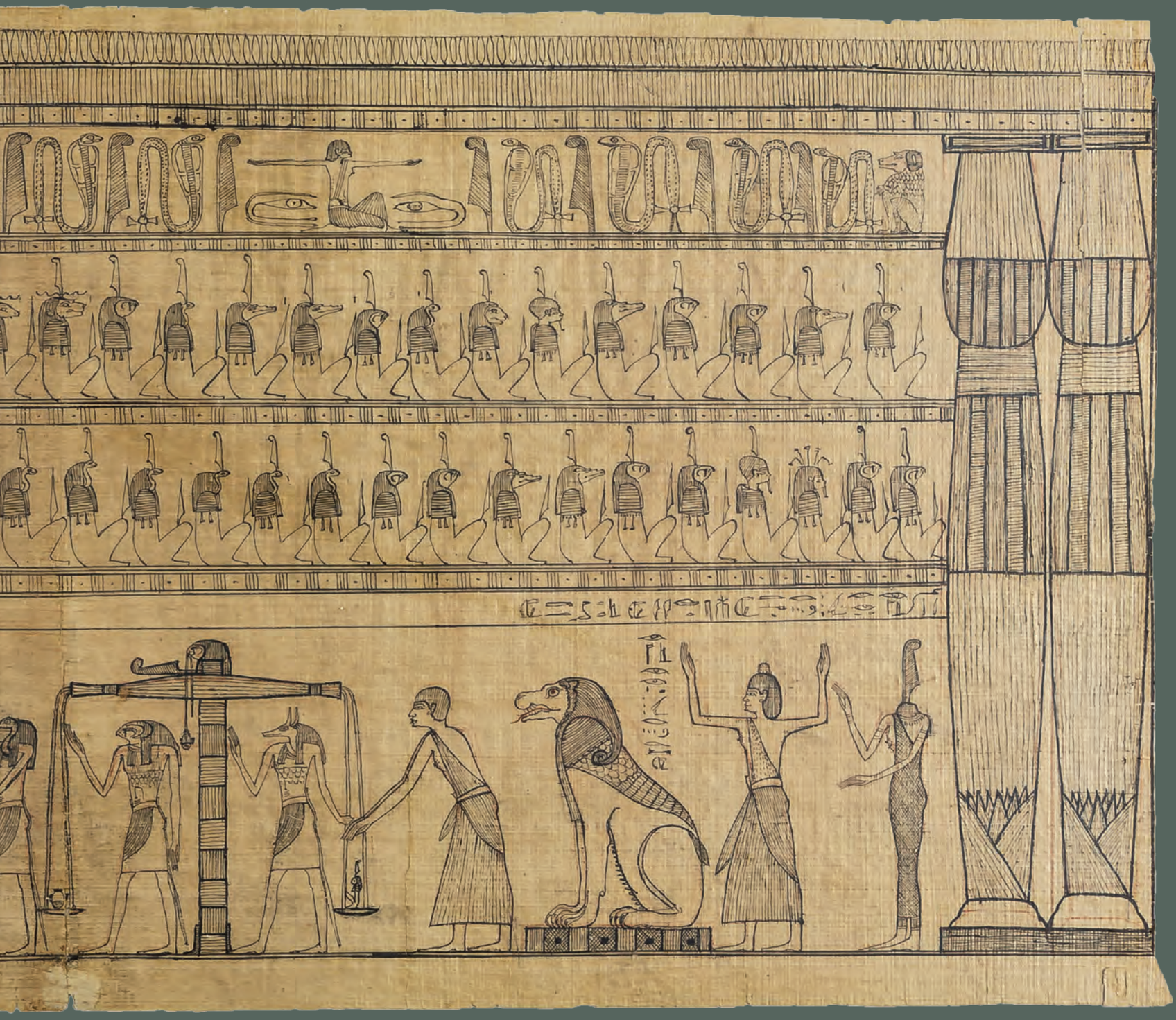
BOOK OF THE DEAD

BECOMING GOD IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Edited by Foy Scalf



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BOOK OF THE DEAD



Divine guardian before a netherworld gate as part of BD 146 from Papyrus Hynes. OIM E25389H = Cat. No. 17 (D. 19871)

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BECOMING GOD IN ANCIENT EGYPT

edited by

FOY SCALF

with new object photography by

Kevin Bryce Lowry

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FOREWORD

CHRISTOPHER WOODS
DIRECTOR, ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

The Egyptian Book of the Dead stands as one of the seminal works of religious literature — not simply of Egyptology and the ancient world, but of all human history — for its unique contribution to human conceptualizations and beliefs in the afterlife. And, along with other iconic elements of Egyptian culture, which are perennial sources of fascination, the Book of the Dead plays a major role in shaping ideas and assumptions of Egyptian religion in the popular imagination.

But this captivation is also accompanied by certain misconceptions and modern myths about the nature and purpose of the Book of the Dead, and, consequently, about Egyptian culture and religion more generally. Despite the vast scholarship devoted to the topic since the middle of the nineteenth century, the Book of the Dead remains poorly understood beyond Egyptological circles. Indeed, the problems begin with the name itself, which is a modern coinage, for the "Book of the Dead" is fundamentally, and optimistically, about life — the eternal life of the soul after death. The text known to the ancient Egyptians as the "Book of Going Forth by Day" served as a type of guide- or hand-book that provided the dead with critical religious knowledge to successfully navigate the perils of the netherworld and the afterlife, and had the ultimate goal of assuring rejuvenation and restoration after death. And far from being a book in the traditional sense — or a single canonical text for that matter — the Book of the Dead is a compendium of spells, often thematically organized, that have various origins in the older corpora of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, and in ritual recitations associated with amulets, scarabs, and other objects. Equally diverse are the uses and purposes of these spells, as well as the media that bear them, which beyond papyrus include funerary figurines, tomb walls, and mummy shrouds, to name a few.

But enveloping this diversity is an overarching theological concern, namely, the union of the human realm with the divine. In the Egyptian conception, spells from the Book of the Dead had the power to join the resurrected with the gods of creation. The grand cosmological stage for this transformation was the solar-Osirian cycle that describes the journey of the sun-god, Re, who embodied creation, and his interactions at night with his counterpart, the netherworld god Osiris, who represented rejuvenation. The spells allowed the deceased to join the solar-Osirian cycle in eternal life, transfiguring mortal into immortal — hence, the title of the exhibit, Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt.

Exhibit Curator Foy Scalf has done a truly remarkable job in creating a well- and tightly-conceived exhibit that explores the Book of the Dead in all of its complexity — the fullness of its religious, cultural, and archaeological contexts, as well as its development, use, and production. In so doing, the exhibit opens a new path in the well-trodden territory of Book of the Dead studies. The exhibit is based on objects housed in the Oriental Institute's Egyptian collection, with a particular focus on objects hitherto, or not commonly, on display. Additionally, a number of important artifacts on loan from the Field Museum of Natural History complete the exhibit. For the accompanying catalog, Foy Scalf has assembled a group of internationally-acclaimed scholars, who have complementary expertise in the history, culture, art, and language of the Book of the Dead. The result is a lucid, thematically-organized volume that, mirroring the exhibit, addresses the purpose, origins, history, and theological context of the Book of the Dead. The essays will be welcomed by scholars and the general public alike for their rigorous yet accessible presentation of state-of-the-art research on the Book of the Dead, as well as their careful consideration of the questions and debates that presently surround this remarkable text.

I want to thank and commend Foy Scalf, along with Chief Curator Jean Evans and Special Exhibits Coordinator Emily Teeter, for envisioning and designing a novel exhibit that at once brings to life the Book of the Dead and fleshes out its intricate cultural associations and interconnections.

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PREFACE

JEAN EVANS
CHIEF CURATOR AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR

The aim of this exhibition and its accompanying catalog embodies a paradox for it uses a popular format – the museum exhibition – to dispel the popular myths that surround the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The success of such a combination is a credit to Foy Scalf, curator of the exhibition and editor of its accompanying catalog. Visitors to the exhibition and readers of the catalog will come away with new ideas about the complex histories of the spells that make up the Book of the Dead. The emphasis on fluidity in the compilations of the spells — the lack of static editions — and on the large industry that supported the layering of these spells in the burial chamber and around the body of the deceased provides a comprehensive synthesis of recent research as well as new interpretations and observations regarding ancient context.

Many people made the exhibition and its catalog possible. To begin, we thank the Oriental Institute faculty and staff. The exhibition was supported first under the direction of Gil Stein and then under Christopher Woods, our current Director. Thank you also to James Gurchek, Associate Director of Administration and Finance, for supporting our special exhibitions program.

We thank Foy Scalf for curating the exhibition and for bringing his enthusiasm for the subject as well as his decisive vision to the role. Thank you also to Emily Teeter, who initially conceived of the topic and proceeded to coordinate all aspects of the exhibition. Thank you to the Oriental Institute Museum staff. As Chief Curator, Jack Green oversaw the initial planning of the exhibition. Kiersten Neumann provided support in her role as Museum Curator. In Registration, Helen McDonald and Susan Allison facilitated loan requests and organized the objects to be included in the exhibition. In Conservation, Laura D'Alessandro and Alison Whyte treated and prepared the objects for exhibition. In Museum Archives, John Larson and then Anne Flannery facilitated archival research and made materials available for exhibition. In the Suq, Denise Browning, assisted by Jennifer Castellanos, developed merchandise.

A special thank you to Robert Weiglein for designing the exhibition. In the Prep Shop, Rob Bain, our Lead Preparator, and his team consisting of Josh Tulisiak, Erin Bliss, Kate Cescon, and Olivia Gallo built the exhibition, installing objects and realizing its beautiful design. Andrew Talley also made mounts for some of the objects in the exhibition, and Gabriel Barrington built the exhibition display case for the mummy.

The Publications office oversaw the production of the comprehensive catalog accompanying the exhibition. Special thanks to Thomas Urban and Charissa Johnson, and thank you to the following individuals who helped edit the catalog: George Thomson (OI Volunteer), Marge Nichols (OI Volunteer), Emily Teeter, Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, and Rebecca Wang (NELC PhD Candidate). Thank you to Kevin Bryce Lowry, who provided new photography for the catalog. Finally, we thank all the individuals who wrote for the catalog and contributed their expertise.

Our Museum Advisory Group (including Anne Leonard, Nathan Mason, Leslie Fitzpatrick, Beverly Serrell, Matt Matcuk, and Morrie Fred) provided valuable feedback and advice in the initial planning stages of the exhibition.

For providing important loans to the exhibition, we thank the Field Museum of Natural History and, in particular, Christopher Philipp, Jamie Kelly, Nina Cummings, Jamie Lewis, and Armand Esai.

Thank you to the following institutions for providing images and thank you to their helpful staff: Spokane Public Library (Riva Dean, Northwest Room Librarian); University of Chicago, Special Collections Research Center (Christine Colburn, Reader Services Manager); Cairo Museum (Mary Sadek, Deputy Director for Research and Government Affiliations for ARCE); The British Museum (Ilona Regulski, Curator, Egyptian Written Culture); National Museums of Scotland (Maggie Wilson, Picture Librarian); The University of Sydney, Nicholson Museum (James Fraser, Senior Curator); The Getty Conservation Institute (Cameron Trowbridge, Manager, Research Services and Information Center); The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology (Tracy Golding, Visitor Services Manager); The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology (Eric Schnittke, Assistant Archivist); Columbia University Libraries (Rebecca Haggerty, Preservation Reformatting Department); Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey (Brett McClain, Senior Epigrapher); Royal Ontario Museum (Nicola Woods, Rights and Reproductions Coordinator); Brown University, John Hay Library (Christopher Geissler, Director of the John Hay Library and Special Collections); the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Niv Allon, Assistant

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Curator). Thank you also to the National Museum of Liverpool and the Art Institute of Chicago. Finally, thank you to Bryan Kramer (NELC PhD candidate), Sven Vleeming (Professor of Egyptology, University of Trier), and Tamás Mekis.

We thank the Members of the Oriental Institute and our Oriental Institute Museum visitors whose donations support our special exhibitions. Finally, we thank Misty and Lewis Gruber for their generous support of this exhibition and its catalog.

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INTRODUCTION: PREPARING FOR THE AFTERLIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

FOY SCALF

The ancient Egyptians made significant investments in their preparation for the afterlife. Although this may appear on the surface as a fascination with death, it was in fact everlasting life that preoccupied the Egyptian mind. The ancient Egyptians believed that, with the proper preparation, any living person could become an immortal divinity after death. To ensure such an outcome, a massive funerary industry developed to supply individuals with the necessary materials for their postmortem resurrection. Magical spells and religious incantations meant to transform the deceased person into an illuminated spirit (*ꜣḫ*) endowed with impressive powers were ubiquitously inscribed on items in the mortuary assemblage. Such spells were gathered together and inscribed on long rolls of papyrus to create what we now know as the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The Egyptian Book of the Dead is one of the most important religious compositions ever written and rightly deserves a place on our bookshelves alongside the texts of other belief systems from the last four thousand years of human history.

While there has been much discussion about how the ancient Egyptians envisioned their relationship with the gods after death (Smith 2017), the title of Book of the Dead spell 80 was very explicit in this regard. The spell was called "a spell for becoming a god (*nṯr*)" and served as the inspiration for the subtitle of this book. This catalog and its accompanying exhibit are dedicated to showing how the ancient Egyptians used religious literature - the Book of the Dead, more specifically - as a means to alleviate their mortal anxiety and control their destiny. It is designed to dispel common myths and invite new understanding about the Book of the Dead by presenting the latest results from research that has only appeared in specialist publications. Furthermore, like the "spell for becoming a god," the overall approach within this volume is to listen to the ancient Egyptians in their own words and let our interpretations help, rather than hinder, them to speak.

GOALS FOR THE EXHIBITION CATALOG

Over the last twenty years, scholars have made great strides in their understanding of the Book of the Dead through large database projects (*Totenbuch-Projekt Bonn* and *Trismegistos*) that attempted to catalog all the known copies held in museums across the globe and through a sharp increase in the availability of newly published manuscripts. Publishers and museums have capitalized on these trends, as demonstrated by the British Museum's blockbuster exhibit "Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead" in 2010, the Garstang Museum's "Book of the Dead: Passport through the Underworld" in 2017, the Fitzwilliam Museum's one day only display of the Book of the Dead of Ramose, and soon to appear *The Oxford Handbook of the Book of the Dead*, currently in press (Lucarelli and Stadler, forthcoming). Several major new studies have also appeared in just the last ten years by Carrier (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b), Quirke (2013), and O'Rourke (2016) (see also Chapter 13). These publications complement and help to distill for the nontechnical reader the results derived from major scholarly series projects such as the *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches*, *Studien zu altägyptischen Totentexten*, *Totenbuchtexte*, and *Beiträge zum alten Ägypten*. The time is ripe to reflect on what we think we know about this incredibly important piece of literature, summarize that knowledge for non-experts, and conceptualize new questions. This catalog presents the life story of the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead from beginning to end, focusing on its form, purpose, transmission, production, and use through a collection of chapters authored by leading experts in the field.

The Egyptian Book of the Dead has remained one of the hallmarks of ancient Egyptian culture. As Juan Carlos Moreno García notes, "The religion and the funerary beliefs of ancient Egyptians are so popular in our own culture that they have become the archetypal representation of the pharaonic civilization. Isis, Osiris, the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, the Book of the Dead, not to mention the pyramids or the mummies, are well known even for the general public and they continue to capture the imagination of artists since the origin of Egyptology as a modern science, at the beginning of the 19th century" (Moreno García 2010, p. 133). While most people have heard of the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, many popular conceptions are misleading or based on erroneous understandings of what the Book of the Dead was, how it was used, and what happened to it. The Book of the Dead is often misunderstood as a book in the common sense, modern notion (i.e., bound pages and a narrative structure), but the format of the Book of the Dead could vary greatly (Chapter

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1). Ancient Egypt did not have bound books, but rather used long scrolls of papyrus for their extensive literary output in many different languages and scripts (Chapter 3). These scrolls would have resembled modern books in the sense that they often contained texts that could be unrolled and read for leisure or study. However, the Book of the Dead was not a singular, undifferentiated work; each manuscript was a collection of many spells from different sources (Chapter 7). Each manuscript was handmade and no two manuscripts were exactly the same. They often contained different selections of spells. The spells could be arranged in various sequences. Some were highly illustrated with colorful images corresponding to the texts (Chapter 4); others contained only a few vignettes. In fact, Book of the Dead spells were more commonly found on other objects such as funerary figurines (*ushabtis*), scarabs, magical bricks, shrouds, and tomb walls (Chapter 8). Therefore, the Book of the Dead should probably be associated less with our concept of a book, but rather bring to mind how information is shared on the internet in an ever-changing flow without static "editions." Indeed, the web has even revived the format of the scroll for the organization of text (Agarwal-Hollands and Andrews 2001).

The spells that make up these Books of the Dead had long and complex histories (Chapter 2). The origins of these religious compositions are far more ancient than those of any other known religion in world history. While Egyptian religious literature was never governed by the concept of "canonicity," use of funerary spells can be traced over a period of 2,500 years. In 1842, Karl Richard Lepsius published a Book of the Dead manuscript for which he numbered each of the spells, a numbering which we continue to use when identifying these spells today (Chapter 13). It is important to realize that these numbers are arbitrary and reflect the organization of a single papyrus. Additionally, there are numerous funerary compositions that accompany Book of the Dead spells for which no numbers have been assigned (Chapter 12). All of these factors can therefore disguise the variability and creativity displayed in manuscripts of the Book of the Dead and it may be more useful to think of ancient Egyptian "Books" of the Dead to account for the fact that the Book of the Dead was not a "book" at all.

Just as the spells gathered together in the Book of the Dead had diverse origins, so too did they have diverse purposes. Although the primary intention of the spells was to aid the deceased in their transition to the afterlife, this aim could take many forms (Chapter 6). Some spells were quite utilitarian; they were meant to ward off potentially harmful creatures including snakes, scorpions, crocodiles, demons, and other dangerous spirits, such as BD 39. Other spells were of a more theological and spiritual nature, having been designed to transfigure (*sꜣḫ*) the dead into a blessed state (*ꜣḫ*). In fact, spells from the Book of the Dead were believed to result in the deceased's mystical union with the gods of creation, allowing those lucky enough to obtain resurrection to join with the sun god himself and partake in the solar-Osirian cycle (Chapter 10). The solar-Osirian cycle refers to the way the sun god Re and the chthonic god Osiris represented different aspects of the ordered world. Re represented the creative powers of daylight, while Osiris represented the power of regeneration. Each night Re joined with Osiris in order to be rejuvenated the next morning. Likewise, the deceased sought to join this cycle so that each night his soul (*ba*) would join with his mummy to guarantee resurrection. In many spells, the deceased proclaim their identity with these gods (Chapter 9), as they recited incantations such as "I am Osiris, the first born of the gods, eldest of the gods, heir of my father Geb. I am the Lord of All. I am Osiris." The deceased sought union with these powers to overcome death and achieve everlasting life.

The complexity of the Book of the Dead is also reflected in its different uses. The knowledge necessary to the writing, copying, and producing of Book of the Dead spells would have been restricted to elite groups of priests (Chapter 5). However, these priests would have worked alongside illustrators, wood carvers, stone workers, and other craftsmen in the funerary workshop. The Egyptians did not hesitate to use redundancy by inscribing Book of the Dead spells on nearly any available space in the burial. Spells can be found on the linen wrappings of the mummy, on amulets placed inside the wrappings, on the walls of coffins and sarcophagi, on papyri placed near the mummy and sometimes wrapped around the mummy itself, on magical bricks placed at the cardinal points in the tomb, on *ushabtis* meant to carry out work in the afterlife, on Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures used to encase papyri, and on the walls of the tomb itself. This redundancy brings us back to the notion that the Book of the Dead was not "a book" at all, but should rather be viewed as a modern designation of a changeable group of religious compositions employed in ancient Egyptian culture in a wide variety of ways.

I strove to illustrate this fact in the structure of this catalog and in the design of the exhibit. The chapters which follow lay out the primary thematic issues involved in the study of the Book of the Dead. All the objects on display in the exhibit are treated individually at the end of the catalog and organized according to the "layered" arrangement of spells around the body in the burial chamber. My intent is to provide the reader and the viewer with the unique chance to appreciate the Book of the Dead in its "archaeological" context and to understand the intricate meaning associated with this layering. The objects used to illustrate this meaning derive primarily from the collection of Egyptian artifacts at the Oriental Institute Museum, with significant loans from the Field Museum of Natural History. An effort was made to incorporate as many unpublished or rarely displayed artifacts as possible. As such, a great breadth of geography and

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chronology is represented, which may lead one to erroneously believe that the Book of the Dead was the same at any time or in any place. That was certainly not the case. However, it is hoped that the treatment of the most important issues thematically, while being sensitive to the cultural context of any given piece, offers the reader the best chance at deriving a new and more nuanced understanding of the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead.

A final note should be made about the contents of the catalog. It is inevitable in a catalog on a relatively restricted topic for which multiple experts have been invited to summarize the latest research results that there is some repetition. I hope you find such repetition helpful to establish context for the reader, especially those who may not read this catalog linearly from cover to cover, and not too distracting for those with a background in the material. Likewise, since it is unlikely that many will read straight through the catalog entries in the back, the reader may find a few topics repeated in other places in order to provide a well-informed catalog entry. Often the reader is referred back to those areas in the catalog. In other cases, more detail is provided in the catalog entry than anywhere else. Overall, this repetition is minor, but where it occurs, I anticipate many readers find it useful.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Planning a museum exhibit is a massive undertaking involving the collaboration of many individuals and institutions. The presentation of a single curator or editor in no way does justice to the hard work and great ideas of all those involved. As editor, I would like to offer thanks to the contributors of this catalog, who have done an excellent job of summarizing their research for a non-specialist audience and kept to a very punctual schedule for which I am appreciative.

I would like to thank Christopher Woods, Director of the Oriental Institute, and Jean Evans, Chief Curator and Deputy Director of the Oriental Institute Museum, as well as Gil Stein, former Director, for their continued confidence and support in putting together this show. It should be acknowledged that the exhibit would not exist without the foresight and help of Emily Teeter, Special Exhibits Coordinator for the Oriental Institute. The idea to run a Book of the Dead exhibit belonged originally to Teeter and she has been involved every step of the way in helping to conceptualize, plan, and execute the exhibit. Excellent advice and guidance were provided by Robert Weiglein, particularly in the layout and design of the gallery space.

The Oriental Institute has an amazing staff, without whom these exhibits would be impossible. Registrars Helen McDonald and Susan Alison were present from the beginning, providing access to and specialized knowledge of objects in the museum collection. Conservators Laura D'Alessandro and Alison Whyte had a burdensome task on their hands with an exhibit involving so many organic materials, but they worked tirelessly to make sure all objects were safe for handling, photography, and display. Bryce Lowry worked closely with our registrars and conservators to produce the new color photography you see in this catalog. This photography included all the objects in the exhibit as well as many unpublished objects from the Oriental Institute Museum collection spread throughout the chapter figures. I'm sure my papyrological colleagues will be thrilled to see complete, full color photography of Papyrus Ryerson and Papyrus Milbank. John Larson and Anne Flannery provided unparalleled access to the archives of the Oriental Institute. Our team of Preparators led by Robert Bain, Josh Tulisiak, Erin Bliss, and Kate Cescon were responsible for actually building the exhibit and provided many useful ideas for which they rightfully deserve credit. For turning our ideas into text on paper, thanks goes to Managing Editor Tom Urban, Editor Charissa Johnson, and the entire publications staff. I'd like to offer my sincere thanks to all of them, and to everyone at the Oriental Institute, for their help and for the opportunity to be part of this extraordinary project.

A number of external institutions also played important roles in the fruition of this exhibit. In Chicago, the Field Museum of Natural History kindly loaned objects from their Egyptian collection for display. Riva Dean, the Northwest Room Librarian at the Spokane Public Library, allowed us to use images from the missing beginning of Papyrus Ryerson. I would like to extend heartfelt thanks to Bryan Kraemer, who not only alerted me to the existence of these fragments, but was also kind enough to take photos of the fragments on an unrelated trip to the Spokane area. Without Bryan, Papyrus Ryerson would never have been rejoined in this catalog. Likewise, Tamás Mekis informed me about the hypocephalus of Nesshutefnut and graciously agreed that it should appear in this volume. For procuring images and licensing rights from the Cairo Museum, I must offer real appreciation to the efforts of Mary Sadek.

Finally, I should like to thank all of my colleagues and friends who read drafts, provided comments, shared ideas, or offered support. George Thomson, Marge Nichols, Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, Emily Teeter, and Rebecca Wang all read early drafts and caught many errors, typos, inconsistencies, and lapses in judgment. Their help is truly appreciated in such a mammoth undertaking. I'd like to also thank the anonymous reviewer for their many comments.

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YB **Yekaterina Barbash** is an Associate Curator of Egyptian, Classical, and ancient Near Eastern Art at the Brooklyn Museum. She recently curated the exhibitions *Body Parts: Ancient Egyptian Fragments and Amulets* and *Divine Felines: Cats of Ancient Egypt* and co-curated *Soulful Creatures: Ancient Egyptian Animal Mummies* and co-authored the catalog. She published *The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikakem* and continues her research on ancient Egyptian religion and philology. She has participated in the Johns Hopkins University excavations at the Mut Precinct in Karnak.

Emily Cole is a Visiting Assistant Professor at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. She specializes in the social history of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. She received her PhD in Egyptology from the University of California, Los Angeles, with a thesis on the topic of translation in ancient Egypt. Since 2015, she has been co-director of the Qarah el-Hamra Fayum Project in Egypt.

PFD **Peter F. Dorman** is Professor Emeritus at the University of Chicago, having most recently served as president of the American University of Beirut. Previously he worked in curatorial capacities at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, directed Chicago's Epigraphic Survey in Luxor, and taught at the Oriental Institute. His research interests include the historiography of the New Kingdom, the Theban necropolis, epigraphy, and the intersection of text, art, religion, and cultural artifact. Aside from three edited volumes of the Epigraphic Survey, his publications include *The Tombs of Senenmut at Thebes* (1991) and *Faces in Clay: Technique, Imagery, and Allusion in a Corpus of Ceramic Sculpture from Ancient Egypt* (2007).

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AK **Andrea Kucharek** is a Research Associate in the Egyptological Department at the University of Heidelberg. Having received her PhD on the lamentation rituals of Isis and Nephthys in 2004, she specializes in funerary literature, particularly Osirian rituals and their adaptations for private use, and in ancient Egyptian mourning customs. Currently, she is preparing an edition of the Osirian ritual papyri from the Roman Period temple of Soknebtynis at Tebtynis in several volumes.

DL **Dimitri Laboury** is Research Director of the National Foundation for Scientific Research of Belgium (FNRS) and Associate Professor of Ancient Egyptian Art History and Archaeology at the University of Liège. He is co-director of the Belgian Archaeological Mission in the Theban Necropolis and, thanks to a Research Incentive Grant of the FNRS, runs the project Painters and Painting in the Theban Necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty, devoted to the study of the painters responsible for the decoration of elite funerary monuments of Thebes in the third quarter of the second millennium BC.

RL **Rita Lucarelli** is an Assistant Professor of Egyptology in the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of California, Berkeley. She is also an Assistant Curator of Egyptology at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology of the University of the University of California, Berkeley, and a Fellow of the Digital Humanities in Berkeley. Her research interests include religion, magic, and science in ancient Egypt and in Antiquity, ancient Egyptian funerary literature, demonology in ancient Egypt and Antiquity, and the application of Digital Humanities tools and techniques in Egyptology. She is completing a monograph on demonology in ancient Egypt and from 2009 to 2012, she worked on the Book of the Dead Project at the University of Bonn, Germany (http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de). She is also the author of one monograph (*The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen: Ancient Egyptian Funerary Religion in the 10th Century BC*) published in 2006 and of several scholarly articles on funerary texts and demonology, which appeared in peer reviewed Egyptological journals and volumes.

* Initials identify contributors in the Catalog

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Barbara Lüscher received her PhD from the University of Basel (Switzerland) and teaches Egyptology at the University of Zürich. Co-founder of the Swiss excavation project MISR (mission Siptah – Ramesses X) in the Valley of the Kings and — in collaboration with Günther Lapp — publisher of the new synoptic Book of the Dead edition series *Totenbuchtexte*, her research mainly focuses on religious texts (Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, Books of the Netherworld) and the early history of Egyptology. She has published widely on those topics, including several volumes in the series *Totenbuchtexte* and various monographs on papyri and ostraca in the series *Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten and Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches.*

MM **Malcolm Mosher Jr.** received his PhD in Egyptology from the University of California, Berkeley, and is an independent scholar who has specialized in Books of the Dead produced from the Saite Period onward. He has produced a variety of publications on this topic, the most significant being the ongoing series *Saite through Ptolemaic Books of the Dead, A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes*, Volumes 1, 2, 3, and 4, with additional volumes in progress.

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HT **Hugues Tavier** is a conservator specializing in paintings and has more than fifteen years experience working on Theban tomb murals as Chief Conservator of the Belgian Archaeological Mission in the Theban Necropolis. He is currently completing a PhD in Conservation and Egyptology about ancient Egyptian painting practices and techniques in the Theban Necropolis, in the context of the project Painters and Painting in the Theban Necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty, at the University of Liège, Belgium.

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TIMELINE OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

After Shaw 2000, pp. 479–83

CULTURAL PERIOD	*DYNASTIES*	*DATES*
Palaeolithic Period		ca. 700,000–7,000 BP
PREDYNASTIC PERIOD		ca. 5300–3000 BC
Naqada IC–III Periods		ca. 3200–3000 BC
DYNASTIC PERIODS		ca. 3000–332 BC
Early Dynastic period	Dynasties 1–2	ca. 3000-2686 BC
Old Kingdom	Dynasties 3–8	ca. 2686–2125 BC
First attestation of Pyramid Texts	*Dynasty 5, Reign of Unas*	*ca. 2350 BC*
First attestation of Coffin Texts	*Dynasties 7–8*	*ca. 2170 BC*
First Intermediate Period	Dynasties 9–10	ca. 2160–2055 BC
Middle Kingdom	Dynasties 11–12	ca. 2055–1650 BC
Second Intermediate Period	Dynasties 13–17	ca. 1650–1550 BC
First attestation of Book of the Dead spells on heart scarabs and coffins	*Dynasty 13*	*ca. 1650 BC*
First attestation of Book of the Dead spells on linen shrouds	*Dynasty 17*	*ca. 1600 BC*
New Kingdom	Dynasties 18–20	ca. 1550–1069 BC
First attestation of Book of the Dead spells on papyri	*Dynasty 18*	*ca. 1530 BC*
Third Intermediate Period	Dynasties 21–25	ca. 1069–664 BC
First attestation of Amduat papyri	*Dynasty 21*	*ca. 1060 BC*
Late Period	Dynasties 26–30	ca. 664–332 BC
First attestation of the Books of Breathing	*Dynasty 30*	*ca. 400 BC*
GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD		332 BC–AD 395
Ptolemaic Period		332–30 BC
Last attestation of "classical" Book of the Dead papyri		*ca. 50 BC*
Roman Period		30 BC–AD 395
Last attestation of indigenous Egyptian funerary texts		*ca. AD 200–300*
LATE ANTIQUE PERIOD		ca. AD 300–641
Coptic Period		ca. AD 200–1000

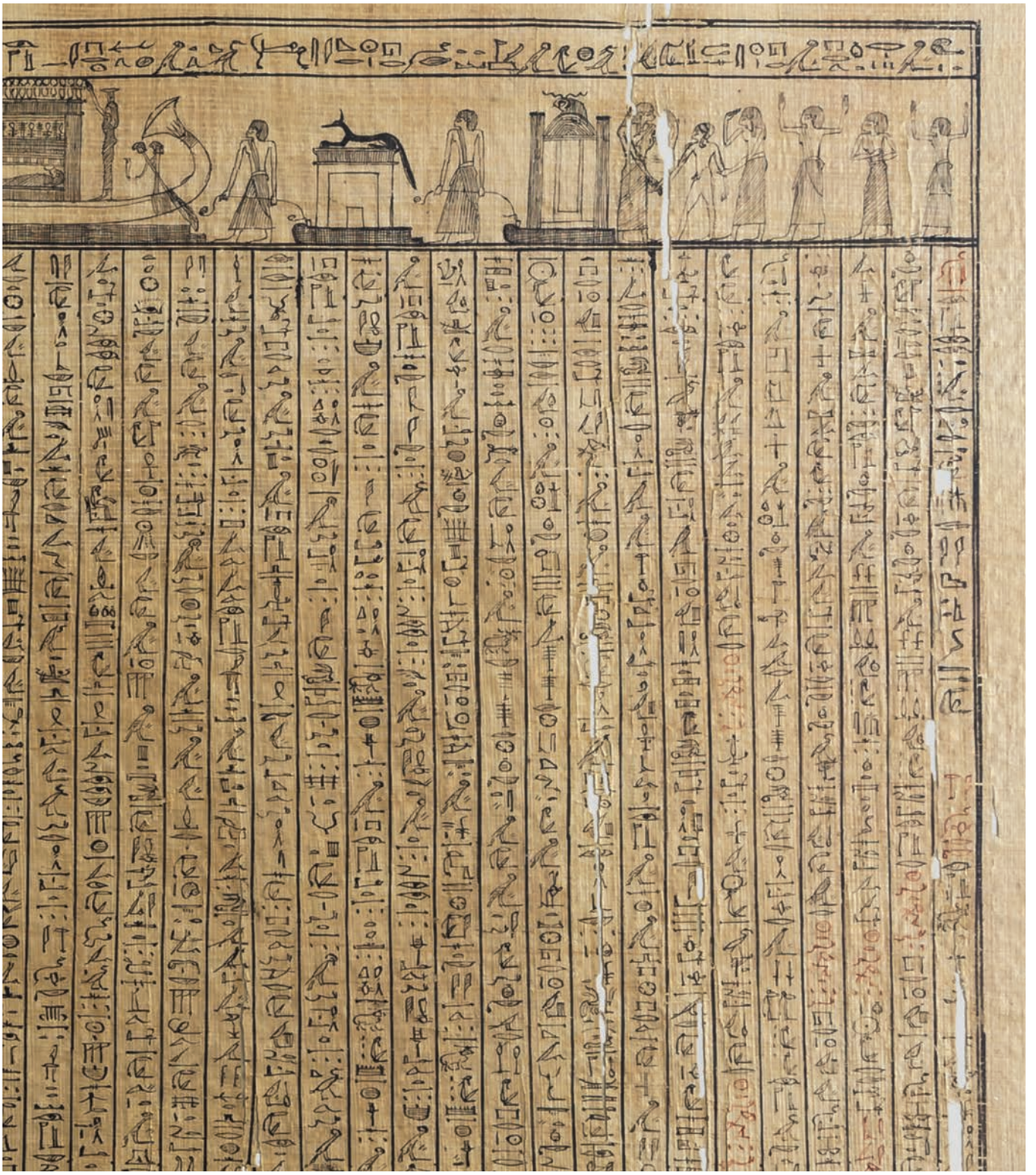


Map of principal areas and sites mentioned in the text

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I

BIRTH OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD



OVERLEAF. The opening spells and vignette from Papyrus Milbank. OIM E10486A = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13324)

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1. WHAT IS THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

FOY SCALF

When most people think of the Book of the Dead, they think of the large, well illustrated papyrus scrolls such as the famous papyrus of Ani (fig. 1.1). However, the use of the modern title "Book of the Dead" is very misleading, as what we call the Book of the Dead is a far more variable and complex set of texts. In fact, the Book of the Dead is not a "book" in the modern sense of the term, neither in narrative concept nor in physical format. Modern books with their bound pages are descendants of the codex, a format in which a medium such as parchment or papyrus was folded and cut to produce facing pages (Clemens and Graham 2007, pp. 3–64). Groups of these pages were then gathered together and sewn through the folded edge to produce the book block. A cover of wood or leather would have been attached as a protective covering for the pages inside. The codex format became common in ancient Egypt only after the second century AD (Bagnall 2009). Up until then, and for a time afterward, the primary format for "books" in ancient Egypt was the papyrus scroll.

Making a papyrus scroll was a labor intensive undertaking. Long stalks of papyrus had to be harvested, cut, trimmed, and then beaten with a mallet into thin flat strips (Černý 1952). These strips were overlain on each other lengthwise and further pounded, allowing the gum resin in the papyrus plant to act as a natural binding agent. This process produced a thin sheet, yet too fragile for writing on. An additional sheet was used as a second layer, laid over the first sheet with the fibers of the papyrus at a perpendicular angle to the first sheet, resulting in a sturdy page. On one side the fibers ran left to right horizontally. This side was generally considered the front, also called the recto,



FIGURE 1.1. Probably the most famous Book of the Dead manuscript, the papyrus of Ani was beautifully written and illustrated in the Nineteenth Dynasty. British Museum EA 10470, 4 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

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FIGURE 1.2. The title "The (Book) of Going Forth by Day" written to the right at the beginning of a Third Intermediate papyrus belonging to Nany. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30.3.31 (DT11632)

used for the beginning of a text so that the writing ran in parallel to the papyrus fibers. The other side with the fibers running vertically was generally considered the backside, also called the verso, in which written text ran against the grain of the papyrus.

Depending on when and where they were made, these sheets of papyrus were often fashioned to roughly standardized sizes, the full height of which could vary between around 30 to 50 cm. To produce a scroll, these individual sheets, which can be thought of as our modern book pages, were attached together by overlapping their edges, sometimes reinforced by additional papyrus strips. For Book of the Dead manuscripts, the scroll was often produced first and the text and illustrations added later to the complete scroll (Scalf 2015–16). However, certain examples, such as the Papyrus of Ani (fig. 1.1), clearly show that individual sheets of papyrus were first inscribed and illustrated and then attached together to form the scroll as a second step.

The text and images on the scroll could be the work of a single scribe or an entire team of scribes and artists (Chapter 5). The finished product would have served the same basic purpose as the modern book — a medium to record, preserve, and store textual information. Unlike a book, however, the scroll would have been rolled up for storage. A protective sheet of blank papyrus was often joined to the outside edge to protect the beginning of the text from damage. Like manuscripts of the Medieval Period, each Book of the Dead manuscript was a hand-made, unique object. No two are exactly the same, although those produced in the same funerary workshops bear many similarities (Chapter 7). If no two Books of the Dead were identical, what exactly did the textual composition consist of?

The title "Book of the Dead" is a modern designation, derived from the German name *Totenbuch* used in the nineteenth century (Chapters 2 and 13), itself perhaps influenced by the Arabic phrase *kutub*

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FIGURE 1.3. The weighing of the heart against Maat in the judgment scene before Osiris from the tomb of Menna. Theban Tomb 69 (photograph by Charles F. Nims, Oriental Institute)

al-umwat "books of the dead" used by Egyptian villagers to describe papyri found in tombs (Quirke 2013, p. vii). Ancient Egyptians called the composition the "Book of Going Forth by Day" (*t3 md3.t n.t prj.t m hrw*) (fig. 1.2) or the "Spells for Going Forth by Day" (*r3.w n.w prj.t m hrw*). "Going forth by day" refers to the soul, called the *ba* (*b3*) in the Egyptian language, with its ability to leave the tomb, fly out into the daylight, and join the sun god in his journey across the heavens (figs. 1.4 and 4.1). Book of the Dead spell 15B, section 3, elaborates on the concept of going forth by day: "As for any spirit (*3ḫ*) for whom this book is made, his soul (*b3*) goes forth with the living. It goes forth by day. It is mighty among the gods" (T. Allen 1936, p. 148). The title "Book of Going Forth by Day" was not a technical title and it actually did not designate a single, particular book (Schott 1990, pp. 101, 168–70). It was a generic designation that could be applied to nearly any funerary composition that served a similar purpose and in fact had already appeared in the Coffin Texts (e.g., CT 94, 152, 335, 404) and continued to appear in the Ptolemaic Period in the Books of Breathing (cf. P. Louvre N 3166, 1–4, Herbin 1999, p. 216). Even individual spells within the Book of the Dead carried the title (e.g., BD 1–3, 64–66, 68).

This so-called book, however, is not a singular narrative composition with a beginning and an end. Rather, the Book of the Dead is a compilation of many smaller texts. These smaller components are referred to as "spells" (*r3.w*), both in the ancient texts and by modern scholars. Further echoing the comparison with books, some publications also refer to the individual spells as "chapters." Each individual spell was essentially a self-contained unit with its own theme and structure. Some spells are very long, such as Book of the Dead spell 17, otherwise abbreviated BD 17, a style you find throughout this and other publications. Other spells are very short, such as BD 6, the *ushabti* spell. Individual spells were often, although not always, combined with specific illustrations, referred

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FIGURE 1.4. The *ba*-soul of Neferrenpet is shown returning to the corpse in the tomb at night in a vignette from his funerary papyrus. Brussels MRAH E. 5043 (© Werner Forman / Art Resource, NY)

to as vignettes, which provided a visual component to the spells' content. The most famous of these vignettes is the judgment scene accompanying BD 125, in which the heart of the deceased is weighed against the feather of Maat in the hall of Osiris (fig. 1.3). Some spells, such as BD 16, consisted only of the illustration itself (see overleaf to Section IV on p. 137).

Since the Book of the Dead was a collection of individual compositions, by extension the Book of the Dead therefore appears on many other media beside papyrus as each spell could be inscribed alone or in groups of spell sequences. Spells were inscribed on every form of media available, including papyri, leather, linen bandages, cartonnage mummy cases, coffins, sarcophagi, funerary figures, stelae, magic bricks, and even on the walls of the tomb. In fact, Book of the Dead spells were often inscribed in all these places for an individual with the means to afford it. This created an embedded redundancy by surrounding the dead within a magical cocoon and ensured that if the spells from one copy were damaged, a second or third copy was available to effect its magical intent.

This metaphor of "wrapping" the dead in magical spells had a very literal physical manifestation. Book of the Dead spells were frequently written on linen shrouds or bandages (Cat. Nos. 2–5) and then wrapped around the corpse (Chapters 2 and 5). Just as with papyri, the layout and format changed and developed over time and place. In the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BC), it was especially common to inscribe the spells on thin linen strips in wide columns of hieratic texts accompanied by illustrations (fig. 1.5). When many spells were included, a large number of strips would have been used, both to accommodate all the spells, but also to fully wrap the body (Cat. No. 1). Several rare examples attest to a practice of plastering a Book of the Dead papyrus directly to the mummy and it appears that the spells were laid out on the papyrus to coincide with their placement over particular body parts (Illés 2006a).

The mummified body could be inserted into a casing made of cartonnage, a semi-hard shell formed from layering sheets of linen and papyrus covered with plaster. Cartonnage mummy cases (fig. 1.6) and coffins alike (fig. 1.7) served as important canvases for funerary decoration and text (Chapters 2 and 3). Book of the Dead spells were commonly applied to these objects, ranging from spell excerpts (fig. 1.6) to entire sequences consisting of dozens of

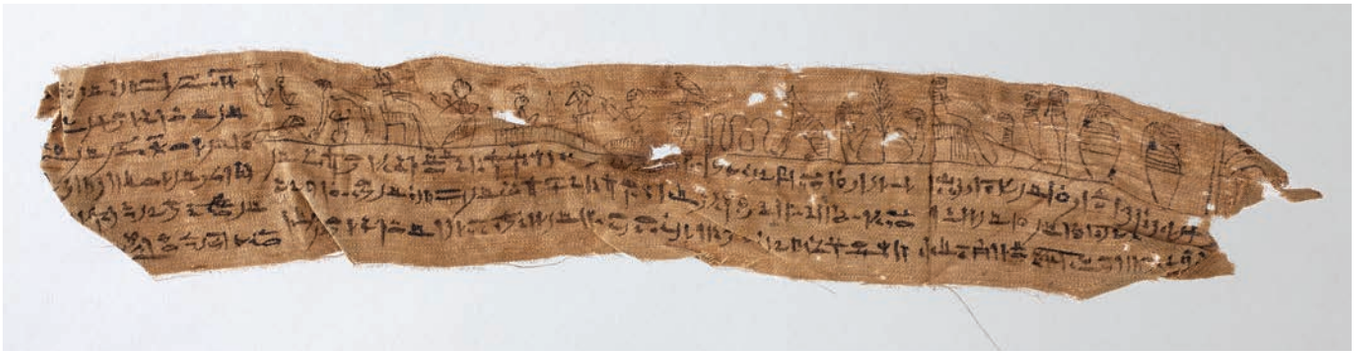


FIGURE 1.5. A linen bandage inscribed with the text and vignettes from BD 17 would have been wrapped around the mummified body of its owner, the "Osiris, royal scribe, Pankhered, whom Taremetenbastet bore," prior to burial. Egypt. Linen and ink. H: 7 x W: 41 cm. Ptolemaic Period. Gift from the Estate of Dr. Charles Edward Moldenke, 1935. OIM E19443A (D. 19933)

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spells inside and out (fig. 1.7). During eras when the production of Book of the Dead papyri waned, such as the time between the Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasties, it is likely that inscribing spells on coffins and related mortuary material served as the primary means for transmitting them (Munro and Taylor 2009). A wooden board fragment from a Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffin bottom, now in the Oriental Institute, shows just how extensive this decoration could be (fig. 1.7). The horizontal rows of cursive hieroglyphs that appeared on the interior of the coffin begin with an offering formula and transition into BD 1. The spells on the back side from the exterior of the coffin contain BD 89 and 90. Similar such coffins could be covered with an essentially complete copy of the Book of the Dead containing dozens of spells (Taylor 2010a, pp. 74–75, no. 29). Recent research has even shown that papyri from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty may have been copied using coffins as the model for the Book of the Dead (Quirke 2013, pp. xiii–xiv; Munro and Taylor 2009).

The largest canvas for the Book of the Dead was the walls of the tomb itself (Cat. Nos. 30–31). Carving the spells and their illustrations in stone must have been a tremendous investment, but could produce a long-lasting, oversize copy that would have been striking to see in full color. It was common for kings and queens of the New Kingdom to inscribe sets of spells either on objects in the mortuary assemblage, or, especially in the later New Kingdom, in stone on the walls within their burial chambers. Since no Book of the Dead papyri belonging to a pharaoh are thus far attested, it is likely that the spells on the walls and objects in the tomb were the primary copies for these kings (Scalf 2016, pp. 209–10). Some of the most spectacular copies on tomb walls derive from the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties and it seems that the same priests who were copying older texts for application on coffins were doing likewise for the tomb (Einaudi 2012).

The appearance of Book of the Dead spells on individual objects within the funerary assemblage raises some interesting questions about the development (Chapter 2), use (Chapter 8), and transmission (Chapter 7) of the Book of the Dead. Many of the spells have obvious origins in the corpora of funerary compositions that had preceded them, namely the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts. Separating the spells into Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead spells is an arbitrary convention of modern scholars as it is clear that the ancient Egyptians saw all of these compositions on a single continuum, even if they had popular presentation in particular contexts such as in pyramids, on coffins, or on papyri.



FIGURE 1.6. This fragment of a cartonnage mummy case is decorated with BD spell 18, which wished for Thoth to justify the deceased against his enemies just as he justified Osiris against his. Egypt, Thebes. Cartonnage and paint. H: 28 x W: 6.6 cm. Third Intermediate Period, Twenty-second Dynasty. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895–6. OIM E1338 (D. 19798)

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Other spells did not derive directly from these earlier texts. In the few cases where we have evidence of a spell's origin, this evidence often points toward the fact that the "classic" Book of the Dead manuscripts probably played a secondary role in their origin and transmission.

Many spells contain instructions on their use that do not call for their incorporation into a larger papyrus compilation. These instructions were commonly written in red, like the titles of the spells, and are referred to as rubrics, a term derived from Latin *rubrica* ("red ochre") in reference to the use of red to highlight specific letters in Medieval manuscripts. In certain cases, the rubrics describe how the spell was intended to be used in conjunction with a particular amulet. For example, BD 30B is a spell for preventing the heart from condemning a man in the judgment hall (Cat. Nos. 6–9). The associated rubric instructs that the spell is to be written on and recited over a scarab made from green stone. It is likely, therefore, that the written version of this spell originated as an amuletic text employed with these particular artifacts and it probably had a longer history of oral transmission for which we have no written evidence. The spell would have then only secondarily been incorporated into manuscripts with large collections of spells that we know as the Book of the Dead. Support for this reconstruction is found in particular for BD 30B. Some of the earliest attestations of spells from the corpus designated as the Book of the Dead consist of copies of BD 30B found on heart scarabs from the Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 2013, p. 100), prior to any attestations of the spells on papyrus. Thus, the earliest attested Book of the Dead spell is not on a Book of the Dead at all, but on a heart scarab.

A similar hypothesis of transmission can be proposed for many other spells. Recent scholarship on BD 151 (Chapter 8), a group of spells inscribed on magical bricks (Cat. Nos. 19–23), has demonstrated the existence of separate traditions for versions found on bricks versus copies found on papyri (Theis 2015). BD 6, the so-called *ushabti* spell, clearly had a very particular purpose associated with funerary figurines (fig. 1.8). This association was so close



FIGURE 1.7. The exterior (left) and interior (right) of a wooden coffin fragment of Muthetepti from a Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffin inscribed with BD spells in vertical, polychrome columns and rows. Egypt. Wood and paint. H: 61.3 x W: 26.2 x D: 4.8 cm. Gift of the Maynard Brothers, 1924. OIM E12145 (D. 19826 and D. 19827)

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that there is even a specific variation of the spell known only from the funerary figurines of pharaoh Amenhotep III (Cat. No. 24). Of course, when these spells were first written down, there was probably a complex interaction between single spells written on sheets of papyrus as memory aids or templates versus the use of the texts on the amulets themselves.

For the Book of the Dead, variation was the rule. Manuscripts were individually hand-crafted objects. Spells could appear alone, as part of short sequences, or in massive collections of more than 160. Any surface capable of being inscribed acted as a medium for their transmission. Each spell itself had many different variations and versions, some nearly unrecognizable when compared next to each other (Chapter 7). A comparison of the texts on Papyrus Ryerson (Cat. No. 14) with Papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15) demonstrates how different even two contemporary manuscripts can be from one another. Some compositions we label as individual spells did not even have a stable text at all. For example, despite extremely divergent texts, the designation BD 15 has been applied widely to nearly any solar hymn, while Naville designated any Osirian hymn as BD 185 (Quirke 2013, pp. 33 and 479). This demonstrates the elusiveness of defining exactly what a Book of the Dead is. It is one of those objects that seems to confirm the rule: we know it when we see it. Looking closely at the format and contents of the Book of the Dead reveals a complexity glossed over in most popular notions of it and the necessity of nuance when trying to separate our modern interpretations of what it meant and how it worked from the ancient understanding that produced it. Both approaches can be useful, but it is easy to be led astray by our modern bias and the confusion that can often result from the complexity of the scholarly apparatus erected to buttress our conclusions.

When all of the above is taken into consideration, it is clear that answering the question "what is the Book of the Dead" is very different from answering the question "what was the Book of the Dead." In many ways, the Book of the Dead is a modern construction of our imagination. Our conceptions are dictated by the way we categorize the texts, how we privilege particular formats (e.g., papyri), what we see as the ultimate purpose, and even what name we give to the ancient compositions. In most of these cases, our conceptual apparatus for discussing and understanding this material is radically different than that of the ancient Egyptians themselves. In some ways this is inevitable, but it is important to keep in mind the different perspectives. Our modern concepts can help us articulate our advances in interpretation, but they can also mislead us into misinterpretations (Chapter 14), applying intentions, messages, or conclusions that never existed in the ancient mind.



FIGURE 1.8. A funerary figurine (*ushabti*) of pharaoh Ramesses III. Egypt, Thebes. Calcite. H: 29.6 x W: 11 x D; 7 cm. New Kingdom, Nineteenth Dynasty. Purchased in Egypt, 1920. OIM E10755 (D. 19773)

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2. THE ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

PETER F. DORMAN

The modern term "Book of the Dead" is a misnomer in a number of ways (Chapter 1), yet scholars of ancient Egypt continue to employ the term in two distinct senses. First, the Book of the Dead denotes the relatively large corpus of mortuary texts that were typically copied onto papyrus scrolls and deposited in burials of the New Kingdom, a custom that continued, with further significant elaboration, into later periods of Egyptian history. Second, the term can refer to an individual papyrus roll inscribed with a selection of such spells. No one such "book" contains all known spells, but only a judicious sampling, and no single Book of the Dead scroll is identical to another. The individuality represented by these scrolls may reflect the personal preference of the owner or the judgment of the scribe who composed it, as some examples were prepared well in advance, with blanks left in the text for the later insertion of the owner's name (Chapter 5). Certain spells were more frequently copied than others, and some seem to have been deemed virtually essential, such as the ubiquitous BD spell 17. Certain groups of spells often appear together in a fairly predictable and routine sequence.

The ancient title given to these scrolls, which can occasionally be found written on the exterior of the rolled papyri, is the "Book of Coming Forth by Day," reflecting the Egyptians' belief that the spells were provided to assist the deceased in entering the afterlife as a glorified spirit, or *akh*. The notion of movement, or "coming forth," by the deceased person refers explicitly to the mobility of the *ba*, an essential element of every individual that was believed to become enabled at death. By virtue of the proper observance of the funerary rites, the *ba* would become fully functional, able to move between this world and the next, while the deceased, as a transfigured *akh*, would be ensured participation in the daily renewal and rejuvenation of the cosmos. In this sense, "scrolls of transfiguration" would be a closer description of the form and ancient purpose of such Books of the Dead.

The utterances of the Book of the Dead were first compiled by Karl Richard Lepsius, using a well preserved papyrus in the Turin Museum of Ptolemaic date (332–30 BC) as his fundamental reference (Lepsius 1842). The title of his seminal work, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, has since been universally adopted as the descriptive term for this collection of spells (Chapter 13). Lepsius's collation was systematically expanded and codified over forty years later by Edouard Naville, who added seventy-one other papyrus sources of New Kingdom date as *comparanda* (Naville 1886). Naville's expanded numbering system has since been augmented to identify additional spells that have come to light more recently. It is these texts — now amounting to over 190 — that have collectively come to define the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead.

The funerary corpus of the Book of the Dead is not an entirely new assemblage of ritual texts. A number of its spells emerged in whole or in part out of earlier collections of ritual utterances that have been designated, somewhat artificially, by the terms Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts (Assmann 2005, pp. 247–48; Hays 2011, pp. 116–18). Like the Book of the Dead, these two earlier corpora were classified and studied by Egyptologists on the basis of the types of monuments on which they were most prominently inscribed. The Pyramid Texts appear carved in monumental hieroglyphs on the interior walls of pyramids of the late Old Kingdom (ca. 2375–2181 BC) (fig. 2.1). These spells were first collated by Kurt Sethe and numbered according to a series that roughly followed the chronological sequence of the five pyramids with inscribed walls known to him at the time (Sethe 1908–1922).

By contrast, the Coffin Texts were mostly written in ink using small-scale cursive hieroglyphic script

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FIGURE 2.1. Pyramid Texts inscribed inside the burial chambers of the pyramid of Unas at Saqqara (N. 4213/P. 7815)

arranged in vertical columns on the interior walls of private wooden coffins dated as early as the second half of the Eleventh Dynasty (ca. 2055–1985 BC); these coffins are now mostly held in numerous museum collections worldwide (fig. 2.2). Beginning in 1935, Adriaan de Buck began the publication of a series of volumes that now numbers eight, arranging all known spells of the corpus in numerical order and comparing text variants against one another (de Buck 1935–61; J. Allen 2006). Eventually, owing to the subsequent excavation or discovery, new spells identified as either Pyramid Texts or Coffin Texts have been added to the initial sequences established by Sethe and de Buck (e.g., Leclant et al. 2001). As a case in point, Sethe's original sampling of five pyramids has now grown to ten; some of these sources await full publication: not all known spells have yet been numbered or classified (e.g., J. Allen 2006, pp. 441–56).

It has long been recognized that there is significant continuity between these early corpora. Fully a third of the Coffin Text spells are descended from the Pyramid Texts, reused verbatim or in partially revised form. The Coffin Texts publication of de Buck tended to obscure the continuity of this textual tradition by omitting those Pyramid Texts that were found embedded among Coffin Texts and including only spells that appear for the first time on coffins. However, several texts recently discovered in Old Kingdom pyramids and elsewhere are ones that de Buck originally identified as Coffin Texts, which must now be recognized as having earlier use (Pierre-Croisiau 2004; Valloggia 1986, pp. 74–78). New research into the funerary monuments of Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom date will undoubtedly bring other shared Pyramid Text and Coffin Text spells to light, further increasing the evidence for commonality between these two assemblages and diminishing any sharp distinction between them.

And yet the Coffin Texts introduced a number of innovations in presentation and content that distinguish them from their Old Kingdom precursors. Due to the much smaller scale of coffin walls, these texts

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FIGURE 2.2. The coffin and lid of Ipi-ha-ishutef with columns of funerary spells (PT 220–222) inscribed inside. Wood and paint. Egypt, Saqqara. Purchased in Egypt, 1923. First Intermediate Period. H: 20.2 x W: 51.8 x D: 9 cm. OIM E12072A-B (D. 16238; photo by Anna Ressman)

are no longer rendered as carved hieroglyphs but as handwritten script: usually cursive hieroglyphs that sometimes approach scribal hieratic forms (Chapter 3). The closely spaced columns are headed by the digram *ḏd-mdw*, "recitation," emphasizing their primary purpose as an utterance to be spoken aloud, not simply read (fig. 2.2). Brief titles or colophons are added to some utterances to explain the efficacy or proper performance of a ritual, and the content of certain spells seems to reflect the spoken rhetoric of non-religious texts of the period, including private biographies (Coulon 2004) or even letters to the dead (Willems 2001).

The very nomenclature "Pyramid Texts" and "Coffin Texts," respectively, has had an unintended but pervasive effect on scholarly narratives regarding the spread of mortuary practices in ancient Egypt. For most of the last century it was generally accepted that the oldest known funerary texts were composed in the Old Kingdom exclusively for the glorification of the dead king and carved in royal burial apartments beginning with the Fifth Dynasty pyramid of Unas (ca. 2375–2345 BC) (fig. 2.1). With the demise of the Old Kingdom, ritual funerary texts were supposedly taken over by a wider and less exclusive audience consisting of private officials, who placed them on their coffins along with Osirian terminology and symbols of royal regalia — thus "democratizing" them, with the benefits of the royal ritual now spread to commoners. This appropriation, in theory, also reflected a corresponding decline in royal prestige and power (early proponents: J. Breasted 1912, pp. 272–80; Moret 1922).

Recent reassessments of the cultural context of early writing and ritual practice in Egypt suggest that this view can no longer be sustained (Bourriau 1991, p. 4; Mathieu 2004, pp. 256–58; Baines 2004; Coulon 2004; Smith 2009b; Hays 2011; but see also Willems 2014, pp. 211–19). A number of Pyramid Texts were clearly composed from the perspective of a non-royal individual or refer to the king as someone other than the beneficiary of the spell itself. From the mortuary temple of one of Unas's predecessors, king Sahura

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(ca. 2487–2475 BC), fragmentary offering lists contain phraseology similar to what is found in the mortuary service of the Pyramid Texts, indicating an earlier and more diverse royal usage for these recitations than burial purposes alone. In the private sphere, several tomb biographies of officials of the Old Kingdom as early as the Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2613–2494 BC) refer to their status as an *akh*, a glorified spirit, or assert that rites of transfiguration have been performed for them on earth. Moreover, an indispensable motif of Old Kingdom private chapels is the tabular menu of food offerings, implicitly tying these lists to the later Pyramid Text spells that accompany them and pointing to a common comprehension of funerary practices by royalty and commoners alike. The seemingly popular embrace of "royal" mortuary texts on private coffins beginning toward the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, then, is not one of misappropriation but should be seen primarily as a shift in the practice of including textual materials in elite burials where they had not existed before, in this case on private coffins rather than on the walls of contemporary royal pyramids, which at this time were no longer inscribed with funerary texts (Lehner 1997, pp. 168–87; Mathieu 2004, p. 257).

Despite such inevitable changes in the burial practices and commemoration of royal and non-royal social classes, the fundamentals of funerary belief throughout Egyptian history represent, by and large, a continuous and unbroken tradition, having the same essential purpose for the deceased: transfiguration into an effective spirit (Assmann 1986;



FIGURE 2.3. Coffin Text spells 953–955 inscribed on Papyrus Gardiner III in hieratic showing the use of black ink for the main text and red ink for rubrics. Papyrus, ink. Egypt, Asyut(?). Gift of Alan H. Gardiner. First Intermediate Period. H: 22.6 x W: 28.6 cm. OIM E14066 (D. 13150)

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Eyre 2002, pp. 64–69). Nor were inscribed utterances confined to pyramids or coffins, out of sight and out of reach of the uninitiated, but were visibly present in other locations such as stelae, funerary chapels, burial chambers, offering tables, items of mortuary equipment, and archival master copies (fig. 2.3; Hayes 1937; J. Allen 1976, pp. 28–29; Baines 2004; Lesko 2001, p. 287; Berger-el Naggar 2004). Spells composed for a glorified eternal existence attest to universal beliefs about the afterlife shared by most or all Egyptians, not just those able to commission pyramids or coffins on the basis of rank or wealth. The use of durable materials by the elite of ancient Egypt favored the preservation of Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts into modern times, but this happenstance does not imply that mortuary customs and ritual were not available to other members of society.

In addition to their physical presence in the tomb and on other objects, religious text corpora existed more importantly on a separate and more significant plane, that of ritual performance. It is no accident that most of these spells are couched as direct speech, for their function is primarily performative, and their place is primarily among the living — one that leaves few traces in the archeological record (Smith 2009a, p. 10; Bourriau 1991, p. 4; Baines 2004, p. 32). That is, textual sources that have survived the passage of millennia give us vital insight into the funerary practices of ancient Egypt but do not entirely define them.

It is in light of this perspective that the development of the Book of the Dead, arising in the late

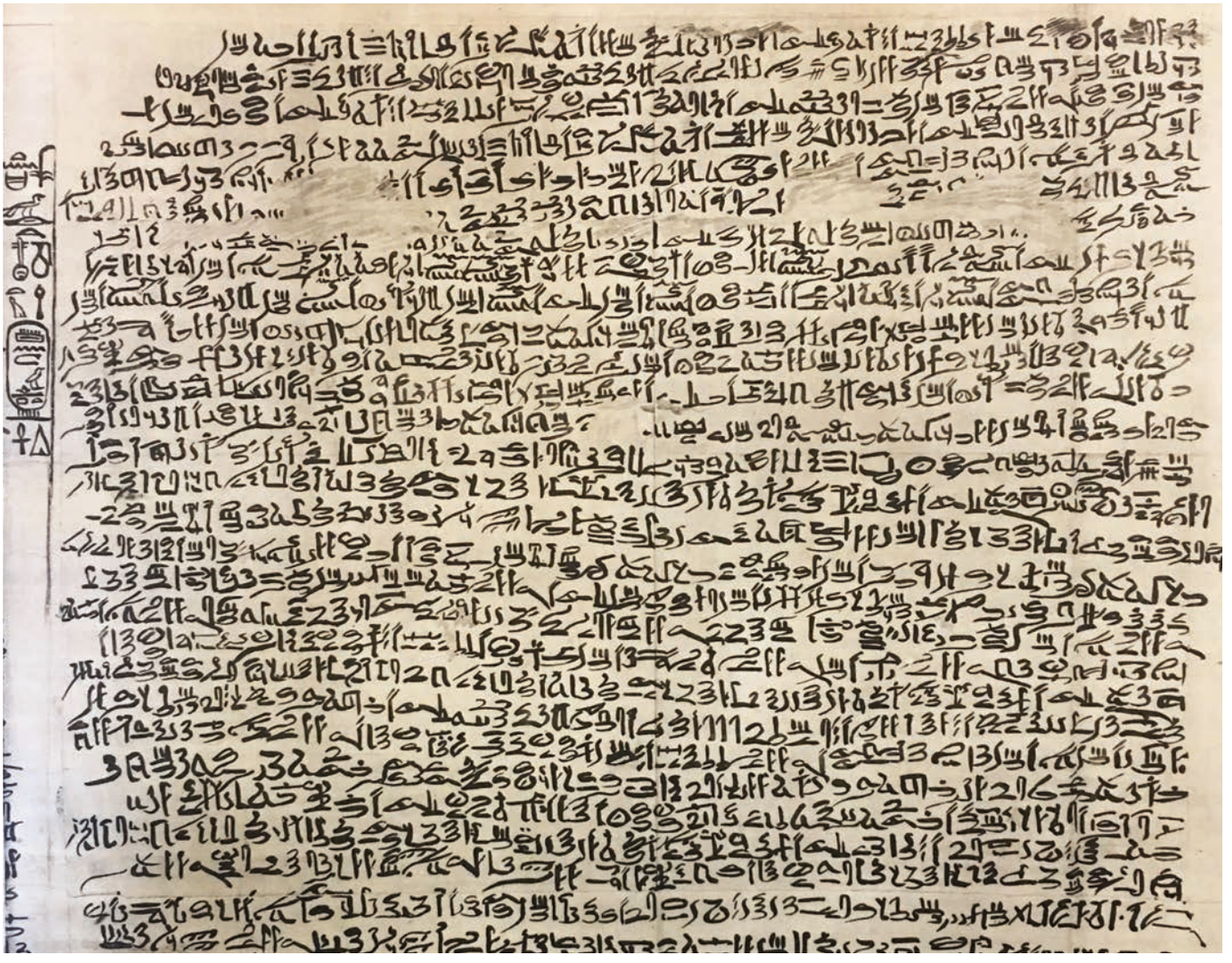


FIGURE 2.4. A copy of one section of the hieratic funerary texts containing CT and PT spells from the coffin of queen Mentuhotep, foreshadowing the formulation of the Book of the Dead (after Budge 1910, pl. XLIV)

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Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period and continuing into the early Eighteenth Dynasty, should be assessed. In an ongoing evolution of beliefs about the afterlife, the Book of the Dead draws directly on the textual tradition of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, adopting several utterances wholesale, revising others, and adding new spells that must have been more recently composed. Its physical manifestation in the New Kingdom as a papyrus scroll differs radically from the pyramid walls and wooden coffins of prior eras, but its essential purpose — to guarantee the post-mortem transfiguration of the tomb owner into a glorified spirit — remains the same, and its direct evolution can be traced from a number of disparate monuments beginning in the Thirteenth Dynasty (ca. 1773–1650 BC).

To follow the earliest emergence of the Book of the Dead, a distinction must be made between the appearance of isolated spells on coffins of the Middle Kingdom and the identification of recognizable text sequences that foreshadow the beginning of a new mortuary tradition. Several coffins of the Thirteenth Dynasty include individual utterances, mixed in with Coffin Texts, that later appear as part of the Book of the Dead repertoire. For example, the coffins of Sesenebnef (from Lisht), Senebhenauef (Abydos), and Imeny (perhaps Asyut) contain intermediate versions of certain utterances — for example, BD spells 33, 102, 123, 139, 148, and 149 — that are akin to Coffin Texts counterparts but have not yet developed their typical New Kingdom forms (Gautier and Jéquier 1902, pls. XVI–XXVI; Lapp 1986; Grajestki 2006; Mathieu 2004, p. 251; for the dating of these coffins, see Willems 1988, p. 105; Bourriau 1991, p. 13; J. Allen 1996, pp. 1, 6, 15).

The earliest datable version of what we can recognize as a codified arrangement of texts surviving into the New Kingdom appears on the inner walls of the rectangular coffin of a queen Mentuhotep (Geisen 2004a), the wife of king Djehuty, who ruled toward the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty (ca. 1773–1650 BC) or the very beginning of the Sixteenth Dynasty (ca. 1650–1580 BC) (for dating dispute, see Ryholt 1997, p. 408; Grimm and Schoske 1999, p. 19; Geisen 2004a, pp. 7–20; Geisen 2004b; Grajetski 2006, p. 17; Wegner and Cahail 2015, pp. 155–57). The coffin has been lost, but its texts were copied by Sir John Wilkinson in 1832. Surprisingly, the form of the script breaks from the expected Middle Kingdom custom of small-scale cursive hieroglyphs formally arranged in vertical columns and written in retrograde fashion. Instead, the spells are written out in multiple horizontal lines of flowing cursive hieratic script, in ten sections or "pages" uncannily imitating the appearance of a papyrus scroll (fig. 2.4). The spells themselves also anticipate a developing canon: they include a number of Coffin Texts mixed with new compositions that commonly occur on later Book of the Dead papyri. More to the point, the spells are arranged in a sequence typical of the New Kingdom, beginning at the head end of the coffin with Coffin Text 335, which was to emerge as Book of the Dead utterance 17, often used as the opening spell on later papyrus scrolls (Munro 1987, pp. 140–51; Lapp 1997, pp. 36–38, sequence #1). Nor is Mentuhotep's coffin the only example. A fragmentary coffin board in the British Museum belonging to an official Herunefer is similarly inscribed in hieratic with Coffin Text 335, doubtless from the head end of the coffin and intended as the first of a sequence of spells similar to that of queen Mentuhotep (Parkinson and Quirke 1992). Hieratic therefore seems to be the script with which the earliest codification of Book of the Dead spell sequences was formulated, not just presumptively on papyrus master copies kept in local archives, but also as copied directly onto the walls of rectangular coffins like those of Mentuhotep and Herunefer. Such a master copy, although of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, seems to exist in the more durable leather roll inscribed for Nebimes, composed in ten sections of scribal hieratic and containing a string of spells typical of queen Mentuhotep's coffin and other early Book of the Dead sources (Shorter 1934; Quirke 1993, pp. 16–17). This leather roll served its purpose for a considerable time before the name of Nebimes was finally written into the spaces that had been left blank in the master copy to allow for the insertion of the owner's name.

The broad adoption of anthropomorphic coffins during the Second Intermediate Period was to impose significant changes in the physical inclusion of texts on coffins, a transition most evident in the Theban region (on the orientation of the body in these coffins, see Bourriau 2001, Miniaci 2010, p. 53 with notes 23–33). The curved sidewalls and lids of these human-shaped containers made it difficult to accommodate the number of funerary spells that were once copied out on flat interior walls. One unique monument, the fragmentary coffin lid of the princess

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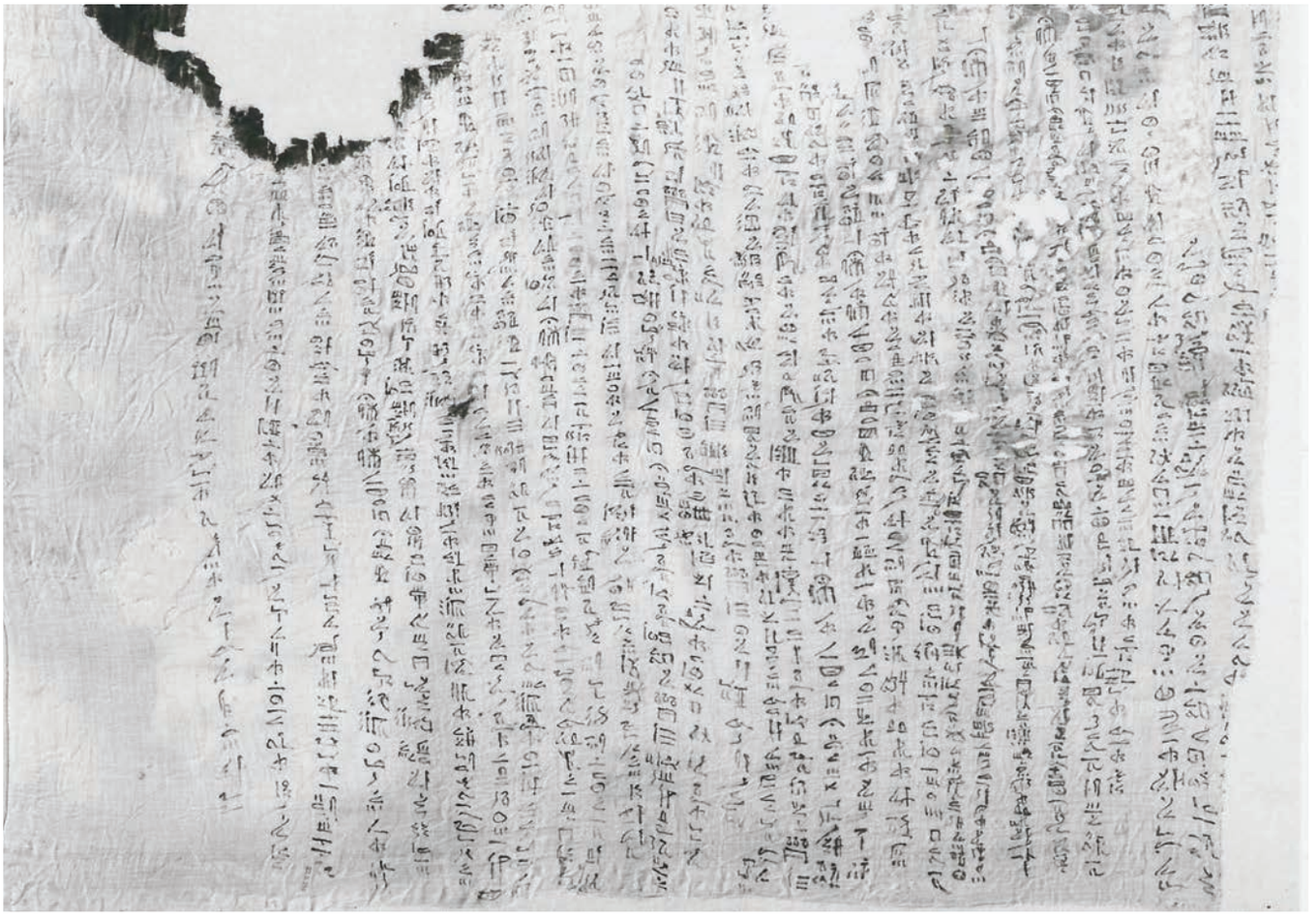


FIGURE 2.5. Fragments of the linen shroud of Ahmose-Penhat with BD spells inscribed in hieratic. Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.3.296a

Satdjehuty-Satibu of the late Seventeenth Dynasty (ca. 1580–1550 BC), illustrates how scribes attempted to deal with this limitation while still preserving the custom of copying spells directly onto the coffin (Grimm and Schoske 1999, pp. 2–33). The upper portion of Satdjehuty's lid is carved in high relief depicting the face of the deceased, while the flat underside displays the texts of four spells, composed in horizontal lines, in a sequence well attested for the Book of the Dead (Munro 1987, pp. 143–51, 218–19; Lapp 1997, p. 39, sequence #3).

This tentative solution was apparently deemed insufficient, since otherwise it seems to have been entirely abandoned. Spells from the nascent Book of the Dead corpus were instead consigned to media other than coffins: papyrus scrolls and linen sheets, which could accommodate more extensive textual material and then be rolled up or draped over the body lying within the coffin (Rößler-Köhler 1999, p. 87 n. 75). The majority of inscribed linen shrouds — notably that of Seventeenth Dynasty queen Tetisheri, the direct ancestress of the rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty — predate any Book of the Dead source written on papyrus, but both materials were used concurrently for several generations before the Book of the Dead achieved its final incarnation as an illustrated papyrus scroll.

Smooth sheets of papyrus were the ideal medium for hieratic script, reflecting normal scribal usage from as early as the First Dynasty (from ca. 3000 BC), and hieratic scrolls certainly served as the prototype for copying spells onto coffins like those of Mentuhotep and Herunefer. Moreover, the use of hieratic to inscribe Book of the Dead utterances on papyrus continued into the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: two burials of this period, those of Hatnofer and of Noferkhawet, contained Books of the Dead written entirely in a proficient hieratic hand,

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FIGURE 2.6. The shroud of Amenemhab illustrated with vignettes from the Book of the Dead. Louvre N 3097 (Heritage Image Partnership Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo)

the latest datable examples known (Hayes 1935; Lansing and Hayes 1937). Three other papyrus scrolls of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, those of Mesemnetjer, Muty, and Ahmose, show a combination of compositional approaches, in which a single section or "page" of horizontal lines is combined with hieratic or cursive hieroglyphic forms arranged in vertical columns (Capart 1934; Munro 1987, p. 278, 292–93 and pls. 23–24; Munro 1995). Small sketches of the solar bark of BD spell 126 are incorporated with the text of Muty and Ahmose as well, incipient vignettes that were drafted deftly in black ink with only minimal detail.

Simultaneously, during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties (ca. 1580–1425 BC), linen became broadly employed as a surface on which scribes could copy out spells from the Book of the Dead, despite the challenges of writing on a flexible woven ground. A few of these linen shrouds bear spells in hieratic script arranged in vertical columns, such as those of Ahmose-Penhet in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 2.5), the prince and chancellor Ahmose in the Turin Museum, and Ahmose Henut-Tamehu in the Cairo Museum. More numerous are shrouds composed in columns of cursive hieroglyphs, usually in retrograde orientation, a format essentially identical to that used in Middle Kingdom coffins, though some are composed to be read in the clear as well (Munro 1994 and 1995). None of these shrouds bear hieratic writing in horizontal lines typical of scribal usage, perhaps due to the open weave and stretchable surface of the linen, which may have militated against the flowing ligatures so distinctive of horizontal hieratic and favored scripts in which signs are individually rendered.

The option of either papyrus or linen imposed different parameters for writing and layout. While papyrus was normally produced in standard sizes measuring 30–36 cm high and pasted together as needed (Černý 1952, pp. 14–17; Parkinson and Quirke 1995, p. 16), linen sheets were routinely woven many meters in length and more than a meter wide, affording a more expansive medium for composition

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FIGURE 2.7. A fragment of the papyrus of Amenhotep, an overseer of the builders of Amun, inscribed with BD 42 and 64, shows the "canonical" form of Book of the Dead manuscripts as inscribed on papyri in the Eighteenth Dynasty with large vignettes and red and black ink. Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.70a

and drafting (Chapter 5). It is on linen shrouds that painted vignettes — one of the distinguishing marks of the Book of the Dead — first appear in far greater frequency and variety than on papyrus, often predominating over the text in some cases, doubtless due to the virtually unlimited space available. One such shroud, inscribed for Ka and his spouse Taperet, features a number of vignettes that are well-attested illustrations of the lake of fire (BD spell 126), the underworld mounds (BD spell 150), the funeral cortege of the mummy being hauled to the tomb (BD spell 1), and two scenes of adoration by the owner and his wife, while the corresponding text of these spells had been added only in cursive snippets (Taylor 2010a, p. 67). The more complete shroud of Amenhotep is arranged in three long horizontal registers, each subdivided into nine sections, adorned with no fewer than twenty-five vignettes with text composed in retrograde cursive hieroglyphic script (Munro 1987, pp. 158–59, 278). The compartmentalized format is quite unlike anything that exists on papyri of the time. Other fragmentary pieces of sheeting confirm the impression that linen rather than papyrus served as a primary vehicle for the innovative layout of vignettes in broad registers and their integration with text, as with the shroud of Amenemhab (fig. 2.6), a combination that was to find more refined realization in Book of the Dead papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Munro 1987, p. 10; Hornung 1979, p. 22).

The sequence of most of the spells that constitute the Book of the Dead corpus would not become formally fixed until the Saite period (after 664 BC), remaining unchanged thereafter and thus designated by scholars as the "Saite recension" (Chapter 12). By contrast, it has been remarked that the early versions of the Book of the Dead, referred to as the "Theban recension," were more haphazard and less subject to standardization (Lapp 1997, pp. 42–44 and 47; Niwiński 1989, p. 24). While there is a great deal of variety in the sequence in which spells were arranged in these early sources — even the duplication of spells on a single papyrus — the selection is not entirely

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random. On papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty, eight strings of spells have been noted that are often found grouped together, though not in precisely the same order, and an effort has been made to identify the internal coherence of these associated utterances: for example, those having to do with transformations into different efficacious beings, utterances for "coming forth by day" or other free movement, incantations against inimical beings, and spells for the heart (Barguet 1967, pp. 17–18; Lapp 1997, pp. 45–49). Three of these sequences also occur regularly on the papyri and linen shrouds of the formative period of the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, demonstrating an adumbrating link to the later Books of the Dead. On the other hand, three additional sequences among this formative group of papyri and shrouds can be identified that rarely recur, if at all, in later Eighteenth Dynasty sources (e.g., BD 27-14-39-65-116-91-64). These latter sequences suggest not only a clear internal coherence among these early exemplars for the Book of the Dead, but also a subsequent shift in spell usage once the more canonical format of the papyrus scroll came into exclusive use beginning in the later reign of Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425 BC).



FIGURE 2.8. BD 6 inscribed on a funerary figure for the New Kingdom pharaoh Amenhotep II. OIM E5657 (D. 19720)

The provenance of the early papyrus and linen textual materials points to the area of Thebes as the location where the Book of the Dead was first formulated, following the separation of Upper Egypt from northern Egypt at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the beginning of the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty (Rößler-Köhler 1979, pp. 340–43; Geisen 2004a, p. 17; Parkinson and Quirke 1992, p. 48; Gestermann 1998, p. 98; Miniaci 2011). Notably, the coffin of king Djehuty's queen Mentuhotep dates to this chronological crux, and the evidence from the early linen shrouds is supportive of this observation: of the sixteen largest shrouds, ten were discovered at Thebes and three more can be deduced to come from that locale (Munro 1987, pp. 274–96; Kockelmann 2008). The owners of these shrouds include queen Tetisheri, two princesses Ahmose — one of them the daughter of the Seventeenth Dynasty king Seqenenre Tao — at least two princes Ahmose, and two other individuals whose names are compounded with "Ahmose," a naming tradition distinctly of the Theban region at the time. It is likely that the reformulation of funerary practices at this time was not an isolated cultural phenomenon; it was accompanied by the introduction of a new pottery repertoire continuing unbroken into the New Kingdom (Bourriau 2010) and the appearance of *rishi*-coffins adorned in a feather pattern that may have reference to CT 335/BD 17 (Miniaci 2010, pp. 55–60).

As already observed, the New Kingdom Book of the Dead scrolls co-opted a significant number of utterances from the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, but this newly codified tradition embraced novel thematic and structural features as well. Titles in red ink regularly herald the beginning of spells, foregrounding the content to come (fig. 2.7). The geography of

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the underworld and the denizens that guard its divisions are described in greater detail, and the deceased boasts of having the arcane knowledge by which these guardians can be pacified and passed by. The papyri are routinely — often exquisitely — illustrated with multiple vignettes executed in vibrant colors, which themselves can stand alone for the utterances to which they pertain (Chapter 4), though a few papyri contain vignettes executed only in the scribal colors of red and black (e.g., Taylor 2010a, pp. 266 and 279). The formal judgment of the dead contained in BD spell 125 is an entirely new addition to the mortuary corpus and involves the deceased supplicant making a "negative confession" asserting his or her faultless behavior on earth in the presence of forty-two gods assembled in the Hall of the Two Truths, while the heart is weighed against the feather of Maat. Another large vignette, showing the tomb owner and often his wife in adoration of Osiris or another deity, frequently opens the papyrus scroll (figs. 1.3, 4.16, 6.7, and 11.4).

Beginning roughly with the later reign of Thutmose III, the custom of copying spells onto papyri in ordinary hieratic script was abandoned — a curious development, in view of the fact that hieratic writing was the natural medium for papyrus and could be employed by any scribe with access to the pertinent religious sources. And perhaps because bookrolls could contain vastly more textual and figural material than linen sheets, inscribed shrouds had only a limited shelf life as a primary carrier of mortuary spells. However, they continued to be part of Eighteenth Dynasty burial equipment at least into the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1390–1352 BC), the most notable example being the one inscribed for Thutmose III (fig. C2, Dunham 1931; Forman and Quirke 1996, p. 119; Taylor 2010a, p. 66).

Instead, for almost the entire duration of the New Kingdom, individual Books of the Dead were largely produced at significant expense by master draftsmen-scribes and painters who were trained in the cursive and formal hieroglyphic traditions



FIGURE 2.9. Some of the earliest Book of the Dead spells were inscribed already in the Thirteenth Dynasty on heart scarabs like this one that belonged to a Seventeenth Dynasty king named Sobekemsaf II. British Museum EA 7876 (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

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of writing, who could lay out spells with appropriate spacing, who could draft vignettes according to the prescribed artistic norms, and who had access to pigments, all in response to the preferences of an individual who had the means to commission such a prestigious work. In other words, these funerary scrolls represent a particular form of lavish display in tomb equipage, a luxury item that could only be afforded by the relatively wealthy (Chapter 5). At the same time, the option of a more modest papyrus roll inscribed in hieratic was abandoned.

New Kingdom Books of the Dead as products of privilege were not intended to restrict accessibility to rituals to that select sliver of society who could afford to include an illuminated scroll among their funerary equipment. As already noted, the ownership of ritual compositions in a burial context is insufficient grounds for assuming that the rituals themselves were beyond the reach of others: commoners undoubtedly had access to those requisite ceremonies and recitations suitable to their means, meager as they might be. But the typical Book of the Dead as it emerged in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty was fundamentally an item of elite cultural production for which a less expensive substitute in the form of a hieratic papyrus scroll was no longer produced, reflecting a preferential change in custom or fashion.

Although spells associated with the Book of the Dead have been defined as such by virtue of their appearance on funerary bookrolls, they were widely deployed on other objects associated with burial. The close integration of ritual utterance with the physicality of the tomb and its associated equipage is eloquently attested by the wide-ranging application of Book of the Dead spells in different loci: *ushabti* figurines (fig. 2.8, BD spell 6), heart scarabs (fig. 2.9, BD spell 30B), mummy masks and magic bricks (BD spell 151), various amulets to be placed on the body, stelae, and tomb or chapel walls. Nor were the spells on papyrus the only or primary mortuary compositions of the New Kingdom. While the broad range of funerary compositions known as the Books of the Netherworld becomes evident in royal tombs during the later New Kingdom, even private monuments of the early Eighteenth Dynasty provide a glimpse of the variety that were available to non-royalty: funerary liturgies in the burial chamber of Senenmut, TT 353 (Dorman 1991); Amduat and portions of the Litany of Re in the burial chamber of Useramun, TT 61 (Dziobek 1994); and a range of BD spells and PT utterances in the burial chamber of Amenemhat, TT 82 (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pls. 39–45; Hays and Schenck 2007). The richness of funerary practices of the time cannot be fully assessed without positioning the Book of the Dead in relation to other lengthy contemporary treatises, which together present a much more complex picture of the Egyptians' beliefs concerning the afterlife and cosmology than extant sources provide for earlier periods (Chapter 12).

To be sure, the origins of the Book of the Dead are rooted in a broadly received corpus of religious texts dating back to the pyramid age, but its full emergence by the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty cannot be understood purely as a textual or literary phenomenon. The gradual revision and codification of mortuary recitations — culminating in lavish papyrus manuscripts illustrated by vignettes and produced for the Egyptian elite of the New Kingdom — proceeded hand in hand with the alignment of ritual practice and the physical aspects of burial arrangements over a period of markedly changing tastes and requirements, stretching from the late Middle Kingdom through to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, combined with the impetus imparted by an independent Theban political entity in southern Egypt.

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3. LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

EMILY COLE

When Egyptian scribes wrote out copies of the Book of the Dead, they were building on a tradition of religious scholarship that had been in existence since at least the Old Kingdom (ca. 2686–2125 BC). Priests who had access to libraries of texts within the Egyptian temple complexes continuously adapted spells from the earlier traditions of the Pyramid Texts and later the Coffin Texts for hundreds of years. However, the distinction between these religious texts has largely been a creation of modern scholarship, based on where the compositions appear: the pyramids, coffins, and papyrus "books" respectively (Chapters 1 and 2). In reality, numerous Pyramid and Coffin Text spells were reproduced in their entirety through at least the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BC). While the Book of the Dead was indeed representative of a new and innovative stage in the presentation and distribution of Egyptian funerary materials, the priests no doubt recognized the antiquity of the spells. Those authors would even have promoted the archaic nature of the religious rituals in order to satisfy their clientele of the validity of the ritual text, which they were commissioning.

An effort was made to emphasize the traditional language and scripts of the Book of the Dead over time. From the earliest emergence of writing in Egypt, there existed two complementary scripts: the formal hieroglyphs and the cursive hieratic. These scripts appear nearly simultaneously in the Predynastic and Early Dynastic respectively (Regulski 2009), with the script largely based on the choice of medium, text genre, and register (Quack 2010). For the funerary spells, this same principle applied. For instance, the majority of Pyramid Text examples that exist today were carved in columns of monumental hieroglyphs because they were placed on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs built of stone (fig. 2.1). However, the few early attestations of Pyramid Text spells on papyrus were written in both hieratic and hieroglyphs (Berger-el Naggar 2004). When the spells appear on the coffins and tombs of the Middle Kingdom as the Coffin Texts, the columnar format was retained, but rather than appearing on a medium that accommodated the intricately carved and detailed hieroglyphs, the artisans were confronted by the wooden surface of the coffins. Large bands of horizontal text were painted in hieroglyphs along the upper edges of the coffins, but the remainder of the text was written out in columns in a schematized form of hieroglyphs (figs. 2.2 and 3.1),



FIGURE 3.1. Coffin Text spells inscribed into the wooden coffin of Djehutynakht using a cursive hieroglyphic script with some hieratic features. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 21.966-67 (Oriental Institute Museum Archives)

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FIGURE 3.2. The New Kingdom Book of the Dead papyrus belonging to Amenhotep shows the neatly spaced columns of cursive hieroglyphs and associated vignettes for the Book of the Dead spells. Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.70b

commonly known as cursive hieroglyphs (Verhoeven 2015; Lippert and von Lieven 2016).

In the New Kingdom, when some of the first examples of the Book of the Dead appeared, the most common format was individually delineated columns of cursive hieroglyphs (figs. 2.7 and 3.2). However, columns of hieratic were also used, as attested on a Second Intermediate Period (1650–1550 BC) papyrus currently in the Petrie Museum (UC 55720.1 / TM 134796). Even on linen shrouds, where the shifting of the material created a difficult surface on which to write (Chapter 2), scribes largely followed the columnar format in the early New Kingdom, as on the shroud of Thutmose III (fig. C2). An exception is Book of the Dead spell 100 written in horizontal bands of cursive hieroglyphs that exists from the reign of Thutmose III (fig. 3.4). However, with decorative bands around the edges, the horizontal layout may have been chosen because it was a single spell on a piece of linen, rather than indicating a broader shift in trends. The layout, with its decorative border of alternating colors and illustration in the upper portion, is reminiscent of stelae decoration, which may also have influenced the choice of script.

A particular feature that affects how the columns of hieroglyphic text were read is what is known as "retrograde hieroglyphs" (Niwiński 1989, pp. 13–17; Chegodaev 1996). This term refers to the fact that columns of text would be read left to right, the opposite of their "normal" order, yet the hieroglyphs were oriented as if they should be read right to left. Writing in retrograde hieroglyphs was most common in religious texts, presumably since it was regarded as a special feature of these compositions, and examples exist already in the Pyramid Texts. In some instances, the scribes ran into problems when copying out the texts in retrograde writing (Goelet 2010), as may have been the case in spell 18 of the Book of the Dead of Ani from the Nineteenth Dynasty (ca. 1295–1186 BC).

Less common, but also appearing from the Second Intermediate Period, were horizontal rows of hieratic (fig. 2.4), such as the examples found on the coffin of Mentuhotep (Geisen 2004a), a queen of the Thirteenth Dynasty (ca. 1773–1650 BC), or the fragmentary coffin of Herunefer (Parkinson and Quirke

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1992). It is possible that rather than transform hieratic into the familiar and formal columns of cursive hieroglyphs, the scribes chose to write out the texts as they appeared on a papyrus original. Up to the end of the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1069 BC), the use of hieroglyphs dominated the production of Book of the Dead manuscripts. A clear shift occurred in the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1069–664 BC) and continued to a lesser extent into the Late Period (ca. 664–332 BC), as surviving hieratic manuscripts roughly equal the number of hieroglyphic ones (*Totenbuchprojekt Bonn*). In the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BC), the balance swung fully in the other direction with the number of hieratic manuscripts outnumbering the hieroglyphic examples three to one.

The change in script use over time could be associated with a number of trends. The earliest manuscripts derived from the Coffin Texts retained the vertical display of text that fits well with the requirement of the coffin decoration scheme. However, with the shift from a large object, which had the dual function of protecting the mummy and acting as a writing surface, to a portable papyrus roll with the singular role of preserving the ritual text, the authors of the Book of the Dead were perhaps free to experiment more with layout and writing styles. Many chose to abandon the cursive hieroglyphs that took up more space and stood out among the New Kingdom Book of the Dead manuscripts.

Moreover, with the Third Intermediate Period, the amount of available tomb space and economic ability of Egyptians to pay artisans to decorate such spaces decreased, which led to creative adaptation in the funerary assemblages of the elites (Cooney 2007). Patrons necessarily shifted their focus to the sarcophagus and funerary papyri that could be safely stored either next to the mummy in the coffin, or in other accompanying objects. While certain spells written in hieroglyphs became common decorations for coffins, innovative funerary manuscripts including new compositions not found in the Book of the Dead were written out on papyri. An elaborate example of such a text is Papyrus Greenfield (fig. 11.2), which belonged to the daughter of a High Priest of Amun, Nesitanebisheru (Taylor 2010a, pp. 306–09). The use of hieratic became much more common at this time, with columns of continuous text written out in horizontal lines (fig. 3.3). However, hieroglyphs were still regularly used for the captions to some vignettes (e.g., Cat. No. 2 and fig. 3.3), a trend (fig. 3.5 and Cat. No. 17) that continued into the Roman Period (30 BC–AD 395). The continued use of hieroglyphs was perhaps due to the figurative nature of the hieroglyphic script as well as to the visual importance and impact that these vignettes would likely have had on the viewer (Parkinson and Quirke 1995, p. 24).

The greatest number of preserved manuscripts of the Book of the Dead date to the Ptolemaic Period. Scribes continued to write the majority of these manuscripts in blocks of hieratic text in horizontal lines, some with columns of text differentiated by formal black lines around them (comparable in layout to the Cat. No. 16) and others in a more free form (e.g., Cat. No. 14). In contrast, a new style (e.g., Cat. No. 15) that appears only in second-first centuries BC was

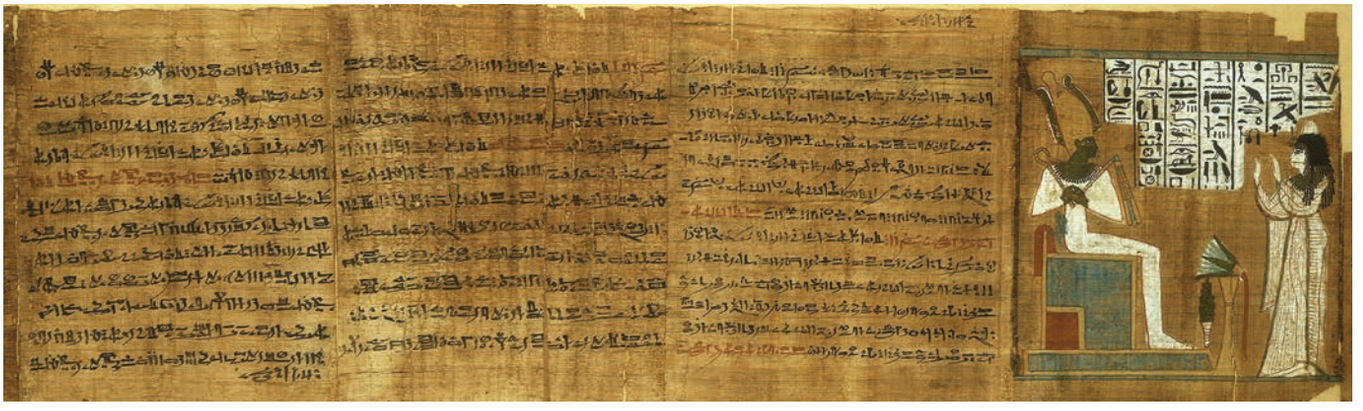


FIGURE 3.3. The Third Intermediate Period Book of the Dead papyrus of Tayuhenutmut displays the interaction between the hieratic script used to write the texts of BD 23-26-28-27 and the hieroglyphic script used in the captions above the scene of her worshiping Osiris. AIC 1894.180 (courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago)

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FIGURE 3.4. The linen shroud of Tany from the reign of Thutmose III is inscribed with BD 100 in horizontal bands of hieroglyphs for the spells. NMR.92, Nicholson Museum, The University of Sydney (TM 133810)

written in vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphs, reminiscent of the formal New Kingdom manuscripts (Mosher 1992).

While the trend in script use on papyri and linen shifted from cursive hieroglyphs to hieratic, spells attested on other media remain predominantly in hieroglyphs through the Roman Period. These include examples found on most three-dimensional objects: stelae, *ushabtis*, scarabs, statues, sarcophagi, and tomb walls (e.g., Cat. Nos. 29 and 30). The continued use of hieroglyphs on these examples may be explained by a number of overlapping reasons. First, the media out of which these objects were made were more accommodating of the carved detail of hieroglyphs. In many instances, the texts were also shorter and thus could be written out in hieroglyphs relatively quickly. There were a number of commonly used spells that were familiar to the artists. For example, many scarabs were inscribed with spell 30B (Cat. Nos. 6–9). Finally, some objects, such as stelae, were more likely to be displayed publicly, and thus the owner might benefit socially by displaying an object inscribed with the more formal hieroglyphic script.

During the Ptolemaic Period, as knowledge of traditional Egyptian scripts became more restricted, a few innovative authors took it upon themselves to transcribe spells that were written in hieratic and hieroglyphs, into the Demotic script. For example, a stela for a man named Harsiese (Vleeming 2004; Smith 2009a, pp. 665–68) opens with an offering formula written in hieroglyphs, but switches to Demotic immediately before providing the name of the deceased (fig. 3.6). A Demotic transcription of spell 15a of the Book of the Dead then follows, which was a solar hymn that was commonly carved on stelae from the Saite Period onward (ca. 664–525 BC). Furthermore, Foy Scalf has shown that the scribe did not simply transcribe the text, but rather edited the composition of spell 15a to the local Book of the Dead tradition of Akhmim (Scalf 2014, pp. 256–58). In this instance, the address to the deities was kept in the ancient script, which properly venerated the divine subjects, while the personal information about the deceased and the brief wish for him to join with Osiris that was written in the second person singular ("may you ...") were instead written in Demotic.

The use of two scripts on the same object to write out Book of the Dead spells, as well as the excerpting of particular spells, foreshadows the replacement of hieroglyphs and hieratic as the scripts of Egyptian funerary literature. In a final stage of transformation, one of the latest Book of the Dead examples that exists from the Roman Period was not only written in the Demotic script, but was also translated into the Demotic language (Stadler 2003; Quack 2015). The manuscript (Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 149) is dated to 17 October 63 BC and was written for a man named Pamonthes by his son Menkare. It includes a text that was traditionally appended to the Book of Traversing Eternity (Chapter 12), Book of the Dead 125 and 128, and descriptions of the weighing of the heart scene and possibly of the vignette of Book of

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FIGURE 3.5. Anubis introduces the mummy of the deceased before Osiris. Cursive hieroglyphs are used for the captions around the figures, while the spells on the papyrus are written in typical late hieratic, which in this case has a Demotic translation below. A.1956.313 (© National Museum of Scotland)

the Dead 148. The entire papyrus was composed in Demotic, and appears to have been created uniquely for Pamonthes, as no parallels are known. At this time, the tradition of lengthy and complete Book of the Dead manuscripts fell out of use so the majority of Roman Period papyri contain only a few Book of the Dead spells or vignettes. Instead, Books of Breathing that were frequently written in the contemporary language and speech became the more popular funerary text (Chapter 12).

Just as was the case with the choice of script, the language in the Book of the Dead was inevitably linked to a long history of textual transmission and manuscript tradition. Because of the sacred nature of the texts, the language and scripts were rarely adjusted to the contemporary idiom intentionally. Such preservation of sacred words is far from unique. The difficulty in updating and translating religious texts is a well-known and studied phenomenon, as sacred words once written down are often attributed directly to a divine source and thus should not be altered, and the archaic sounds become an integral part of ritual practices (Hare 2014). Similarly, the antiquity of the Egyptian language and script provided the spells with a divine, traditional authority. On a more pragmatic level, the use of the older language ensured that the priests, who were trained in these languages and could interpret the secrets of the spells, remained the guardians of these arcane and complex religious materials. The professionals who compiled funerary manuscripts were invested in limiting access to textual archives and thus restricting power to a relatively small group of individuals (Ryholt 2013).

However, the texts hardly remained stagnant and untouched. A great deal of innovation in funerary literature took place over the more than 1,500 years of transmission history of the Book of the Dead. In accommodating the shifting tastes and trends of the eventual owners of these texts, Egyptian authors exploited the flexible nature of the corpus of individual spells. They combined older spells with new compositions, changed the order of the existing spells, and, in later periods, experimented with transcribing and translating the archaic spells into Demotic in order to create customized funerary texts.

The majority of the spells in the Book of the Dead were composed in what is referred to today as Middle Egyptian, which was the phase of the Egyptian language that was primarily used during the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2055–1650 BC) and was written in the

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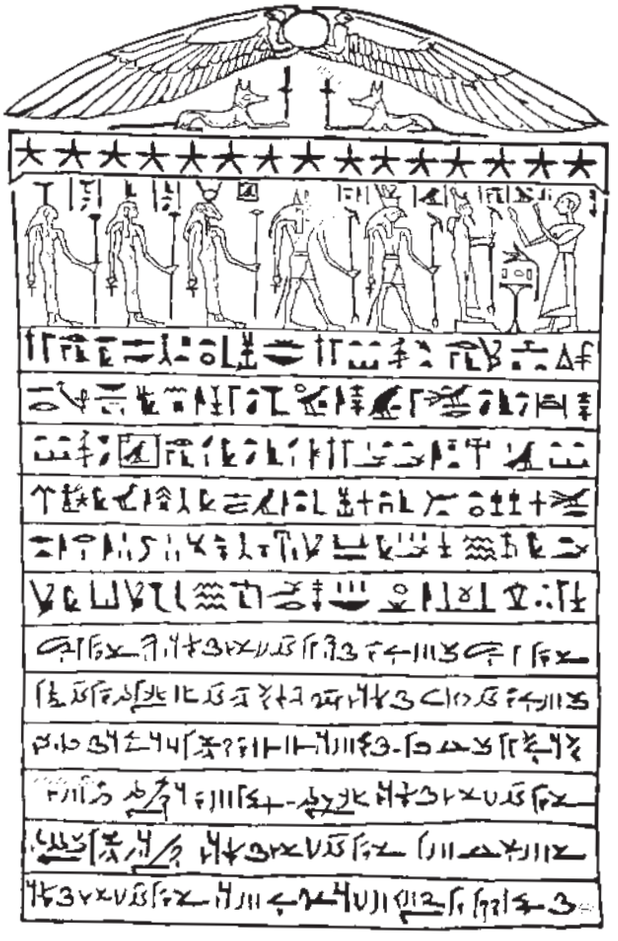


FIGURE 3.6. The stela of Harsiese shows how the hieroglyphic and Demotic scripts could be used together on a single object. British Museum EA 711 (drawing courtesy of Sven Vleeming)

hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. The most important works of literature, such as the Tale of Sinuhe, were composed in this language, leading some to refer to it as the classical phase of Egyptian. In the Middle Kingdom, some spells that appeared as Coffin Texts, which were written in Middle Egyptian, were transferred in their entirety into the Book of the Dead, often undergoing some form of modification or editing before being included. For instance, Coffin Texts 340 and 395 were combined into a single spell that became Book of the Dead 122. Coffin Text 335 became Book of the Dead 17, but was expanded substantially from its Middle Kingdom form through the addition of textual annotations and explanations of obscure religious references. Although the language of the Book of the Dead was primarily Middle Egyptian, even in some of the earliest manuscripts, namely those of the Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1550–1295 BC), scribes used Late Egyptian grammatical forms (Munro 1988, pp. 175–84).

At each point of transmission, as a scribe physically copied the text or compiled several versions of a spell into one, errors were liable to appear in the manuscript. Many scribes continued to copy error-filled texts from one papyrus to the next, but others tried to resolve problems in understanding or variations they found in the source materials (Goelet 2010). For modern scholars, these small differences are quite useful, as a consistent error can be traced over time in a process known as textual criticism (West 1973). This scholarly technique does not comment on the content, but rather follows small linguistic variations to trace the history of a manuscript and its related tradition. Most commonly used in Classical and Medieval Studies, Egyptologists have successfully applied this process to the funerary compositions that exist in numerous copies (Rößler-Köhler 1979; Jürgens 2001). In comparing the differences between the attestations of a single spell, a tree of transmission called a "stemma" is created that shows how different texts relate to one another over time. These diagrams visualize a section of the history of a particular text and can be helpful in dating manuscripts, identifying the origin of particular errors, and understanding scribal practices.

However, modern scholars are not the only ones who were interested in compiling and comparing manuscripts. The Egyptians themselves took care to note variations in vocabulary, phrasing, choices of deities, and so forth. The most common way of indicating the variations between the manuscripts or glossing the text with a comment was by adding the phrase *ky ḏd* "another saying" (Gardiner 1938). This practice was not restricted to funerary literature, but it appears most commonly in Book of the Dead spells, with later copies of the text providing substantially more examples of annotation (fig. 3.7). For instance, in papyrus Turin 1791, which dates to the Ptolemaic Period and was carefully written in vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphs, there are 229 glosses with the phrase *ky ḏd* in 74 of the 165 spells, i.e., 45% of the spells (Lepsius 1842). As an example, in spell 51 — a spell for not eating dung in the afterlife — the author carefully noted that he found two different personal pronouns for the same passage: "And my excrement, variant: your, through which I will not fall" (*ḥtp-kꜣ=i ky ḏd=tn nn ḫm=i im*).

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FIGURE 3.7. BD 17 from the papyrus of Irtyuru contains repeated use of the phrase *ky dd* meaning "another saying" or "variant," showing how scribes used source material in compiling texts. OIM E10486C = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13326)

While the main text employed the first person singular "my," the variant of the second person plural "your" was considered important enough to be copied out as well. The majority of these annotations preserve minor variations like this example, and many were the result of confusion in reading a word or copying particular signs.

Words with similar pronunciation could also be reinterpreted or replaced as they were transmitted over time, and the author might therefore include several options in the text. For example, in Book of the Dead 24 (Geisen 2004a), a variant appears as early as the beginning of the New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1069 BC). The spell was transferred entirely from Coffin Text 402, and the title indicates that it was for "not dying again and giving a man's magic to him." It is structured in three verses that each end with the same sentence: "be quicker than a hound, be speedier than a shadow." The annotation, "otherwise said: speedier than Shu," is appended to this refrain, which describes how the magic of the deceased is collected for him. In each existing version of Coffin Text 402, the refrain refers to the god Shu (*Šw*), but in the versions of Book of the Dead 24, Shu is replaced by the near homonym "shadow" (*šwy.t*) and the name of the god is moved to the alternate reading. By moving the older word, Shu (*Šw*), to the alternate reading, the scribe could preserve the original text and provide a new understanding of the spell at the same time. Thus when the deceased employed this spell in the afterlife, he had access to not only an understanding of the swiftness represented by the shadow, but also its association with Shu, who embodied the wind and was part of the magical process as well. The inclusion of older readings, which stood apart but were at the same time integrated, suited the additive nature of textual transmission that was favored in Egyptian scribal practice (Cole 2015).

Middle Egyptian was also used to compose new spells in the Book of the Dead throughout the first millennium BC. The Egyptian language of this period is sometimes referred to as *Égyptien de tradition* ("traditional Egyptian"), in that it retained the essence of Middle Egyptian of the second millennium BC, but aspects of later Egyptian grammar were gradually introduced (Engsheden 2003). A set of five spells (BD 162–167), often termed "Supplemental Chapters," was added to the composition sometime

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after the Ramesside Period; BD 162 is not attested before the second half of the Twenty-first Dynasty and BD 163-164-165 not before the Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Wüthrich 2009, p. 269; 2010, pp. 12–15) (ca. 747–525 BC). New work on these spells has shown that although some elements of Late Egyptian grammar and vocabulary were present, the author had still intended to compose them in Middle Egyptian (Wüthrich 2010 and 2015). These spells also include the unique feature of having words written in a Nubian language (Rilly 2007, pp. 11–14). The foreign words include theonyms and toponyms, and in BD 164 in particular, a sequence is identified as being written in "the language of the Nubians and the nomads of Nubia" (*ḏd n Nḥsy.w Ỉwnty.w n.w Tȝ-sty*). As a magical device, Nubia was often referenced as a source of dangerous religious knowledge, and the foreignness of the words no doubt heightened the perceived efficacy of the spell (Ritner 1993).

The contrast between the earlier and later phases of the Egyptian language became more visible over time, and appear in particular in places where scribes added individual rubrics, notes, and other marks to the text. A note in Demotic to the artist that, "This is not a space for a picture," attests to the language change that had occurred (fig. 3.8). Rather than write in the traditional language of the spells, the scribe, who was clearly proficient in multiple phases of Egyptian, provided practical instructions in Demotic, the common language and script of the time. While the content of the spells demanded the older Middle Egyptian, annotations were made in the more widely understood phase (Scalf 2015–16).

This preservation of the archaic language continued even as the Book of the Dead was transcribed into the later Demotic script, as discussed above. The preeminence given to the language of the original text may have been due to the performative nature of the spells, an aspect of the texts to which we have little access. When spoken aloud, the older language may have been tied to an accurate pronunciation of the ritual words, which may explain why transcription was preferred over translation (Depauw 2012, p. 495). Only a single copy of a translated text exists today in P. BN 149, and that manuscript preserves only a few of the many spells that make up the Book of the Dead (Stadler 2003). The use of Middle Egyptian was an important part of the tradition of the Book of the Dead. Since hieroglyphs and hieratic were part of the writing system used to represent that phase of Egyptian, the retention of the older language likely influenced the choice of script. In contrast, Demotic was a distinct language phase that was represented by a different writing system, meaning that the transformation into first the Demotic script and then the Demotic language represented a substantial change to these religious texts (Quack 2010).

The Book of the Dead became an artifact of the past that did not survive the significant changes brought on during the Roman Period, including the gradual dismantling of the Egyptian temple system and the preferential use of the Greek language. However, throughout the existence of the Book of the Dead, Egyptian scribes were careful to compile different manuscript sources, innovate through the composition of new spells, and adopt new trends and styles in layout, design, and illustration. While the Egyptian Book of the Dead drew religious authority by transmitting traditional standards of language and script, it was by no means a static piece of history. As consumers of the magical texts, the individuals who owned the manuscripts likely valued both the authority of the ancient language as well as the new features that allowed them to distinguish themselves from their peers.

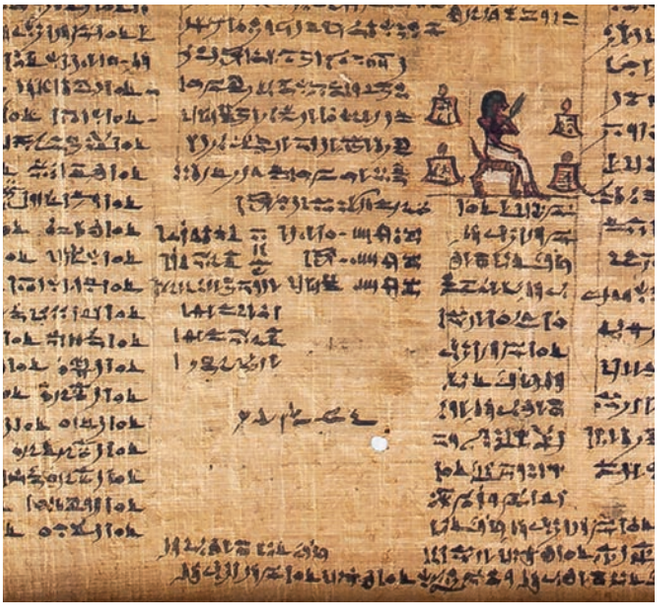


FIGURE 3.8. A Demotic note in between hieratic columns of Papyrus Ryerson was written so that the illustrator, who probably could not read the hieratic text, knew that "it is not a space for a picture." OIM E9787G = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28920)

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4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD VIGNETTES

IRMTRAUT MUNRO

The Book of the Dead (hereinafter abbreviated as BD) was the most persistent collection of funerary literature in ancient Egypt. After its first occurrence on a coffin dating into the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Geisen 2004a and 2004b) and on documents belonging to members of the royal family and court at the end of the Seventeenth and beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasties (BM EA 29997; Parkinson and Quirke 1992, pp. 37–51; I. Munro 1994; Ronsecco 1975 and 1996; Grimm and Schoske 1999), the tradition lasted more than a millennium and a half until its decline in the second half of the Ptolemaic Period.

Beside totally new redacted spells, the priestly editors of the BD could absorb texts from the earlier predominant religious compositions, the Coffin Texts and the Pyramid Texts, which had no significant tradition for any accompanying images. Only one of the rare exceptions of images in the Coffin Texts found access into the new text collection (CT 466–77, BM EA 30842; Taylor 2010a, p. 242, fig. 71). In spite of this, we cannot think of the BD without its illustrations, which we conventionally call "vignettes."

The early BD documents, mainly attested on large linen shrouds, record only a few vignettes, either rendered in color or in black outline drawing. They already seem to be important components of a BD manuscript, although in a still limited program (BD 136A/B, BD 149, or BD 150). However, no steady development can be noticed from poorly colored vignettes during the early production of BD manuscripts to the full color renderings of later manuscripts. Within the time span of a few generations the limited repertoire of BD vignettes increased considerably to accommodate the full range of spells. By the time of Thutmose III the production of the large-dimensioned linen shrouds decreased substantially, having been substituted by papyrus scrolls, which were more convenient and practical for the scribes and artists of the workshops and for the storage of the manuscripts. Papyrus became from then on the main medium for BD manuscripts.

A widespread increase of workshops arose all over Egypt with numerous scribes and artists who had to meet the higher demand of the members of the social elite for BD scrolls as the most effective and protective guides through the netherworld. To meet this demand, model texts, patterns for the layout and the imagery program, had to be distributed. Especially in the Nineteenth Dynasty, master copies and model books of vignettes found access into the wall painting of Theban tombs, where we see a strong dependence on the iconographical patterns also in use for BD manuscripts (Saleh 1984; Milde 1991; Lüscher 2007).

Not each of the 190 attested BD spells had a vignette, but most basic key themes expressed in writing were realized with appropriate imagery. Once the iconographic model of a vignette was established, it could be transmitted over time, sometimes without changes or only modified by stylistic features. In the long course of the BD tradition, new motifs for vignettes could be developed and become popular, while others were neglected and did not live to see later periods. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the majority of vignettes showed motifs which seem to be more realistic than the more formal and stylized images found later. These explicit pictures often expressed the key message of the spell's heading or the essential idea of the spell.

The original ancient Egyptian title for the Book of the Dead is *peret-em-heru* (*pr.t m hrw*) translated as "Coming forth by day," which means coming out from the dark otherworld of the tomb into the sunlit sphere of the living (Chapter 1). Though this is impossible for the mummified corpse, who is bound to its tomb and belongs to the netherworld, a spiritual component of the human being, the *ba*, is able to

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FIGURE 4.1. The spiritual *ba* of Tjenena in the form of a human-headed bird hovers over his desiccated corpse in the vignette from BD spell 89. Louvre N 3074 (© RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY)

allay the constant fear of the ancient Egyptians to be trapped in the tomb after interment. The *ba* was depicted mostly as a bird with a human head, which signifies the intimate union with the deceased. If the *ba* is in action it appears hovering above the corpse (fig. 4.1; Dawson 1924), or standing beside the mummy as if the *ba* is seeking close connection with it (Lüscher 2008, pl. 5). The *ba* had free movement and access to the world on earth; however, at night it always had to find its way back and reunite with the mummy. The papyrus of Nebqed depicts exactly this scenario: the *ba* flying through the deep and narrow shaft toward the burial chamber. It flies back bringing provisions in the form of water and bread, not in its claws but in human hands (fig. 4.2). A careful look reveals a detailed illustration of the underground burial chamber with its various rooms filled with funeral equipment. Especially interesting is the detail of an empty chair, representing the deceased as departed, a discreet allegory of death (Brovarski 1977; Westendorf 1988). It is very unlikely that the illustrator found this motif in a model book, but he created this complex vignette through his innovative talent, imagining the tomb beyond the normal depiction of a realistic funeral procession.

Two early Eighteenth Dynasty BD papyri show unique transformation spells: in one we see the depiction of a goose, into which the deceased wants to be transformed (fig. 4.3). It is possible that the goose is an erroneous confusion with the image of a swallow, the more so as the terms for the two birds are similar (swallow is in ancient Egyptian *menet* and goose is *semen*), but the text clearly reads goose and corresponds to the illustration. We find in many textual passages the cackling goose beside the falcon announcing arrival in the sky. The deceased wanted to ascend to the sky in the form of a goose already in the Pyramid Texts, and this idea may have influenced the artist to create a new spell and illustration. The second papyrus has unfortunately only the heading preserved: "spell for assuming the form of a lion" (fig. 4.4). There is no doubt also that the text conformed

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FIGURE 4.2. The *ba* of Nebqed returns to the tomb at night and is shown here flying down the shaft to the burial chamber to reunite with Nebqed's mummy. An empty chair in an illustration of Nebqed's tomb indicates that he had departed for the day in the form of his *ba*. Louvre N 3068 (Heritage Image Partnership Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo)

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FIGURE 4.3. An unusual spell of transformation is here illustrated by the goose. The goose was symbolic of the earth-god Geb as well as the "Great Cackler," a goose who appeared in various creation myths and laid the egg from which the sun god hatched. pBM EA 10009, 3 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

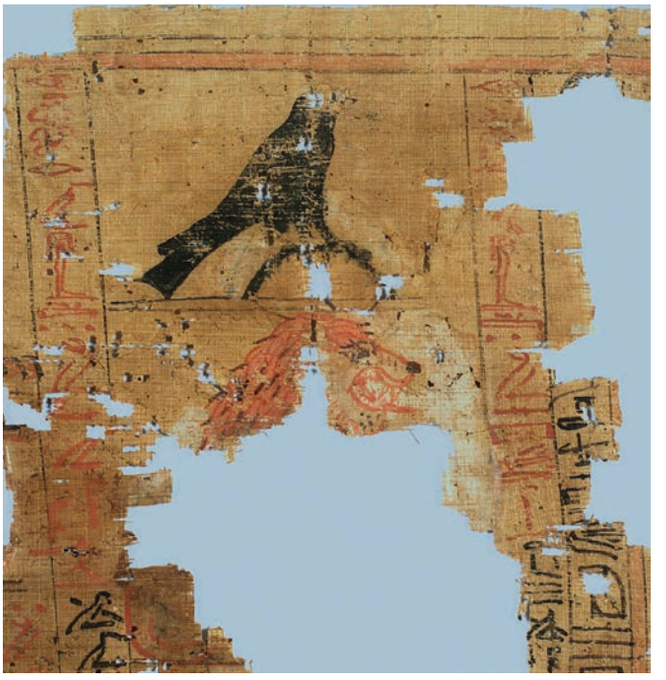


FIGURE 4.4. Although the illustration is badly damaged, these fragments preserve the text of a spell for turning into a lion. pUC71002 (courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology)

to the image. The lion combined all physical forces with which the deceased wanted to get equipped and played an important role as an apotropaic symbol for warding off evil.

Apparently there was no rule for the painters to strictly follow existing patterns. They could follow their own imagination, as we see in the papyrus of a certain official Amenemhat, produced in the reign of Thutmose III. The deceased is depicted in a basin of cold water, specified by the dark blue color. Directly in front of him the color of the water changes into red and symbolizes the scalding hot water, with steam rising from its surface. The vignette is a true visualization of the spell's heading: "not to get scalded by hot water" (Munro and Fuchs 2015, pp. 95, 151). Generally, this papyrus shows very exceptional peculiarities; it contains not only a rich spectrum of the commonly used color pigments, but has them applied in a very unconventional manner. They were — against the usual tradition — mixed to obtain a broader polychrome effect. Moreover, the artist invented another painting technique; he overlaid one layer of paint with another, thereby producing the effect of a three-dimensional impression (fig. 4.5). This exceptional painting technique cannot be found

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earlier and did not find any imitator until later in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Munro and Fuchs 2015, pp. 97–98, 194–205; Fuchs 2012, pp. 215–34, esp. 227, 230). Although the painters remained anonymous, as no name of any painter has been preserved, gifted master artists were among them, who created brilliant vignettes as miniature masterpieces (fig. 4.6).

THE USE OF VIGNETTES FOR DATING AND PROVENANCE OF MANUSCRIPTS

Beside other convincing arguments for narrowing down dating, the vignettes can often deliver additional criteria, especially the most prestigious ones with human representations. Thus, provided that the deceased wanted to be depicted as a vigorous young man in top form, clad in the latest fashion, dates can be ascertained by applying studies on the evolution of style in well-dated Eighteenth Dynasty tombs to the BD manuscripts (M. Wegner 1933; Dziobek, Schneyer, Semmelbauer, and Kampp 1992). As fashionable garments, wigs, and other complementary elements are short-lived stylistic features, established dating criteria are well-suited for studying them (I. Munro 1988). In the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties the wigs both of men and women became heavier and more voluptuous with broad hair ribbons. Pleated kilts and dresses appeared more elaborate as permanently worn at banquets; however, in some illustrations the women seem to be naked, only appearing to wear clothing (Taylor 2010a, p. 71). There is also a noticeable tendency in the manuscripts to overemphasize the vignettes in number and in sumptuous colors in comparison to a negligence of their texts.

In the Amarna period the BD tradition came to a temporary halt and production was totally disrupted. However, immediately afterward, it appeared revived with innovative pictorial compositions as recorded in the complex, but systematic vignette of BD 17, which remained a central vignette until the end of the BD tradition. After the Amarna period some vignettes emerged that had only previously existed in a rudimentary form. For example, the vignette of the sunrise developed from a simple closing vignette to a full-size composite consisting of the adoration of the sun god Re in the form of a divine falcon combined with newly composed hymns (T. Allen 1974, pp. 202–09; Schäfer 1935). In the Saite Period,



FIGURE 4.5. The figure of Nefertari shows the new painting technique, first attested in the papyrus of Amenemhat, which created a three-dimensional impression. (photograph by Guillermo Aldana © 1992 The J Paul Getty Trust. All rights reserved)



FIGURE 4.6. A master illustrator produced this finely painted and gilded scene on the "golden papyrus" of a man named Amenemhat. ROM 910.85.236.10 (with permission of the Royal Ontario Museum © ROM)

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FIGURE 4.7. Hunefer is depicted in his papyrus worshipping together with his wife for all eternity (after Budge 1899, pl. 1)

this central illustration further developed into a standardized version (Budek 2008). Other hymns, such as the hymn to Osiris (BD 183) or the hymn to Hathor (BD 186), entered into the BD repertoire from the Nineteenth Dynasty onward (I. Munro 1988, pp. 167–68). The Third Intermediate Period was a time of newly arising principles in Egyptian funerary religion, which showed their impact on contemporary BD manuscripts (Niwiński 1989, pp. 38–42; Lucarelli 2006a, pp. 256–61). The iconography, full of mysterious motifs of the netherworld and magical figures, mirrored the creative and rich religious imagery of their time. To a great extent the iconography of mythological compositions entered into the traditional BD repertoire (Niwiński 1989, pp. 38–42).

While the contents of text and their sequences varied considerably from one manuscript to the other between the New Kingdom and the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, at the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty the Book of the Dead underwent a comprehensive revision, the so-called Saite recension, which reduced the confusing diversity by reorganizing and codifying the range, selection, and sequence of spells, including their vignettes (Quack 2009). The prototype of this Saite recension became a manuscript of Turin (pTurin 1791), whose editor established the system of consecutive numbering beginning with BD 1 to BD 165, still in use today (Lepsius 1842; Chapter 13). In the fourth century BC the BD corpus occurs on a new medium — the long strips of linen used for mummy bandages (Kockelmann 2008). Considerable modification to the arrangement of vignettes occurred, especially for large illustrations, because the craftsmen had to meet the restricted height requirements of the linen bandages (Cat. Nos. 2–5). Their main centers of manufacture were located in northern Egypt.

Once the contents of the Book of the Dead were "canonized," the vignettes showed very little variation. Due to this, it is all the more difficult to determine the dating or the provenance of a given manuscript. However, a first attempt at defining criteria for dating successive traditions and for potential provenance has proven successful (Mosher 1992). The layout of the texts and the arrangement of their accompanying vignettes, either placed at the upper border or meandering through the text columns as attractive headings to a spell, were applied differently in the Theban and Memphite traditions. Criteria for studying the stylistic and iconographic changes observed on contemporary funerary objects can be applied to Book of the Dead manuscripts in order to determine their date or region of origin, assuming that the same conditions underlie the evolution of both object groups (P. Munro 1973). In the second half of the Ptolemaic Period two new mortuary compositions, the Books of Breathing and the Book of Traversing Eternity, became very popular and gradually replaced the BD compositions (Chapter 12; Coenen 2001). Although they are mainly focused on the importance of breathing air and a continued existence of the name, traditional BD vignettes often accompanied these compositions (Cat. No. 16).

THE MAGICAL POWER OF THE VIGNETTES

It is not only an assumption that model books for vignettes really existed; we have clear evidence in a Third Intermediate Period manuscript. This document, Papyrus Cairo JE 95879, contains an exact copy of a model book of vignettes. The papyrus opened with BD 17, but what followed was a sequence of vignettes without text. The same sequence was also used for several other contemporary manuscripts

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FIGURE 4.8. The papyrus of Irtyuru shows the mummy in a shrine attended by Isis and Nephthys while being dragged on a boat to the tomb by a team of oxen. A lengthy set of images representing different stages of the funerary rituals often dominated the vignette at the beginning of Book of the Dead manuscripts. OIM E10486A = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13324)

(I. Munro 2001, p. 68; Lucarelli 2006a, pp. 198–200; Niwiński 1989, pls. 11–16). The copy of the model book reveals distinctly that the ancient Egyptians considered a picture as a full substitution of a written spell which had the very same effective power.

In all periods, the introductory vignette, the adoration of Osiris, was the most frequent image. At first, it may only be considered an ordinary adoration scene or a simple hymn, but it is indeed more complex. This image of the deceased should represent him in his most vigorous form as a young attractive man on his passage through the beyond under the protection of Osiris, the god of the realm of the dead, the guarantor of triumph over death. If the deceased was accompanied by his wife and his children, the hidden idea was not only to provide them with the same benefit from the spells, but also to have his family bonds shown closely linked to him and his status as husband and genitor of children preserved in his afterlife (fig. 4.7). By means of the inherent magical power of images, the present lively status of the deceased could be fixed and preserved for eternity.

The most important arrangement for an existence in the sphere of the netherworld was a tomb after a proper funeral. The funerary scene is focused on the mummy lying on a catafalque with the two protecting goddesses Isis and Nephthys beside it, alluding to the dead's assimilation with Osiris (fig. 4.8). But beside the sarcophagus being dragged by men and oxen toward the tomb in front of them and at the end, groups of servants with funeral equipment are depicted following the sarcophagus. Several priests beside piles of offerings are seen performing the ceremony of opening the mouth for the deceased. The differentiated arrangement of mourners in groups, clad in fashionable garments with expressive gestures and the depiction of tears, suggests an impression of liveliness and a copy of reality, exactly what the deceased wanted to preserve for his eternal afterlife (fig. 4.9).

The ritual of "opening the mouth" took place in front of the mummy, the transfigured form of a blessed dead, into which the mummification rites had transformed the earthly body (fig. 4.10). It was performed by a priest who touched the deceased's organs of perception, such as the mouth, ears, nostrils and eyes, with certain implements in order to animate them so that the mummy could regain all necessary faculties. The animation of sensory functions was essential for the many stations the deceased had to pass through in the netherworld. Without a functioning mouth no essential needs such as eating food, drinking water, or breathing could be performed. The interrogation by the door-keepers could not be answered. Knowing and being able to pronounce his own name was mandatory when the deceased was conducted to the judgment hall. Pronouncing a name was, in the perception of the ancient Egyptians, a sort of creative act, which could promote entities into being. On the contrary, erasing a name meant effacing

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FIGURE 4.9. A vignette from the famous papyrus of Ani depicts a group of women mourning his death in lively detail that may have reflected an idealized version of a real Egyptian funeral. BM EA 10470, 6 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

it from existence. The name belonged to a non-interchangeable individuality and proved its identity. Knowing the name of any being was equivalent to obtaining power over it.

One of the most basic concerns was to maintain the physical needs in the netherworld, such as being provided with food and drinking water. This was achieved by depicting numerous offering tables piled up with food throughout the manuscripts, at any time available for the deceased. There are several spells (BD 54, 56, and 59), which deal with providing the dead with life by breathing air and drinking water. The vignette shows the tree goddess Nut emerging amidst the foliage of a sycamore tree that grows beside a water basin. She pours out water from a *ḥes*-vase and offers a tray of various foods to Ani (fig. 4.11). This motif was very popular at all times, not only in BD documents, but on coffins, tomb walls, and stelae as well (Billing 2002). The motifs of the illustrations often closely correspond to the aim of the heading or text passage; they can be considered as their visualization.

Terrible threats could occur on the passage through the other world, which the deceased dreaded and wanted to avoid: being punished by decapitation in the execution place of the god Osiris by the hands of slaughtering demons as shown in a picture from the tomb of Ramesses VI (fig. 4.14). For the ancient Egyptians decapitation meant irreversible second death, the total extinction. This was the fate of all unrighteous sinners, who failed the final Judgement before Osiris (fig. 4.15). In the Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus of Ani, the menacing slaughtering block is placed at the back of Ani, signaling that he has passed the dangerous area unharmed (fig. 4.12). The reverse world of the beyond was a permanent scary prospect in the Egyptian imagination. Some spells and many passages within other spells explicitly refer to this anxiety (BD 53 and 189): Not walking upside down in the necropolis (fig. 4.13; Barguet 1967, p. 89), not eating faeces instead of food or drinking urine instead of water, and spells to secure excreting from the anus.

In everyday life the ancient Egyptians came across reptiles and many poisonous snakes, as we know from the many prescriptions for medication

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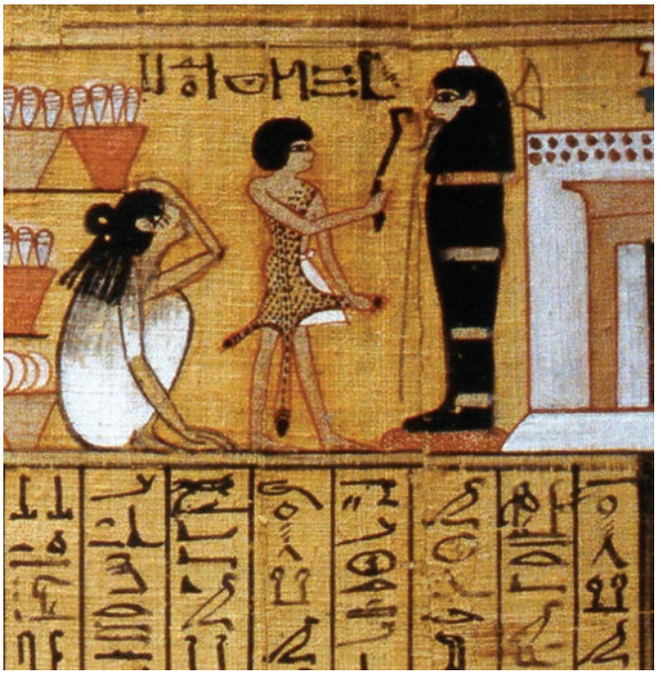


FIGURE 4.10. The opening of the mouth ceremony is performed on the mummy of Nebqed to ensure his ability to eat, drink, breathe, and speak in the afterlife. Louvre N 3068 (Heritage Image Partnership Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo)



FIGURE 4.11. The tree goddess, often identified as Hathor or Nut, pours water to a kneeling Ani in a vignette from his papyrus. BM EA 10470 (after Budge 1913, pl. 16)



FIGURE 4.12. Ani after he has passed unharmed by the slaughtering block upon which the damned were punished. BM EA 10470 (after British Museum 1894, pl. 16)



FIGURE 4.13. Being turned upside down symbolized powerlessness, defeat, and opposition to the ways of life on earth. Those who passed the judgment stood upright, as opposed to the damned, who were inverted. Louvre N 3248 (drawing after Barguet 1967, p. 89)

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FIGURE 4.14. Slaughtering demons shown holding the decapitated bodies of the damned from the underworld books inscribed on the walls of the tomb of Ramesses VI. Detail from the Book of the Earth, from the burial chamber of the Tomb of Ramesses VI, Valley of the Kings (Bridgeman Images)

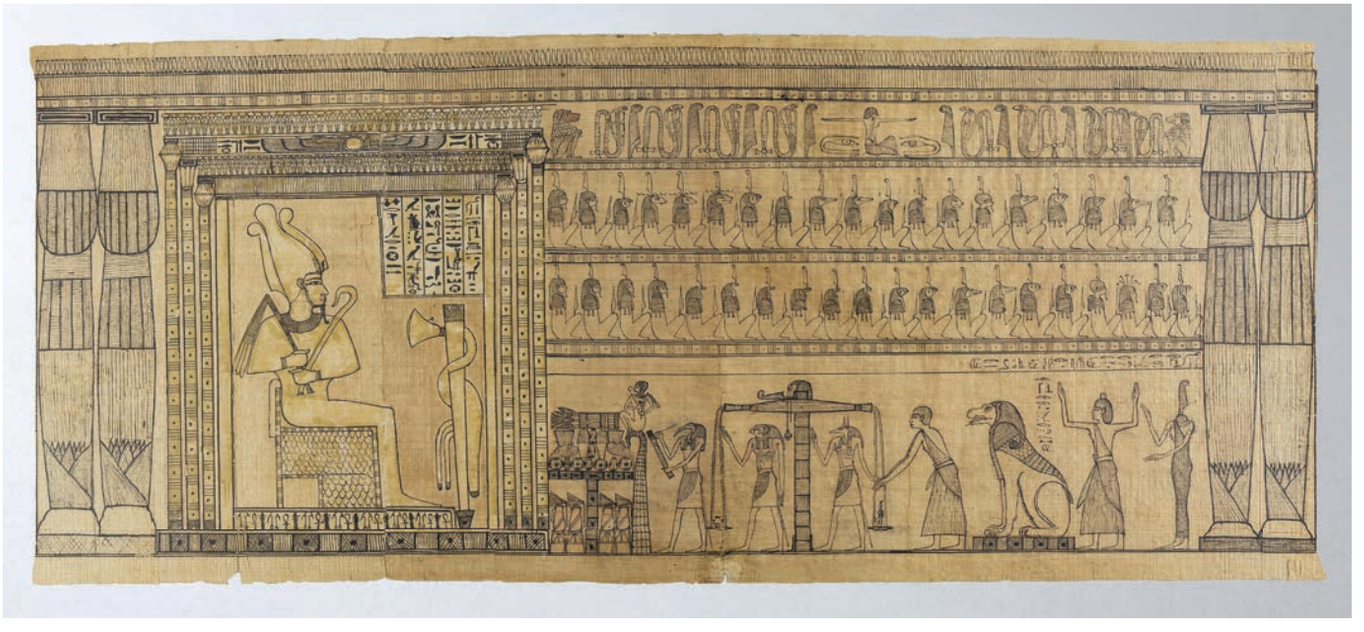


FIGURE 4.15. The judgment scene from the Book of the Dead papyrus of Irtyuru showing Osiris painted in with yellow to represent gold. OIM E10486J = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13333)

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and the powerful incantations against snakebites and the fatal effects of venom. Therefore, it is only natural that they were also considered to inhabit the netherworld. A series of spells and vignettes has the aim to repel dangerous or hostile animals, such as snakes, crocodiles or an animal called *apeshait*, a word for a type of insect (fig. 4.16). It looks like an oversized insect, commonly interpreted as a corpse-eating insect. It is always the deceased who acts to ward off the dangerous beings, either by spearing or threatening them with his knife (Cat. Nos. 30–31).

Secret knowledge of names was one of the characteristics of funerary magic. Before the deceased gained access to the "field of reeds" he had to pass an interrogation by the different parts of the ferryboat (fig. 4.17). In the associated vignette the deceased sits in a sailing boat, obviously after he had proved his knowledge of all the divine components of the ferryboat, which we see presented in writing and in image before him. As their names signified identification with divine beings or parts of them, the ferryboat as a whole was under their protection and was therefore equipped against any harm by the great serpent Apophis. The same secret knowledge is necessary when approaching the netherworld gateways. The deceased has to call the gate and the associated gatekeeper by their right names. Demon-like monsters or frightening animal-shaped guardians, armed with knives and torches, guard the doorways and give free passage only after having been correctly addressed by their names (fig. 4.18).

After the period of advanced BD production, few manuscripts lacked examples from the transformation spells. As the most popular and most frequently attested spells in the Book of the Dead, they had as a common topic the empowerment of the deceased by the inherent capability of the entity represented. As for transformation spell 87, "assuming the form of a *Sa-ta*-snake," it may seem strange to us that on one hand there are a lot of spells for warding off all sorts of snakes, and on the other hand the deceased considers a transformation into a snake as beneficial. Although dangerous by their poisonous bites, they unite the chthonic powers and can be helpful for a successful passage. Furthermore, snakes have the ability to cyclically peel off their skin and therefore became a popular symbol of regeneration.

Birds altogether were considered to belong to the divine sphere; however, the heron, also known as the



FIGURE 4.16. A vignette to BD 36 shows Nakht repelling a large insect that may want to feed on his mummy, its linen wrapping, or even the funerary papyrus itself. BM EA 10471, 16 (© Trustees of the British Museum)



FIGURE 4.17. Having proven his knowledge of the parts of the ferryboat, Neferrenpet is free to sail the seas to the "field of reeds." Brussels MRAH 5043 (Heritage Image Partnership Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo)

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FIGURE 4.18. Ani needed secret knowledge to pass by the demons who guarded the gateways through the netherworld as shown in the vignette from BD 146 from his papyrus. BM EA 10470 (after British Museum 1894, pl. 11)

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phoenix, is associated particularly with the *ba* of the sun god. Moreover, the texts highlight a close connection between the heron and the primeval act of creation. The wish to get transformed into a swallow is not as easily comprehensible, because the inherent power of this small bird is hardly imaginable. And yet, the swallow became a solar symbol of rebirth and renewal of life due to its cyclic occurrence as a migratory bird.

While many spells highlight control over most dangerous and predatory animals, it may look like a contradiction that assuming the form of a crocodile was considered to be desirable for the deceased. But the transformation into this powerful creature was considered to empower the dead's own status by assuming its strength and terrifying nature. Furthermore, the crocodile was worshiped in many places in Egypt; especially known is the cult of the crocodile god Sobek, associated with spell 88 (Chapter 9). In the corresponding vignette, the crocodile lies on a sort of shrine as if it were a cult object, which substantially reduces its terrifying character (fig. 4.19).

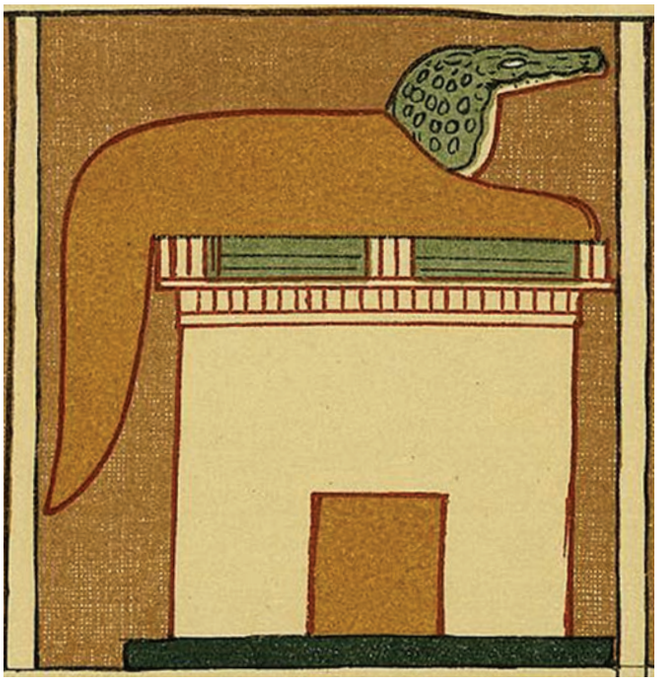


FIGURE 4.19. The vignette for spell 88, a "Spell for Turning into Sobek," from the papyrus of Ani shows a crocodile in a cloak atop a shrine. BM EA 10470, 27 (after British Museum 1894, pl. 27)

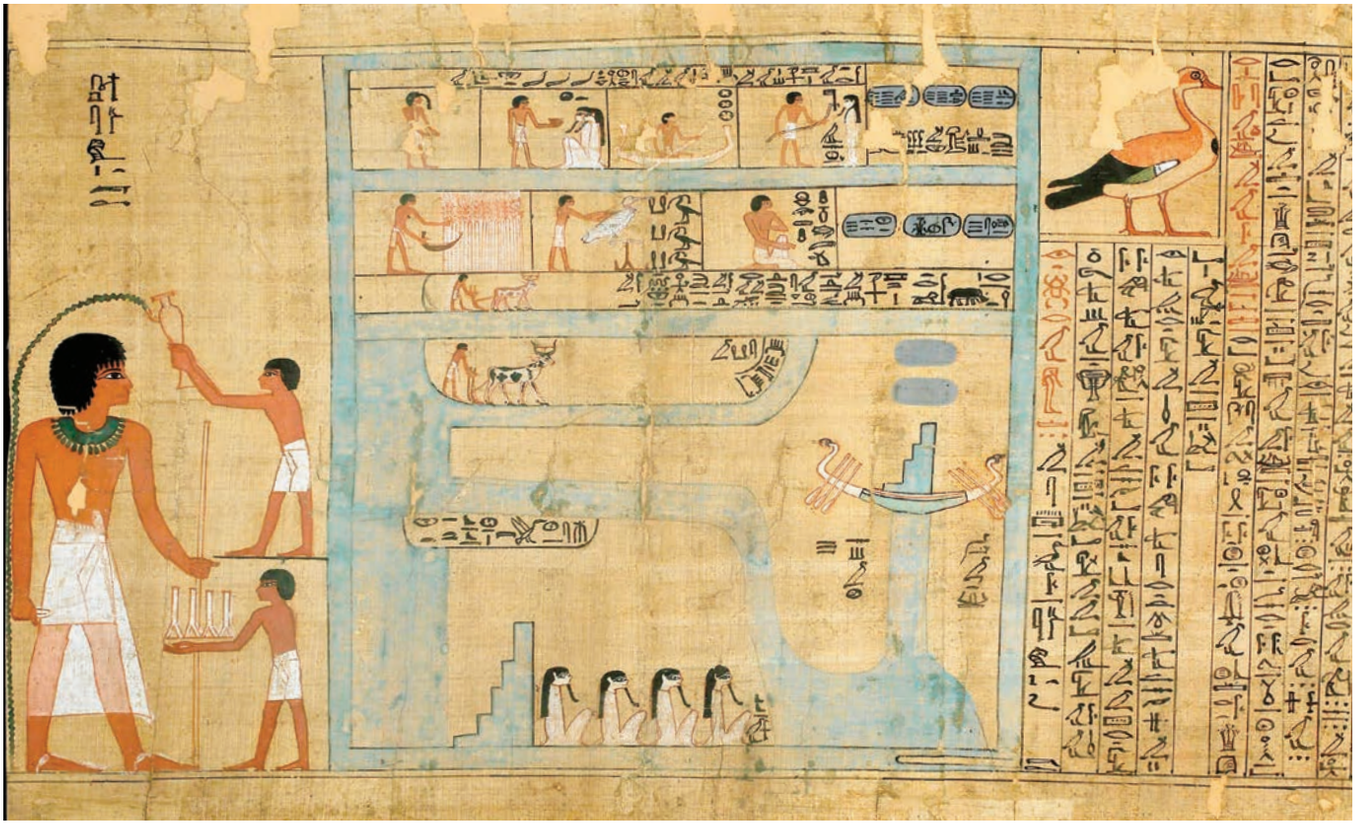


FIGURE 4.20. Userhat is being purified before the "field of reeds" in the vignette to BD 110 from his papyrus. The cool waters of the canals were an important destination in the afterlife journey. BM EA 10009, 3 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

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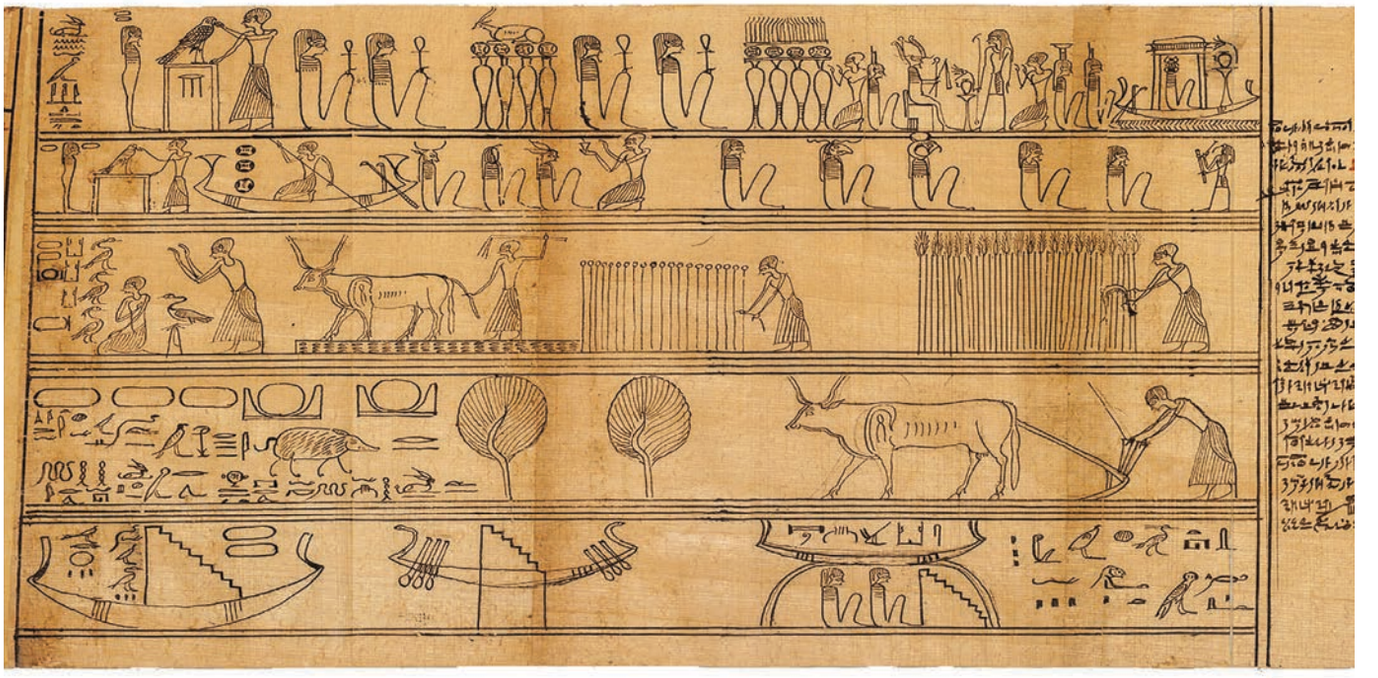


FIGURE 4.21. The Ptolemaic Period papyrus of Imhotep shows him performing the agricultural duties in the "field of reeds." In this era, the depiction of the watercourses have often been simplified and the agricultural sections have been allotted increased space. Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.9.20

The image for the "field of reeds," a realm longed for by the deceased, is found in many New Kingdom manuscripts. The deceased approaches the "field of reeds" after being purified four times (fig. 4.20). Water canals surround the area; inside we see groups of divinities and the deceased occupied with agricultural activities like plowing, seeding, or harvesting. He is also depicted either sitting in front of offerings or near to a heron on a perch, the sign for abundance. In the Ptolemaic era, the watercourses are often missing; the papyrus boat with the deceased punting it sits on a solitary strip of water. The agricultural scenes take more space than in the earlier manuscripts (fig. 4.21). Not only do the offerings guarantee the eternal provisions, seeding and harvesting symbolize the perpetuation of their supply.

Do the vignettes describe how the ancient Egyptians wanted to live in an eternalized state in the afterlife? Indeed, there are several pictures preserved. In one vignette the sun god appears in the form of a big falcon head with sun-disk, and it is the deceased who is steering the boat. As the sun god cyclically reiterates his crossing the sky in his bark, participation in the journey of the solar boat seems to be the cosmic guarantee for an eternal rebirth (fig. 4.22). In Ani's papyrus, a vignette marks the end, in which the tomb appears under the protection of the goddesses Hathor and Ipet, who is known as one of the most effective attendants at birth (fig. 4.23). The end of the papyrus of Amenemhat shows the deceased sitting on a high chair with a lotus flower at his nose, the most popular symbol of life and rebirth. He is depicted two times in almost the same position, as if to underline his favorable position as a blessed spirit.



FIGURE 4.22. Nakht finds eternal rebirth in the boat of the sun god as he makes his daily and nightly circuits. BM EA 10471, 9 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

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FIGURE 4.23. The vignette from BD 186 in the papyrus of Ani shows Ani's tomb among the cliffs of the western mountains in Thebes. Hathor, as a cow, pokes her head out from behind a papyrus thicket. British Museum EA 10470, 37 (after British Museum 1894, pl. 37)

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II

PRODUCTION AND USE



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OVERLEAF. BD 94 shows Irtyuru receiving a scribal palette from Thoth. OIM E10486G = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13330)

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5. HOW A BOOK OF THE DEAD MANUSCRIPT WAS PRODUCED

HOLGER KOCKELMANN

Unquestionably, the Book of the Dead is not only the most common of all funerary spell corpuses, but also the best attested kind of non-administrative Egyptian document in general. In terms of text witnesses, it outnumbers any other text composition by far. While most Egyptian literary works such as wisdom texts or tales have been preserved only in a limited number of copies, the Book of the Dead is attested on hundreds of papyri and mummy wrappings, as well as on the walls of tombs and temples, ostraca, stelae and even on wooden tablets (Janák and Landgráfová 2009). Due to its numerous attestations and long history, which extend over more than 1,400 years, no other text or spell corpus seems so well-suited for examining scribal habits and their development. On close examination, many copies of the Book of the Dead grant us intriguing insights into the methods of their production.

WRITING SUPPORT

Papyrus was the most common writing material for Book of the Dead exemplars, followed by linen. The papyrus roll consisted of numerous joined single sheets and was normally inscribed only on one side, preferably on the so-called "recto" with horizontal papyrus fibres (Chapter 1; for exceptions, see I. Munro 1987, p. 198). The height of papyrus rolls ranges from about 20 to ca. 40 cm, the length depended on the individually chosen number of spells (see below). Only exceptionally, a Book of the Dead copy was distributed over more than one papyrus roll or written on different sorts of media such as a papyrus and a leather roll (Quirke 1999a, p. 91; Lucarelli 2010, p. 267; Kockelmann 2008, pp. 184–85). The Book of the Dead of Nespasefy was written on at least three, probably four, separate papyrus rolls (Verhoeven 1999, p. 3). For Book of the Dead mummy wrappings, scribes usually chose a relatively fine linen. In the early New Kingdom, such exemplars were written on large shrouds, whereas in the Late and Ptolemaic Periods long and mostly rather narrow mummy bandages were preferred. Generally, the last-mentioned strips of linen were not woven in this format, but torn from large sheets. Sometimes the deceased was provided with two separate Book of the Dead copies, one on papyrus and one on linen wrappings.



FIGURE 5.1. A palimpsest papyrus that belonged to Buhar with a previous text erased in preparation for Book of the Dead spells that were never inscribed. British Museum EA 9974 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

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A few spells prescribe that a new papyrus should be used as writing ground for Book of the Dead texts (Quack 2014, p. 125). In practice, however, this was not always observed. Though papyrus might not have been as exorbitantly expensive as often is assumed, the Book of the Dead copyist sporadically reused discarded administrative papyrus rolls for their work. Either the original text on the recto was washed off or the Book of the Dead was written on the back or "verso" side (fig. 5.1; Parkinson and Quirke 1995, p. 48; Lucarelli 2010, p. 278, no. 147; Caminos 1986, pp. 49–50; Quack 2014, pp. 113–14). Even Book of the Dead papyri were recycled; if the intended owner did not purchase the copy for some reason, his name was erased or painted over and substituted with that of another person (Lucarelli 2010, p. 280; Fuchs 2006, p. 39; I. Munro 2011, p. 4).



FIGURE 5.2. An ostracon inscribed with a text in cursive hieroglyphs similar to those used on Book of the Dead papyri. Medinet Habu, Egypt, New Kingdom, 1550–1069 BC. Ink on clay, 6.3 x 6 cm. OIM E16014 (D. 19864)

SCRIPT AND VIGNETTES

Texts and accompanying images were arranged in the Book of the Dead copies according to certain conventions, with more or less fixed types of layout. This relatively strict formal organization is a distinctive feature of Book of the Dead documents (Černý 1952, p. 26). The typical layout of hieroglyphic Book of the Dead documents with framing lines, vertical text columns, and fields for vignettes was developed in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The principles of arranging texts and vignettes did not change fundamentally at least for hieroglyphic documents until the end of the Book of the Dead tradition.

One would expect that Book of the Dead scribes and illustrators, especially those with little working experience, were trained how to copy spells and draw the elements of the vignettes accurately in accordance with established patterns. At present, however, we do not have clear evidence for such trial pieces. The typical writing support for scribal exercises were ostraca; one may think of the many New Kingdom excerpts from literary texts, which have been written on potsherds and stone flakes for this purpose (fig. 5.2). In contrast, texts from the Book of the Dead or other funerary corpuses have rarely been preserved on ostraca. The extant examples are most likely drafts or serve another purpose rather than being exercises. A good example for funerary spells on ostraca as drafts are eight ostraca from the Eighteenth Dynasty, which are inscribed with a coherent sequence of Coffin Text spells. These ostraca served as a decorator's intermediate copy for transferring the texts onto the walls of the burial chamber in the Theban Tomb (TT 87) of Nakhtmin (Lüscher 2013). Likewise, the judgment scene of Book of the Dead spell 125 drawn on an ostracon can be interpreted as a draft for a scene in a tomb (Seeber 1976, pp. 27 and 210 n. 4). Sherds with Book of the Dead texts of a ritual nature, such as spell 137 ("Spell for causing a flame to ascend"), might have functioned as recitation aids for the practitioners when they performed the underlying rite (Gasse 2009, p. 76).

When making a Book of the Dead papyrus, the first working step would be drawing the framing lines before the texts and their accompanying pictures would be inserted. This is not only the most logical order, but also proven by cases in which the script overlaps the framing (T. Allen 1960, pl. LXXXIV; E10486K = Cat. No. 15). In the New Kingdom, the upper and lower double or triple lines of the framing are often colored red and yellow, sometimes also blue (I. Munro 1987, pp. 199–200; Müller-Roth and Weber 2012, p. 118). This is a practice for borderlines,

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FIGURE 5.3. The papyrus of Amenemhat had sumptuous gilding added to the illuminations. ROM 910.85.236.12 (with permission of the Royal Ontario Museum © ROM)

which we also encounter in the layout of temple walls (Collombert 2014, p. 968). In Late Period and Ptolemaic Book of the Dead papyri, the lines are only drawn in black ink. Very rarely, auxiliary lines were used for the lines of text (Müller-Roth and Töpfer 2011, p. 116).

During the New Kingdom, Book of the Dead exemplars with cursive hieroglyphs in vertical lines were standard, whereas Hieratic texts with horizontal lines are only found exceptionally. From the Third Intermediate Period, the latter become more and more common, with their own specific layouts, in which the text is interspersed with vignettes (O'Rourke 2016, p. 36). Hieroglyphic examples are still found in the Ptolemaic Period; however, intermediary manuscripts are rare, such as a Twenty-fifth Dynasty hieroglyphic example (Munro and Taylor 2009), but from Saitic Egypt, only hieratic copies are known at present. A widespread phenomenon of hieroglyphic New Kingdom and Ptolemaic Book of the Dead documents is retrograde writing (I. Munro 1987, p. 200; Lüscher 2000, p. XIII): the signs face the end of the text and not, as usual, its beginning. The reasons for this practice remain uncertain (Niwiński 1989, pp. 13–17; Munro and Fuchs 2015, p. 14).

Headings, opening formulae and certain other elements were habitually written in red, while the main text of the spells was executed in black; the rubrics (T. Allen 1936) were added in a second step after the black text was written (Verhoeven 1999, p. 6). Sometimes the rubrics were forgotten (Lepsius 1842, pl. LXVII, see blanks in spell 147a). In comparison to papyri, red ink is only rarely found in Book of the Dead documents on mummy wrappings. Exceptionally white pigment was used to overwrite the original red hieratic text on an amuletic papyrus of the Nineteenth Dynasty with a single Book of the Dead spell (Taylor 2010a, p. 47, no. 15).

The illuminations of the Book of the Dead, the so-called "vignettes," are no mere decorative elements (Chapter 4). They transmit the content of a spell in a condensed form and thus intensify the "magical" power of the spell to which they belong. The first Book of the Dead documents in the proper sense, which are preserved on large sheets of mummy linen from the dawn of the New Kingdom (Chapter 2), do only consist of text without illustrations. Since the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, illumination is a regular feature and about 50% of all Book of the Dead copies have vignettes (Müller-Roth 2010, p. 174). Polychrome vignettes occur only on papyrus and on some

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FIGURE 5.4. The unfinished Book of the Dead papyrus of Khamhor never had its illustrations completed, but it did contain a hieratic note, shown in the right hand column, to "Produce according to this guide which is in writing." MMA 25.3.212, Sheet C

Eighteenth Dynasty linen sheets, whereas they are very uncommon on the Late Period and Ptolemaic narrow mummy bandages.

A few vignettes are conventionally scaled to full page size (for instance the "opening scene," see fig. 3.3). Most have a much smaller format and occupy considerably less space than the text to which they belong. Frequently, the vignettes show traces of preparatory sketches in red which were covered by the final version in black. First the draft was drawn in red outline, then the colors were applied, and then the final black outline was added (Backes 2009, p. 70; for figures and parts of figures in red outline see I. Munro 1994, pp. 243–46). Sometimes all vignettes, sometimes only the large vignettes, were colored (I. Munro 2015, p. 55). Among the minerals for pigments that have been identified are Egyptian Blue, potassium lead chloride plus calcite (white), and potassium lead chloride plus hematite (pink), but also precious substances like cinnabar (red/red-orange), realgar, and orpiment (yellow) (I. Munro 2015, pp. 55–56; Leach and Parkinson 2010, pp. 36–37). Gilding was used occasionally for certain details of the figures in New Kingdom, Late Period, and Ptolemaic Book of the Dead images (fig. 5.3; I. Munro 1987, p. 198; I. Munro 2015, p. 56; Alexander 1965).

Texts and illustrations were carried out in two consecutive steps. Presumably these tasks lay in the responsibility of two different specialists, a scribe and a draftsman, though it cannot be ruled out that the same person produced both text and illustrations, one after the other (Raggazoli 2010, p. 235). The order was not fixed; We know of unfinished Book of the Dead documents in which only the vignettes have been executed. The draftsman had begun and the text should have been written in another step, yet was never added (T. Allen 1974, p. 2; Lucarelli 2006a, p. 201). Other papyri bear texts of spells, but did not or just partly received their images (fig. 5.4). In the Twenty-sixth Dynasty papyrus of Nespasefy, only the vignette of spell 1 was begun (Verhoeven 1999, p. 50).

Due to work-sharing during the manufacturing process, it could happen that text and vignettes were not properly coordinated (T. Allen 1936, p. 146), so a spell would not receive its prescribed image and vice versa (Cat. Nos. 3 and 14). As an attempt to avoid misplacements, we encounter occasionally different sorts of notes, which offered some guidance to the draftsmen as to where he should add which vignette or where he should not draw an image. In a Third Intermediate Period papyrus, short marginalia (hieroglyphic marks) give information about what image had to be added as vignette — such as "falcon,"

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FIGURE 5.5. The spaces for vignettes in Berlin P. 3026 G were numbered using red ink and Demotic numerals (photo by Svenja Gülden)



FIGURE 5.6. This linen bandage contained a Demotic numeral and note, saying "Its text is on its end." UC 32458 (courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL)

"lotus," "barque," and others (Lucarelli 2006a, p. 201). The papyrus of Khamhor bears a more general short hieratic instruction to insert the vignettes into the empty allocated spaces in accordance with the accompanying texts (fig. 5.4; Forman and Quirke 1996, p. 155). In Book of the Dead papyrus Berlin P. 3026 the compartments left empty for receiving the vignettes were numbered in red from 1 to 66 by the scribe, as some sort of help for the draftsman who would know from the numeration which illustration he should add (fig. 5.5; Černý 1952, p. 28; Kaplony-Heckel 1986, p. 22, no. 19). A Demotic note in a blank area below a spell of Papyrus Ryerson (Cat. No. 14) had quite the opposite intention; it marked an area where no vignette should be filled in, stating "It is not an empty space for a picture (T. Allen 1960, p. 225 n. s and pl. XXXIX; Scalf 2015–16, p. 73). Other short notes were added for the purpose of controlling completeness. To this group belong the numbers on the beginning of Book of the Dead mummy bandages (fig. 5.6; Cat. No. 2) and also a notice, which confirms that the spell text is written on the end of the bandage, after the long vignette of spell 17 at the beginning of the wrapping (fig. 5.6).

WORKSHOPS, SCRIBES, AND DRAFTSMEN

Centers of Book of the Dead production were Memphis, Thebes, and Akhmim, though documents have come to light also from other sites. The establishments, in which these Book of the Dead documents were made, remain obscure, however. Probably they were not separate, specialised institutions, but located in the environment of the scriptoria of the temples. In a few cases, it is at least possible to securely attribute several individual manuscripts to the same

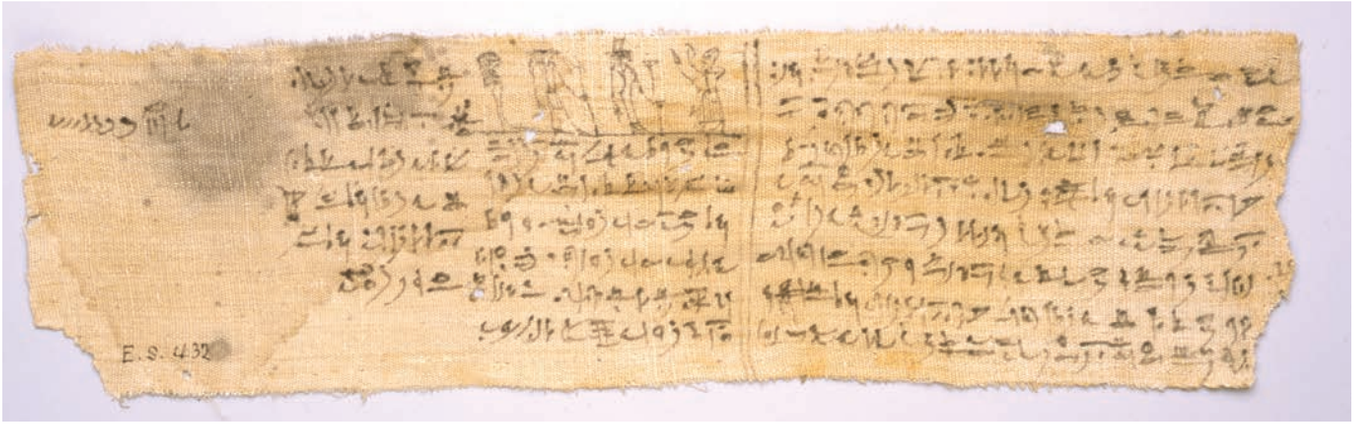


FIGURE 5.7. A Demotic note on the left side of this linen bandage indicates that it is the third bandage of the set and belonged to a certain Shemty. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology E 432 b (courtesy of Penn Museum, image #151164)

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FIGURE 5.8. The name of Tayuhenutmut was noted in hieratic at the top of the papyrus to help the scribe keep track of the name. AIC 1894.180 (Art Institute of Chicago)

scriptorium or even to the same scribe, on the basis of vignette style, *ductus* of the script, and other peculiarities that they have in common. For example, we know that the same copyist who wrote the Hieratic spells on mummy wrappings of Hor has also inscribed the Book of the Dead mummy wrappings of two other persons (Cat. No. 5). Such linen Book of the Dead documents were apparently produced in the same studios like the exemplars on papyrus. This may be concluded from the papyrus and mummy wrappings of Psamtek, son of Herankh; either the bandages have been copied directly from the Book of the Dead papyrus or both may derive from the same master copy (Quirke 1999b, p. 42).

Although the existence of "workshops" or some other kind of well-organized institution, in which Book of the Dead exemplars were made, can be presumed (Backes 2010, pp. 2–3), the scribes and draftsmen remain anonymous. All we can say is that a team of several experienced scribes and painters must have been members of the scriptorium. The creation of the Book of the Dead as a spell corpus and its subsequent reorganization especially in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty surely took place in the temple milieu. Priests must have kept copies of the Book of the Dead in the temple archive, from which its texts and vignettes found their way not only to the Book of the Dead workshops, but also into temple decoration (von Lieven 2012). It is well conceivable that also the scriptoria, in which Book of the Dead exemplars were copied onto papyrus and linen for the burial of private individuals, were situated in the environment of the temple. Many owners of Book of the Dead documents hold priestly titles, some of which are explicitly related to scribing and copying; these individuals may have been the scribes and draftsmen who made Book of the Dead documents for themselves and others. Also, the use of hieroglyphs testifies to highly specialised, if not priestly, scribes active in the workshops.

Some Book of the Dead documents of considerable length have been produced by one single scribe only, while others were the work of several, like the early Ptolemaic papyrus of Hor, which was written by at least four copiers (I. Munro 2006, pp. 6–13). Sometimes, more than one artist seems to have been involved in executing the vignettes, for example in the papyrus of Ani (Leach and Parkinson 2010, p. 40), one of the most famous New Kingdom Book of the Dead documents. The manuscript was prefabricated in several sections by a number of scribes and draftsmen before the decorated parts were glued together into a single roll (Leach and Parkinson 2010, p. 45). This complex teamwork between various highly specialised individuals reveals a significant degree of routine and professionalism in the workshops. Nevertheless, both the text and its images can display significant differences in quality, depending on the ability of scribe and draftsman. Such discrepancies can occur even within the same Book of the Dead manuscript, maybe because not only mature copyists but also apprentices were involved in the making of the copy (Munro and Fuchs 2015, pp. 98 and 197–99).

We do not know the average daily work load accomplished by the scribes and painters and can only guess how long it took to complete an extensive and sumptuous Book of the Dead exemplar. Probably one should expect no less than a couple of weeks.

EXEMPLARS PRODUCED ON STOCK AND ON ORDER

Most Book of the Dead papyri were purchased by men, except for the Third Intermediate Period when owners of funerary papyri were predominantly women. For these owners, the manuscripts were either produced on order or on stock. The latter are usually easy to recognize as the scribes left empty spaces where the departed is normally mentioned in the text. When the manuscript was acquired, the owner's name, titles, and filiation were filled in, frequently in a hand other than that of the main spell text (Cat. Nos.

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7 and 15). Occasionally, the scribes forgot to supplement the name of the owner in some of the lacunae left for this purpose. This can be observed here and there in the famous Turin Book of the Dead papyrus of Iufankh published by Lepsius in 1842 (Lepsius 1842, pls. VII, LIX). Sometimes, the allocated empty spaces did not suffice to receive the name of the owner in its entirety, which had to be continued above the line.

MASTER COPIES, LOCAL TRADITIONS, AND COMPILATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL BOOK OF THE DEAD EXEMPLARS

The sheer mass of witnesses allows us to gain a solid idea about recurring and standard features in Book of the Dead manuscripts and to distinguish more unusual constituents. On this basis we may draw conclusions on the models which were used in the workshops for duplicating the Book of the Dead.

Master copies were apparently not uniform geographically and chronologically; nor were they models to follow slavishly and absolutely. Though the Book of the Dead may appear as a stereotypical collection of funerary spells, it was nevertheless open for individual modifications, especially with regard to the length and choice of spells; there are barely two which are exactly the same. Occasionally, we also see new impulses in the content of the corpus, as in the Third Intermediate Period, when spells are modified and texts were incorporated that did not belong to the corpus before (Lenzo 2012, pp. 111–12; O'Rourke 2007, p. 182), or in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when the whole corpus was fundamentally reorganized. Likewise, the illuminations offered opportunities for individual and alternative forms of details. For example, the more common sledge on which the mummy is being transported to the tomb in the vignette of spell 1 (figs. 4.8 and 12.4) is sometimes replaced by a funerary cart with wheels.

Certain iconographical variations and peculiarities in the vignettes seem to reflect local traditions (Müller-Roth 2009). The vignette of a given spell in a Theban Book of the Dead may look slightly different from the illustration of the same spell in a Book of the Dead produced in Memphis or Akhmim. If features typical for location X can be found in documents also of site Y, we may assume that a Book of the Dead template has been transferred from one workshop to another (I. Munro 2010, pp. 207–08) Exchange of papyri and books between (temple) libraries even over large distances must have been a common practice in Pharaonic, Greco-Roman, and Coptic Egypt.

From the Late Period onward, copyists would resort to a master copy whose spells followed the standardized and largely fixed sequence of the so-called "Saitic Recension." Prior to the Saite Recension, we encounter a looser arrangement of texts with certain preferred sequences of spells. Actual master copies have very rarely survived; one of the scarce specimens is being conserved in the British Museum. It is a late Ptolemaic Book of the Dead, which contains a Demotic place holder *men* "so-and-so" instead of the owner's name (Faulkner 1985, p. 11; Quirke 1999a, pp. 91–92. For a Book of the Dead master copy on the verso of the literary Papyrus Vandier, see Quack 2014, p. 115, with more examples in n. 15).

The most extensive Book of the Dead manuscripts comprise more than 150 spells, but often scribes chose only a selection from this extensive corpus. Accordingly, the length of Book of the Dead documents varies considerably. While some papyri with more than a hundred spells are well over twenty metres long, others measure merely a metre with only a few spells and an introductory vignette (Verhoeven 1993, p. 14). The longest examples measure about 40 m. In the second half of the Twenty-first Dynasty, short versions come into use, so-called "miniature" Book of the Dead documents with a length of 50 cm to two metres, a reduced sheet height, an opening vignette, and just a few spells. One of the most exemplary specimens is the 89 cm long Book of the Dead papyrus of Isetemakhbit, which bears only an opening vignette and the text of spell 136A (Lucarelli 2006a, p. 241; Lenzo Marchese 2007, p. 1119; Kockelmann 2003). The reason for the individual choice of certain spells remains unclear, but for sure it was not at random; economic factors and personal preferences might have been important factors. A long roll inscribed with spells and decorated with polychrome vignettes must have been a costly funerary good. As we learn from a Ramesside ostracon, a "decorated Book of the Dead papyrus" of unknown length was worth "1 deben" of silver; hence its value equals a half years wage of a workman or the price of three donkeys (O. Ashmolean Museum HO 133, Nineteenth Dynasty; I. Munro 2001, p. 108; I. Munro 2010, p. 62; Cooney 2007, pp. 31–32; Janssen 1975, p. 102 n. 6).

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SCRIBAL NOTES

Short scribal notes are among the most important testimonies for work on Book of the Dead exemplars in progress. These short texts written in hieratic or Demotic offer immediate glimpses of working processes, the internal administration, and logistic organization of the workshops. They are of heterogeneous content and function. In a Book of the Dead from Akhmim, we find Demotic numbers at the lower edge of the papyrus. Obviously the scribe counted the vertical lines in order to calculate either the space that would be needed for the rest of a spell (Lüscher 2000, pp. 23–24) or the text already written. An enigmatic calculation in the Book of the Dead of Nespasefy may similarly refer to the number of papyrus sheets, columns, or spells of the roll or to the expenditure of time for making the document (Verhoeven 1999, p. 50).

Scribes and painters would produce several Book of the Dead exemplars at a time and store the completed manuscripts temporarily in the scriptorium. For keeping track, some copyists added the name of the owner on the free edge at the beginning of the papyrus roll or bandages (fig. 5.7), which made it easier to check for whom the manuscript was meant. Probably in some cases, the notices with names were written on the undecorated papyrus rolls and strips of linen for reserving writing supports in the workshop (fig. 5.8; Piankoff 1957, p. 75, no. 2, and p. 133, no. 15).



FIGURE 5.9. A fragment from the mummy wrapping of a scribe Amunirdis was laid out like a full Book of the Dead papyrus, here inscribed with BD 84–86. The scribe added two forgotten sentences in the middle of the third column. Egypt. Gift of Ms. Pauline M. Rubens, 1937. Late Period-Ptolemaic Period. H: 21.5 x W: 17.5 cm. OIM E17246 (D. 19867)

REVISION OF THE COPIES

In his *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt*, Jaroslav Černý gives a rather critical assessment of the text quality of Book of the Dead documents: "It is certain that most scribes took much less care in doing their work [of copying Book of the Dead documents], which no eye would ever see, with the result that the Book of the Dead, though it has come down to us in many copies, has done so in a state of extreme corruption. No wonder then, that the establishment of its correct text and its interpretation are among the most difficult tasks in Egyptian philology" (Černý 1952, p. 25). Though the faultiness of certain exemplars cannot be denied, there are nevertheless clear indications for text revision, collation, and an effort to copy faithfully. As the red notice at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead papyrus of Yuya expressively declares: "[the book] is completed from its beginning to its end as it was found written, having been copied (*sp̱r*), collated (*sḫsf*), checked (*smtr*), and corrected (*smḫ*) sign by sign" (Naville 1908, pl. 33; Weber 1969, p. 143; Černý 1952, p. 25). This practice is confirmed by clear traces of correction. If text had been forgotten, the revisor added it above the line, as on the mummy wrapping of Amunirdis (fig. 5.9). Alternatively, an incomplete passage was marked by a sign and the missing words supplemented at the top or bottom of the page (Černý 1952, p. 25; Kockelmann 2008, pp. 136–41).

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6. THE RITUAL CONTEXT OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

YEKATERINA BARBASH

For over a century students of the Egyptian Book of the Dead have researched its contents, history, and meaning in great detail. Still, the ritual context of the composition is not fully understood. It is hard to imagine that the lengthy manuscripts detailing the journey to and through the afterlife were just quietly placed in the tomb, in close proximity to the mummy, without accompanying actions. So, when, where, and in what capacity were these spells actually used? The answers may be found in the texts themselves, sometimes stated explicitly in a spell's instructions or, in other cases, deduced from the titles, content, or media on which they were written. A spell's occurrence on non-mortuary objects may also hint at its ritual context that possibly lies outside the sphere of death.

The ritual actions involving Book of the Dead spells vary greatly, as they connect with discreet points in one's journey through life, death, and the distant afterlife. As expected, most of these spells figure in rituals of the funeral and mortuary cult (for mortuary literature intended for use by the deceased in the afterlife, and funerary liturgies that were enacted for the benefit of the deceased, see Assmann 2005, pp. 238–45), primarily intended to benefit the deceased (fig. 6.1). However, many of these spells were also used in rituals by the living, either in anticipation of post-mortem transformation or in a completely different, non-funerary function — as temple liturgies or magical and protective incantations. Because Books of the Dead are compilations of spells rather than true "books" (Chapter 1), copying, reinterpreting, and adding to each manuscript was in itself a complex ritual activity performed by priest-scribes. This chapter presents a brief overview of the various rituals surrounding the Book of the Dead.

RITUALS FOR THE DEAD

Books of the Dead are above all associated with rituals meant to help the deceased in navigating the perils of the netherworld and in transforming into an *akh* (*ꜣḫ*) — a spirit capable of communicating, moving about, and receiving food and drink. Recited before,



FIGURE 6.1. A vignette in the Eighteenth Dynasty papyrus of Nebqed illustrates a number of ritual episodes associated with the funeral preparations. Louvre N 3068 (Heritage Image Partnership Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo)

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FIGURE 6.2. A fragmentary heart-shaped scarab inscribed with BD 30B on the back and the image of a heron (*bnw*), symbolic of the resurrecting phoenix, on the front. OIM E15025 (D. 18563 and D. 18564)

during, and after the burial — on subsequent visits to the tomb — these spells were believed to assist one's transfiguration.

Instructions at the beginning or end of spells directed the officiant to vocalize the incantations at specified points during embalming, offering, or funerary rites. Many such instructions state the specific time and place of a spell's intended recitation. The location and time of others are implied by their titles or context. The directions, however, are distinctly formulaic and should be taken with a grain of salt. For instance, the most common instruction, "words to be spoken by PN (i.e., the deceased)" was not meant literally. While the deceased in the netherworld was perhaps the intended speaker at some point in the history of mortuary literature, by the time this formula appears in Books of the Dead, it functioned largely to mark breaks in a spell.

RITUALS BEFORE BURIAL

Several spells belonged with rituals that had to be performed before the day of burial, that is, in conjunction with embalming rites that were held soon after death. Although not explicitly identified as such, the place of these spells among pre-burial rites is implied by their context. Some spells were part of the hourly wake rituals that were held in the place of embalming on the night before burial (Chapter 10; Junker 1910, pp. 23, 110, and 120). More common were instructions for recitation over specific amulets placed on clearly identified body parts, pointing to concurrence with wrapping rituals. The rubric of spell 163 prescribes its reading over two winged *wadjet*-eyes, a serpent with legs, and other mystical images drawn on "fresh linen, with which a man and all his limbs are wrapped" (figs. 11.3 and 11.6). The subsequent spell 164 was to be recited over an image of a three-faced Mut, on a red bandage binding the chest of the deceased. Clearly associated with the action of wrapping the embalmed body, the ritual recitation of these spells combined with the magical power of images to protect the deceased in the afterlife.

RITUALS DURING THE FUNERAL

A number of Book of the Dead spells were part of rituals performed on earth during the funeral. Commonly introducing later manuscripts, the vignette

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FIGURE 6.3. The opening of the mouth ceremony performed by two *wab*-priests on the coffins of Khonsu. Khonsu's son, dressed as a priest, stands behind them reading from a scroll that says "doing the opening of the mouth for the Osiris, high priest To" (To was Khonsu's nickname). The stela behind the coffins is inscribed with a copy of the offering (*ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t*) formula. Theban Tomb 31 (photo by Charles F. Nims, Oriental Institute)

extending over spells 1 through 15 represents a classic funeral with a procession to the tomb (figs. 4.8 and 6.1), recitation of spells, as well as key burial rituals that are not included in Books of the Dead, but are alluded to in several spells, e.g., offerings, libations, opening of the mouth, sacrifices, and so on. Spell 1 includes the explicit instruction, "words to be recited on the day of burial." It directs offering bread, beer, meat, barley, and emmer to the deceased. An integral part of the funeral from the Old Kingdom onward, the offering ritual followed the completion of embalming and relocation of the mummy to its place of burial. The recitation of the offering formula, the so-called *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* (fig. 6.3), probably originally coincided with presentation of actual offerings at the tomb chapel. However, the mere pronunciation of the offering formula at the funeral and during subsequent family visits to the tomb, or its representation on stelae, tomb walls, and other funerary equipment was often deemed enough to nourish the spirit. Spell 59, "for breathing air and having power over water," and spell 62, "for drinking water in the realm of the dead," are inscribed on several offering tables from tombs in Akhmim for this purpose. Without explicitly citing the ritual of presenting offerings, spell 148 petitions the gods to share with the deceased the classical list of provisions familiar from the *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* formula. Appropriately, when recorded on tomb walls, this spell appears near a stela or statue of the deceased where offerings would be placed.

Another significant funerary rite was the opening of the mouth ceremony (Strudwick 2009, pp. 223–37). With the mummy set upright and facing south in the forecourt of the tomb, priests symbolically opened its mouth, allowing the deceased to consume offerings and communicate — in other words, to become an *akh* (fig. 6.3). The full, elaborate ritual involved purification and the sacrifice of a calf as well as offerings of food, linen, oils, and invocations to various deities. Although the words of this ceremony are not part of the Book of the Dead corpus (Otto 1960), the ritual is clearly implied. Spells 21–23 concern the mouth of the deceased, with the title of spell 23 "formula for opening the mouth of PN" establishing their ritual context (fig. 3.3). Spell 30, commonly inscribed on heart scarabs as well as other media, instructs the priest: "... spoken over a scarab... place in the area of a man's heart after the opening of the mouth (ritual) is performed for him ..." (fig. 6.2; Cat. Nos. 6–9).

Also referring to this important rite are spells 137B and 137A (because the spell numbering system was introduced in modern times, the numbers sometimes appear out of order; Chapter 13). The first one, "spell for kindling the flame" — spell 137B known

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FIGURE 6.4. Each of these magic bricks derived from a different tomb and time period, but groups of such magic bricks were inscribed with BD 151 and placed within the burial chamber to ward off demonic forces at each cardinal direction: north, south, east, and west. OIM E6792 = Cat. No. 23, E12289 = Cat, No. 19, E10544 = Cat. No. 20, and E6777 (D. 19843)

from a New Kingdom papyrus — relates to lighting torches during the funeral. 137A, in turn, describes a ritual of extinguishing four red cloth torches in milk inside clay basins following the opening of the mouth ceremony. Several hieratic ostraca inscribed with this spell were found in tombs suggesting that they may have been used by priests during performance at the tomb (Gasse 2009).

RITUALS IMPLIED BY THEIR MEDIA

Pieces of funerary equipment consistently inscribed with Book of the Dead spells point to distinct rituals performed in preparation for the funeral or in conjunction with it. The single-spells inscribed on these objects typically include instructions specifying the object and providing details of the associated ritual. As a result, each object serves as both record and tool of a ritual involving that same spell. The likely secondary (Scalf 2016, pp. 208–09) recording of these spells in Book of the Dead manuscripts doubtlessly functioned as a non-verbal stand-in for each ritual, and assisted in the transmission of the spell.

Spell 30, and its variants, is typically inscribed on large scarabs of green stone that were placed on the chest of the mummy (fig. 6.2; Cat. Nos. 6–9). The spell appeals to the heart of the deceased — traditionally, the seat of one's consciousness — to "not oppose him/her" at the judgment of Osiris. As mentioned above, this spell was part of the opening of the mouth ritual performed by priests on the day of burial. In

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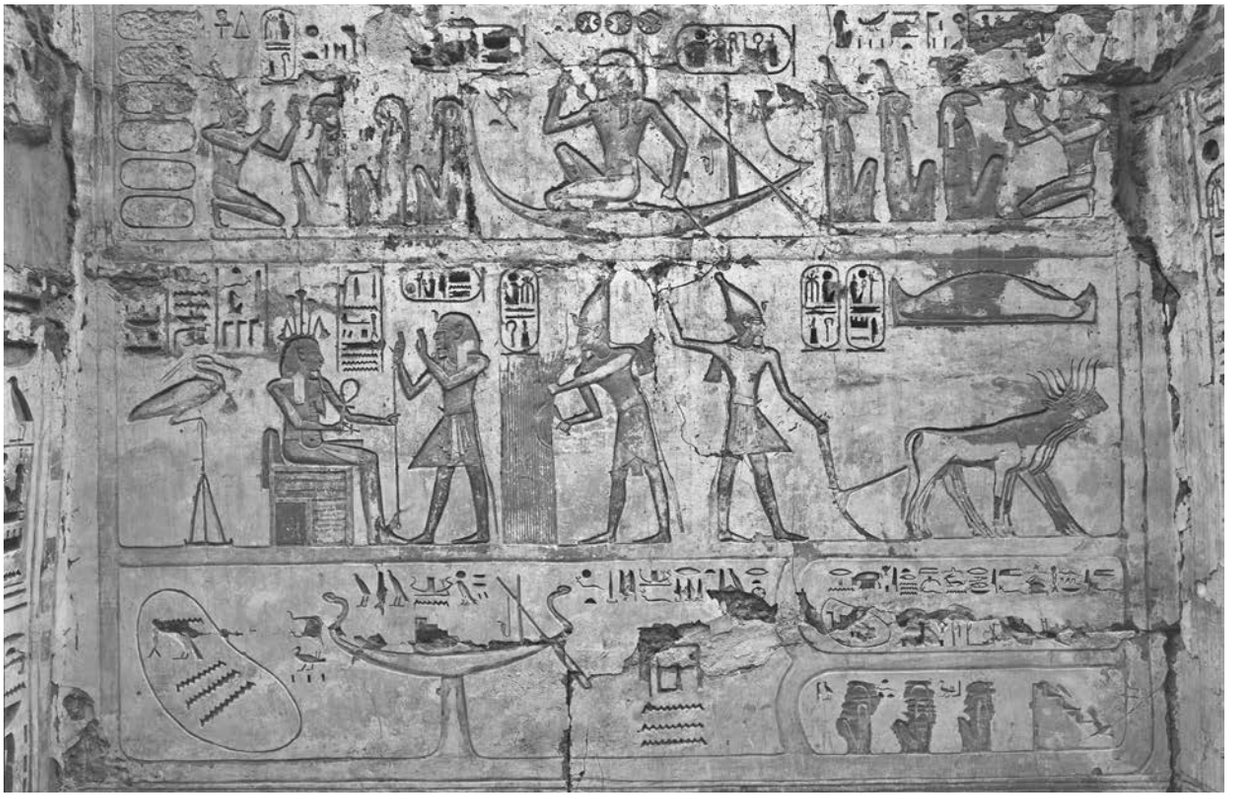


FIGURE 6.5. The vignette to BD spell 110 in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu showing the pharaoh in the field of reeds. Epigraphic Survey Negative 3753 (courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey)

the sphere of the divine, it coincided with the weighing of the heart of the deceased after he/she passed all the netherworldly obstacles and reached Osiris' judgment hall (fig. 6.8).

Describing an assortment of objects used in rituals of embalming and the funeral, spell 151 appears on papyri, tomb walls, stelae, and such funerary equipment as magic bricks, masks, and *ushabtis* (Lüscher 1998). According to the instructions, the officiant of these (and other) rituals had to be "pure and cleansed, eating neither goat nor fish, and not approaching women."

A ritual involving four mud bricks placed in niches at cardinal points in the burial chamber is described in spell 151d–g (fig. 6.4; Cat. Nos. 19–23). Each brick, inscribed with a distinct spell, contained an amuletic object: a faience *djed*-pillar, a recumbent Anubis jackal, a torch, and a wooden mummiform image. The spell was recited and bricks installed immediately following offerings of bread, beer, and incense to the gods. Believed to protect the mummy and tomb, the shape, number, material, and protective function of magic bricks evoke birth bricks (upon which mothers squat during birth, and the newborn was laid afterward), thereby also assisting one's rebirth.

Archaeological evidence shows that the very specific instructions for ritual performance of this spell were rarely followed, instead being replaced by a variety of inventive alternatives (Chapter 8). Rather than the specified unbaked clay, red brick was used at times; instead of carved (*ḫtỉ*) text, archaeologists found inked, painted, or no inscriptions on the bricks (Régen 2010). Instead of "covering the face of" the four niches — either with linen as was commonly done for ritual objects, or sealing with plaster — up to ten large seemingly uncovered niches have been found. Perhaps the instruction was not entirely clear to the ancient Egyptians, either. The burial of Tutankhamun contained five, rather than four, bricks, haphazardly arranged. In non-royal tombs, the builders omitted wall niches altogether, placing the bricks directly in the tomb. And finally, the orientation toward cardinal points often followed theoretical orientation or was simply ignored. Since relatively few burials actually include magic bricks, we can assume that either the

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FIGURE 6.6. The vignette to BD spell 148 shows seven cows and a bull, likely associated with the day of burial and seven festivals. OIM E10486N = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13337)



FIGURE 6.7. BD spell 148 from Medinet Habu, the mortuary temple of Ramesses III. Epigraphic Survey Negative 3753 (courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey)

ritual was not performed very often, or an abridged version, not involving physical bricks, was performed. The reference to it on papyrus was possibly deemed enough. Although numerous divergences from these very specific instructions of the spell can seem careless, each variation may in fact be evidence of theological innovation (Roth and Roehrig 2002).

Titled "spell for a head of mystery," spell 151a concerns the mummy mask and is commonly inscribed on masks, papyri, and coffins — e.g., the golden mask and coffin of Tutankhamun contain this text. The ritual of placing the mask on the deceased echoed the myth where Re gave a mask to Osiris, healing his injuries (Coffin Text spell 531).

Masks of later dates additionally record spell 162, "for providing heat under the head," also popularly inscribed on hypocephali, or decorated disks that were placed under (or near) the head of a mummy (Miatello 2012–13, pp. 52–62). Interestingly, rather than describing a hypocephalus, the rubric of 162 instructs recitation over another solar symbol — a gold cow amulet — placed at the throat of the deceased (fig. 8.1).

Amulets play a significant role in mortuary rituals as they were placed on the body during mummification, wrapping, or burial. They prominently figure in vignettes and instructions to Book of the Dead spells. Despite precise instructions, however, their form and position on mummies vary greatly. Meant to be recited "on the day of burial," spells 156–159 were pronounced over specific amulets placed "at the neck" of the deceased, likely coinciding with the very end of embalming and wrapping rituals. Further elaborate ritual preparations include using specified materials (gold, green stone, red jasper, etc.), or anointing with the sap of the *ʿnḫ-imy* plant, strung on sycamore fibers (spell 156). Spell 100 directs its recitation over an image placed on the breast of the deceased, "without letting it touch the body" — thus, after wrapping. The vignette of this spell, commonly placed on Ptolemaic linen strip amulets, was included in longer Book of the Dead manuscripts in earlier times, suggesting its basically funerary character.

Papyri that record single spells from the Book of the Dead corpus perhaps serve the same protective function as amulets (Illés 2006b, p. 123). The instruction — "to be spoken over an image" — common to these single-spell manuscripts that were placed either at the neck or on the breast of the deceased also occurred on amulet spells. The rituals involving exclusively gold amulets, described by the Twenty-sixth

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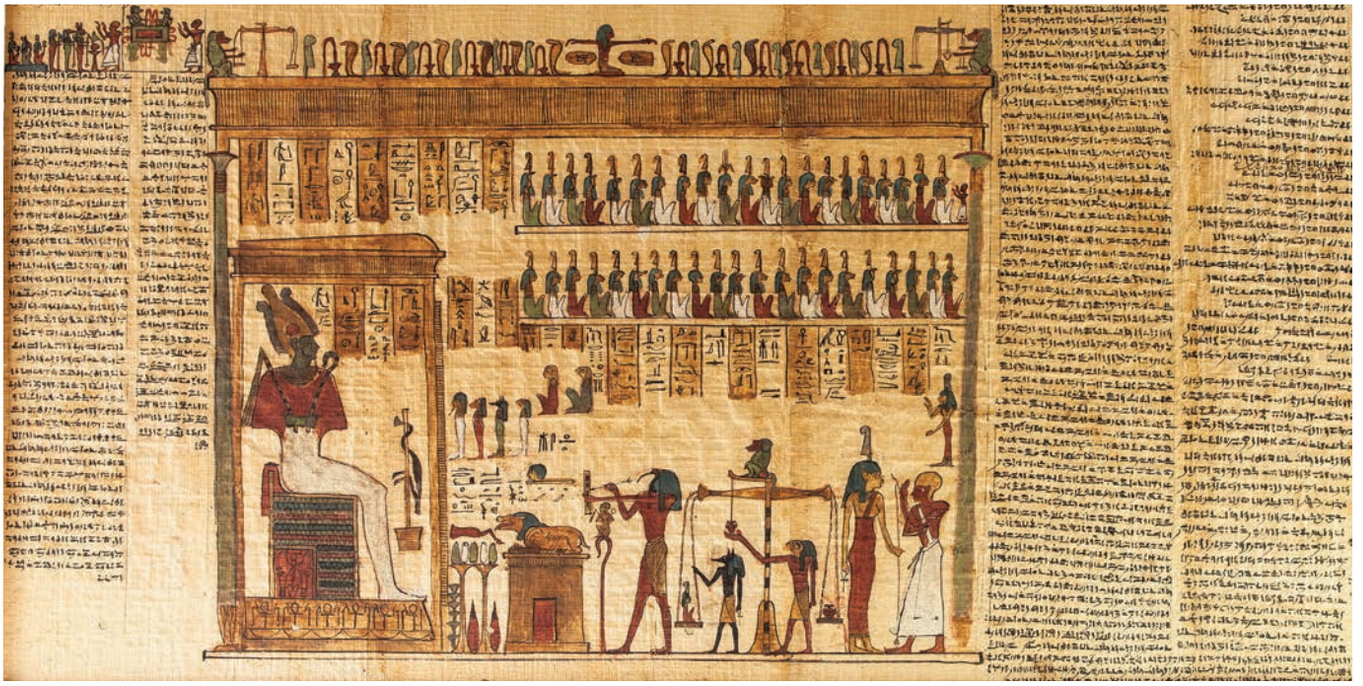


FIGURE 6.8. The weighing of the heart in the vignette associated with BD 125 had uses beyond the mortuary sphere in the context of priestly initiation rituals. OIM E9787F = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28919)

Dynasty papyrus of Montuemhat, also appear as single spells on papyri (I. Munro 2003).

RITUALS AFTER BURIAL

The ritual performance of some spells took place on occasions following burial. Because the original manuscript was deposited with the deceased, alternate copies of spells were presumably used for this purpose. Including the texts on papyrus was likely believed to provide benefit to the deceased through the text's very presence, even if no ritual actually took place post burial. The instructions of spell 190 call for its performance throughout the year: on the day of the new moon-festival, the sixth day festival, the *Wag*, Thoth, and Sokar festivals, the birth of Osiris, and the night of *Haker*. Because such spells likely originated in a temple setting the instructions may in fact be a remnant from their liturgical use and were not expected to be applied in the funerary context (von Lieven 2012).

RITUALS FOR THE LIVING

In addition to their well-known role in mortuary rites, a considerable number of spells familiar to us from Books of the Dead (perhaps as many as 55 of the 192 spells; Gee 2006) were used in rituals during life. Living Egyptians employed them in temple rituals, for personal protection, or in preparation for the journey through the afterlife. In fact, a number of Book of the Dead spells that appeared on temple walls or on personal amulets were probably originally composed as temple liturgies or magical incantations and only later adapted for funerary use. The ritual functions of some spells used by the living matched their post-mortem role, but many were intentionally modified for funerary use. At the same time, adaptation also occurred in the opposite direction where Book of the Dead spells were adjusted to fit earthly rituals. The history of these spells is likely much more complicated with texts being adapted and re-adapted between mortuary and non-mortuary functions throughout the centuries.

Spells known from the Book of the Dead were employed in a variety of temple rituals (fig. 6.5): as initiations, hymns, offering spells, and cosmographical texts documenting religious knowledge (von Lieven

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2012, p. 264). Not surprisingly, these spells are particularly common in the contexts of Osirian mythology where the deceased and resurrected god Osiris joins the sun god Re in his cycle through the netherworld to be reborn each day (Chapter 9). The similarity between private funerary texts and practices, and the temple cult of Osiris suggests mutual influence. Whether conceived in the temple or in the mortuary context, the spells were usually revised to fit the new environment. Thus, spells 110 (fig. 6.5) and 148 (figs. 6.6 and 6.7) recorded in Medinet Habu omit direct references to death and the afterlife, replacing them with formulae for the living king (rooms 26 and 27 of the royal mortuary complex; Epigraphic Survey 1963, pls. 469–70 and 473–74).

Spells 144–146 deal with the gates and portals of the netherworld, facilitating the deceased's passage through them (Cat. No. 17). Related to the cult of Osiris and Re, portions of these spells appear on staircases and roofs of Greco-Roman temples; e.g., the Dendera roof chapels where Osirian rituals were held during Khoiak and other festivals (Chapter 10). A priest in the guise of a god, like Horus, would have presumably played the role of the deceased in the performance of a ritual that corresponds to Book of the Dead spell 145, interacting with each gate guardian and passing through with the ultimate goal of joining Osiris (von Lieven 2002, pp. 52–56).

A New Kingdom hymn to Osiris was later absorbed into the Book of the Dead corpus as spell 128. In the original temple ritual the gods Horus, Thoth, Isis, and Nephthys, mentioned in this spell, were surely played by priests before a statue of Osiris. In the mortuary adaptation the deceased him/herself was the first person speaker. According to its rubric, this ritual coincided with offerings at the *Wag* festival (an important funerary feast celebrated in the first month of the year).

Solar hymns, commonly found on stelae (Cat. Nos. 28–29), pyramidia, and tomb walls, were codified into spell 15 during the Saite recension. A hymn to the rising sun known from Karnak, Medinet Habu, Deir el-Bahri, and Luxor temples parallels spell 15B. Judging by the scene of the king offering to the sun god next to this hymn on the Edifice of Taharqa in Karnak, the text was here part of an offering ritual.

There is no question of the significance of offerings in both funerary Book of the Dead spells and earthly temple rituals. One common example, spell 148 (fig. 6.6) appears in eight different temples, in several cases more than once (fig. 6.7). Typically accompanied by images of seven cows and a bull in front of offering tables in Book of the Dead manuscripts, spell 148 was likely recited in conjunction with offerings on the day of burial and during seven different festivals. The scene's occurrences in temples were linked with offerings presented to the gods.

Death and burial may be seen as a form of initiation, and the theme of initiation holds a significant place among spells that intersect the temple and mortuary spheres (Federn 1960). The address to Osiris, negative confession (or the deceased's denial of committing a list of 42 sins during life), and the weighing of the heart vignette in one of the most popular Book of the Dead spells, number 125, seem at first glance to be purely mortuary in character (fig. 6.8). Nevertheless, the use of this spell in temples is well attested. Its title in Book of the Dead manuscripts is "spell for entering the hall of the two truths," while the rubric states "one shall utter this spell pure and clean ...." The declaration of innocence and purity required before the deceased enters the presence of the gods easily parallels the purification of officiating priests before performing the daily temple ritual. The vignette of this spell in the Book of the Dead of Neferwebenef forms an interesting link between the spell's temple and funerary functions. Neferwebenef is depicted entering a door before the tribunal of 42 gods as a well-dressed man with shoulder length hair and exiting the shrine as a priest with a shaved head and dressed in linen, i.e., ritually prepared to see a god, in this case, Osiris (Ratié 1968, pl. XVII).

The function of spell 125 in priestly initiations extended into the Greco-Roman world. An early second century AD novel by Apuleius describes an initiation of the protagonist, Lucius, into the mystery cult of Isis in Corinth. Following Egyptian customs, Lucius' initiation involved purification, abstaining from certain foods, assertion of innocence and forgiveness from the gods. The remarkable similarity between the negative confession of spell 125 and purity oaths sworn by Roman period priests further attests to direct influence.

Outside of official temple ceremonies, rituals involving Book of the Dead spells and vignettes were believed to provide magical protection to the living. Spell 140 employs recitation over a *wadjet*-eye amulet, a symbol of healing and magical protection. "Said

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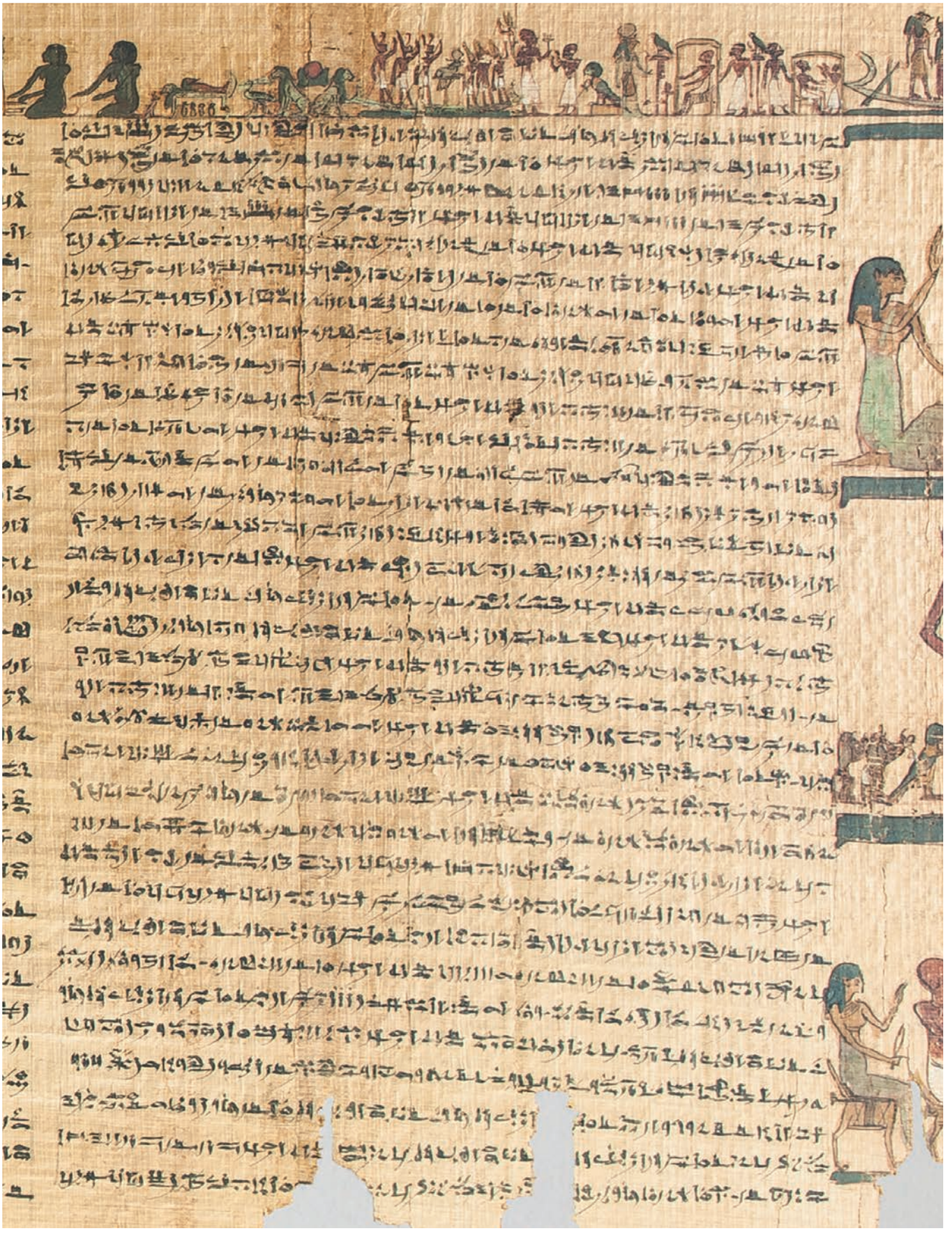


FIGURE 6.9. The first column of BD 17 from Papyrus Ryerson contains numerous glosses and variants marked in Egyptian by "another saying." OIM E9787A = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28914)

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over a *wadjet*-eye of real lapis lazuli or *ḥmʾg.t*-stone set in gold … Also, (make) another eye of red jasper which a man may place on any limb he prefers." Elaborate instructions describe when the ritual is to be performed: "when Re shows himself on the last day of month two of the second season." The choice of limb for applying the amulet and the very specific date suggest that this incantation was part of a ritual for the protection of an individual during life. Similarly, spell 18, recording rituals vindicating Osiris (or the deceased) against his enemies, also appears in a magical-medical papyrus. Likely originally composed for the living as a magical charm (Chester Beatty VIII, 1.1–2.9), its application on Earth was believed to protect and ward off potential dangers. The spell appropriately includes the clause, "everyone upon whom this is recited, it means being prosperous on earth …."

An interesting category of spells with primarily funerary purposes was used by the living in preparation for their journey through the afterlife. The rubric of spell 20, for example, describes such a ritual: "if a man recites this spell and purifies himself with natron water, it assures going forth after mooring (= death)."

CREATING THE BOOKS OF THE DEAD

The spell selection, sequences, and vignettes of each individual Book of the Dead depended to some extent on the choice of the owner and availability of funds. However, the ultimate decision on a manuscript's details was up to the scribe and the trends preferred by his workshop (Chapter 5). The scribes who created, copied, and compiled these books were also priests and scholars. Their contribution may be seen in the originality and internal consistency of most manuscripts, even of the shortest kind. Scribes produced new meaning and nuance by adding new passages, reinterpreting them, altering words or entire spells, or correcting a (perceived) error. The scribal revisions that attempt to better understand and explain what they were copying should be seen as a ritual act.

Originally comprised of Second Intermediate Period Coffin Texts, Books of the Dead incorporated new material during the New Kingdom. Later scribes continued enriching them with non-funerary texts of applicable power. Scribal workshops likely maintained master copies of groups of spells and full sequences. Scribes copied from more than one source, combined the sources at their individual discretion, and incorporated their interpretations within the spell they were copying (Landgráfová 2015). They used phrases like *ky ḏd* or *ky rʾ* ("another saying" or "another spell," respectively) to introduce alternatives in Book of the Dead spells (fig. 3.7). Adding another version of a spell conceivably strengthened the efficacy, and perhaps provided a deeper understanding of complex texts. From early on, spell 17 incorporates this process (fig. 6.9). Cryptic passages of this spell conclude with the question "What is it?," usually followed by a no-less obscure explanation. The Saite canonization must have involved years of "systematic research" into earlier manuscripts, archives, and monuments. The subsequent abbreviation of spells or omission of parts thereof, as well as specific choices from the available groups certainly held meaning. Although spoken Egyptian of the Late Period significantly diverged from the language of the spells, most changes within spells were intentional rather than errors. The revisions demonstrate that scribes understood the textual nuance of spells composed in an archaic dialect. Throughout the entire history of Books of the Dead, the constant modification of spells demonstrates a deliberate attempt to improve understanding and efficacy for the living and deceased users.

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7. TRANSMISSION OF FUNERARY LITERATURE: SAITE THROUGH PTOLEMAIC PERIODS

MALCOLM MOSHER JR.

The Book of the Dead was used during the New Kingdom, the Twenty-first Dynasty, and the start of the Twenty-second Dynasty, after which its use declined for nearly 300 years. It was revived, perhaps toward the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, but with the revival flourishing during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (known as the Saite Period). With the fall of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty at the hands of the Persians, use of the Book of the Dead once again waned for roughly 160 years, at which point it was once again revitalized during the Thirtieth Dynasty. Thereafter it was a standard funerary text throughout the Ptolemaic Period.

From the Saite Period through the Ptolemaic Period, the collection of spells that made up the Book of the Dead numbered 165, although surprisingly only a single document has been found that contains the full set — Papyrus Turin 1791 (Lepsius 1842). Many Ptolemaic documents produced in the greater Theban area contain nearly all spells but they omit BD 58 and 139, like Papyrus Ryerson (Cat. No. 14), while documents that included those two spells omitted many others. To a general degree during the Saite Period, the texts of the spells and their sequence, by which the spells are numbered today, were generally standardized. This standardized version of the Book of the Dead has been identified as the "Saite recension," but it actually represents only the first phase of work done to the Book of the Dead from the Saite Period onward.

The Thirtieth Dynasty (380–343 BC) was a short-lived dynasty during which production of the Book of the Dead was again reinvigorated, at least in the Theban area. The end of the Thirtieth Dynasty came by 343 BC, when the Persians had regained control of Egypt. They were followed by Alexander and his immediate successors, until Ptolemy I finally asserted control in 305 BC and ushered in the Ptolemaic Period. Rather than try to be precise in assigning Book of the Dead manuscripts produced between 380 BC and 305 BC to specific political regimes, it seems best to refer to them with a general designation as pre-Ptolemaic.

Books of the Dead, particularly during the Ptolemaic Period in Thebes, were produced in a number of different workshops, where each workshop had its own set of master scribes whose responsibility was to examine, revise, and correct older source material into a consistent master source to reflect their current views on both the texts and the accompanying illustrations. While the texts and illustrations in the different workshops were generally alike, they also differed in many respects, reflecting different views per workshop. When an individual sought a Book of the Dead as part of his funerary preparations, he went to the workshop of choice and obtained either a stock document that had been prepared in advance, with the space for the names and titles of the future owner left blank and that would be filled in later, or he ordered a document that was then explicitly prepared for him. Stock or custom-made, the copyist responsible for producing the actual document would obtain the master source and copy the texts from that source onto the target document, and similarly the artist responsible for the illustrations would add those, typically after the scribe had written the texts, although sometimes the artist drew some illustrations first. The quality of the copying from source to target depended on the attention and diligence of the copying scribe. In many documents one can observe superlinear corrections that indicate that, after having added the text of a spell, some scribes went back over their work and corrected mistakes. In Saite and later Ptolemaic documents from the greater Memphite area, the results were highly variable, and errors of one type or another were commonplace. In contrast, the work done in most Theban Ptolemaic workshops,

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FIGURE 7.1. The papyrus of Ankhwahibre is an example of classic Saite style showing the illustrations above the corresponding spells below. British Museum EA 10558 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

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FIGURE 7.2. A second style common to the Saite Period is demonstrated in this papyrus of Padies, in which broad columns of texts were surmounted by a set of running illustrations not aligned to specific spells in the text. British Museum EA 10097 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

while not error free, was often very carefully done, and it is evident that the copyists were well focused on their task. During the pre-Ptolemaic era, we have evidence of at least three workshops in the Theban area that were producing Books of the Dead (Mosher 2016, vol. 1, pp. 11–19). The master scribes of one workshop continued to base their manuscripts on Saite source documents (figs. 7.1–2), without modification, and these Saite sources continued to be used in the northern center of Memphis throughout the Ptolemaic Period.

The master scribes of a second workshop represent the main pre-Ptolemaic Tradition as witnessed by manuscripts such as Hermitage 3531, Turin 1830, and Paris BN 129. These scribes established the "main" pre-Ptolemaic Tradition by making extensive revisions to nearly all spells in the collection, and these revisions show considerable brilliance in the reworking of the texts. The scribes of this workshop were the most innovative of the three pre-Ptolemaic workshops and their work became the basis for most of the subsequent Ptolemaic traditions in Thebes (fig. 7.3). Sometimes they filled in gaps of understanding in the texts or perceived incompleteness. In some cases they offered greater clarification to the texts. In other cases the texts were enhanced for greater magical power, examples of which are provided below. The master scribes and artists also worked together to revise and to a great degree standardize the illustrations or vignettes that accompanied the texts of most spells. They also changed the layout and format of text and images (see figs. 7.1–3). The master scribes of this workshop clearly performed a thorough re-evaluation of the texts and revised them considerably.

A third workshop chose an archaic style hearkening back to New Kingdom documents written with the hieroglyphic script (fig. 7.4). They appear to have used a combination of Saite source material as well as source material from the second and main pre-Ptolemaic workshop discussed above. Curiously,

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the texts are often corrupt and indicate that the master scribes responsible for the master source, as well as the copyists, were often ignorant of the texts, words, and even hieroglyphic or hieratic signs. In this respect, it would seem that the texts, regardless of their corruption, were thought sufficient to help the deceased in his quest for immortality.

By the start of the Ptolemaic Period at least four workshops were in use in Thebes that either replaced or evolved from the previous three of the pre-Ptolemaic era. Each workshop was associated with its own tradition, and these are respectively identified as the BM 10086 (Papyrus BM EA 10086), the N3152 (Papyrus Louvre N 3152), the N3079 (Papyrus Louvre N 3079), and the N3089 (Papyrus Louvre N 3089) Traditions — each named after a significant document produced in its respective workshop and representing its tradition (fig. 7.5). All were in use around the start of the third century BC.



FIGURE 7.3. The papyrus of Tanetamuny was produced in a style typical for the Theban region in the Ptolemaic Period with vignettes and texts of spells aligned closely throughout the papyrus. British Museum EA 10086 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

The texts and illustrations used by the BM 10086 Tradition are particularly interesting in that they demonstrate considerable ingenuity on the part of the master scribes (Mosher 2010). While the texts were based on Saite sources, the texts were reworked for most spells in new and original ways, with the result that these texts are often unique compared to those of all other Theban traditions. Additionally, a whole new set of illustrations replaced those used by most other Theban traditions, and these also often show that they were carefully based on different aspects of the texts. What is also of particular interest is that this tradition was in use during the first half of the third century BC, but thereafter it appears to have fallen out of use until the second half of the first century BC, where the texts were revived for at least two documents (Louvre N 3085 and Tübingen 2012).

The N3152 Tradition retained much of the older Saite source material, but for certain spells the texts were reworked in ways unique to this tradition, while for other spells they sometimes shared the same versions of texts found in contemporary Theban traditions. For the illustrations, they used the same set as those used by the BM 10086 Tradition, and this interestingly demonstrates that while the texts of the two traditions differed, they shared a unique and common set of illustrations. Like the BM 10086 Tradition, the N3152 seems to have fallen out of use sometime during the second century BC, but it too was revived in the late first century BC for at least one man who was related to the deceased of Tübingen 2012 mentioned immediately above.

The N3079 and N3089 Traditions share very much in common, both evolved out of the main pre-Ptolemaic Tradition, but the master scribes of the N3079 Tradition appear to have formed their own workshop and developed their texts further, while those of the N3089 Tradition stayed much closer to the pre-Ptolemaic versions, although they modified the texts of many spells in different ways than those of the N3079 Tradition.

What is of interest with both of these traditions is that the texts of each continued to change internally. For the N3079 Tradition, Leiden T16, and the first half of Louvre N 3129 represent early documents, whose texts share some elements in common with texts from the early documents of the N3089

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FIGURE 7.4. The papyrus of Djedhor displays the style typical for Book of the Dead manuscripts that employed columns of hieroglyphic text surmounted by vignettes. This style was introduced before the Ptolemaic Period in the Theban region. British Museum EA 10017 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

Tradition. Thereafter the texts of the tradition were transformed even further, thereby revealing a clear seam between these first two documents and the rest of the documents of the tradition. Toward the end of the life cycle of the tradition, the choice of illustrations switched to those used by the BM 10086 and N3152 Traditions. Thus one can observe that the master scribes responsible for the N3079 Tradition continued to evaluate their texts over fifty years, further enhancing the texts and then switching to different illustrations, very likely with the aim of achieving greater efficacy in the overall magical power of the documents.

Similarly, the master scribes of the N3089 Tradition adapted their texts further although they retained much more of the pre-Ptolemaic texts, and, like with the N3079 Tradition, a clear division can be identified that separates the early documents of the tradition from the later documents. Unlike the N3079 Tradition, the N3089 Tradition continued to use the same illustrations as those in the main pre-Ptolemaic Tradition, although occasionally modifying some of these, thereby demonstrating that the master scribes also continued to re-evaluate their texts and illustrations.

The Ryerson Tradition, named after Papyrus Ryerson in this exhibit (Cat. No. 14), represents further evolution, primarily out of the N3089 Tradition, but the master scribes also made more use of Saite source coupled with the use of sources from the pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic Tradition. In the opinion of this author, the documents of this tradition date to the second half of the third century BC. The new features added to the texts also demonstrate intelligent thinking, but occasions where corrupt text from pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic source was used make one wonder how astute these scribes were. Possibly they thought that mixing in text from sources much older added greater efficacy, regardless of whether the texts made sense or not.

During the second half of the third century BC, two sets of documents represent work of two new workshops. The pseudo Theban-x Tradition offers virtually nothing new in terms of enhanced texts;

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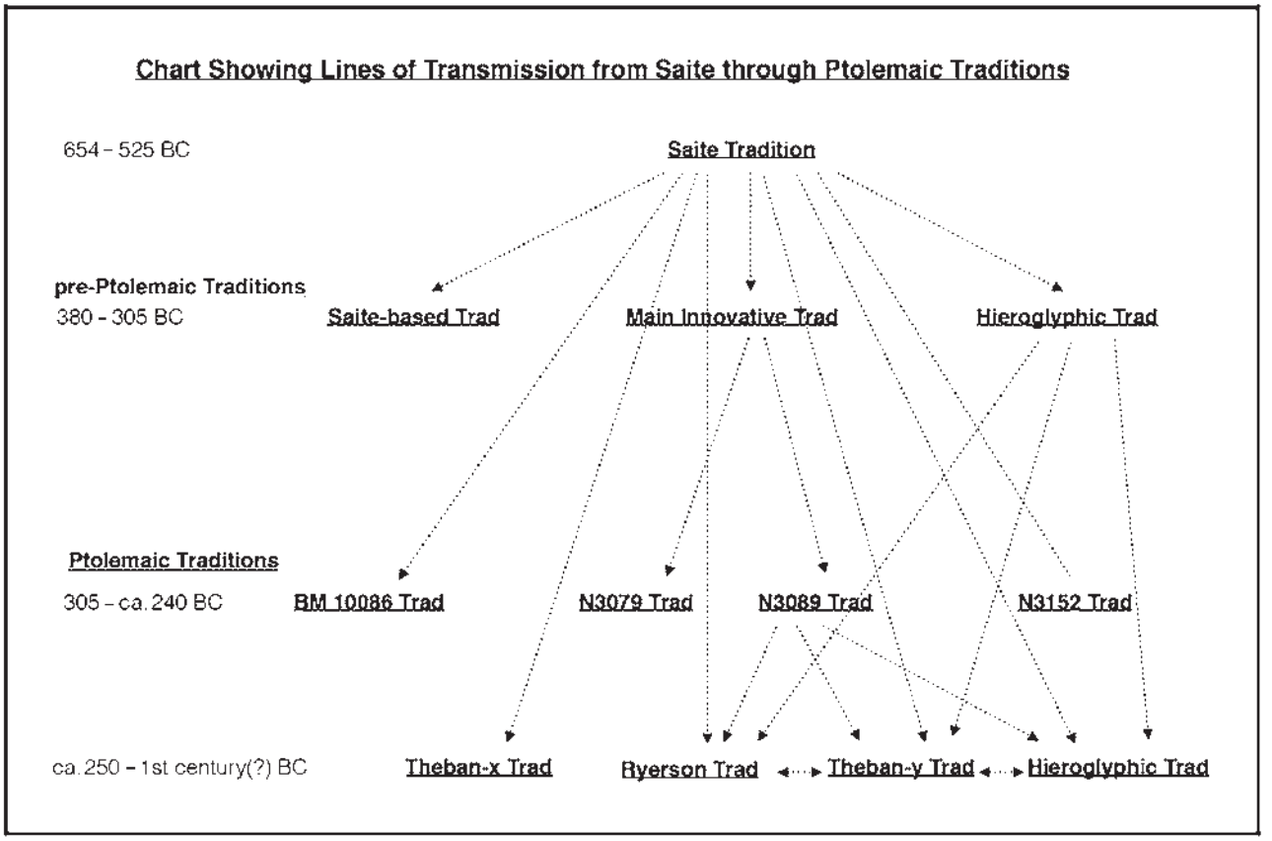


FIGURE 7.5. Chart showing some of the primary lines of transmission, grouped around important manuscripts as exemplars of particular traditions, from the Saite through the Ptolemaic Period

rather, it made primary use of Saite sources, although with a few scattered features taken from the Ryerson Tradition. Undoubtedly the most interesting document of this group, now in the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich, clearly consisted of two separately produced parts (Mosher 2016, vol. 1, p. 52). The first part of the document follows the Saite style (fig. 7.2) and it was clearly produced from stock. Space had been allocated for the name and titles of the deceased and his mother to be added later, but the spaces were too wide, so that when a scribe later added those names and titles, he had to stretch the characters out in order to fill the space. For the second half of the document, however, the spacing was perfect, indicating that this part was custom-made for the deceased. Of even greater interest is the fact that the layout in the second half of the document was based on Theban practices, and the texts and the illustrations came from the BM 10086 Tradition. Therefore the two parts of the document were produced in different workshops, and one wonders why. Did the owner go to the two workshops to obtain a portion from each, thereby hoping to obtain a document with exceptional potency?

The similarly pseudo Theban-y Tradition also appears to have come from the second half of the third century, and for it the master scribes appear to have used an inconsistent mix of source material from the Saite, N3079, N3089, and Ryerson Traditions, without any new innovations. Unfortunately, it is not currently possible to determine if these documents were produced at the older workshops, and one wonders what happened to those earlier workshops.

While the pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic Tradition appears to have fallen out of use in Thebes by the start of the Ptolemaic Period, some of its texts and the use of hieroglyphic script returned, likely during the second half of the third century and into the second. The master scribes for these later hieroglyphic documents used a mix of source material similar to that used for the Theban-y Tradition, and not surprisingly they also included some of the utterly

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corrupt texts found in pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphic documents, with BD 28 and BD 31 being particularly good examples. Once again, the mix from different source documents was likely thought to be beneficial in some way, regardless of whether the texts themselves made any sense.

The basis for identifying these different traditions is achieved by examining and analyzing spells found in hundreds of manuscripts produced from the Saite, pre-Ptolemaic, and late Ptolemaic eras (Mosher 2016, vol. 1, pp. 5–37), where one can observe multiple versions of the texts for most spells, and where the differences between versions of almost any given spell reveal all sorts of interesting changes, such as enhancements, embellishments, corrections to perceived errors, and the elimination of perceived ambiguity, to name just a few of the features. The identification of each individual tradition can be achieved when one finds a set of documents that typically used the same versions of texts for all spells (Mosher 2016, vol. 1). To a lesser degree multiple versions of the illustrations are also attested, and these too were used by specific traditions.

THE FLUIDITY OF THE "CANON"

In reflecting on these different Theban traditions of the Book of the Dead from the pre-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic eras, it is clear that the master scribes for most of the traditions did not accept the texts and illustrations as static and immutable. Rather, the texts for most spells underwent different phases of reworking and revision at the different workshops associated with the traditions identified above. With specific regard to the different types of revisions, the following offer a small selection of examples from an otherwise immense corpus.

The desire to improve the sense of a passage is a common theme for many revisions. In a passage from BD 1, the text in Saite and most Theban traditions reads: "I am with Horus this day of covering the crushed one, and of opening the cavern in order to wash the heart of the weary-hearted one." The "crushed one" and the "weary-hearted one" are references to the god Osiris (Cat. No. 33), but the reference to the "crushed one" is uncommon outside of this passage. The master scribes of the N3152 Tradition improved the passage by replacing the "crushed one" with the "languid one," a more common epithet of Osiris, and thus they eliminated an element of ambiguity.

Another passage from BD 1 found in documents from the Saite, BM 10086, and N3152 Traditions reads: "I am one among these gods born of Nut, who slaughter the enemies of Re and who imprison the rebels on his behalf." The problem here is that the entire paragraph concerns the justification of the god Osiris, not Re. This was perceptively observed by the master scribes of the N3079 and N3089 Traditions, who revised the passage to "... who slaughter the enemies of Osiris ...." Interestingly, we find almost the converse of this in a passage from BD 19, where documents from the Saite, BM 10086, and N3152 Traditions typically read "Osiris overthrows his enemies, so says the deceased," but pre-Ptolemaic master scribes recognized that the entire paragraph concerned what a variety of individual deities did on behalf of the deceased, and accordingly these scribes reworked the passage by including Re among these deities, asserting that it is "Re who overthrows the enemies of the deceased."

An example of the desire to improve the text as well as reflect a change in funerary ritual can be observed in the closing rubric of BD 13. In Saite and in most Theban traditions the rubric of funerary instructions at the end reads: "Words to be said over a pellet of henna placed in the right ear of the blessed one, and another pellet in a fillet of fine linen, the name of Osiris made on it (on) the day of burial." The scribes of the BM 10086 Tradition, however, made a change to the ritual practice and they were more explicit about where to place the pellets: "Words to be said over a pellet of henna placed in the left hand of the blessed one, and placing another pellet of henna within a fillet of fine linen, the name of the deceased being made on it, and placed at his throat (on) the day of burial." Pre-Ptolemaic scribes reworked the rubric in a different way, and they were even more explicit in their instructions: "Words to be said over a pellet of henna placed in the right ear of the blessed one, and placing another pellet of henna at the left hand of the blessed one, and placing a fillet of fine linen over him, the name of the deceased made on it on the day of burial."

A large class of revisions was aimed at providing clarification and thereby eliminating ambiguity. The opening of BD 21 in Saite documents starts with an

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invocation: "Hail to you, lord of light, foremost one of the great house in the midst of twilight." To the master scribes of the main pre-Ptolemaic Tradition, the identity of the "Lord of Light" must have been too vague, so they clarified the reference: "Hail to you Osiris, lord of light, foremost one of the great house in the midst of twilight." Similarly, in the opening statement of BD 23, a spell associated with the opening of the mouth ritual that was pivotal in restoring life to the deceased (Chapter 6), Saite texts read: "My mouth is opened by Ptah, and the bonds pertaining to my mouth are loosened by the god of my city." Again the pre-Ptolemaic Theban scribes provided clarification for the "god of my city" by explicitly naming the primary deity of Thebes: "My mouth is opened by Ptah, and my bonds are loosened by Amun, the god of my city." This wording was then reworked by the master scribes of the Ryerson Tradition to include elements from both the Saite and pre-Ptolemaic Traditions: "My mouth is opened by Ptah, and the bonds of my mouth are loosened by Amun, the god of my city."

The title of BD 36 is "spell for driving off a bug." In Saite documents the text of this short spell reads: "Be you far from me! My lips are fast. I am Khnum, lord of the circuit, who sends the words of the gods to Re. I report the message to its lord." This text is directed against bugs that might attack the mummy of the deceased in his tomb, and the deceased identifies himself as the messenger of the gods, whose fast lips report the messages of the gods quickly to Re. Khnum was a complex deity who figures in several creation myths, and a common motif depicts him twirling a potter's wheel (Dorman 1999), hence the reference to him as "lord of the circuit." The master scribes of the BM 10086 Tradition reworked the passage as follows: "Be you far from me, you of lips spread out! I am Horus, lord of the circuit. I am Khnum, lord of the circuit, who sends the words of the gods to Re. I report the message to its lord." Here, the spread out "lips" refer to those of the hungry bug who is commanded to keep away. The reason for the insertion of the statement about Horus is unclear, but the reference to him as "lord of the circuit" may well refer to his power over the circuit of the sky. Pre-Ptolemaic scribes reworked the Saite text differently: "Be you far from me! My lips are fast. I am Khnum, lord of Antinoopolis, who sends the words of the gods to Re. I report the message to their lord." Since Antinoopolis was a cult center for the god Khnum, this change from the "lord of the circuit" to "Lord of Antinoopolis" arguably provides better clarification. Note too the change in pronoun for the final statement; "its lord" in the previous example indicates that Re was the lord of any messages directed to him, while in the pre-Ptolemaic text the pronoun refers to the gods whose messages the deceased reports to Re.

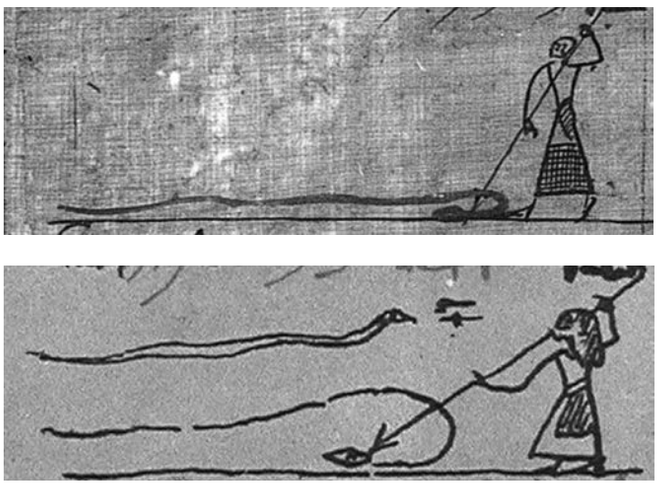


FIGURE 7.6. The vignette of BD 39 in Detroit 1988.10 (above) and in Leiden T16 (below) (photos courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

BD 18 consists of a set of invocations to the god Thoth, adjuring him to justify the deceased before ten councils, where each council comprised a specific list of deities and was associated with a different cult center. For the "great council" in Abydos, Saite texts list Osiris, Isis, and Wepwawet as the deities of that council. The pre-Ptolemaic scribes revised the list by inserting Nephthys, the sister of Isis, before Wepwawet. The reason for this is uncertain, but Isis and Nephthys represent the primary two mourners who wept over the murder of their brother Osiris, and it may have been this context that prompted the inclusion of Nephthys. To this end, this council was associated with "counting the dead" and "reckoning the blessed dead," and the name Wepwawet means "opener of the ways," a reference to opening a way for the deceased to go forth from his tomb after revivification. Thus the insertion of Nephthys appropriately fits the overall context of death, mourning, burial, and going forth.

Of even greater interest is the council associated with the "great land-plowing festival" in Busiris (or Mendes). While the deities making up the different

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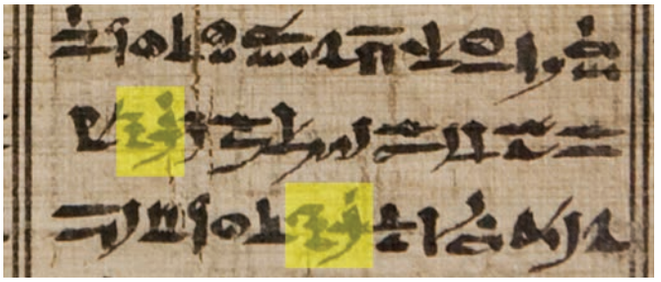


FIGURE 7.7. Similar signs in the hieratic script, highlighted here, could sometimes cause scribes to commit errors by accidentally skipping the text in between, a mistake known as haplography. British Museum EA 10558 (photo courtesty of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

councils in BD 18 were specified as far back as the New Kingdom, the deities comprising the "council for the great land-plowing festival" in Busiris/Mendes had never been specified in New Kingdom texts, nor were they specified in Saite documents. The pre-Ptolemaic scribes of the main workshop recognized this inconsistency and they were the first to list the deities of the council — Thoth, Osiris, Anubis, and Wepwawet. This revision was accepted by the subsequent Theban traditions, but not the BM 10086 Tradition. Those scribes rejected the pre-Ptolemaic identification and instead listed Horus, Isis, and Imseti. Of equal interest is the name used for the cult center. In the other traditions the location of the council was Busiris or Mendes, where the only difference in the spelling for Busiris and Mendes was the presence or absence of a "*t*" ending, and one can observe utter inconsistency in many spells in which the name was given. The scribes of the BM 10086 Tradition, however, used a different name here, "Anpet," another name for Mendes. One wonders in this instance if the scribes were aware of the common confusion between Busiris and Mendes, and they chose Anpet to make it clear that the council was associated with Mendes, not Busiris.

Yet another class of revisions had to do with conscious attempts to achieve parallelism in expression and thereby achieve grammatical consistency in a sequence of statements. These typically do not result in any major changes in content for a spell, but they demonstrate grammatical astuteness in aiming for consistency. For example in BD 26, several statements pertain to the heart, mouth, and arms of the deceased: "Given to me is my heart and it is content with me … my mouth belongs to me in order to speak … my arms belong to me in order to overthrow my enemies." Note the initial clause in contrast to the other two with regard to the notions of giving and possession. This inconsistency was not lost on scribes from various Ptolemaic traditions who either revised the first statement to one of possession to achieve parallelism: "My heart belongs to me and it is content with me … my mouth belongs to me in order to speak … my arms belong to me in order to overthrow my

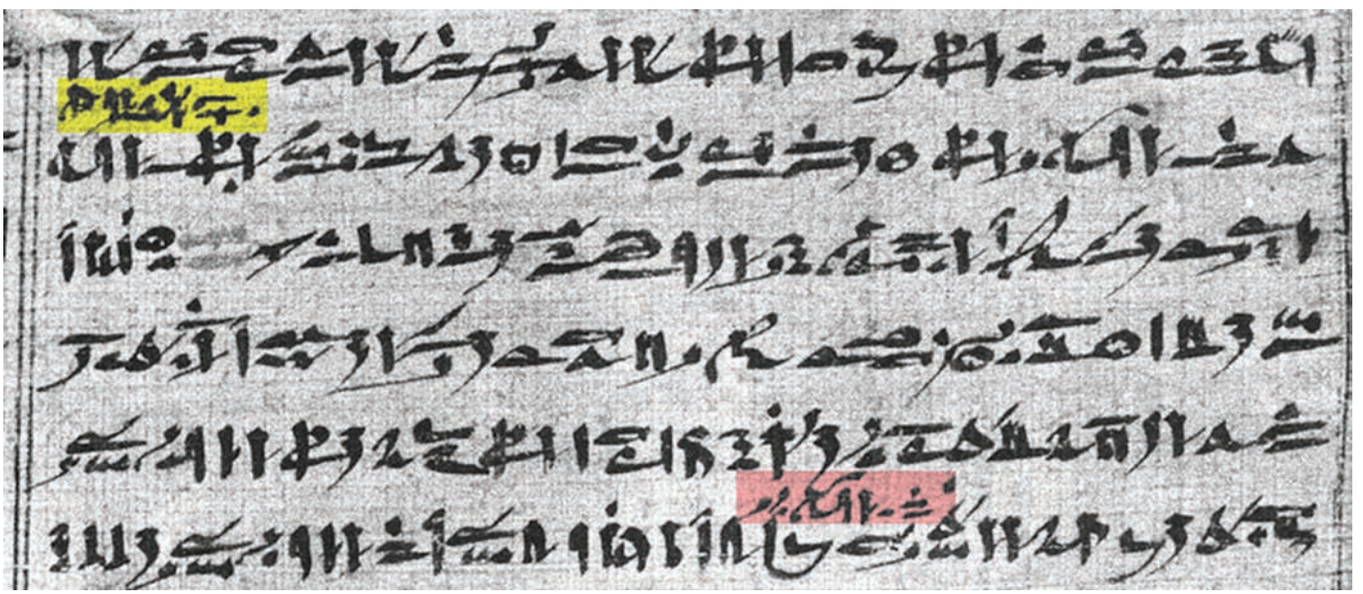


FIGURE 7.8. The highlighted text in BD 30 from the papyrus of Arptahhepu shows superlinear corrections made when a scribe added in notations above the line. Louvre N 3091 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

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FIGURE 7.9. A diligent scribe rubbed the papyrus here in BD 42 from a papyrus belonging to Padihorpare to erase a section of incorrect text before resuming with the proper content. Louvre N 3249 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

enemies. Other scribes did the reverse: "Given to me is my heart and it is content with me ... given to me is my mouth in order to speak ... given to me are my arms in order to overthrow my enemies."

In other instances this practice did indeed result in changes to content. For example, BD 7, a spell "for passing by the vertebra of Apophis; it is a danger," consists of a succession of statements where the deceased is the subject and where he generally asserts that he has power over Apophis, the arch-adversary of the gods and revivified dead. "I shall not be weary to you, I shall not weaken to you ... I am he, mysterious of names ... I am Osiris." In the midst of these statements, however, Saite texts include "all the gods protected me," where there is an obvious change in subject and the deceased becomes a passive participant. Most later Theban scribes ignored this inconsistency, but not the scribes of the N3152 Tradition who revised that one passage to: "I protect all the gods," thereby making this statement parallel in grammar and context to the surrounding statements. Further, this revision asserts that the deceased is so powerful that he is the protector of the gods rather than they protecting him.

VARIANTS AND EMENDATIONS

An entirely different and large class of revisions involves the use of variants, whether from confusion over the correct word(s) or whether from an attempt to reconcile two or more entirely different wordings for a passage. In such a case, rather than give only one wording, scribes often used all available choices, with the first being the main text and the others indicated as variants. For example, in the opening section of BD 31 ("spell for driving off crocodiles who come in order to seize the magic of a man from him in the necropolis"), one finds the statement: "your face belongs to truth." The word for "truth" is written and pronounced nearly identically to the word for "breeze." In documents from the Ryerson Tradition, this passage reads "your face belongs to the breeze - variant: the truth," where it seems that the master scribes were confused about the correct word, and they entered "breeze" first, with "truth" as an explicit variant. In many cases, the use of a variant reveals the highly important scribal goal of getting the text right one way or the other. Thus, by entering both words in the passage cited above, the scribes likely assured themselves that they had written the correct word in the passage — if not "breeze," then "truth."

In some cases, the use of a variant was to provide further clarification. For example, in the text of BD 13, one passage routinely reads: "I have made a way that I may adore Osiris." In Louvre N 3058, the scribe embellished the text to: "I have made a way that I may adore the lord of life - variant: Osiris." In the hymn known as BD 15f, a common passage reads: "The evil one falls as the enemy." In Louvre N 5450 the scribe

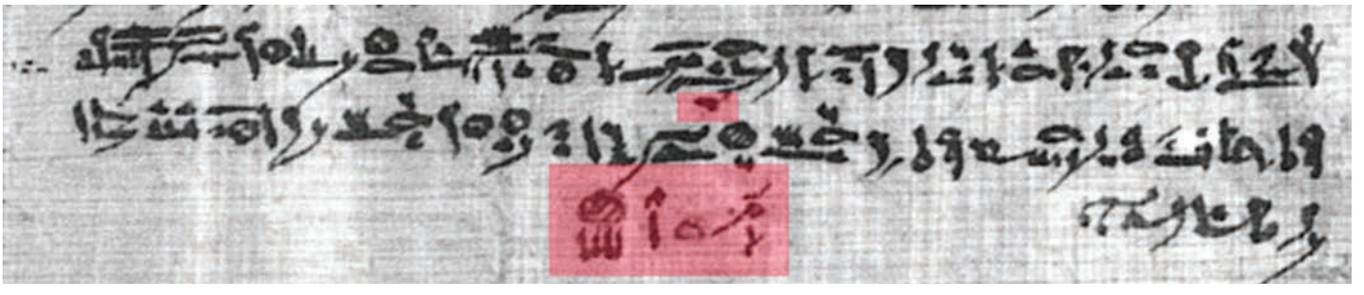


FIGURE 7.10. Example of editorial markers in BD 15h. Detroit 1988.10 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

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revised the passage to: "Apophis - variant: the evil one - falls as the enemy."

The use of variants can be found in the texts of many spells, where they were often used by master scribes in assembling the texts of a tradition, in which case they appear in all documents of that tradition. More frequently, however, they are found in individual documents where the scribe responsible for producing that document may have been confused, or his source document may have been fragmented and he inserted a variety of wordings in the hope that one would be right. In other cases, some scribes had access to different source documents with differing wording and they used all choices. Variants offer interesting glimpses into the thinking of individual scribes in how they resolved confusion.

A real rarity in the use of variant is found in Leiden T16, where it was used with a pair of illustrations that accompany the text of BD 39, a spell whose primary purpose was to drive off the malevolent serpent Apophis. The normal illustration for this scene is the deceased turning back the head of the huge serpent representing Apophis advancing against him (fig. 7.6). The artist of the Leiden document appears to have been confused about the proper representation of the snake, and so he entered two snakes, one without head turned back and the other with. Before the head of the upper serpent he wrote the hieratic for *ky ḏd* "variant."

Continuing the theme of getting the text right, the topic of scribal error and correction is of interest. The very nature of copying from a source document to a target document was prone to error. In some cases, a scribe looked at the source, sounded out to himself the passage to be copied, but when he wrote it he occasionally used a word that sounded correct but it was in fact the wrong word. In other cases the scribe focused on the graphics of the signs, but when writing it out, the mistaken omission of a sign resulted in a different wording. Depending on the care and diligence of the individual scribe, a common error was haplography, where the scribe simply lost his place while copying. For example, observe the signs highlighted in yellow in fig. 7.7; if a scribe had copied up to the first instance of the yellow text, and he was to resume with that highlighted text but he mistakenly resumed at the second instance of the same signs in yellow below, he would have omitted the intervening text. Haplography was a common error. Dittography was the error of mistakenly duplicating the same signs or words back to back, although surprisingly dittography was uncommon.

Another common error happened when the scribe lost his place and mistakenly skipped one or more words. In most cases where this occurred, the scribe just continued copying the text, likely being unaware of what he had omitted. Other scribes, however, were more diligent and actually went back over what they had just written, and if they realized they had mistakenly omitted some signs or words, they added the missing part as a superlinear correction. In figure 7.8, observe the small superlinear corrections between the two lines. In the second example (in red), the scribe even erred in his correction because the corrected text should have read *nn isfty.w=f*, not *nn nis.tw=f*. On rare occasions, when a scribe realized he had just written the wrong text, he had no means of erasing it, so he rubbed or scratched it out as best he could, and then resumed with the correct text (fig. 7.9). One must admire the diligence of these individual scribes in making corrections like this.

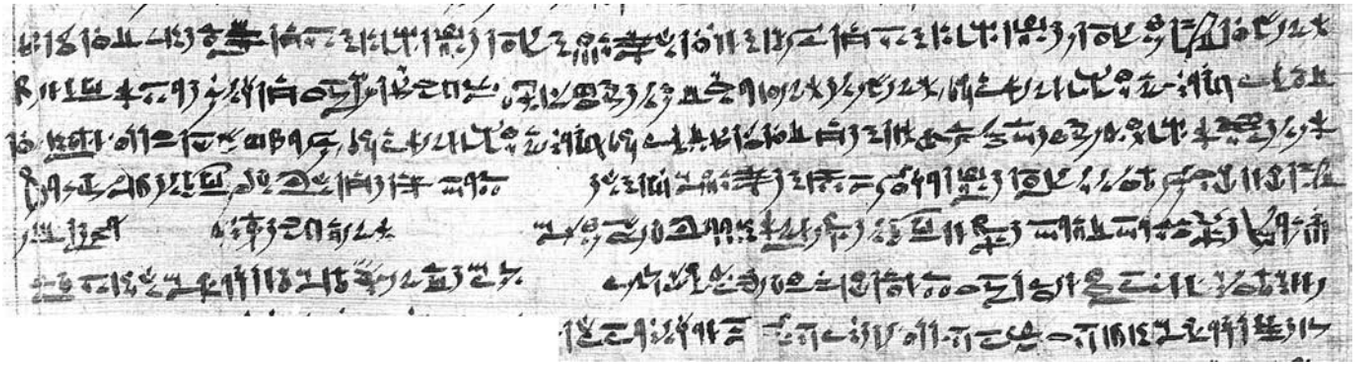


FIGURE 7.11. Missing text evident in BD 15b. Louvre N 3082 (photo courtesy of Malcolm Mosher Jr.)

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Another type of correction happened when a scribe realized later that he mistakenly omitted text and the spacing between lines was insufficient for superlinear correction. The diligent scribe corrected the problem by adding a standard editorial mark at the point where the text was missing (first instance of red in the fig. 7.10), and this mark directed the reader further below, where the scribe wrote the missing text. In this example, the scribe added a second editorial marker to indicate where the missing text was located, in this case "Re, four times."

THE STAFF OF THE FUNERARY WORKSHOP

As the final topic of this essay, one may ask who was actually expected to read the document and benefit by the various corrections? One answer is that the deceased, after having been revivified, read the texts to help activate the various purposes of the spells. On the other hand, some interesting observations can be made where one might question the integrity of individual scribes. In some documents it is clear that the source must have been damaged and parts of the text were missing. Instead of consulting another document to obtain the missing parts, some scribes simply left blank spaces more or less equal to the size of the missing parts. In figure 7.11, observe the blank spaces. When the buyer purchased the document, what must he have thought when he realized parts of the text were missing? Perhaps he thought those missing parts would be magically provided when he later needed the document, and perhaps he valued the integrity of the scribe who at least let him know something was missing. Other scribes, when faced with missing parts in their source, just closed those gaps together, thereby giving the false impression that nothing was missing (e.g., often practiced in Berlin 3039). Was the workshop that produced such a document practicing deception? Seldom did the resulting text make any sense.

A different variation of this practice happened when a scribe did not have sufficient space in his target document to enter the complete text of a spell. In such situations, some scribes entered only the beginning of the text and omitted the rest. Papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15) is an excellent example of this. The rationale here seems to have been that the title of the spell and the opening lines were sufficient to deliver the magic associated with the purpose of that spell. This situation was particularly common where the length of the papyrus was too short to contain the complete texts of all the spells represented, and in this respect the buyer of the document was very likely fully aware that the spells he wanted were only partially represented. Other scribes, however, employed a technique that borders on deception, whereby they entered the title, the first few lines of the spell, followed by the final statement(s), and omitted everything in between, thereby giving the false appearance that the text was complete and nothing was missing. A particularly good example of this is BM EA 10037, where the title and opening lines of the lengthy BD 42 were given, followed by the closing lines (Mosher 2016, vol. 2, p. 289).

The various examples provided above offer just a sampling of the different types of changes made by pre-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic scribes, who were not content just to copy sources ultimately dating back to the Saite Period. Rather, they were actively involved in improving and correcting the texts in clever and creative ways.

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8. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

ISABELLE RÉGEN

The main part of a Book of the Dead spell consists of a text to recite. In addition, several chapters end, or more rarely begin, with notices differing from this recitation and sometimes written in red (called rubrics). As a matter of fact, these notices are not words to be spoken but information aimed at ensuring the effectiveness of the text for the deceased. There are primarily three types: inventory (pedigree associating the discovery of the chapter with a prestigious figure, olden times, or an extraordinary place), efficacy (spell effectiveness), and finally, prescription. It is the latter which help to evoke the materiality of the Book of the Dead. Indeed, these prescriptive notices seem to describe the operative chain of the rituals that the ritualist priest (Chapter 6) is in charge of performing for the benefit of the deceased in the hereafter. Given that these rites rely on a support (amulets, furniture, etc.) described in the papyri's directions for use, physical evidence of them can be observed in the tombs.

Only some Book of the Dead chapters, particularly those aiming at protecting the mummy, include operating instructions (fig. 8.1). The application of these directions on various objects seems to materialize and thus sustain the protective spell recited by the ritualist priest. Consequently, in order to address the issue of the archaeology of the Book of the Dead, it is necessary to deal equally with the physical evidence of rituals from the tombs and the papyri's prescriptions. If texts of papyri and archaeological finds are thus connected, it will be seen that their relation is not necessarily that of directions for use and their servile application. Indeed, the confrontation between texts of papyrus and archaeology reveals numerous discrepancies. This essay is illustrated by examples from various Book of the Dead chapters. It ends with the well-documented case of the ritual of "magical bricks" of chapter BD 151 (Cat. Nos. 20–24) for which the occurrence of so many discordances raises questions about the nature of the relation between the text and the actual practices revealed



FIGURE 8.1. BD 162 from the papyrus of Irtyuru shows a gilded image of a divine cow with the instructions for using the spell written in red to the left: "Recitation over a figure of a cow made from brilliant gold, placed at the throat of the blessed spirit (*akh*)." OIM E10486O = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13338)

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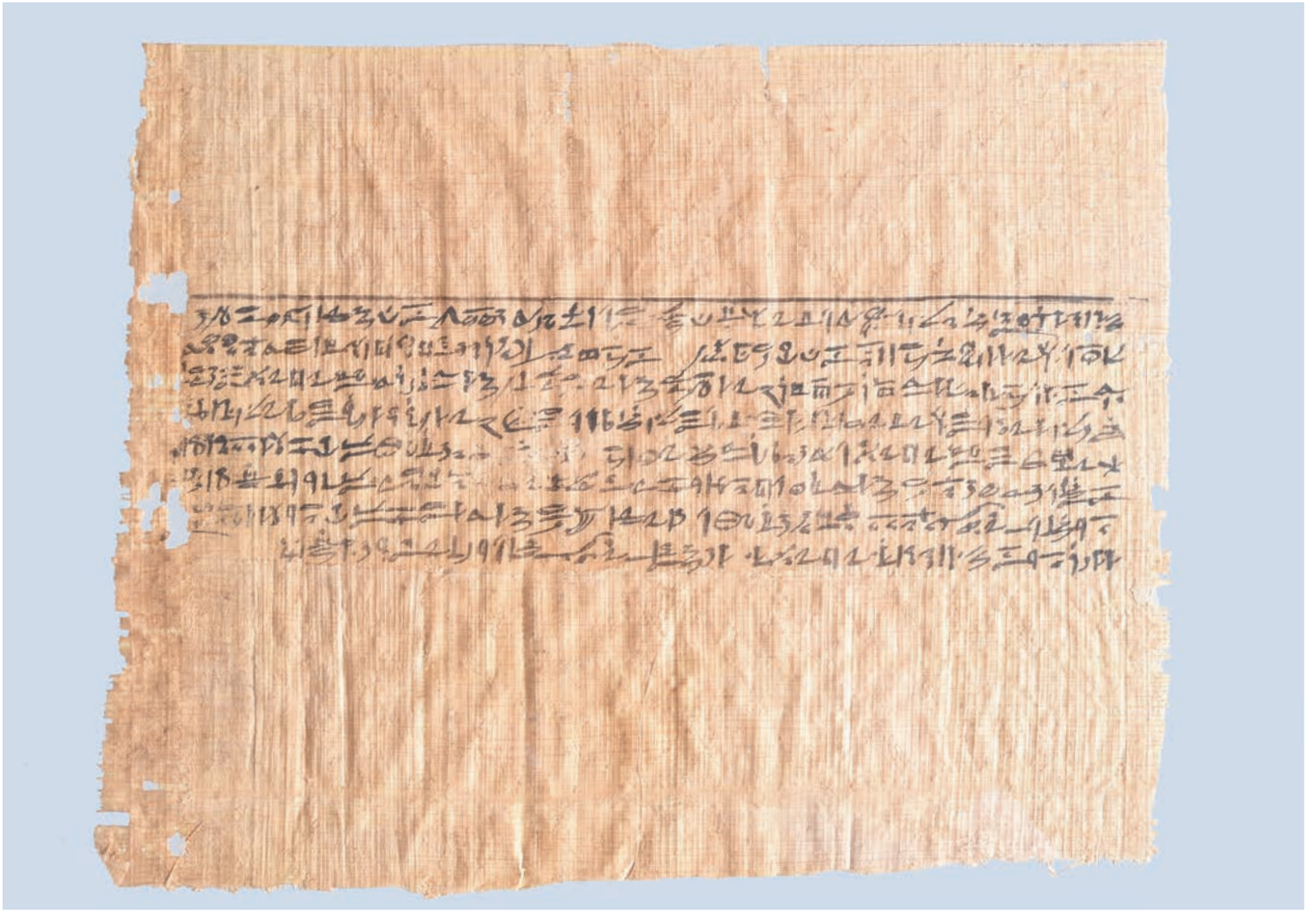


FIGURE 8.2. BD 162 inscribed on a sheet of papyrus that was placed underneath the head of a mummy in accordance with the instructions accompanying the spell (see also fig. 9.7). Cairo JE 96272 (photo courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

by archaeology. First, a brief overview of the different supports of the Book of the Dead text excavated by archaeologists shows the richness of the ancient Egyptian mortuary assemblage.

MATERIAL SUPPORTS FOR BOOK OF THE DEAD SPELLS

Some of the most common supports for inscribing Book of the Dead spells are papyrus rolls (Cat. Nos. 14–19), later placed in Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuettes (Cat. No. 13), and tomb walls (Cat. Nos. 31–33). In addition, the Book of the Dead could be written on a wide variety of objects from the mortuary assemblage including coffins (Cat. Nos. 10–11), sarcophagi (Cat. No. 12), stelae (Cat. Nos. 28–29), offering tables, funerary figurines (*ushabtis*) or servants of the deceased in the hereafter (BD 6, Cat. Nos. 25–28), and several protective amulets, like the *djed*-pillar (BD 155, Cat. No. 23), the *tit*-knot (BD 156), the heart scarab (BD 29–30, Cat. Nos. 6–9), the four magical bricks (BD 151, Cat. Nos. 20–24). The protection of the head was ensured by headrests (BD 166) or hypocephali (BD 162, fig. 8.2; de Cenival 1992, p. 109). King Tutankhamun's gold mask (Eighteenth Dynasty) offers a spectacular support for the text of chapter BD 151, a spell dedicated to the mummy mask called "the mysterious head." The magnificently preserved golden chapels of Tutankhamun also bear excerpts of the Book of the Dead and were nested over the king's coffins. These chapels, not found in other royal tombs, are a reminder that a great part of the original furniture was lost and that Book of the Dead texts may have occurred on other artifacts.

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Some Book of the Dead chapters prescribe drawing an image and/or a text on a small sheet of papyrus (BD 100, fig. 8.3; Albert and Gabolde 2013), strip of linen (BD 101, 163–165, 167; de Cenival 1992, pp. 106–08), a bowl (BD 133–134; de Cenival 1992, p. 36; Eaton 2005–2006, pp. 84–86), or a tablet (BD 148). The objects inscribed with Book of the Dead chapters could surround the body, such as mummy bandages (Cat. Nos. 2–5) or shrouds (that of king Thutmose III includes BD 154 against decomposition). Within the coffin, amulets were deposited inside or outside the bandages, sometimes sewed to them or attached to the neck by a wire (e.g., BD 29–30, 64, 89, 100, 101, 130, 140, 155–160, 162–166, 167, 175; see also Albert 2012; Albert and Gabolde 2013; Quirke 2013, pp. 499–501, 532, 580). Late Period papyri furnish lists or plans of the location of amulets on the body (Albert 2012). The reduced size of amulets was associated with abridged versions of the papyri chapters.

In addition, multiplying supports offered an additional chance of preserving the text and thus the effectiveness of the spell's content. A single chapter can be copied several times within the same tomb (Einaudi 2013, p. 61). The Mayor of Thebes, Sennefer (TT 96b, Eighteenth Dynasty), had the vignette of BD 151, which included images of the amulets associated with magical bricks, painted on the walls of his burial chamber in addition to having a set of magical bricks, inscribed with the same chapter, inserted into the burial chamber's wall. It is not impossible that he may even have owned a papyrus roll with this same text. Aside from multiplying supports, the concern for preservation led some wealthier Egyptians to choose materials more durable than papyrus or linen, like leather or very hard stone. An exceptional example is the Perovsky stone (Säve-Söderbergh 1994), a small tablet cut from a very hard blue-green stone (perhaps green jasper) and inscribed with three chapters (BD 64, 30, and 26), which was probably originally placed within the coffin.

How these media were used did not always correspond to the instructions found in the associated rubrics. This discussion now turns to examples where the textual instructions and archaeological context did not match. It continues by analyzing concordant and discordant cases, and lastly, to point out what may be inconsistencies and "silences" in the written instructions.



FIGURE 8.3. BD 100 in the column on the right contained instructions for preparing a sheet of papyrus. Instructions begin with "Recitation over a sheet of papyrus" in the tenth line from the bottom of the column, here written in black. OIM E9787E = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28918)

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RUBRIC INSTRUCTIONS VERSUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Let's take an example of prescriptive notice and of its archaeological application. Here are the directions for use of chapter BD 100: "Recitation over this image that is sketched, sketched on a clean, unused sheet of papyrus with powder (of) green glaze mixed with myrrh-water, placed on the blessed one's breast without letting it come (too) close to his body." Red ink was used as a visual cue for the priest reading the papyrus, distinguishing the instructions from the rest of the spell written in black. An excellent example of this practice is the papyrus of Henutmehyt from the Nineteenth Dynasty found wrapped around her mummy (Taylor 2010a, p. 47; see also Albert and Gabolde 2013). It is a single sheet of papyrus with eight lines of hieratic script (Chapter 3), written first in red and then traced in white, above a delicate outline of the solar boat. The spell is based on an interplay between image, written text, and spoken text, for the ritualist had to recite the spell over a sketch of the deceased depicted in the sun bark (described in more precise rubrics). The use of the demonstrative "this (image)" in the instructions indicates the intimacy of the priest with the ritual support. However, it is likely that the officiant was manipulating the sheet with caution, for the presence of divine figures inside the bark, especially that of the sun god, conferred power to the amulet. That may be the reason why the notice advised not to put the papyrus in direct contact with the skin of the deceased. From a general point of view, purity of the support was highly sought; the instruction for using a "clean, unused" sheet may betray the common practice of recycling texts (e.g., the palimpsest papyrus of fig. 5.1).

Color also plays an important role (Chapter 4). A variant of BD 100 prescribed that green glaze should be used "to emphasize the green" (T. Allen 1974, p. 82). Brightness of glaze may have endowed a solar aspect to the text. Pigment analysis of Henutmehyt's papyrus revealed the presence of magnesium silicate, a material precisely used in glaze production (Taylor 2010a, p. 47). Green color was also traditionally associated with regrowth and renewal of nature. Once the text was read, the sheet was folded (sometimes closed by a clay seal), and was placed on the breast of the deceased. Curiously enough, a prescriptive notice could even be copied onto the ritual object itself; although it may seem unusual to have the instructions on the object itself, other instances are known (Albert and Gabolde 2013, pp. 161–62; Régen 2009a, pp. 49–50; Dieleman 2015, p. 27). The practice of using a single illustrated spell on a sheet of papyrus, known from directions accompanying other Book of the Dead spells, was more common after the New Kingdom (Illès 2006b; Dieleman 2015, p. 29 with n. 9). Such papyrus amulets complemented Book of the Dead manuscripts; the sheet was placed directly in its specific zone of efficacy (e.g., on the breast), while the longer papyrus rolls were usually placed near the lower part of the mummy, perhaps too far away from the breast to be effective and therefore requiring the papyrus amulet (Albert and Gabolde 2013, p. 166).

Another concordant example is that of spell 29B, whose title "spell for a heart of *seheret*-stone" includes its instruction notice for the type of stone. As a matter of fact, Howard Carter discovered on Tutankhamun's mummy a heart scarab made from "black resin" (perhaps amber?) decorated with the image of the Egyptian phoenix (*benu*). The text referred to the phoenix and the deceased's identification with the bird enabled him to circulate easily between the earth and the netherworld (Carter No. 256q). Although quite small (less than 5 cm long), the amulet bears a full version of the text (without title). It was suspended from the neck of the mummy by a long gold wire 86 cm long. Carter found another amulet in Tutankhamun's tomb related to the heart, but with a different text: the nephrite heart scarab described by chapter BD 30B (Carter No. 269a(4) = Cairo JE 61948; cf. Cat. Nos. 6–9). It is inscribed with a shortened version of the spell to guarantee the deceased that his heart does not testify against him during the judgment in the netherworld (psychostasy), a crucial step for the future of the dead person in the hereafter.

In accordance with chapter BD 89, a human-headed *ba*-bird was deposited on Tutankhamun's mummy (Carter no. 256b(2) = Cairo JE 61903; cf. de Cenival 1992, p. 29; Cat. No. 40). However, papyri note that this text is to be said "over a *ba* of gold inlaid with costly stones." Yet, Howard Carter's observations reference inlays of "turquoise, lapis lazuli, and carnelian colored glass." Consequently, colored glass seems to have been an acceptable alternative to gemstones even for an artifact destined for king Tutankhamun. A *djed*-pillar amulet was attached to

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FIGURE 8.4. Tutankhamun's eastern magical brick with Anubis figure. Cairo JE 61379 = Carter no. 258 (photo courtesy of Alain Lecler, IFAO, Institut IFAO, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo)



FIGURE 8.5. Tutankhamun's western magical brick with *djed*-pillar amulet. Cairo JE 61378 = Carter no. 260 (photo courtesy of Alain Lecler, IFAO, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo)

the king's neck by a gold wire. It measures 9 cm in length and is inscribed with an abridged version of BD 155. Although the notice deals with a "pillar-amulet of gold strung on sycamore twine, moistened with sap of the *ankh-ỉmy* plant," the king's pillar was fully made of gold. Tutankhamun's papyrus-amulet of BD 159 also included material embellishments, for it was not only made of green feldspar as required, but also of gold with feldspar inlays (Carter no. 256ggg; for papyrus amulets, Silverman 2016). In the case of these two amulets, economic reasons were obviously not considered although they probably played a role in the use of colored glass for the amulet of BD 89.

Contrary to the papyri prescriptions, sometimes the associated amulets were not inscribed, such as the *tit*-knot amulet of chapter BD 156 found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Carter no. 256fff). Other times the amulet bears only the deceased's name (de Cenival 1992, pp. 101, 30). The small size cannot be the only reason for the absence of text, for small inscribed *tit*-knot amulets were produced (Taylor 2010a, p. 42), but the manufacture of amulets without texts were obviously a common practice (Diveleman 2015, p. 41).

Some notices specify that amulets should be placed on the mummy "on the day of the burial" (BD 155–156, 157–158, probably also 159–160). This temporal evidence, precious for the ritualist, may raise a question of logic. Given that these amulets were to be attached to the deceased's neck on the funeral day, it supposes that the body was still accessible at that time. Indeed, in most cases, contrary to the idealized burial iconography, it is probable that the dead person was carried to his tomb not inside a coffin, but on a stretcher (Régen 2009b; Reeves 2015, pp. 514–15). The latter may have been used to vertically erect the mummy during the opening of the mouth ritual performed at the

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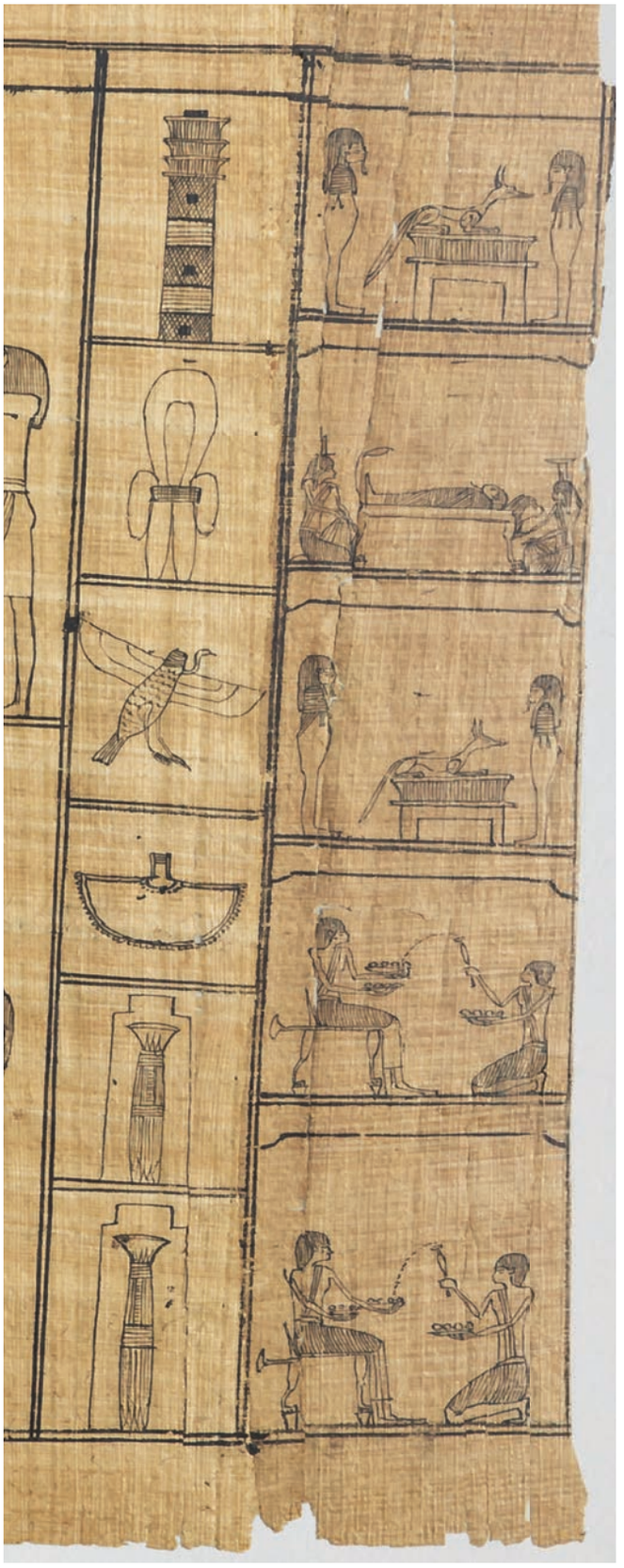


FIGURE 8.6. The simplified vignette of BD 151 from papyrus Milbank is shown in the top three sections on the right, with the idealized funeral in the center, followed by the vignettes of the mummy amulets on the left. OIM E10486O = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13338)

entrance of the tomb. In the case of Tutankhamun's heavy golden sarcophagi (110 kg for the smallest one), this ritual would have been performed without the coffins. The mummy was probably moved down to the burial chamber on the stretcher and put inside the coffins at the last moment. Nevertheless, the amulets associated with BD 155–158 (*djed*-pillar, *tit*-knot, gold vulture, and broad collar), all of them supposed to be deposited "on the day of the burial" according to notices, were placed inside Tutankhamun's network of bandages. Consequently, they could not have been added on the day of burial. The instruction specifying the performance during the burial day dates from an Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead manuscript, thereby assuaging any doubt that the instruction represented later practices (Lapp 1997, pl. 79). In any case, Tutankhamun's amulets were deposited well in advance of the burial, during the embalming rites, corresponding to a later papyrus indication of the amulet rituals that "it is placed on the figure of the embalmed in the Good House (*per-nefer*)," that is to say the workshop where the mummy was prepared (CG 40027, Third Intermediate Period; Quirke 2013, p. 501).

Another question of logic may be raised by BD spell 13 whose instructions say: "To be said over (a pellet) of the *ankh-imy*-(plant) put in the right ear of the blessed one and another (pellet) put into (a band of) fine linen with (his) name written on it on the day of burial." If the instruction is correctly understood, it seems that a pellet may have been deposited inside one of the deceased's ears. However, on the day of burial, the mummy had already been wrapped and the auditory canal made inaccessible by linen bandages.

In addition, physical evidence of the Book of the Dead was often found in tombs whereas such evidence seemed not to be corroborated by a papyrus notice. For instance, headrests inscribed with a short version of BD spell 166 are known. The same case occurs for funerary servants (*ushabtis*) of BD spell 6 whose notice does not appear to connect it with an archaeological application (nevertheless, each version of this well-attested spell should be checked to ensure the exactitude of this observation). Such a direction for using a (wooden) figurine seems to only be attested in an earlier source, usually considered as the ancestor of this chapter, Coffin Texts spell 472 (cf. Willems 2009, p. 519). If correct, this may show

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that an archaeological practice could be performed without its contemporary written counterpart. It is not impossible that the deposit of funerary servants may have been such a common practice since the time of the Coffin Texts that the need to write it down did not arise.

MAGICAL BRICKS AND BOOK OF THE DEAD SPELL 151

The vignette of BD spell 151 shows the ideally equipped burial chamber (Lüscher 1998; Taylor 2010a, pp. 114–15). The Ptolemaic papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15) presents a simplified version of the vignette (fig. 8.6), whose first occurrence seems to appear in king Siptah's tomb from the Nineteenth Dynasty (Régen 2001, col. 598). The instructions in chapter BD 151 require that four unbaked clay bricks need to be walled up in the funerary chamber in relation to the cardinal points to protect the mummy and the tomb. Each of the four bricks must be inscribed with the corresponding spell, and an amulet is set on it: a mummiform figurine of *ỉma*-wood seven digits high, whose mouth has been opened, on the north (Cat. No. 19); a lighted torch on the south; a *djed*-pillar of faience whose top has been covered with electrum, wrapped in royal linen with ointment poured over it on the west (fig. 8.5; Cat. No. 23); a seated Anubis figurine of unbaked clay mixed with incense on the east (fig. 8.4; Cat. No. 20). This protection ritual is documented in papyri from the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, and by magical tablets and wall niches discovered in tombs dating from the reign of Thutmose III to that of Nectanebo I. The archaeological evidence records nearly one hundred individual users of the ritual.

Each brick spell is mainly formed according to the same structure: an *incipit* (introductory information), protective words spoken by the amulet, followed by a prescriptive notice. Here are, for instance, the instructions for use of the southern brick (for variants, see Régen 2009): "This spell is to be said over an unbaked clay brick (on which this spell has been carved). Attach a lighted torch. Make a niche for it in the southern wall, its face toward the north, and cover its face." This ritual presents the most detailed directions for use, as well as a sample which may be considered as representative. The comparison

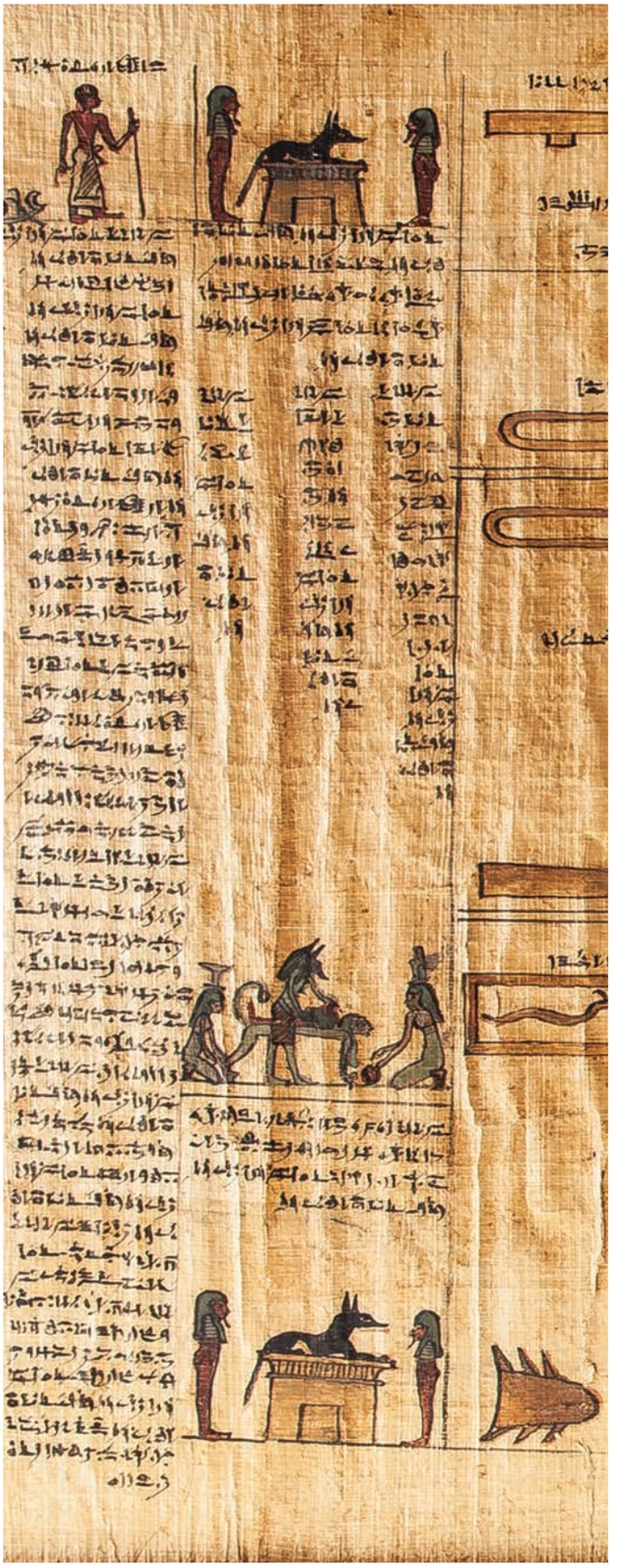


FIGURE 8.7. BD 151 included an image of the embalming by Anubis with the mourning women Isis and Nephthys. Although not shown here, the spell included the recitations found inscribed on magical bricks. OIM E9787I = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28922)

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between text (papyrus) and archaeology (bricks and niches) reveals, however, numerous discrepancies (Régen 2010; Theis 2015; for discordances in the use of textual amulets, compare Dieleman 2015, p. 48). Focus here is on the reasons for those discrepancies by analyzing the different types of relations between text and archaeology. In that regard, as a working hypothesis, and in order not to open a "chicken and egg" question (which came first, ritual or text?), by default the text is considered here as the model intended for the priests to follow, even if the Egyptians did not await the invention of writing to perform these rites.

First, a desire to enhance the ritual apparatus often induced new adaptations in practice, thereby betraying a concern for ritual efficacy. Durable ritual objects were sought after, with the result that fragile material such as unbaked clay was abandoned in some cases for a more solid one, like the baked clay bricks found in some private tombs. A deliberate choice for sustainability could result in a financial burden, for example, when Kasa ordered four limestone stelae for his Nineteenth Dynasty tomb inscribed with BD 151 and images of the associated amulets (fig. C9). They are unique and without parallel. Another example of costly measures may be found for several magical bricks: instead of incising the text as prescribed, it was painted with orpiment, a highly sought ingredient in Book of the Dead notices (BD 125, 130, 133, 134, 144). Its original "solar" yellow color often faded to white (Eaton 2005–2006, p. 86). A pigment analysis of amulets could therefore be instructive. Alternatively, the use of baked clay may not have been much more expensive to use than unbaked clay, likewise the creation of a clay collar enclosing the lower part of the amulets of the unpublished bricks of a man named Pay (New Kingdom). The maker of the object seems to have answered the spell's instructions according to which the amulet should be "fixed firmly."

Occasionally the ritual apparatus can be enhanced without bypassing the directions, since the text is often silent on these points. In that respect, niches were supposed to be cut in the burial chamber walls, without further details provided. If those of the vizier Useramun are cut at ground level (tomb TT 61), those of king Seti I were prepared in a better concealed position near the ceiling (tomb KV 17). Besides, the first brick specimens (Cat. Nos. 19–20) seem to have been deposited on the ground, contrary to prescriptions in papyri. The reason for this location may have been to position different protective objects, including the bricks, closer to the sarcophagus. In other cases, ritual development may result in an unparalleled, ad hoc innovation: the performance of a closing ritual in Tutankhamun's tomb included leaving the lighted torch of the southern brick outside the walls at the feet of the famous Anubis statue, to let it burn out in the darkness. The *raison d'être* of this new practice may be found in the close links between chapters BD 151 and BD 137A (a tomb protection ritual by means of four lighted torches). The three other bricks were walled up in the burial chamber, but the ritualist had to face the problem of the empty fourth niche. For this purpose, a fifth brick was created with a new, unparalleled standing Osiris amulet made of unbaked clay (Régen 2010, pp. 269–70, fig. 2 on p. 277). Such an innovation was clearly not improvised but planned ahead.

Additional adaptations in practice could be influenced by economic or even practical reasons (e.g., lack of time, unavailable material, etc.). It may result in simplification or omission of some details from the papyri notices. These adjustments mainly affect the amulets, which seem to have garnered a great deal of concern because of their cost (e.g., electrum of the *djed*-pillar), size (e.g., the lying Anubis reduced considerably the available writing surface), and, primarily, their fragility. Some bricks are even originally designed without amulets (for instance, northern brick Leipzig O 5049, to be published by H. Fischer-Elfert). A curious anonymous brick kept in a private Dutch collection bears the imprint of a *djed*-pillar. The scribe Amenemhat's northern brick uses both the amulet and a drawing of a similar figure on the edge (TT 82, Cat. No. 19), maybe to remedy a possible amulet loss. If the amulets can be omitted, the text can also be omitted. In this case, the self-standing amulet appears as a functioning alternative: on the eastern brick of king Tutankhamun, no text appears because the lying Anubis leaves no place for inscription on the upper surface of the brick; the Late Period set of "bricks" of Horkhebit has no texts, the brick became a simple pedestal for the four amulets. The mummiform figurine of Yuya (Eighteenth Dynasty) bears not only the expected northern spell, but also the torch's southern text (Cairo CG 51035). Consequently, two amulets were merged into one. Moreover, this figurine does not show any features on the lower part to

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fix it to a base and was found among the funerary figurines (*ushabtis*). This may suggest that the northern mummiform figure was considered as one of the deceased's servants.

This leads us to another kind of issue, that of contamination. Indeed, an instruction exclusively intended for one brick may be generalized to others. For instance, the papyrus notice prescribes that the Anubis amulet be modeled from "unbaked clay mixed with incense." A close examination of objects reveals that small red incense particles were added to other bricks (Cat. No. 21). This may be due to the preparation of a single piece of clay in the workshop to shape the whole set of bricks. Likewise, one can wonder if the opening of the mouth ritual prescribed for the northern mummiform figurine was also performed for the three other figurines, for this practice is known for other amulets in the Book of the Dead (e.g., scarabs of BD 30, 30B, 64). Note that contrary to the four other amulets, the face of Tutankhamun's northern figurine was found free from linen strips, possibly for the performance of the opening of the mouth ritual. Linen wrapping for some bricks and amulets raises the same question with regard to the generalization of practices, for only the *djed*-pillar notice requires it.

Another type of relation between text and archaeology could be defined as cohabitation. Previously unique, the southern spell of the torch amulet seems to separate, from the reign of Amenhotep III or Amenhotep IV on, into two distinct versions: one for the papyri, one for the bricks. From this period, bricks will never bear again the previous, original version (Régen 2009a, p. 53). This may indicate that textual and archaeological traditions could coexist for a long period of time without further merging.

Last, some discrepancies are clearly mistakes. Caution is called for when using this term, but how else can we explain the existence of a duplicate amulet in a royal tomb or a mismatch between brick text and amulet? King Amenhotep II (Eighteenth Dynasty) owns two Anubis bricks, one with the expected eastern text, the other with the torch spell. Such a negligence in royal funerary furniture is particularly startling. A private person, the god's father of Amun, Paibmer (Nineteenth Dynasty) had a clay figurine that should have been inscribed with the northern figurine spell (BD 151d), but was instead inscribed with the Anubis spell of BD 151g (Scalf 2009, p. 279). The association of the amulet and text was mistaken, for Paibmer owned a brick with the figurine spell (Cat. No. 22).

Ultimately, inexplicable elements remain concerning the cardinal orientation of the bricks. Only ten verifiable cases are available and cannot be enlightened by geographical or ritual orientation (Theis 2015). If burial was a collective event, the ritual of the magical bricks corresponded to an intimate practice done in the secrecy of the burial chamber as specified by the instructions. Temporal information is not provided by the papyri, but niches had to be prepared before the decoration of the tomb in order to hide them under the walls' plaster. There are exceptions, like Tutankhamun's niches which were cut after the tomb was decorated, in free spaces between the figures on the walls.

The numerous discrepancies referred to earlier show that the relation between text and archaeology is not that of a model and its servile application. From a general point of view, prescriptive notices look like a memento rather than a recipe with a list of ingredients and a logical progression of the gestures to perform. The ritualist priest who needed to prepare his *vade mecum* before the performance may have had to read over the notice several times. In the case of magical bricks, chapter BD 151 "evokes rather than directly supports ritual activities" (Hays 2012, p. 37). It is not by chance that an older spell (Coffin Texts 530) includes the direction "to be said by one who (already) knows this roll (of papyrus)." Thus, it is not impossible that pre-existing knowledge may have been required of the ritualist. In addition, the laconic content of the directions for use allows for subjective, if not creative, interpretation by the priest. The art of the ritualist, called *ḥemut* (Coulon 2004, p. 121), grows from knowledge and practice. The discrepancies referred to earlier may reflect a tension between the worlds of tradition and innovation, in other words, between the theoretically fixed/frozen in the texts, and the constantly evolving practice, or else "institutional *habitus* and individual agency" (Dieleman 2015, p. 41). In addition, the search for rare or costly ingredients in rituals faced physical contingencies, like gold, gemstones, orpiment, "Nubian pigment," "Libyan prime oil" (BD 137A), or "water of the western well of Egypt" (BD 163). Some operating instructions may suggest concern for economic factors through alternatives proposed in the prescription notice itself.

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In this way, chapters BD 1 and BD 72 could be written on the coffin or simply known by the deceased; BD 167 should be inscribed on a piece of bandage of red linen or on a new sheet of papyrus; BD 162 may have been performed "over a figure of the heavenly cow made of fine gold," as well as inscribed on a "sheet of papyrus placed under a head" (Wüthrich 2016, p. 900). Last, several lists and plans of amulets are known on papyrus and were less expensive than gold or golden amulets (I. Munro 2012, p. 98). Another form of choice is found in BD 140, to be said over a "*wedjat*-Eye of red jasper, which a man may place on any limb he prefers" (de Cenival 1992, p. 37). The formulation is remarkable for its lack of coherence: the deceased is supposed to perform the ritual for himself. More generally, the formulation of the prescriptive notices in the Book of the Dead is inconsistent, highly variable, addressing either the ritualist or the deceased (Hays 2012, pp. 52–60). This suggests that the text may not have been originally intended for the dead person and was secondarily adapted for funerary use. In any case, similarities between funerary prescriptive notices and medical texts have been noticed (e.g., Quirke 2013, p. 520; Albert and Gabolde 2013, p. 167 n. 56; cf. Dieleman 2015, p. 33). In that regard, it may not be a coincidence if chapter BD 167 is to be used "when a man is in a really bad spot" (T. Allen 1974, p. 217).

As a conclusion, discordances between what the text prescribes and the actual practices inside the tombs are too numerous to be isolated cases in the Book of the Dead. Comparison of other sources may offer a similar result. In this way, text and archaeology maintain a relationship as complex as do tradition and innovation. One can wonder if the laconic aspect of notices and, in a way, their poor practicability betray the fact that they were more elements of a rhetorical apparatus than precise recipes to follow to the letter. Hence, directions for use, like pedigree notices, effectiveness claims, and injunctions to secrecy in the Book of the Dead may fall within the scope of the "rhetoric of efficiency" (Coulon 2004, pp. 138, 140), a set of notations added to the spell which developed extensively with the diffusion of spells to a larger audience through the Coffin Texts, and that continued to grow within the Book of the Dead.

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III

MAGIC AND THEOLOGY



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OVERLEAF. The weighing of the heart scene from BD 125 in Papyrus Ryerson. OIM E9787F = Cat. No. 15 (D. 28919)

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9. DIVINIZATION AND EMPOWERMENT OF THE DEAD

ROBERT K. RITNER

"I am the Soul of Osiris in whom I come to rest." (BD 127)
"I am Osiris ... I am Orion ... I am Anubis ... I am Horus ... I am Osiris." (BD 69a)

The boundaries of divinity are notoriously fluid in ancient Egypt, extending not merely to "supranatural" or transcendent entities easily defined in western assumptions as "gods," but also to categories infuriating to some ancient classical writers and to all Judeo-Christian apologists (for an exemplification of the latter, see Budge 1899b), past and present: animals, trees, natural features, and humans. The direct identification of human and divine appears already in the Pyramid Texts, the earliest Egyptian religious literature and the direct ancestor of the Book of the Dead. In that corpus, the human so associated was not a general "everyman" but the king (and two queens), whose divine status was assured in life and transmitted in death. While some elements of the Pyramid Texts (such as anti-serpent spells) need not have been restricted to royalty, the direct identifications with deities focus specifically on the king. An incarnation of the god Horus in life, the king is directly addressed or otherwise equated with Osiris in death. Thus spells repeatedly open by hailing "O Osiris King so-and-so" (PT 25, 27, 28, 38, 47–49, 57–59, 61–71, etc.), while in the recitations of spells 4 and 5 the goddess Nut gives the king "his sisters" Isis and Nephthys, who are in fact the sisters of Osiris. The transformation of the divinized Horus king into the divinized Osiris king is expressed in phraseology that has proved difficult to translate. Spells 26, 30, 80, and 449 each invoke "O Horus who is in (Egyptian *ỉmy*) Osiris King so-and-so" recast in translations as "O Horus who is Osiris King so-and-so" since "'who is in' gives poor sense" (Faulkner 1969, p. 5). The sense is not, however, problematic but indicates that the former living Horus-king is now indwelling in the god of the dead, Osiris; they have fused. Conversely, spell 570 places Re within the king: "Your nature is in King so-and-so, O Re, and your nature is nourished in him (*ỉm=f*), O Re." Similar terminology is used in the tomb of Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II, to describe the merging of these cosmic gods of life and death: "It is Re who resides/rests in (*ḥtp m*) Osiris" and "Osiris who resides/rests in (*ḥtp m*) Re" (fig. 9.1). The phraseology reappears in the Book of the Dead, now adapted for a private individual (Amenhatmesha of the Twenty-first Dynasty) described simultaneously as "the praised one who is in (*ỉmy*) the necropolis,



FIGURE 9.1. A ram-headed figure symbolizing the solar-Osirian union flanked by Isis and Nephthys in the tomb of Nefertari (photograph by Guillermo Aldana. © 1992 The J Paul Getty Trust. All rights reserved)

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FIGURE 9.2. The papyrus of Amenhatmesha from the Twenty-first Dynasty shows him undergoing "baptism" with the label "purification of the praised one who is in Osiris." Cairo SR 7/10230 (photo courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

Osiris" and "the praised one who is in (*ỉmy*) Osiris" (fig. 9.2). With similar implications, BD 127 (Twentieth Dynasty) notes that the deceased both equals and "resides/rests in" (*ḥtp m*) the soul of Osiris.

The Pyramid Texts provide the precedents for other aspects of human divinization that culminate in the theology of the Book of the Dead. The deceased king is equated not only with Osiris but with a wide range of traditional deities, both male and female, as well as divine birds (PT 626, 668, 682) and stars (PT 463, 466, 571, 676). Equated deities include Horus (PT 294, 587, Cat. No. 39), Sobek (PT 317, Cat. No. 43), Shu (PT 360), the Eye of Re (PT 402, 405), Satis (PT 439), Bat (PT 506), each of the four sons of Horus (PT 506, 573), Dewen-anwy (PT 506), Anubis (PT 578, Cat. No. 40), and Geb (PT 599). Put simply, PT 33 declares: "Nut has caused you to be a god to your foe in your name of God." Such extensive divine associations become commonplace in the subsequent Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead. In the latter corpus alone, direct identification of the deceased with gods, goddesses, and divine epithets and powers appears in well over half of the spells. Of these identifications, the bare statement "I am deity X" (*ỉnk* DN) occurs 134 times (by my count) in the 165 spells of the papyrus of Iuefankh (P. Turin 1791), the source of standardized Book of the Dead editions (examples of *ỉnk*, without following noun, are gathered in Backes, Munro, and Stöhr 2005, p. 20).

The number is necessarily subjective, since distinctions are not sharp between names and epithets of known deities (narrowly defined) and those of the blessed dead. Some supposed nuance may be illusory, as in the case of BD 147 (§S3). Owing to the related meanings of the word for "dignity/dignitary/mummy" (*sʿḥ*), the same statement can be translated two ways — even by the same author: "Mine is the dignity of a God" (T. Allen 1974, p. 137) or "I am a divine mummy" (T. Allen 1960, p. 249). Distinctive determinatives of the words collapse in the New Kingdom and are later interchangeable. The divine link is nevertheless unambiguous, whether by a possessed quality or a transfigured state. As in the preceding funerary literature, the gods equated with the deceased in the Book of the Dead constitute a broad range, extending from major deities to lesser

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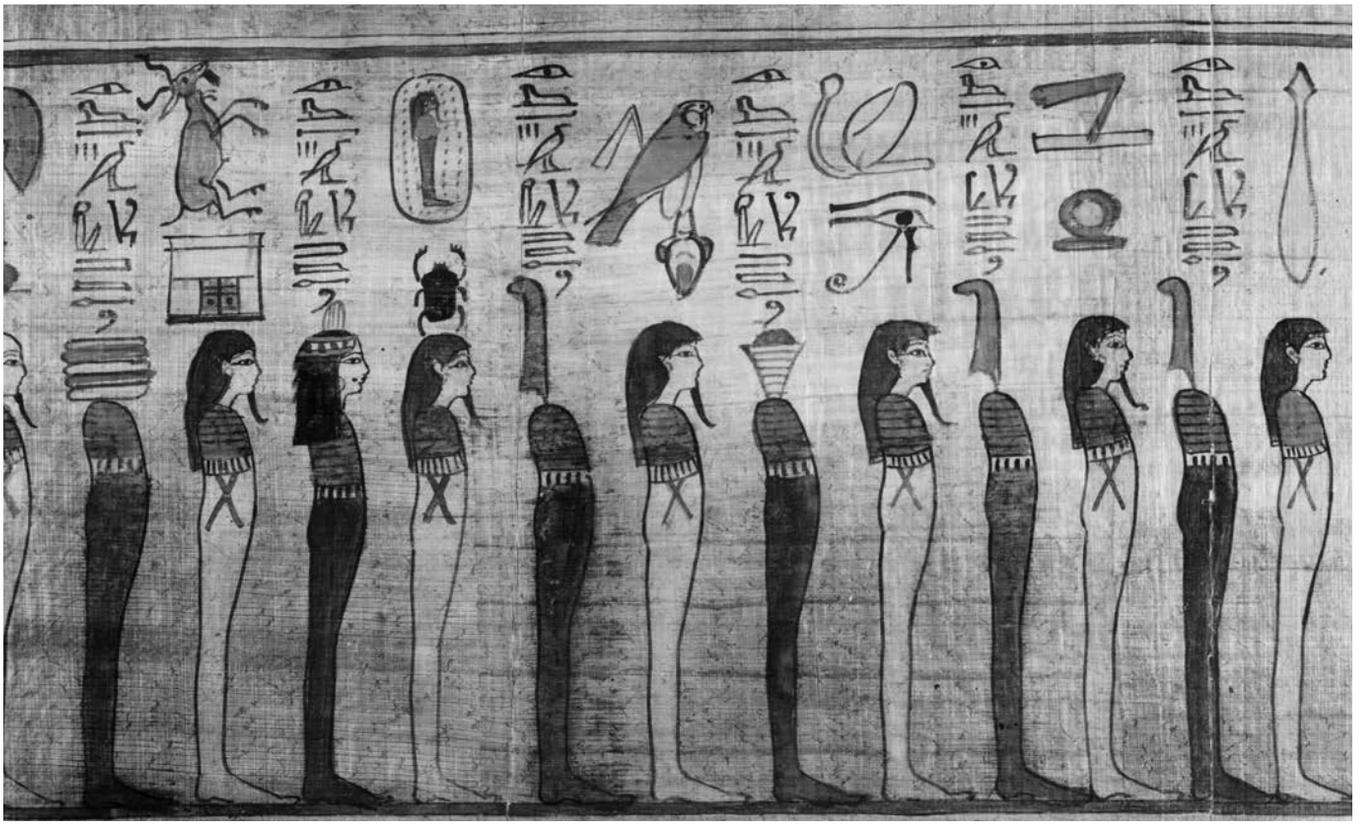


FIGURE 9.3. The papyrus of Nany from the Twenty-first Dynasty shows figures labelled with the name of Nany interspersed with labeled divinities. Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.3.32

known figures: Osiris, Sobek, Horus, Re, Anubis, the Phoenix, Hotep (lord of fields), etc. (fig. 9.5).

Deification need not be singular but can be multiple and composite. PT 506 combines varying statements of full identification ("I am Bat ... I am Hapy, ... I am Imsety, etc") with partial deification *by body part*: "My lips are the Two Enneads." A similar combination appears in BD 82d: "My head is Re; the total of me is Atum" (cf. PT 537: "Your entire flesh is that of Atum, your face is that of a jackal/Wepwawet). Again first encountered in the Pyramid Texts, the technique of "listing" body parts and divine counterparts becomes a regular feature in later funerary and magical texts (Massart 1959, pp. 227–46). Thus the broad assertion in BD 7, "My limbs are the limbs of Atum," is based on more compartmentalized statements like that of PT 213: "Your arms are Atum, your shoulders are Atum, your belly is Atum." PT 556 identifies the deceased's feet, and later the arms, as those of the jackal Wepwawet, whose face equals that of the deceased in PT 424. More commonly, individual limbs are linked to different deities, as in PT 215: "Your head is Horus of the Netherworld ... your eyes are the twin children of Atum ... your nose is Wepwawet ... your teeth are Soped." A thorough anatomical list is contained in PT 539, with different divine equations for the head, sides of the head, [pate], face, eyes, nose, [mouth], tongue, teeth, lips, chin, spine, shoulders, [hands], [fingers], heart, belly, [back], [vertebrae], rear, buttocks, phallus, thighs, calves of the legs, soles of the feet and toes. In the Book of the Dead, the listing of body parts is most elaborate in BD 42 and in the "Spell for a Secret Head" (BD 151), the text found on the back of Tutankhamun's famous golden mask. Although expressly intended for the mummy mask and head, the list of divine body parts is more extensive: "Your right eye is the night bark, your left eye is the day bark; your eyebrows are the Ennead. Your pate is Anubis; the back of your head is Horus. Your fingers are Thoth; your braided tress is Ptah-Sokar." Individual identifications may vary, but the cumulative effect is that "there is no limb (*ꜥ.t*) in you devoid of a god" (BD 42), a common concluding statement to such lists in magical healing texts (Sander-Hansen 1956, pp. 26 and 28 (Spell III, l. 33); Daressy 1919, pp. 135–36).

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FIGURE 9.4. The Third Intermediate Period papyrus of Amenmose shows him worshipping before a series of divine images provided with his titles and name. British Museum EA 10011, 1 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

The terminology of divine "limbs" has broad application in Egyptian religious speculation. In the Middle Kingdom, the commander's record of a quarrying expedition presents the expedition leader (and future king Amenemhat I) as a physical extension of the divine body of the king: "My Lord l.p.h., the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebtawyre, living forever, sent me as a god sends a limb (*ꜥ.t*) of his" (Couyat and Montet 1912, pl. XXIX, no. 113; De Buck 1963, p. 76). In the New Kingdom, the underworld gods themselves can be seen as limbs, or physical components, of Osiris. The composition "The Gods of the Caverns in the Mysterious Underworld," adapted as BD spell 168A, thus invokes the gods of the tenth cavern: "The *ba*-souls of the gods who have become limbs (*ꜥ.wt*) of Osiris, may they let Osiris N rest" (c §S6, T. Allen 1974, p. 166). Since the deceased is linked to Osiris in the same passage, he can have an analogous claim to divinities as his limbs, paralleling the "lists" of deified body parts discussed above. As gods are components of Osiris, so they are components of Osiris N.

Depictions of underworld gods on papyri can show their explicit identity with the deceased. In the "Book of Amduat" ("What is in the Underworld") of the woman Nany (P. MMA 30.3.32), a series of forty standing mummiform gods are represented with their individual names or emblems above their heads. Repeatedly alternating (nineteen times) with these divine symbols is the name "The Osiris Nany as one who is justified ('true of voice')" (fig. 9.3, Piankoff 1964, pp. 114–19 and 170–72. The same interpretation is found in Forman and Quirke 1996, p. 142). In effect, the triumphant Nany is directly equated with the entire file of deities; they are all components of Osiris Nany. Similarly, the Amduat papyrus of the priest Amenmose (P. BM 10011), depicts the deceased worshiping a series of twenty-eight deities within shrines. The name written before each divinity is not the expected name of the individual god, however, but the repeated name and titles of Amenmose himself (fig. 9.4, Piaknoff 1964, pp. 78–83, 142–46). Each deity is "the Osiris, priest and scribe of the treasury of Amen-Re, king of the gods, Amenmose, the justified."

This divine form of the deceased is acknowledged directly at the conclusion of BD spell 137A (§S3): "May Osiris N. live in his true nature (*qmȝ=f mȝꜥ*), in his form

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FIGURE 9.5. Transformation spells from the papyrus of Irtyuru include spells for "Becoming a God" (BD 80), "Becoming Ptah" (BD 82), and "Becoming a crocodile (i.e., Sobek)" (BD 88). OIM E10486F = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13329)

(*ỉrw*) of a true god." The following instructions in the papyrus caution secrecy due to the effectiveness of the spell for its owner: "Since the gods and the blessed and the dead see him in the form (*ỉrw*) of the Foremost of the Westerners (= Osiris), he is powerful like this god" (§ T9; the translation is in agreement with T. Allen 1974, p. 114, not Quirke 2013, p. 309, who wrongly links the spell itself to the "forms" (*ỉrw*) in § T9 but correctly to Osiris N in the preceding § S3). In both passages, the specific term used for "form" (*ỉrw*), designates an essential, not a transitory, form. The word choice is not arbitrary, for in Egyptian theology latent divinity resides in every human. Divine identifications are not mere ritual fictions, restricted to the context of funerary cult. They are encountered more broadly in Egyptian speculation. Coffin Texts spell 1130, a proclamation of the deeds of the creator, declares that men — like gods — derive from the creator's bodily fluids: "From my sweat I created the gods. Mankind (*rmt*) is from the tears (*rmy.t*) of my eye" (CT VII, 464–65; see also CT II, 33 d). For the Egyptians words are divine creations, so the revealed pun between *rmt* and *rmy.t* represents an underlying cosmic bond, not a random phonetic accident. This inherent divinity can be harnessed by knowledge, with resulting empowerment and divine favor. In the tomb of Paheri at el-Kab, the prince boasts: "I know the god who is in (*ỉmy*) mankind, since I perceive him" (*Urk.* IV, 119/15). To the tomb visitor he recommends: "May you traverse eternity in pleasantness of heart in the praises of the god who is in you (*ỉm=k*)" (*Urk.* IV, 117/11–12). New Kingdom oracle questions posit more specific identifications: "Is it Amennakht who is as (*m*) a god?" (Černý 1972, p. 65). "Is it Horus who has come to be in (*ỉm*) him? Send the truth!" (Černý 1935, p. 48). An indwelling god appears even in later personal names; cf. Shemamenimes "Amon has gone into (*ỉm*) her" (for the name, see Ritner 1999, pp. 351–60). A similar expression is used for possession of the living by demonic spirits in the Demotic Tale of Inaros: "The two demons entered into (*n-ỉm*) him" (P. Krall 2/4–5; see Ritner 2011, p. 13). The notion of a god "who is in" (*ỉmy*) the deceased has been treated above. It is significant that an indwelling god is relevant to both the living and the dead.

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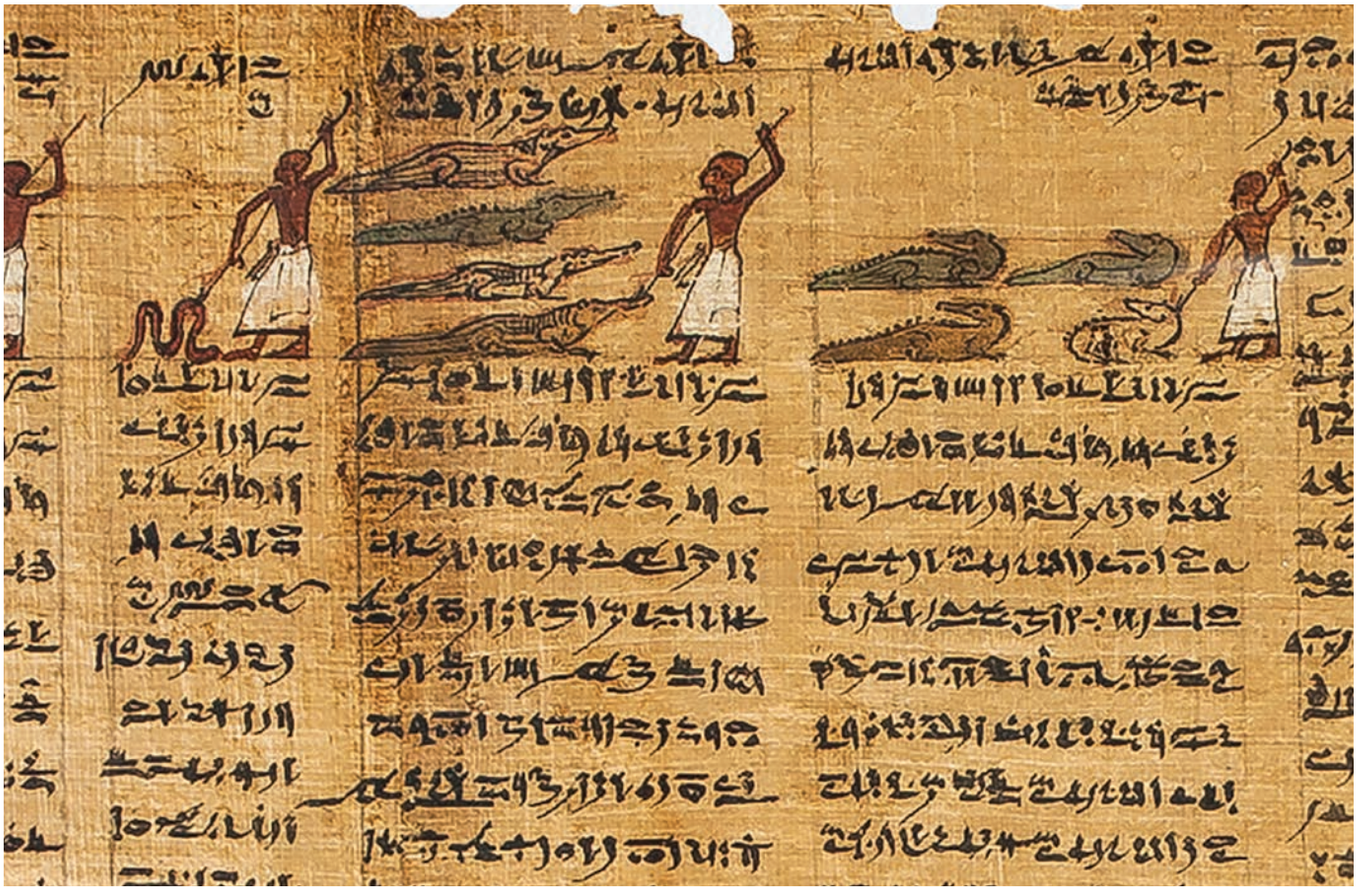


FIGURE 9.6. BD spells 31 and 32 from the papyrus of Nesshutefnut repel crocodiles who try to take away his "magic" (*ḥqꜣ*) power. OIM E9787B = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28915)

Through tapping the force of magic (*heka*), this divine essence within mankind can even pose a threat to the gods. In the New Kingdom Book of the Heavenly Cow, the creator god Re confronts the rebellion of mankind, the very creations of his eye, and is told to "be wary of these magicians who know their spells, for Heka (god of magic) is in them himself" (Hornung 1982, pp. 20 and 44). By obtaining magic, humans acquire a further divine force and by absorbing it, another identity. The acquisition of magic is a persistent theme in Egyptian funerary literature from the Pyramid Texts to the Book of the Dead. PT spells 646 and 678 stress the king's mastery of magic, and the latter spell warns opponents about the king's possession of the cosmic force. The implied threat becomes explicit in PT spell 534, in which Osiris, Horus, Seth, Khenty-irty, Thoth, Isis, and Nephthys are rebuffed from coming "in an evil coming." Divine violators of this proscription are cursed and dismissed: "If Isis comes with this her evil coming, do not open your arms to her, but let there be said to her her name of 'Extremely Corrupt' ... go northward ... to the place where you were beaten!" (Faulkner 1969, p. 201). Similarly, PT spell 569 threatens cosmic upheaval and loss to the gods if the king's heavenly advance is hindered. Most striking, however, is PT spell 539, which combines an extensive "list" of the king's deified body parts with a direct threat against "any god who will not set up a stairway for me ... He shall have no loaf; He shall have no fan ... No offering shall be presented to him." In a ritual technique that would become common in later magical recitations, the king shifts the blame for cursing the gods by identifying himself with a different divine speaker: "It is not I who says this to you, O gods; It is Heka (god of magic) who says this to you, O gods" (cf. Faulkner 1969, p. 208). Here the pattern of identifying with a god becomes a method for cursing any other god (for Egyptian magic in theory and practice, see Ritner 1993, for threats, including those against the gods, see the index on p. 311).

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In the Book of the Dead, the threat of magic to the deceased is countered in spell 23, while spell 24 ensures that magic is brought to the deceased "assembled for me from every place where it was, from every man with whom it was, faster than a greyhound, quicker than a shadow" (T. Allen 1974, p. 37). Spell 31 drives off a crocodile that comes to take the deceased's magic from him in the necropolis (fig. 9.6). Spell 90 defends the deceased's magical abilities against those spirits that would "put incoherence into the speech of the blessed because of the magical spells that are in their bellies." Notably, the quoted curse "your face is for your testicles, you lion-faced one" is attributed not to the deceased but to Isis. Spell 93 evokes the Pyramid Text spells against hindrance from attaining paradise, with curses against Osiris, Khepri and Atum. If the deceased is taken to the tomb of the beheaded, "horns shall gore Khepri, and inflammation shall develop in the eyes of Atum" (T. Allen 1974, pp. 76–77).

The recitations of the Book of the Dead envelop the deceased in ritualized phrases of deification. When they are inscribed on mummy bandages and coffins, the envelopment is quite literal (fig. 9.7). They are the textual counterpart to the physical rituals of mummification intended for the same purpose, converting a deceased man into a god by extracting corrupting fluids with surrounding bundles of cleansing natron salts, washing and thus "baptizing" the corpse in enclosing streams of blessed water (fig. 9.2), applying protective amulets whose textual sources and images actually appear in the Book of the Dead (BD spells 155–160, fig. 9.8), and fumigating the completed mummy with incense, whose very name, *sntr*, means "to make divine," encoding in a word the essence of Egyptian funerary practice.



FIGURE 9.7. A papyrus inscribed with BD 162 placed under the head of the mummy along with the texts inscribed on the coffin in order to envelop the body in magical protection (cf. fig. 8.2). Cairo JE 96272 (photo courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

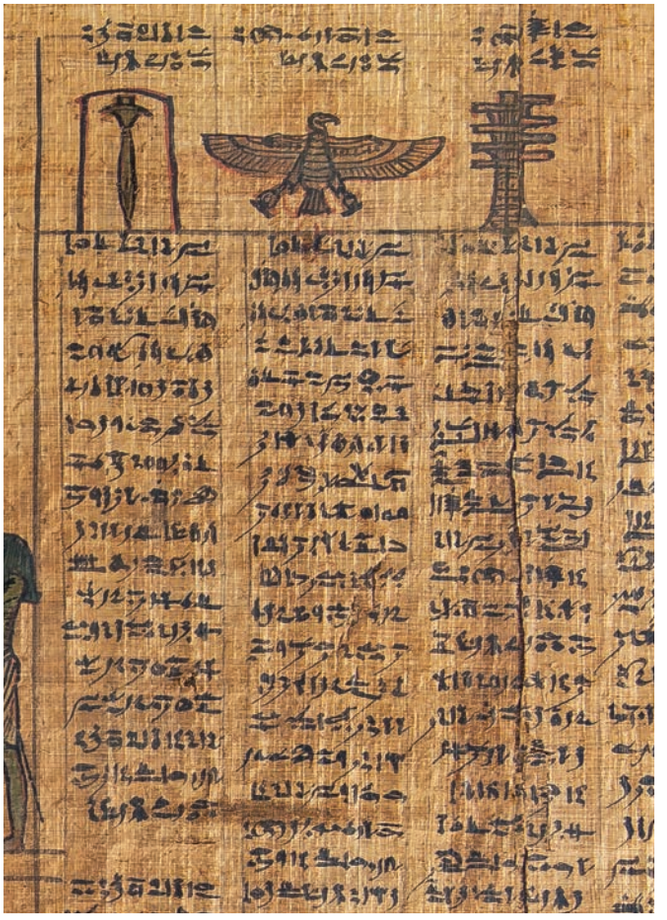


FIGURE 9.8. Spells for the placement of various amulets on the mummy appeared in Book of the Dead papyri along with their illustrations, such as BD spells 155, 157, and 159 shown here from the end of papyrus Ryerson. OIM E9787J = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28923)

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10. THE MYSTERIES OF OSIRIS

ANDREA KUCHAREK

Arguably, no deity exerted an impact on Egyptian society in general comparable to Osiris. Impersonating the crucial aspects of two apparently diametrically opposed spheres — the exalted level of kingship and the most human fate, death, he would touch the life of any individual. Another deeply human experience, being part of a family, community and society and their networks of dependency, is reflected in the myths concerning the Osirian nuclear family — the parents, Geb and Nut, the siblings Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Seth, and the son of Isis and Osiris, Horus. While each of these deities also has its own, separate provinces and forms part of different divine constellations as required by theological thought, it is as the "Osirian circle" that they are most consistently represented. As such they have transcended Pharaonic religion and the circumference of Egypt.

It has been noted that "Osiris is one of the few Egyptian divinities of whom it is possible to write even the outline of a biography" (Smith 2008, p. 2). To a much higher degree than any other deity, Osiris was subject to the human condition — birth, marriage, death, progeny, love, betrayal, loyalty, even, as a king, a status and office recognizable in the here and now. These qualities determine the "myth of Osiris," lending themselves to a narrative.

ORIGINS

According to Egyptian theology, Osiris and his siblings were the children of Nut, the sky goddess, and Geb, god of the earth. He was born to be king of Egypt. The origins and development of Osiris in historical and functional terms are less easy to determine and have long been a subject for debate. The latest research has overturned some long-held assumptions, for instance as to his place of origin, his original character, the availability of an Osirian afterlife to non-royal persons during the Old Kingdom or the nature of the relationship between the deceased and Osiris (Chapters 2 and 9).

Osiris is first attested in the Fifth Dynasty (2494–2345 BC), overwhelmingly in the area of the then capital Memphis at the apex of the Nile delta. Here, close to the residence, the royal families and the court elite were buried. In the pyramids, Osiris is a major deity within the huge corpus of the Pyramid texts; in private tombs, he rapidly achieves an eminent position in the offering formulae alongside Anubis, who had



FIGURE 10.1. Seth, brother and murderer of Osiris, being worshipped on the stela of Nakht. Egypt. Purchased in Egypt, 1919. New Kingdom. H: 30.2 x W: 22.7 x D: 7 cm. OIM E10510 (P. 8822 / N. 4429)

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FIGURE 10.2. Corn Osiris resting in its coffin. Metropolitan Museum of Art 58.106.1

been sole deity before. As to the geographical origin of Osiris, it has been argued that while his earliest and closest association was with Abydos (see below), he was not a local god in the strict sense. Much rather, his ties to Abydos were functional in nature. While regeneration and rejuvenation were core aspects of Osiris, he was not, as has long been assumed, a god of vegetation. His original function had been as a god of the royal funerary religion, and he became associated with Abydos as the site of the earliest royal burial ground. In fact, the position of local deity was already occupied by the jackal deity Khentamenti, a god of the royal necropolis. Only toward the beginning of the Middle Kingdom did Khentamenti finally give way to Osiris, becoming little more than the Abydene epithet of Osiris.

THE MYTH OF OSIRIS

While there is a great number of images and text passages instantly recognizable as pertaining to the myth and mysteries of Osiris, there is hardly anything approaching what we would call a narrative, a continuous and consistent account of the fate of Osiris. The most comprehensive presentation of the myth attested in Egyptian sources is preserved on a stela now in the Louvre in Paris, dating to the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1295 BC). Coherent accounts we owe to classical authors, first and foremost Plutarch. The narration included in his book *De Iside et Osiride*, written in the early second century AD, informs our concept of the "myth of Osiris." Many details are confirmed by native sources, lending credence to other, yet unsubstantiated points.

Sketching the myth in its barest outlines and following the "mainstream" version, Osiris, king of Egypt and husband to his sister Isis, was killed by their younger brother Seth (fig. 10.1), husband to the fourth sibling, Nephthys. As Osiris and Isis had no offspring yet, the throne was for Seth to take once Osiris was out of the way. There are several versions of how Seth disposed of the body of his brother, all resulting with it ending up on the banks of the Nile. Isis, distraught, searched the whole land, supported by Nephthys who had disassociated herself from Seth and his cause. Having finally recovered Osiris, his body was brought to the safety of an embalming hall where, by means of lament, recitation of glorifications, and embalming, he was revived to a state enabling him and Isis to create an heir, Horus. Osiris, in his new state as an "august mummy," neither ultimately dead nor fully alive, became king of the netherworld. Horus, while still a child, was hidden and protected by Isis and Nephthys. Having grown up, he contended with the usurper and murderer Seth, eventually, by combat and by court decision, obtaining victory and the throne of Egypt.

Seth's murderous act is hardly ever addressed in a straightforward fashion, in order to avoid lending enduring reality to it. Therefore, for instance, the Louvre stela account begins rather abruptly with Isis looking desperately for her brother, the murder being an implied precondition. The text of the myth is preceded by two significant sections. The first, taking up the first half of the entire stela, is an extensive hymn to Osiris, emphasizing his qualities as a

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FIGURE 10.3. An allusive depiction of Osiris in the womb of his mother Nut (after Gabra 1954, pl. 27)

sovereign and warrior: "With great strength when he fells the rebels and kills the enemy, who casts his terror among his foes, who reaches the farthest limits of evil, whose heart is firm when he crushes the enemies." The second section is a short passage praising Isis as "his guard, who drives off his foes, who stops the deeds of the disturber by the power of her utterance." Both sections render apotropaic precedence to the happy outcome. The second functions moreover as a transition, bringing Isis into focus as the central agent and catalyst of the unfolding events. Had she not tirelessly searched for her husband and subsequently achieved the creation of Horus, there would have been no heir to the throne to challenge Seth. Several texts refer to this achievement of Isis as her having acted as a man even though she was a woman, thereby emphasizing her active role in the procreative act. A passage in a late liturgy, uttered by Isis and addressed to Osiris, neatly sums up her crucial role (translation based on Smith 2009, p. 141):

> I am your sister Isis. There is no god who accomplished what I accomplished, or goddess either. I acted as a man even though I am a woman, in order to make your name live on earth. Your divine seed was in my womb, and I placed him (i.e., Horus) upon the earth, so that he might defend your character, so that he might heal your suffering, so that he might inflict injury upon him who caused it. Seth has fallen to his slaughter, and the confederates of Seth are a burnt sacrifice. The throne of Geb is yours, as you are his beloved son.

THE MYSTERIES OF OSIRIS

The mysteries of Osiris ritually reenacted and reactivated the salient episodes of the Osiris myth, realizing and perpetuating the ultimate prevalence of good over evil, of life over death. As with the myth, there are numerous different versions, played out all over Egypt and over a period of several millennia. And as with the myth, classical authors have preserved valuable information — even though one would wish that Herodotus, for one, had been less piously reticent about his knowledge. Referring to the nocturnal "performance of the god's sufferings, which the Egyptians call the mystery-rites" on the sacred lake at Sais, the historian, who had travelled Egypt in the fifth century BC, added: "Although I am familiar with the details of this performance and how each part of it goes, I will keep silence" (II.171; Waterfield 1998/2008, p. 164). Even though many of these mysteries were to be kept secret, not to be witnessed by anyone uninitiated, we are quite well informed by native sources as well. In a number of temples the rooms dedicated to the Osirian rites have been preserved, and of these some are furnished with a wealth of ritual scenes and texts. It is also a stroke of luck for today's scholars that for a while,

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FIGURE 10.4. A stela from Abydos with the characteristic assembly of family members. Egypt, Abydos. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900. Middle Kingdom. H: 48 x W: 30 x D: 9 cm. OIM E6739

primarily during the early Ptolemaic period, Osirian liturgies inscribed on papyri formed part of the burial equipment of a priestly elite. As grave goods, hidden away in dry rock chambers, papyrus rolls stood a much better chance of survival than in the library of a temple situated in the midst of a settlement on damp, alluvial ground, and exposed to the vicissitudes of the structural and cultural changes throughout the millennia.

The most eminent and best-known of the Osiris mysteries, the Khoiak festival (Egyptian *ka-her-ka*, of obscure meaning), was celebrated all over Egypt during the fourth month of the year which was named after it. In the Greco-Roman period it would unfold over the course of fifteen days, starting on 11th Khoiak. This date would ideally coincide with the new moon, the day — or rather night — of the absolute invisibility of the moon; the festival would then culminate fourteen days later at full moon. Synchronised to the waxing moon, Osiris would correspondingly heal and be rendered complete.

The Khoiak festival is remarkably well-known, not primarily because it was the most important Osiris festival, but due to an extensive wall inscription in the sanctuary of Osiris on top of the Hathor temple at Dendera. This Khoiak text, running to 159 lines, is made up of seven manuals concerning the manufacturing and treatment of the Osiris figures and their rites, specifying countless local variations. What this extremely valuable source lacks is information on the recitations accompanying all those rites — it is solely concerned with the practical side of the proceedings. Curiously, too, there is not a single reference to the name of the festival in the Khoiak text — in the majority of such manuals, as in the ritual texts themselves, only specific calendar dates appear — "month 4 of the *akhet* season, day 25," for instance, meaning 25 Khoiak.

Osiris mysteries were celebrated throughout the land, and although there were several major cult centres of the god — such as Busiris, Memphis, and Heliopolis — Abydos was without a doubt the most important one. The specifically Abydene manifestation of Osiris, Osiris Khentamenti ("Foremost of the Westerners" = the dead) was the default recipient of most rituals, and the wider area around the Osiris temple had become informed by its mythical implications and the desire of the people to be close to the deity who represented their hopes of an afterlife.

The cult of Osiris at Abydos was inextricably linked to the royal funerary landscape of the place. Long before Osiris was introduced there, the burial ground of the kings of the First and Second Dynasties had been created at Umm el-Qaab, a low desert hill. While Osiris is associated with Abydos already in the Pyramid Texts of the Fifth Dynasty, it is only with the rise of the Middle Kingdom, when royal tombs were once more erected in Abydos, that his cult was firmly established. The Osiris temple complex at the very edge of the alluvial plain was situated adjacent to the royal mortuary enclosures with their huge brick walls. In later periods, the famed Osiris processions (see below) would emerge from a portal facing these enclosures, heading to the cluster of royal tombs out in the desert at Umm el-Qaab. One of these tombs

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FIGURE 10.5. The sledge that conveyed the mummy to the tomb was often assimilated to the *neshmet*-bark, the divine bark of Osiris with its lotiform bow and stern curved inward. OIM E10486A = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13324)

had by then been declared to be the tomb of the god himself. The procession wound along an ancient wadi connecting both places and continuing into the limestone cliffs farther to the west where the wadi emerged from a cleft considered to be the entry to the netherworld. The processional road was about 1.5 km long, but only about the first half of this distance would have been accessible to the audience, up to a hill nowadays known as Heqareshu Hill. Beyond this point lay *Ra-Poqer*, the forbidden zone surrounding the tomb of Osiris.

From a material perspective, the rites centered on a small figure of Osiris fashioned annually from Nile mud and grains of emmer and barley (fig. 10.2). This figure, resting in a mould, was watered, inducing the seed to germinate. This process was explicitly understood as a gestation, the mould being likened to the womb of Nut, the mother of Osiris (fig. 10.3). The mould would consist of two halves which, at the end of the gestation period, were united, just as the scattered limbs of Osiris had been united in the embalming hall.

At the end of the fifteen days of the Khoiak festival, the figure would be buried, symbolizing the entry of Osiris into the netherworld. However, this was not the figure that had been made and matured during the past fifteen days. This recent figure would reside for a whole year in a chapel called the "Upper *Duat*" (or Netherworld), where it would embody the royal qualities and power of Osiris as an earthly sovereign. Only with the next festival cycle would this figure be ritually embalmed and wrapped and finally interred at the local Osiris necropolis as sovereign of the *Duat* proper, joining an annually increasing number of predecessors. Thus, the Khoiak festival was, in a way, merely the conspicuous apex in a progression of interlocking, perpetual cycles.

A major, and for nearly all people the only, part of the mysteries they could in any way participate in were several processions of the god; some of these ventured outside the temple precinct, presenting the rare chance of a direct encounter with the god, the sole occasion this side of the grave. Mostly this encounter was restricted to "witnessing the perfection" (or translated otherwise, "seeing the beauty") as the resplendent processional bark, carried along by priests, passed by. In fact, the area closest to the temple portal where the procession emerged, in the Middle Kingdom became covered with private chapels of varying sizes. These featured family stelae (fig. 10.4), and more of such stelae were erected on their own. Additionally, the adjacent, initial section of the processional path was flanked by cemeteries. It is evident that a large number of Egyptians sought to establish a permanent presence here, be it in the vicarious embodiment of their names on a stela (often designed to incorporate as many relatives as possible), or physically, by choosing to be buried here.

Therefore, apart from those who accomplished the actual pilgrimage to participate in the procession,

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FIGURE 10.6. Osiris on the bier, rising as king of the netherworld, protected by Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis. Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.155.5

there would be a virtual audience of names as well as a physical one of the dead. A standardised text passage on Abydos stelae dating to the Middle Kingdom, the so-called "Abydos formula," enumerates the afterlife wishes of the deceased in specific regard to the Osiris of Abydos, such as receiving offerings, participating in the Osirian feasts, being received into the company of the Abydene gods and "followers of Osiris," and even being granted a seat in the processional *neshmet*-bark of Osiris. In death one hoped for an even higher degree of closeness to the divine than in life.

Similar to what Herodotus had only alluded to in the case of the sacred lake rites in Sais, there is evidence of the dramatic reenactment of mythical events during the procession (fig. 10.5). Already in the Middle Kingdom, an official acting as the king's representative and therefore in the mythical role of Horus, stated: "I repelled the attackers of the *neshmet*-bark, I felled the enemies of Osiris" (Stela Berlin 1204 in Anthes 1974). However, this seemingly straightforward evidence is ambiguous; on another stela of slightly later date, the king himself states: "I recite for you the repelling of the attackers on the road of *Ra-Poqer*" (Stela of Neferhotep in Anthes 1974), indicating that a ritual text called "The Repelling of the Attackers" was either recited in the place of a dramatic performance or accompanied the performance.

OSIRIAN RITUALS

A large proportion of Osirian rituals is funerary in character, addressing a multitude of relevant issues — rejuvenation, perpetuation, continuing presence in this world, but also judgment, righteousness, and legitimacy. The evidence may be somewhat skewed as a considerable portion of Osirian rituals has been preserved only because of their secondary application to private use. Due to these favorable circumstances the absolute number of Osirian rituals preserved in more or less their entirety is considerably higher than for comparably eminent deities. Moreover, titles of further ritual books are known, and recent research by the author into the fragmentary evidence for Osirian rituals preserved in the Roman period temple library of Tebtynis has resulted not only in further copies of familiar rituals but also in an impressive number of hitherto unassignable fragments.

As with every deity, there were default rituals of the quotidian cult based on the mundane routines of wakening, cleaning, washing, clothing, and feeding the cult image in its shrine, accompanied by hymns and praises, food offerings, libations and censing. These basic rituals — like the Daily Statue Ritual or the Daily Offering Ritual — differed little, regardless of the deity concerned. The specifically Osirian rituals were mostly performed in the course of his festivals. The Khoiak festival described above is sometimes stated explicitly as is the place, Abydos, but in actual fact the rituals were widely applicable, as exemplified by the opening passage of a glorification ritual, the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys: "Invocation of the glorifications which the Two Sisters performed in the temple of Osiris Khentamenti, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, on the 25th day of Khoiak. To be performed

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FIGURE 10.7. The mummy in the tomb chamber, protected by Isis and Nephthys. The caption above the bed reads "august mummy" (*sah shepes*). British Museum EA 10010 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

likewise in every place of Osiris at every festival of his."

In recent decades publications of hitherto unknown Osirian rituals as well as research into the topic have enjoyed an immense increase (for an updated list of known papyri, many of which could be inscribed with several rituals, see Backes 2015, pp. 18–23). As stated above, the major part of the evidence consists of papyri dating to the Greco-Roman period, about 330 BC–AD 400, with most of the material originating in the earlier half of that period. Dating the actual composition is much more difficult, with opinions, based on linguistic as well as theological analysis, veering widely.

The various rituals fulfilled different functions, sometimes stated quite explicitly. For instance, the passage from the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys quoted above continues: "Glorifying his *ba*, stabilizing his corpse, making his *ka* jubilant, granting breath to the nose of him whose throat is constricted, gladdening the hearts of Isis and Nephthys, placing Horus on the throne of his father" (translation based on Smith 2009, p. 129). This places the ritual firmly in the embalming hall where Osiris is revivified by the recitation of the Lamentations (fig. 10.6). The introductory passage of another liturgy, the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of Silence, states as its purpose "to cause Osiris to rule in the Nome of Silence." This relates to the burial, conceived as the introduction of Osiris into his future realm.

Both passages from the Lamentations quoted above comprise the terms "glorification" or "glorify," rather vague but time-honoured translations of Egyptian "*sakhu*" and "*sakh*" (pronounced "*se-akh(u)*"). *Sakh* means "causing to be *akh*." *Akh* may be either a noun, denoting a person who has successfully been made an *akh*, or an adjective, describing the state of *akh*-hood. The abstract noun *sakhu* designates a specific class of rituals. As to the meaning of *akh*, Jan Assmann succinctly states that "the untranslatable word *akh* refers to the salutary effectiveness that crosses the threshold of death, from this world into the next and vice versa" (Assmann 2005, p. 52). By means of performing a *sakhu* ritual, Osiris or the deceased individual emulating him became an *akh*. As such, although dead, he was empowered to receive sustenance, to move freely, even recrossing the threshold of death to visit his former abode, and to dwell in the company of the gods.

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There are numerous rituals for Osiris explicitly labelled as *sakhu*. Others were intended specifically for his protection. These so-called apotropaic rites repelled the enemies of the god, led by Seth, from the embalming hall until the process of mummification, embalming, wrapping, and glorifying had been completed and the former lifeless corpse, prone to decomposition (equating to destruction), had been transformed, by all of these means, into an "august mummy" (*sah shepes*), the durable, imperishable abode of the *ba* soul, ready to enter the netherworld (fig. 10.7). *Sah shepes* is the repeated designation of Osiris in the Great Decree, the ritual enactment of the funerary procession.

The so-called Hour Watches or Hour Vigils denote a group of rituals that combine glorification, lamentation, protection, offering and libation. They owe their designation — in Egyptian simply "Hours" — to the fact that they were indeed arranged into hourly sections, primarily encompassing the twelve hours of the night but sometimes expanded to the full 24 hour cycle. They were performed in the night (or the full day) before burial — in terms of the rituals described above, after the Lamentations but before the Great Decree. The hour watches had been performed for private individuals as well at least since the Middle Kingdom, when, in the Tale of Sinuhe, the hero is promised a night vigil before burial.

Appropriate to the occasion of this exhibition, a spell from the Book of the Dead shall round off this sample of Osirian rituals. BD 172 is one of those texts labelled as a Book of the Dead spell because they were, at one time or another, included in, or rather appended to, a copy of the book without actually belonging to the corpus (on the question of standardization and canon in the Book of the Dead, see Gee 2010 and von Lieven 2016). BD 172 is a glorification, arranged into nine stanzas most of which concern an idiosyncratic description of the mummy's limbs, identifying them with deities but also with precious materials. The refrains separating the stanzas refer to mourning. All copies of the spell dating to the New Kingdom — apart from a single complete one all others are either extremely fragmentary or excerpts — are from private contexts. While Osiris is not mentioned in the one complete copy of this rather mysterious text, fragmentary evidence of BD 172 has been identified quite recently among the remains of the temple library of Tebtynis, in Roman period papyri preserving rituals for the cult of Osiris. In one instance, a BD 172 stanza is associated with an "hour ritual" passage and a lament by Nephthys (based on forthcoming publication of the author).

Of the priesthood concerned with keeping up the daily cult as well as performing the festival rites, the lector priest was without doubt the most important figure. He was, as his title (literally "who



FIGURE 10.8. The opening of the mouth rite performed by the lector priest (reciting from a papyrus) and a *sem*-priest clad in the characteristic panther skin, censing and libating. British Museum EA 10470 (after British Museum 1894, pl. 6)

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holds the festival roll") indicates, responsible for the verbal component of the ritual performance. He was seconded by the *sem*-priest, a distinctly funerary figure acting in the role of the son of the recipient. He is well known from the ritual of the opening of the mouth, a funerary ritual that was performed for humans as well as for Osiris (fig. 10.8). The *sem*-priest, while also uttering spells and formulae, was particularly engaged in performing ritual acts like offering food, libating, and censing. On a divine level, the lector priest was assimilated to Thoth, the god of writing and measuring, while the *sem*-priest was represented by Horus, the son of Osiris. Several Osirian liturgies feature extensive speeches by Isis and Nephthys. While some of these liturgies specify that two women were to participate in the performance, it appears that their tasks did not encompass the recitation of lengthy utterances but that they were mainly restricted to physically representing the goddesses and contributing short exclamations and wailing. Their speeches were in fact recited by the lector priest. On the other hand, there is evidence of women of quasi-priestly status who were qualified to recite the divine speeches. In contrast to the majority of the merely representative women, who were positioned in an adjacent room, they were present at the ritual performance, contributing on the same level as the male priests.

Besides the major cult centers of Osiris like Abydos and Busiris, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, sanctuaries of Osiris were scattered all over Egypt, often appended to the temples of the local deity. Several well-preserved Late Period, Ptolemaic, and Roman period temples still feature these Osirian sections. The structures serving the execution of the Osirian mysteries are often located on the rooftop, a secluded position well-suited to the secrecy of the proceedings. This requirement of seclusion finds expression in a specific architecture marked by suites of rooms with unaligned doorways. The outermost room is often in fact a court with the innermost room sheltering the figure of Osiris for its year-long residence there. The most elaborate suite of such chapels, well preserved and decorated throughout, is located on the roof of the Hathor temple at Dendera, a treasure trove of information on Osirian mysteries and theology.

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11. GODS, SPIRITS, DEMONS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

RITA LUCARELLI

MAIN GODS BETWEEN MYTH AND FUNERARY RELIGION

Supernatural beings of different sorts populate all the spells and vignettes of the Book of the Dead and their high number and variety of names, epithets, and forms may leave us with a sense of bewilderment. It is difficult to detect which are the most important divine entities the deceased wishes to obtain the favor of or to become assimilated with, or which are the demonic beings he fears the most. Although a few gods are more often mentioned than others, we cannot implicate that when a minor god or spirit is mentioned in one spell or represented in a vignette, his role is not as important as that of the main gods, such as Re and Osiris, who are omnipresent in this corpus. The netherworld of the ancient Egyptians was inhabited by beings whose hierarchy — if there was one — is hard to understand. Unlike the divine population in a temple, we cannot always distinguish between one main god or goddess and a following of minor deities when dealing with the divine inhabitants of the ancient Egyptian netherworld. We can rather sense a complex, harmonious architecture of divine, demonic, and spiritual entities cooperating among each other, through different roles and functions, in order to help the deceased reach glorification and divine assimilation. Various stages, some of them challenging and rather dangerous, guide her/him toward the transformation into an *akh*, namely a transfigured, blessed dead assimilated to the gods. The power of transformation into divine beings and symbols is actually the topic of one of the most attested group of spells of the corpus, the so-called "transformation spells" (spells 76–88), where the deceased expresses her/his wish to become a lotus (spell 81A), a god ("the greatest of the tribunal" in spell 79), "a god, causing darkness to be light," Ptah (spell 82), a snake (spell 87), a crocodile (spell 88) or a bird (a falcon in spells 77 and 78, a heron in spells 83 and 84, a *ba*-bird in spell 85, a swallow in spell 86). The theme of transforming into a divine bird, which is the most popular of the group, echoes also the wish for freedom of movement in the netherworld. The same word *ḫpr*, "becoming," occurring in the incipit of these spells ("spell for becoming…"), is expressed by the hieroglyph of the scarab, also a symbol of the sun as Khepri, in its cycle of transformation from night to day. As a matter of fact, these spells are closely related to the solar journey and in the standard versions of the Late Period papyri they occur in the number of twelve (77 to 88, 76 being an introductory formula for "transforming into any form one wishes to take"), mirroring the journey of the sun god during the twelve hours of the day and of the night (Quirke 2013, pp. 179–80).

In the spells of the Book of the Dead the deceased is called "the Osiris N;" he is therefore, since the beginning of his journey in the Realm of the Dead, a god himself. Osiris, as *Khentyamentyu* "foremost of the westerners" (the "westerners" being the dead souls inhabiting the beyond, associated with the West/sunset), is clearly a prominent figure in the Book of the Dead (Chapter 10) and his name and figure occur almost constantly in the spells; his function of god of death and rebirth mingles with that of the sun god Re (also in his forms of Atum, the creator, aged god, and Khepri) with whom he unites in the syncretized form of Osiris-Re, the *nṯr ꜥ3* (*netjer aa*), "great god." However, Re's and Osiris' main presence in the Book of the Dead is closely connected with and complemented by a number of other gods, some of which can join Re and Osiris in syncretized forms too, such as Amun-Re, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and Re-Horakhty. The other gods of the Heliopolitan account of creation, the so-called ennead, are also widely mentioned, namely the air god Shu and his female counterpart Tefnut, the earth god Geb, the sky goddess Nut, Osiris's brother Seth,

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FIGURE 11.1. In this stela, Harsiese is shown worshiping before the family of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Horus appears in his form as a falcon-headed man. The offering text below focuses on the gods of Dendera. Limestone and paint. Egypt, Dendera. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1897-8. Saite Period. H: 76.7 x W: 26.6 x 8.8 cm. OIM E5033 (D. 19884)

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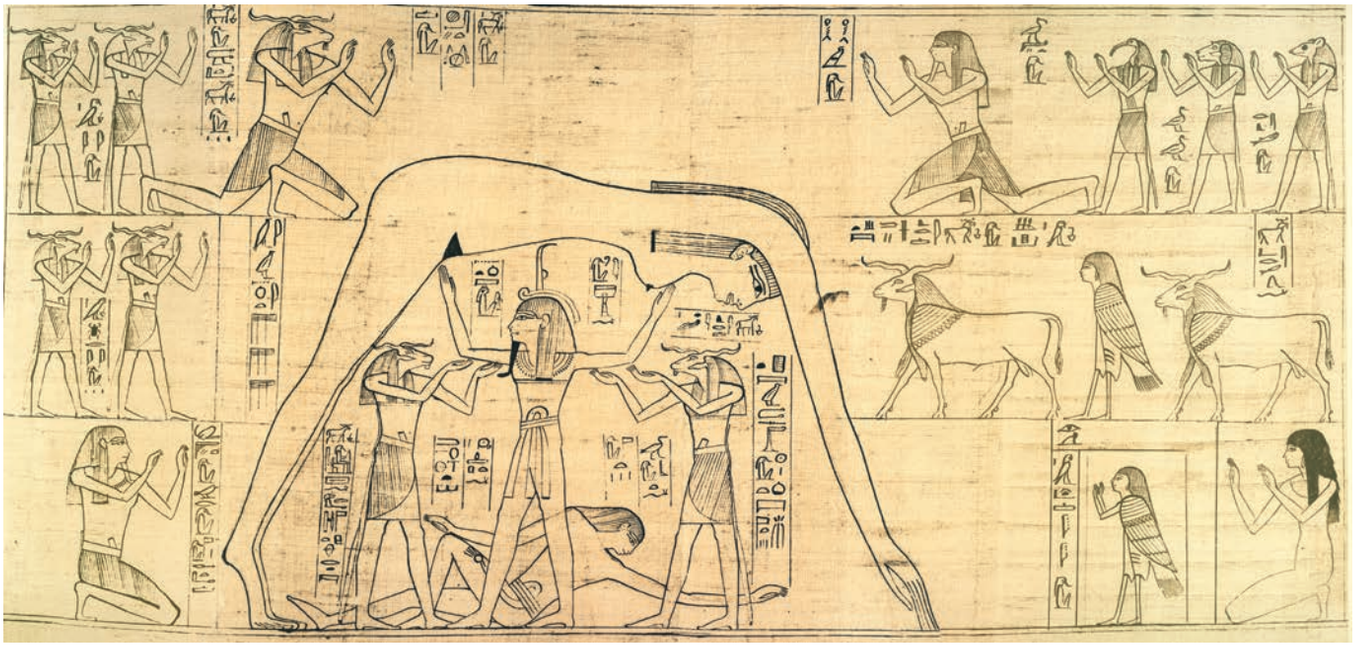


FIGURE 11.2. An image of the sky goddess Nut arched over the earth god Geb, with the god Shu supporting the sky between them. British Museum EA 10554, 87 (after Budge 1912, pl. CVI-CVII)

and his sisters Isis (who is also the wife of Osiris) and Nephthys. Finally, Osiris and Isis's son Horus is very often invoked as well in the spells and represented in the vignettes in his fully animal falcon form or as an anthropoid god with falcon head (fig. 11.1). The mention of the members of the ennead is generally in relation to the mythological cycle of creation from Heliopolis, which sees Re-Atum as the creator god and Horus as the living king of Egypt after the murder of Osiris by the hand of his brother Seth.

NUT AND THE FEMALE DIVINE PROTECTION OF THE DECEASED

The cosmogonic associations of the primordial gods also influenced their representation and mention in the Book of the Dead; being the goddess of the sky, Nut is depicted as mother of the deceased, embracing her/him in a celestial netherworld and protecting her/him during the journey while ascending to the sky (fig. 10.3). In spell 136A, it is said that the deceased "sails on it (i.e., on the boat) to Nut." In many other incantations, she is mentioned as mother of the sun god and therefore the deceased is born from her womb, as is the sun god to whom the deceased assimilates. One of the most popular and beautiful images of the sky goddess, which is attested on funerary papyri also of genres other than the Book of the Dead, is that of Nut arching her body over a lying Geb while supported by Shu, as occurs on one of the longest scrolls of the Book of the Dead (almost 40 m), the so-called Papyrus Greenfield (fig. 11.2). The role of Nut as mother of the creator sun god and of the deceased, toward whom the other gods move in procession, is expressed at the end of one of the transformation spells mentioned above, namely spell 79: "... in his (i.e., the sun god/Atum) beautiful processions to the body of the lower sky, he whom his mother Nut has born" (Quirke 2013, p. 189). When allusions to the myth of the rebellion of mankind against the old sun god are made, as in spell 175, mankind is called "the children of Nut." The title of spell 59, which is particularly widespread in papyri of the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period, is "spell for breathing air and having power over water;" its vignette depicts the "sycamore of Nut," which is also invoked in the text as granter of water and air to the deceased. The theme of the tree-goddess is very popular in the Book of the Dead and not only connected to Nut (fig. 4.11); female goddesses such as Isis,

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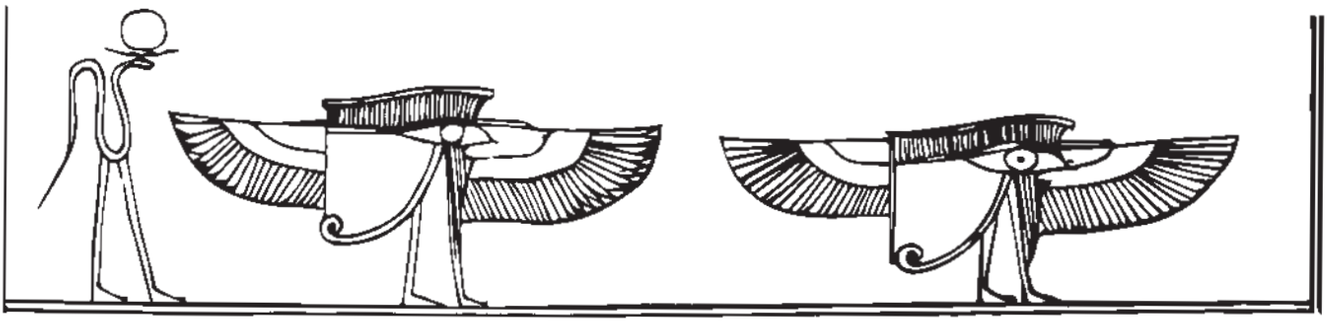


FIGURE 11.3. The vignette for BD 163, a spell to "prevent the destruction of a man's corpse in the necropolis," shows two striding, winged eyes symbolic of the sun god (after Lepsius 1842, pl. LXXVII–LXXXVIII)

Hathor, and the Goddess of the West, among others, are depicted in connection with a tree (Billing 2004).

The aforementioned spells 175 and 59 have no earlier sources, but they do occur in temple rituals as well. spell 79, and many others where Nut and the gods of the ennead are mentioned, are newer versions of older texts for the protection of the deceased king. Such spells derived from the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom, or were re-editions of the so-called Coffin Texts employed in the Middle Kingdom mainly on coffins of the elite and officials close to the king. The role of these primordial gods toward the deceased does not seem to have changed much. The main difference is that now not only the king (or a restricted elite such as for the Coffin Texts) but a larger number of private individuals, mostly members of priestly families and scribes working in the temples, could aim at gaining their favor in the netherworld and even to being assimilated to them by possessing a funerary papyrus of the Book of the Dead. A very popular spell, employed in papyri from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period and where the gods of the Ennead occur all together, is spell 134, for "glorifying an *akh*-spirit." It includes instructions on how to draw an image of these deities in the solar boat in a bowl; the vignette of this spell represents indeed a number of deities (mostly those of the ennead) in a boat and the same image can be found also on pottery bowls used for temple offerings (Taylor 2010b, pp. 48–49). The theme of the solar boat and the deceased traveling in it with the gods is a central motif in texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead. In the same papyrus more vignettes of the solar boat can be found in a row where the primordial gods of the myth are the "followers of Re."

Another rather important female deity is Hathor, who, similar to Nut, can be part of the solar crew and is related to the tree-goddess motif. Her main character in ancient Egyptian religion is that of goddess of sensuality, love, and female creative power, but, as also happens for other gods, in the funerary context of the Book of the Dead her role becomes more nuanced and focuses on her relationship with the deceased. In funerary texts (among others are the Books of Breathing) and monuments of the later periods, in particular by the end of the Ptolemaic Period and in the Roman Period, it became common practice to refer to the female deceased as "Hathor N," showing how the importance of this goddess in funerary cult and literature had grown and how she had become the female counterpart of Osiris (Riggs 2005, pp. 41–48). The funerary role of Hathor gains in importance starting from the New Kingdom. The frequent representations of the celestial cow of Hathor in the Book of the Dead is a consequence of this increased role as funerary deity, which is manifested in the form of a cow or as a woman with cow horns and the solar disk on her head. In particular, many Theban papyri of the Ramesside period employ in their closing section the vignette of spell 186, depicting Hathor as a cow and as a manifestation of the "mistress of the west," emerging from the western mountain within a thicket of papyri, protecting the tomb depicted behind her and welcoming the deceased in the netherworld together with Ipet, the hippopotamus birth goddess (fig. 4.23; Faulkner 1985, pl. 37). This motif, also popular on coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, includes an

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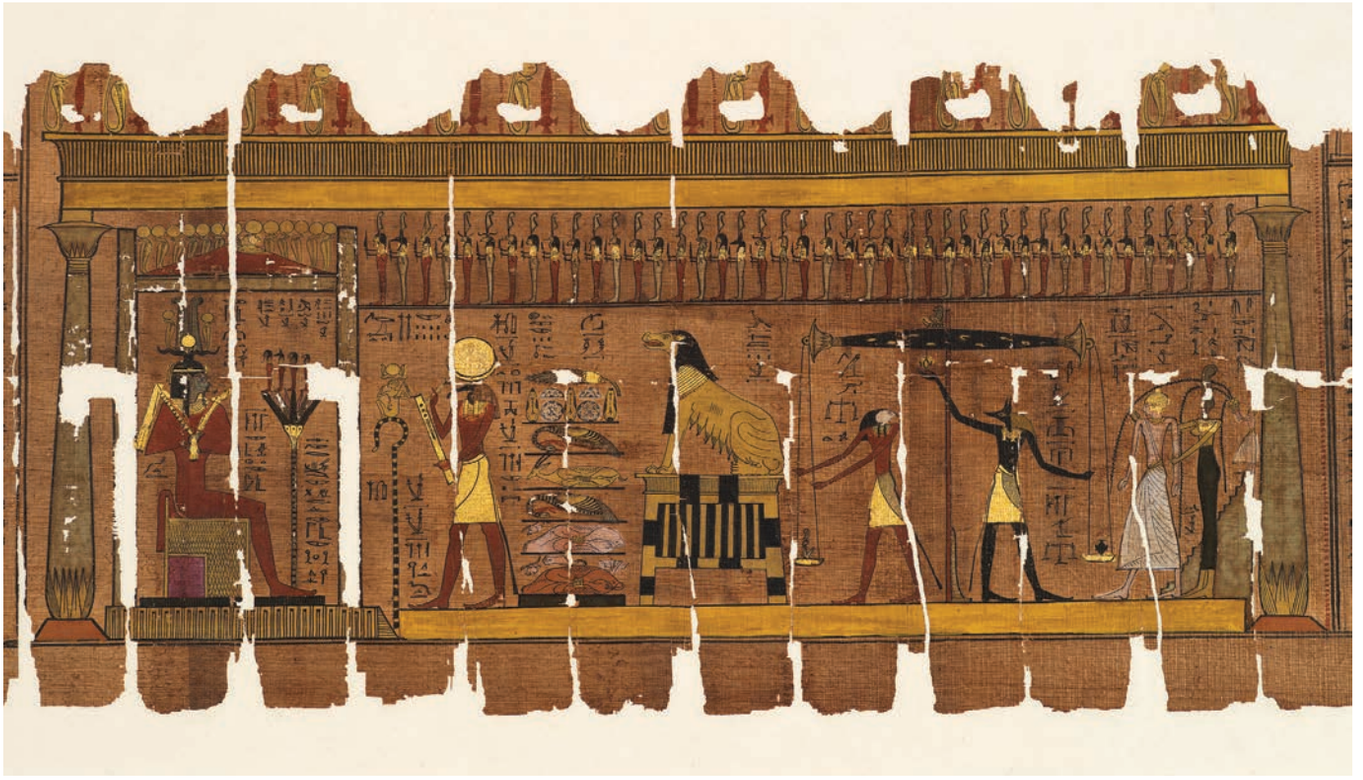


FIGURE 11.4. This gilded judgment scene, associated with BD 125, shows the heart of the deceased weighed against Maat, the symbol of righteousness. Several deities assist in the activities as Anubis and Horus attend to the scales and Thoth records the outcome. ROM 910.85.236.10 (with permission of the Royal Ontario Museum © ROM)

important detail, namely the *wedjat*-eye of the cow, which symbolizes another main character of Hathor as apotropaic goddess related to the furious eye of Re or to the eye of Horus. Papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15) closes with spell 162, which is an incantation "for providing heat under the head of the dead" and includes at the end a short colophon with instructions on reciting the spell "over a figure of the heavenly cow (i.e., *Ihet*) made of fine gold and placed at the throat of the blessed one" (figs. 9.2 and 9.3, see Chapter 8 and Wüthrich 2017). The idea of female deities with apotropaic characters, which are connected to the eye of the god, is also attested by peculiar amulets where the "dangerous goddess," such as Sekhmet, Neith, Isis, and Tefnut, is depicted on one side of the *wedjat*-eye; this sort of amulet is described in spell 163 of the Book of the Dead as well, as a representation of solar power (Darnell 1997). The vignette of spell 163, which is widespread in late papyri, represents indeed two winged *wedjat*-eyes (fig. 11.3).

Other divine cows, which are related to Hathor and other female cow goddesses in the myth, appear as well in the Book of the Dead. The vignette of spell 148 (figs. 6.5 and 6.6) is the most representative in this respect, since it depicts the seven celestial cows and their bull as providers of offerings and rebirth for the deceased. They are also a manifestation of the "seven Hathors," who are mentioned in literary texts as deities of fate, having the skill of predicting the future for the newly born. A heavenly cow with sun disk and Hathor plumes is also depicted in the final vignette (fig. 8.1) of Papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15).

THOTH AND THE MALE DEITIES OF THE FINAL JUDGMENT

While female deities may in general be interchangeable in their motherly, protective role toward the deceased, male deities have more individual roles in the Book of the Dead. In the popular scene of the final judgment, which is represented by the vignette of spell 125 (figs. 4.16, 6.7, and 11.4), which is a widespread iconographic motif on coffins from the New Kingdom onward and on the later Books of Breathing (Chapter 12 and Cat. No. 17), a few central male

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FIGURE 11.5. The Late Period coffin of Padiamun was decorated with netherworld gates, each with their own guardian. World Museum, Liverpool 53.72D

deities occur, such as Thoth, Anubis, and the four sons of Horus.

The importance of the judgment and in general of trials for the dead in front of divine tribunals (in ancient Egyptian *djadjat*, which is also the topic of spells 18 and 20) is connected to the myth as well, in particular to the mythological account of the justification of Osiris (Stadler 2009) and of the Contending of Horus and Seth. The scene of the scale upon which the heart of the deceased is weighed against the feather of Maat (the symbol of justice and cosmic order, also personified as a goddess) in front of Osiris (or more rarely Re) and of the gods overseeing this crucial moment, is attested very frequently also on coffins, mummy bandages, and shrouds; in one isolated case, a temple version of the scene of the judgment dating to the Ptolemaic Period occurs as well in Deir el Medina (Thebes). In this scene Thoth, the ibis or baboon-god, who is known as the god of writing and wisdom, takes the specific role of recorder of the verdict and is represented as an ibis-headed anthropomorphic god, his human body making it possible to exploit his scribal activity. In general, the anthropomorphic body of gods in the Book of the Dead, as well as in other ritual and funerary depictions, denote their "humanness" and ability to interact with humans or the deceased (Wilkinson 2008). Indeed, the same concept applies to Anubis, the jackal-headed god who in the judgment scene oversees the scale — sometimes accompanied by another god such as Horus. In a less active role, Thoth, in his theriomorphic form of baboon, can be depicted overseeing the scale as well, as in Papyrus Ryerson (Cat. No. 14) where two extra small scales overseen by a baboon are used as decorative motifs to frame the architecture of the "Hall of the Two Truths" where the judgment takes place (fig. 14.3).

Similar to Thoth and Anubis, the main gods mentioned in the Book of the Dead, who appear in mythological accounts and temple scenes and texts, have more than one manifestation (mostly animal or hybrid with animal head and human body) and can play more than one role; both Thoth and Anubis, for instance, occur in a number of other spells beside spell 125 and in each of them are characterized according to the context (for a comprehensive analysis of the role of Thoth in the Book of the Dead, see Stadler 2009). The jackal-headed Anubis (Cat. No. 40), for instance, when occurring in spell 151 of the Book of the Dead, takes the role of embalmer and the vignette of the same spell, whose central scene sees him overseeing the funerary bed where the deceased's mummy or

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coffin lies, is another popular motif on funerary objects and in tomb decorations (fig. 10.6). Anubis was, as a matter of fact, a very old funerary god, protector of the king's burial since the beginning of the Pharaonic Period and with chapels in temples throughout Egypt; he shared the important epithet of "foremost of the westerners" (*Khentyimentyu*) with the god Osiris. He must be distinguished from another ancient and important funerary jackal god, Wepwawet (literally, "the opener of the ways"). In the vignette of spell 138, which is a "spell for entering Abydos and being in the following of Osiris," both Anubis and Wepwawet are depicted as jackals on a stand. A series of other jackal-faced gods and demonic beings populate the Book of the Dead as well, showing how popular canids, and in particular jackals, were as manifestations of funerary deities.

Already from the few remarks made above on a "sample" of deities mentioned and depicted in the Book of the Dead, one may be able to single out a few central features characterizing the divine world of the ancient Egyptian afterlife. First of all, it is clear how the main deities of the ancient Egyptian pantheon, when acting within a funerary context such as that of the Book of the Dead, recall the mythological accounts in which they play a role. Moreover, they generally have a protective and benevolent function toward the deceased who seeks a physical and spiritual empowerment in order to become an *akh*, a divine, transfigured spirit. Finally, their iconography is rather fixed and "traditional:" Thoth as an ibis or a baboon, Anubis as a jackal god, Sobek as a crocodile and Ptah as an anthropomorphic god.

A series of supernatural inhabitants of the netherworld, also widely depicted and mentioned in the spells, seem to gravitate around those main divine figures. Sometimes these liminal beings with jackal or crocodile heads are anonymous and depicted together with the main gods, therefore hardly distinguished from them unless their names are indicated in the captions of the vignettes. This is where the category of the "great gods" actually intermingles with what are called "minor gods," "demons," or "genii," namely different classes of supernatural beings. An example is that of the 42 judges of spell 125, "who hear cases," in front of whom the "negative confession" is recited by the deceased and who are also represented in the vignette. A few of them are known already from other religious sources and have attested cults in cities, such as Nefertem in Memphis, or have epithets related to other main gods such as "nosey" of Hermopolis (Thoth) and "white of teeth" (Sobek) (Wilkinson 2008, p. 84). Moreover, Re, Atum, Shu, and Tefnut, as well as other primordial gods, may be represented among the judges in the vignette, as for instance in the already mentioned papyrus of Ani. The other judges have, however, very specific and otherwise unattested names, which are connected to other places and each of them is related to a specific sin that the deceased has to avoid. Their names are rather frightening ("far-strider," "swallower of shades," "dangerous one," etc.) and their nature could be defined as "demonic" if we accept the existence of demons in addition to the gods.



FIGURE 11.6. A statuette of the snake-headed deity Nehebkau. Egypt. Bronze. H: 7.9 x W: 2.3 x D: 3.5 cm. Gift of Helen Swift Neilson, 1944. OIM E17555 (D. 18547)

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FIGURE 11.7. Netherworld guardians depicted on the coffin of Horaawesheb hold a variety of implements, including knives and lizards. British Museum EA 6666 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

FROM GODS TO DEMONS

In the ancient Egyptian language, the only general word referring to the category of the divine is *netjer*, represented by the hieroglyph 𓊹, which probably depicts a cult flag or wrapped fetish, while the sign of a falcon on a pole 𓅃 or the hieroglyph of the seated god 𓀭 occurs as determinatives of divine names (Hornung 1982b, pp. 33–42). *Netjer* is generally translated as "god." It indicates the main gods mentioned above, which occur in myth, have cult places, and reside in temples (Assmann 2001, pp. 7–8). However, a crowd of supernatural entities not worshipped in temples and not even appearing in myths and official cults are present as well in the texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead. They have various names and epithets according to their physical appearance, their function, or the place where they live within the variegated regions of the netherworld. If, on one hand, they belong to the sphere of the *netjer* because of their super-human nature, on the other hand they differ from the main gods for not possessing a universal power. Their sphere of action and range of magic power are limited and circumscribed to a physical space and very specific roles or influences toward the deceased. An example of this limited power is *Amemet*, "the devourer of the dead," a composite animal being with crocodile head, upper body part of a lion, and lower part of a hippopotamus, who is a constant presence during the final judgment (fig. 11.4) for she is ready to destroy the life of those who are not judged favorably; her divine power was therefore only related to the retribution in the afterlife. Similarly, the mostly hybrid creatures supervising the gates and doors of the netherworld, which occur in a group of very popular spells of the corpus (spells 144–147) are better defined as guardian demons than gods, since their sphere of action is restricted to the place they guard and it is only there that the deceased faces them and interact with them in order that they may let him pass through (Cat. No. 17).

The popularity of these guardians was so widespread that they are depicted and mentioned not only on papyrus but also on coffins, tomb walls, and even temples. In the latter, their status changes from being guardians of the afterlife to genii of the temple but their static function — they cannot leave the place they guard — is the same. The protective function of the guardians is related to the important moment of the vigil of Osiris during the hours of night, when the mummified body of the god needs protection before rebirth; for this reason, it is not surprising that the spells on the guardian demons and their vignettes are widely employed on coffins in order to protect the mummy (fig. 11.5). The guardians have generally a hybrid iconography with an animal head and

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FIGURE 11.8. A fragment from a portable chest showing a pharaoh followed by three kneeling, falcon-headed figures representing the "*bau* of Re." Wood and paint. Egypt, Akhmim. Purchased in Egypt, 1894–5. Roman Period. H: 16.7 x W: 40.6 cm. OIM E374 (D. 19796)

anthropomorphic body. The head can represent various sacred animals, from reptiles to birds and mammals, in particular crocodiles, snakes (fig. 11.6), dogs, rams, bulls, monkeys, and falcons, just to mention a few. They are depicted sitting or standing, alone, in couples, or as triads, while holding attributes that can vary from vegetal elements resembling barley — probably a symbol of fertility — to knives or upstanding lizards — the latter being also the hieroglyph for "many" (fig. 11.7). Their iconography may be confusing since in some cases it is the same as for certain main gods, such as the dog-headed Anubis or the crocodile god Sobek. Their names are what distinguishes them from the main gods, although some of those names may be used also as epithets for the gods, such as "the one with many forms," which is also an epithet of the god Amun-Re or "the one with many faces," which also applies in other religious texts to Osiris and Re.

Unlike the guardians, there are gangs of demons that are rarely depicted and are only mentioned through collective names such as the "murderers," the "messengers," and the "wanderers." Their names are very representative of their fearful function as punishers sent to earth from angry deities or at the service of a main god such as Osiris, Sekhmet, or Re. These demons are also mentioned widely in spells for everyday magic, where they are especially feared as disease-carriers and as messengers of Sekhmet. This shows that the supernatural world and the belief in demons and spirits as represented in the Book of the Dead are closely related to the world of the living and to the daily magical practices performed by the local magicians and priests in the temple in order to protect and heal the living from unwanted happenings. It is also in relation to the same need of protection that the spells and vignettes against dangerous, demonic animals present in the Book of the Dead should be seen; the group of spells 31 to 42 aims at repelling hostile beings and forces and to demonize certain animals, such as snakes, crocodiles, pigs, and insects, which were to be warded off also in spells of daily magic (Cat. Nos. 30–31). The anti-snake spells are the most numerous in the group (spells 33–35, 37, and 39); they are also attested in the oldest magical corpus of the Pyramid Texts of the third millennium BC and widespread in spells for daily magic through the New Kingdom and later. We can consider those snakes and the other animals mentioned in these spells "demonic" since they do not inhabit the earth but belong

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instead to the variegated divine category of the inhabitants of the netherworld. Moreover, they are generally associated to the god of chaos Seth, such as the pig of some variants of spell 36 and the donkey of spell 40, or to the giant serpent Apophis, such as the snakes of spells 33–35. The latter, mentioned in particular in spell 39 of the Book of the Dead together with its earlier variant of *Rerek* (Cat. No. 31), occurs also in spell 7 of the corpus, where the "spine of Apophis" is also the sandbank that halts the boat of the sun god during its journey. Apophis cannot be considered either a god or a demon, but rather an archetypal enemy of creation that can be compared to primordial monsters, dragons, and snakes representing chaos and contrasted with creation in other religions, such as the Babylonian Tiamat or Leviathan of the Hebrew Bible. Apophis is also represented in the vignette of spell 17 while being fettered with a knife by Atum, who manifests in the form of a wild cat (fig. 3.6) or while attacking the solar boat in the scenes of the so-called Book of the Hidden Chamber or Amduat.

The latter illustrates the journey of the sun god in his boat through the twelve hours of the night in the subterranean netherworld, in order to unite with the dead body of Osiris. A series of divine and demonic figures accompany the sun god in his journey, among them snake-like creatures, some of them benevolent and related to deities (Cat. No. 12), while others play the role of punishers of the damned souls. Some motives of the Amduat, which was originally employed to decorate the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, converge in the Book of the Dead and other funerary papyri of the Third Intermediate Period that accompanied the deceased in the coffin.

THE *AKHU*: TRANSFIGURED SPIRITS AND GHOSTS

Finally, the Book of the Dead spells contribute also to our understanding of another important religious concept, that of "spirit" or "ghost," which also indicates creatures belonging to the sphere of the supernatural; however, they are not independent entities such as the gods and demons; rather, they represent the transfigured status of the living after death. The term that in ancient Egyptian indicates these creatures is *ꜣḫ*, "*akh*," represented by the hieroglyph of the crested ibis  whose root has a vast array of meanings, from "being effective, efficacious" to "transfigure" and "glorify." The similar root *iꜣḫ*, "to be bright," indicates the close connection of the blessed spirits to the sun; spells 130–136 of the Book of the Dead, which are all focused on the solar boat, are for "making an *akh* excellent" in assimilation to the sun god. However, in other contexts the *akhu* can be understood as spirits inhabiting the netherworld and even as demons controlled by a main deity, as in the case of a peculiar spell only attested in a few papyri of the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Period, the so-called spell 194 of the Book of the Dead (DuQuesne 1994), where Anubis is depicted at the head of seven *akhu* holding snake-wands, which are said to belong to the tribunal and are also mentioned in spell 17 (Lucarelli 2006b). These demonic *akhu* can be seen even as ghosts when the term is used for ghostly manifestations occurring on earth, as in many Ramesside spells of daily and funerary magic.

Finally, the term "*ba*" (*bꜣ*), represented by the hieroglyph  of the *jabiru*-bird, indicates a transfigured status of the deceased in the afterlife in relation to freedom of movement (similar to *akh*). It could also designate supernatural forces when used in its plural form *bau*. Spells 107–116 of the Book of the Dead are for knowing the *bau* of different places in the netherworld, which are represented as triads of divine figures, probably local gods. The *bau* of the gods also occur in spells of daily magic as rather dangerous forces (fig. 11.8).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we could say that the world of gods, spirits, and demons in the Book of the Dead is a faithful mirror of how the ancient Egyptians conceived and dealt with divine entities during their cultural and religious activities on earth; they believed in an afterlife where the encounters with the supernatural were not an exceptional but rather an ordinary happenstance. Such experiences were managed with the catalog of spells and vignettes of the Book of the Dead and, in general, the other magical objects included in their funerary equipment with their tombs, their coffins, and their mummies.

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IV

DEATH AND REDISCOVERY



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OVERLEAF. The vignette of BD 16 from Papyrus Ryerson showing the reborn sun. OIM E9787A = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28914)

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12. THE DEATH OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

FOY SCALF

Manuscripts with Book of the Dead spells had been used for nearly two thousand years before they finally disappeared. A great deal of attention has been devoted to the development of the Book of the Dead out of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts (Chapter 2). The earliest attested spells and spell sequences identifiable as the Book of the Dead appeared in the Thirteenth Dynasty (ca. 1773–1650 BC) on heart scarabs and coffins, before the real flourishing at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty (ca. 1580–1550 BC) and into the Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1550–1295 BC). However, what eventually happened to the Book of the Dead?

The last attested Book of the Dead spells date between the first and second centuries AD and were written in Demotic. In between the birth of the Book of the Dead in the eighteenth century BC and its final disappearance in the first century AD, Egyptian funerary literature went through many phases in which new compositions were created, old compositions abandoned, and various styles of decorum governed how each was employed. In many cases, it can be difficult to determine the exact reason why particular traditions arose and others vanished. All of these changes and developments were influenced by a complex interaction of social, cultural, and political developments, many of which have yet to be completely understood. One aspect that is certain and often not emphasized is that the Book of the Dead was never alone. It always existed within a much larger corpus of ancient Egyptian funerary literature. The Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts continued to be used even after the Book of the Dead developed and development did not end there. Already in the early New Kingdom, just as the format of the Book of the Dead as we know it was being crystallized, new compositions were already being written to supplement it.

The Book of the Dead reached an early zenith in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (ca. 1295–1069 BC) when the manuscripts of the "classic" format were produced for an elite class with the wealth to afford them. Royal funerary literature focused on new compositions that can be divided into two basic sets, the Books of the Netherworld and the Books of the Sky, which decorated their tombs in the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. For kings of this period, no Book of the Dead papyri have been identified (with two exceptions, the Book of the Dead papyrus of Pinudjem I, and a Book of Caves papyrus found in the Tomb of Amenhotep II, but that did not



FIGURE 12.1. The Amduat papyrus of Gatseshen from the Twenty-first Dynasty shows how these mythological papyri were decorated with elaborate imagery and reduced text as compared to manuscripts of the Book of the Dead. Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.3.31

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name the king), but Book of the Dead spells are found throughout their tombs on the walls and on funerary objects. It is not clear why kings did not have Book of the Dead papyri. Certainly it is possible that they simply have not been preserved. However, with the wealth of funerary material from ancient Egypt, it is hard to imagine that not a single fragment remains. Even king Tutankhamun's tomb had no Book of the Dead papyrus; all the BD spells from his tomb were on the tomb walls or on items in the burial, such as his famous golden mask (BD 151), his funerary figures (BD 6), and his magic bricks (BD 151) found in niches made on each wall.



FIGURE 12.2. The sarcophagus lid of Wennefer from the Thirtieth Dynasty shows an image of the deceased's soul as a *ba*-bird with human head. It is surrounded by texts from the Book of the Dead, but the trough of the sarcophagus had texts from the netherworld books. Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.154.1

As the plural designations suggest, Books of the Netherworld and Books of the Sky are rough categories that encompass many individual compositions, including the Book of What is in the Netherworld otherwise known by its Egyptian name as the Amduat (*imy.t-dwꜣ.t*), Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Book of Caves, Book of the Earth, Book of Nut, Book of the Day, Book of the Night, Book of the Heavenly Cow, the Litany of Re, and others. The earliest examples of these texts already appear at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, such as copies of the Amduat associated with the tombs of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut (Mauric-Barberio 2001) or the Litany of Re inscribed on the burial shroud of Thutmose III (fig. C2). When they first appear, these texts are used by New Kingdom royalty, but they are quickly adopted for more general use.

Private elites sought to imitate royalty in their funerary preparations. This had already happened at the end of the Old Kingdom and into the Middle Kingdom when they had copied the Pyramid texts into their own tombs (Hayes 1937). A similar process of imitation took place at the end of the New Kingdom and by the time of the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1069–664 BC) it was common to find two funerary papyri in elite burials (Niwiński 1989, pp. 213–14): a Book of the Dead manuscript and a highly illustrated papyrus decorated with scenes from the Books of the Netherworld (fig. 12.1). Scenes and texts from the Amduat (fig. 12.1) and Litany of Re (figs. 9.3–9.4) were especially common on these second papyri. All of these texts, the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, Books of the Netherworld, and Books of the Sky (among others) remained part of standard funerary literature from the Third Intermediate Period through the Ptolemaic Period. After the Twenty-first Dynasty, production of elaborate papyri waned and relatively few extensive papyri are known from the Twenty-second Dynasty until the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Coffins and sarcophagi of the Late Period, therefore, became increasingly important conveyors of these texts.

Under the Kushite (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) and Saite (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) rulers, increased attention was paid to the religious literature of the past in an archaizing trend to emulate Egypt's ages of past glory. We find new copies of all the old

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compositions, including Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, Books of the Netherworld, and Books of the Sky reappearing in the tombs of these eras. The texts were often combined together in interesting conglomerations, such as the BD spells found on the sarcophagus lid of Wennefer from the Thirtieth Dynasty (fig. 12.2) that had been juxtaposed with Amduat texts on the sarcophagus trough (Manassa 2007). It was at this time, near the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and into the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, that the so-called Saite Recension of the Book of the Dead was formed. It is called the Saite recension because it was previously believed to have developed during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, a line of kings from the delta city of Sais. However, research in recent years has shown that this process was already well underway under the Nubian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. It is possible that their search into Egypt's ancient past spurred the priests of the time to collate and formalize the Book of the Dead. This resulted in a more standard format, layout, and spell sequence for the Book of the Dead than is known from prior periods. From this period forward, most papyri would follow the basic outline of the Saite recension, although there were plenty of deviations, until the Book of the Dead ceased to be used at the end of the Ptolemaic Period.

At the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period (332–30 BC), Book of the Dead papyri were still the most popular funerary manuscripts being taken to the grave (Coenen 2001). By the end of the Ptolemaic Period, the Book of the Dead had nearly disappeared from use completely, with only a handful of spells attested into the Roman Period. What happened in these intervening three centuries that made the ancient Egyptians abandon one of their most important religious texts that had been in use for fourteen centuries and had been standardized three centuries prior? The traditional answer is that the Book of the Dead had been replaced by new compositions. While this seems to be an indisputable fact, the complete picture requires a more detailed discussion.

There are three compositions that came into use beginning in the late fourth century BC that began to replace the older Book of the Dead manuscripts based on the classic model of the Saite recension. These compositions are known collectively as the Books of Breathing. The earliest attested of these had the title Book of Breathing which Isis Made for her Brother Osiris (figs. 12.3–12.4), the first example of which dates to the end of the fourth century BC (Hornung 1999, p. 22; Coenen 1998). Over the course of the Ptolemaic Period, two further "books" appeared, often labeled in Egyptian on the papyri as the First Book of Breathing (fig. 12.5) and the Second Book of Breathing (fig. 12.6). The Books of Breathing become more and more common while the Book of the Dead



FIGURE 12.3. The papyrus manuscript of Wesirwer inscribed with the "Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris" and ritual instructions in hieratic between the two vignettes. Louvre N 3284, 6 (© RMN-Grand Palais, Art Resource, NY)

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became less and less common, until by the end of the first century BC it had effectively disappeared (with a few exceptions discussed below). This disappearance has been traditionally described as a replacement of the Book of the Dead by the Books of Breathing. However, recent research suggests that there was a much closer relationship between the Book of the Dead and the Books of Breathing than has been previously recognized.

There are probably several interrelated reasons why this shift took place, but one of the primary factors was likely that major sections of the Books of Breathing were derived directly from Book of the Dead spells and they were therefore not viewed as substitutes for each other, but actually part of the larger continuum through which the "Book of Going Forth by Day" was expressed. In fact, the Books of Breathing could themselves be referred to as Books of Going Forth by Day (cf. P. Louvre N 3166, 1–4, Herbin 1999, p. 216) and the title "Book of Breathing" (*šʿ.t n snsn*) in Egyptian was likewise applied to a great variety of texts.

The best example of how the Books of Breathing were derived from the Book of the Dead is the First Book of Breathing, which was produced by condensing and combining texts from a sequence of Book of the Dead spells from the Saite recension (Scalf, forthcoming). Since the Saite recension was the standard spell sequence of contemporary Book of the Dead manuscripts in the Ptolemaic Period, it is logical that texts such as the First Book of Breathing would be derived from it. When the First Book of Breathing is laid out next to the sequence of Book of the Dead spells 18–23, 26–28, 30, 42, and 62, it is clear that a priestly scribe had taken, often word for word, passages from these spells and combined them into a new composition (Scalf, forthcoming). He then added an introduction that was inspired by BD 15 and its associated vignettes. What the scribe skipped is almost as interesting as what he copied. Notice that nearly a dozen spells between BD 30 and 42 were passed over. It seems likely that the scribe saw the apotropaic spells of BD 31–41, which warded off various noxious animals, as less theologically significant than the text of BD 42, which identified the body parts of the deceased directly with the most important deities in the Egyptian pantheon (Chapter 9).

It should be remembered that many of these spells were extremely important within the corpus. BD 18 is a spell for justification in which Thoth confirms the testimony of the deceased against his enemies in the tribunal just as he justified Osiris against his enemies. It appeared throughout the mortuary assemblage in the first millennium BC, including on cartonnage cases (fig. 1.6). The sequence of BD 26–28 was extremely common on Third Intermediate Period papyri for which they had been extracted and written by themselves (fig. 3.3). Thus, the spells were not chosen haphazardly. Likewise, the Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris has many sections based directly on the text of BD 125, including the invocation of gods and the negative confession. This is among the most important spells in the entire Book of the Dead and its vignette appeared ubiquitously both in tombs as well as in temples.

When looked at closely then, much of the text found in the Books of Breathing derived directly from the Book of the Dead. Their composition and



FIGURE 12.4. Kerasher's Book of Breathing which Isis Made for Her Brother Osiris is unusual for its extensive illustrations. British Museum EA 9995, 3 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

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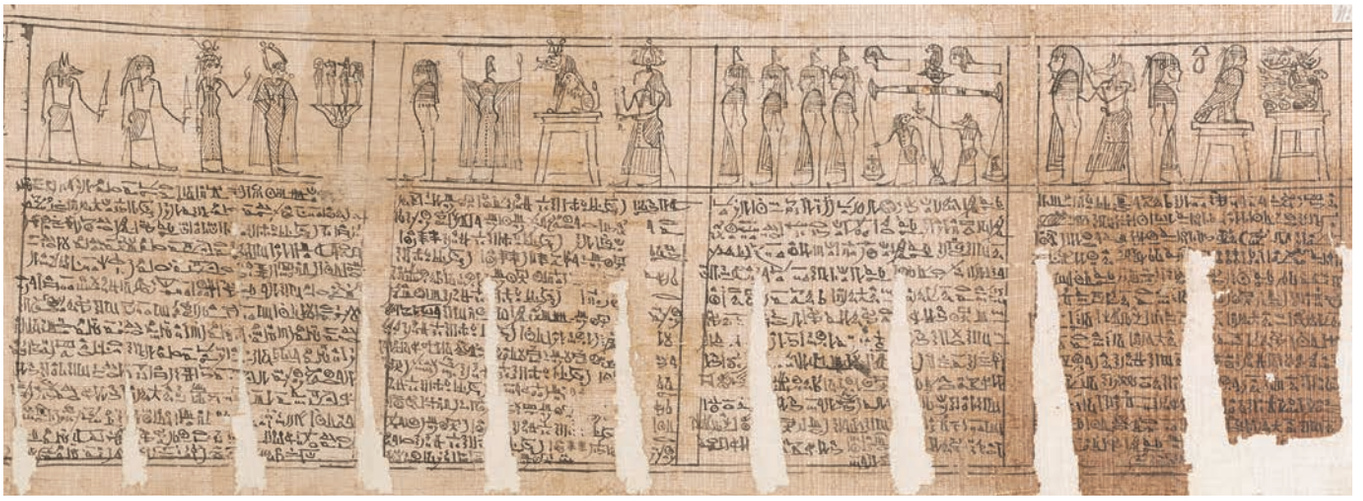


FIGURE 12.5. The First Book of Breathing often looked very similar to earlier Book of the Dead papyri, although the text and vignettes have been reduced. Berlin P. 3028 (© SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photo: Sandra Steiß)

compilation must have taken place in the temple scriptorium, called the "House of Life" (*pr ʿnḫ*) in Egyptian, by priestly scribes studying and copying the manuscripts. No single author is probably responsible as the ancient conception of authorship differed from ours. In antiquity, authorship was often a collective enterprise and texts built up through layers of exegesis and commentary, much like the development of BD 17 from CT 335. In the process of researching ancient manuscripts, codifying Book of the Dead spells, and composing new sections of text, the Books of Breathing were formed and quickly coalesced. However, just as great variation was embedded into the Book of the Dead tradition, so too was there great variation in the Books of Breathing. They had long and short forms. They could be inscribed together on the same manuscript with other texts. For example, the Book of Breathing which Isis Made has been found on manuscripts that included Book of the Dead spells (Coenen 1998, pp. 42–43) and other funerary compositions from the Greco-Roman repertoire. The First and Second Books of Breathing could be inscribed on the same papyrus (fig. 12.7).

These phenomena reflect the great vitality and resurgence of funerary literature after the fourth century and during the Ptolemaic Period. Not only were ancient texts studied and revived, a plethora of new material entered the tradition, at least partially inspired by this research into the past. Over the centuries, new texts had been created and absorbed into the larger corpus of ancient Egypt funerary literature, but the older compositions were retained. A primary source for much of this new material was the temple libraries. Literature that had previously been reserved specifically for use in the temple cult was now adapted for use on behalf of private individuals. As the deceased sought to become an "Osiris So-and-so" himself, it was the Osiris cult that saw many of its ritual texts repurposed as new funerary compositions (fig. 12.8). This put further pressure on the use of the Book of the Dead, as the Books of Breathing and these new compositions provided a wealth of options to the potential purchaser.

In addition to the compositions already mentioned in this chapter, dozens of other funerary compositions were used in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods to perform the similar function of transforming the deceased into a powerful spirit in the company of the gods. Some of the more important of these compositions included: the Book of Traversing Eternity, the Glorifications, the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, the Embalming Ritual, the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land, and the Ritual of Introducing the Multitude on the Last Day of *Tekh*. In addition to these, there also appeared many unique compositions that have no direct parallels with other texts. The phraseology of such texts was inspired by the standard religious literature of the time, but each individual text contained its own set and

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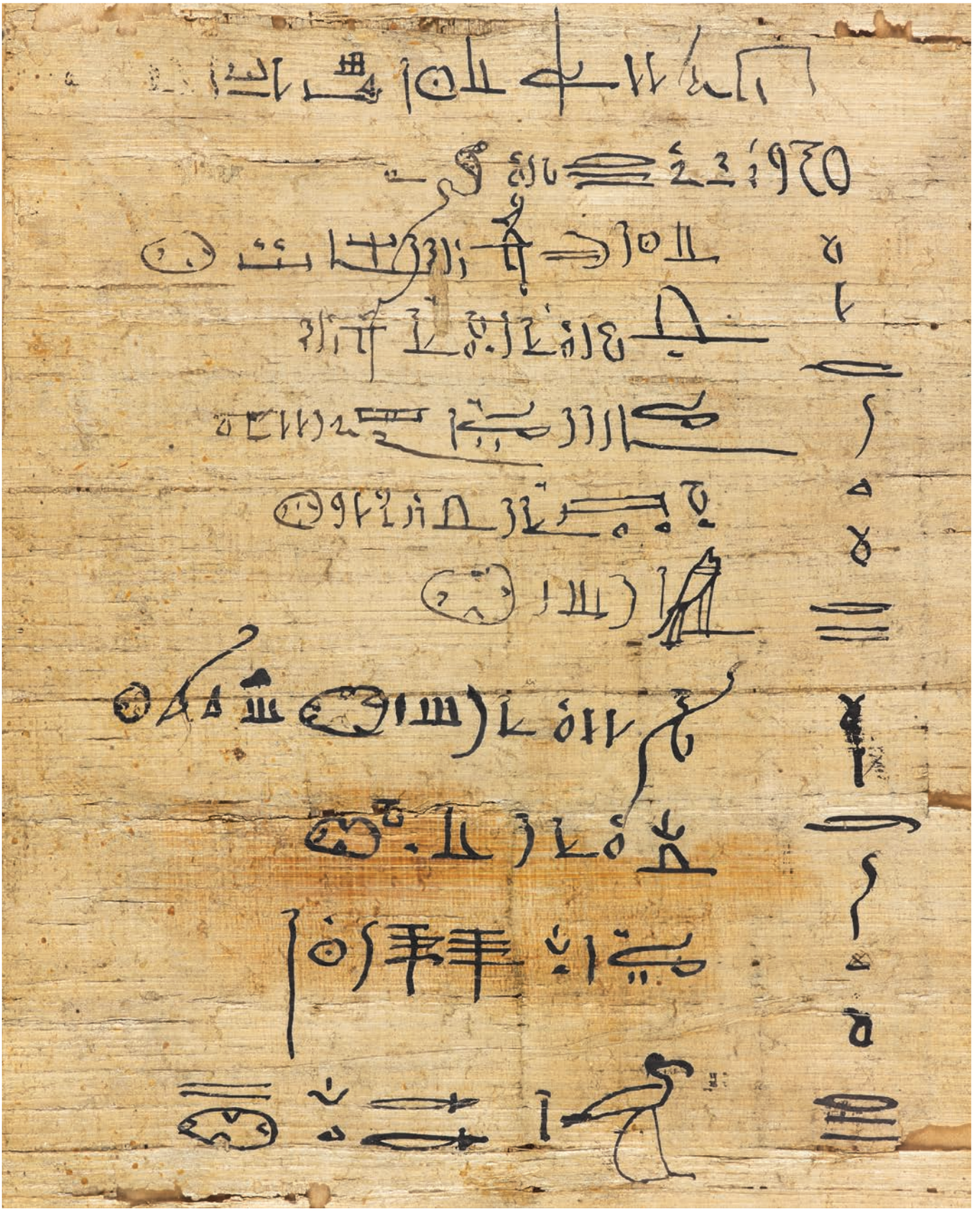


FIGURE 12.6. This papyrus contained a short version of the "May my name flourish" composition characteristic of the Second Book of Breathing. The first two lines at the top contain the owner's name, Padiamun, whom Tarenenutet bore. The refrain is written in the long vertical column on the right: "May my name flourish like flourishes the name of …." The remaining horizontal lines contain the names of deities and their sacred localities, from Osiris to Thoth. A.1956.357 D (© National Museum of Scotland)

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sequence of phrases. Furthermore, any individual manuscript could have any combination of these texts. For example, Papyrus Hynes (Cat. No. 17) was a compendium of Book of the Dead spells, the Book of Traversing Eternity, and the Second Book of Breathing, with many short original texts interspersed among them. Such originality and diversity demonstrate the creativity of the Egyptian scribes working in the Greco-Roman Era. Most manuscripts of this period show similar multiplicity and it should be remembered that this multiplicity is reflective of Egyptian funerary literature in general because the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and the Book of the Dead were also collections of individual compositions.

At the end of the Ptolemaic Period further pressure was placed on the Book of the Dead by the use of Demotic for Egyptian funerary literature, which is first attested in 57–56 BC in a composition reminiscent of the transformation spells from the Book of the Dead (Smith 2009a, pp. 627–49). Up until this point, Egyptian funerary literature was written in either the hieroglyphic or hieratic script (Chapter 3). Demotic was the name of both the script and phase of the language that developed in the mid-eighth century BC. Thus, it represented a more contemporary vernacular than the archaic grammar often found in the religious texts written in hieratic. An element of this interplay can be seen in the Demotic note left by the scribe for the illustrator of Papyrus Ryerson (Cat. No. 14; fig. 3.8). In that case, the scribe probably wrote the note in Demotic so that the illustrator could read it, presuming that the illustrator could not read the archaic grammar imitating Middle Egyptian behind the hieratic text. In fact, our terms for these scripts reflect this situation. It was Herodotus who called the scripts hieroglyphic ("picture writing"), hieratic ("priestly writing"), and demotic ("popular writing"), accurately reflecting the use of hieratic for religious texts and Demotic for everyday texts at the time.

The early funerary literature in Demotic reflected closely the same situation as the hieratic manuscripts. Demotic funerary manuscripts were often compilations of multiple texts. No two of these Demotic funerary manuscripts were the same.



FIGURE 12.7. Both the First and Second Books of Breathing could be inscribed on the same papyrus as in this example, which shows the final column of the first book and the first column of the second book. Rylands Hieratic 6 (reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands University Library, The University of Manchester)

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A famous set of papyri written for a priest named Hemsuef and his wife Tanewat had original texts written in both hieratic and a Demotic translation (Möller 1913). Some of the Demotic compositions had similar titles to, but different content from, their hieratic counterparts. For example, a Demotic text on a papyrus in the British Museum is titled the "Book which Isis Made," but its content is completely different than the hieratic Book of Breathing which Isis Made. Likewise, there is a group of papyri preserving a ritual called the Liturgy for Opening the Mouth for Breathing, which, however, bears only a slight relationship to the opening of the mouth ritual known from earlier sources.

A significant change seems to occur in the first and second century AD when the final manuscripts of ancient Egyptian funerary literature were produced. Hieratic copies of the Books of Breathing and the previously mentioned Demotic compositions were still being used. Yet, at this time, a new, somewhat standardized text appears written in Demotic (fig. 12.9). Over fifty examples of this text are known, mostly inscribed on papyri, and labels on many of them refer to them each as a "Document of Breathing." This label is yet another generic term applied widely across funerary literature of the time. Its content is short, usually less than ten lines, and consists of funerary wishes on behalf of the deceased. Rather than the long ritual and magical spells of previous funerary literature, these short funerary wishes encapsulated the bare essentials of Egyptian afterlife theology. There was a focus on the revitalization of the *ba*, provision of the deceased, and companionship with the gods. Many of them were illustrated with black line drawings for vignettes. These papyri were folded up, tied, and sealed prior to deposition in the grave. Their formulae seem to derive from an oral tradition, evidence for which is found in earlier graffiti recording the same texts on sacred spaces around Thebes, including both temples and tombs. Although these "Demotic documents for Breathing," as they have been called (Ryholt 2010), showed variation, elements of their phraseology remained remarkably consistent, none more so than their opening lines of "May the *ba* live" (*ʿnḫ pȝ by*), by which scholars often refer to the texts today.

What is extremely interesting about this corpus is that we see a renewed attempt toward rough standardization at a time when variation in the corpus is at its height. The Books of Breathing, for example, were still being used in the mid-second century AD as demonstrated by the manuscripts belonging to the so-called dossier of Soter (Herbin 2008, pp. 4–10), an important official in Roman Period Thebes. Soter was buried together with extended family members in TT 32, many of whom had hieratic Books of Breathing buried with them and these Demotic Documents of Breathing inscribed on their coffins. These are the last securely dated vestiges of Egyptian funerary literature. Although hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Demotic

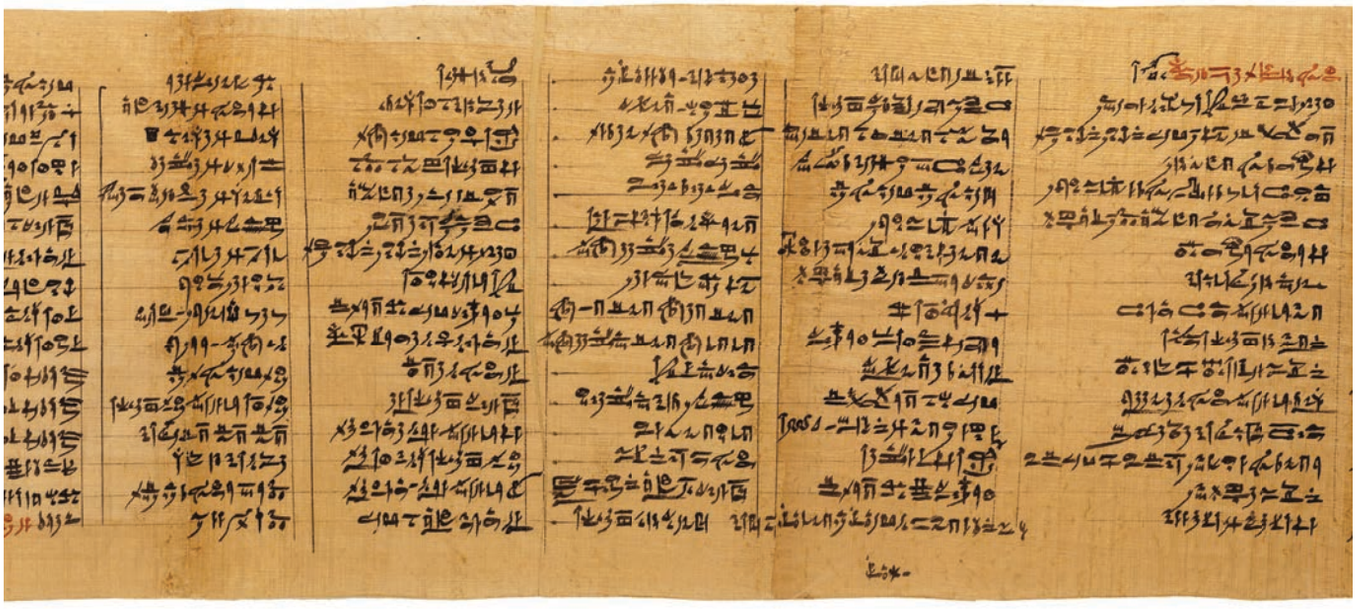


FIGURE 12.8. The compendium of ritual texts inscribed for Imhotep. Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.9.21

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inscriptions continue to be used into the fourth and fifth centuries AD, they are restricted to the far south of Egypt, mostly prominently at the temple of Philae. By the end of the native Egyptian funerary text tradition, the large, illustrated Book of the Dead papyri based on the Saite recension had not been used for nearly two centuries. Individual spells lived on for a short while, having been translated into Demotic and incorporated into other manuscripts. Use of the First Book of Breathing, a direct descendant of the Book of the Dead, extended into the early second century AD, coinciding with the rise of the Demotic Document for Breathing. These texts represent the last holdouts of the pagan funerary religion of pharaonic Egypt as Christianity rapidly spread through the country. Nearly all the latest material derives from the city of Thebes, a rural enclave for these Egyptian religious practices until the sweeping Christianization of the third and fourth centuries AD.

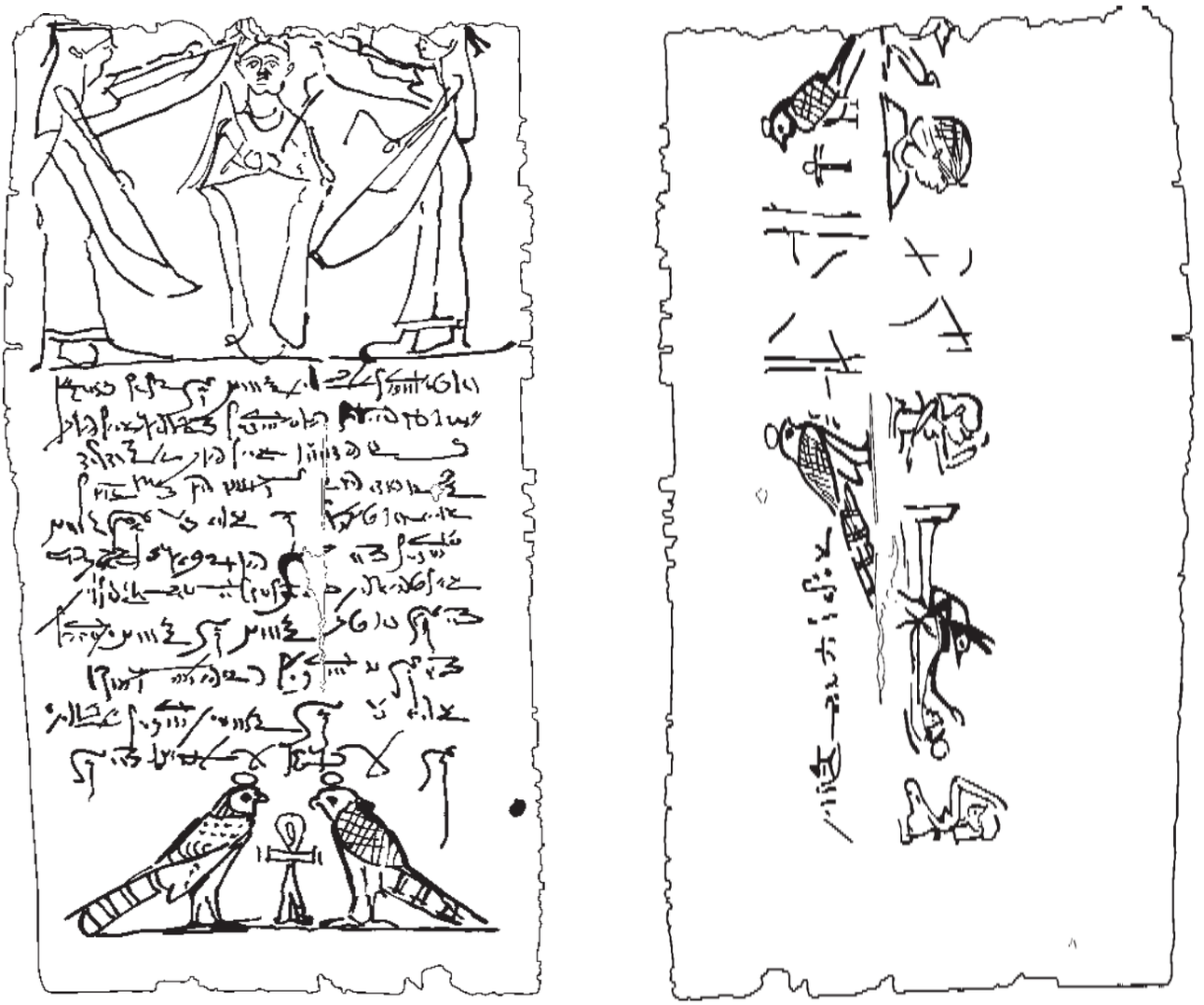


FIGURE 12.9. An illustrated Demotic Document of Breathing from the Roman Period, with the front on the left and the back on the right. Moscow I.1d.142 (drawing by Foy Scalf)

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13. THE REDISCOVERY OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

BARBARA LÜSCHER

While the beginning of Egyptology as a scholarly discipline is marked by the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script by Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832, fig. 13.1) in 1822, the modern history of rediscovering the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead goes further back in time (for a general history of early Book of the Dead research see Lüscher 2014; for a general history of early Egyptology see Thompson 2015).

As mentioned in previous chapters of this catalog, the collection of funerary spells known as the Book of the Dead was not only written on papyrus scrolls or mummy bandages, but also on tomb and temple walls, on coffins and sarcophagi, stelae and statues, scarabs and amulets, etc. These ancient artifacts, covered with fascinating and mysterious looking signs, drew the attention of early collectors, merchants and travelers who visited the Nile Valley long before Europe began rediscovering Egyptian treasures in the aftermath of Napoleon's military invasion of Egypt in 1798.

Pharaonic objects, including Book of the Dead papyri, became part of the first private collections and so-called "cabinets of curiosities" that first appeared in Europe in the sixteenth century. Merchants, aristocrats, kings, and rulers established their own "wonder rooms," stuffed with exotic items from many



FIGURE 13.1. Portrait of Jean-François Champollion 1790–1832 dressed as an Egyptian during his journey to Egypt in 1828–1829, painted by Giuseppe Angelelli



FIGURE 13.2. Portrait of Athanasius Kircher 1602–1680, a polymath who linked Coptic to ancient Egyptian (after Bechstein 1854)

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FIGURE 13.3. Drawing of the top half of a *ushabti* and its copy of BD 6 by Bernard de Montfaucon 1655–1741 (after Caylus 1762: pl. III)

different fields including ethnography, archaeology, geology, and the like, in an attempt to categorize the wonders and oddities of the natural world in a kind of microcosm. Egyptian mummies — or parts of them — were also of particular interest. From an Egyptological point of view, the Sir John Soane's Museum in London is a famous example of such a cabinet, housing the exceptional alabaster sarcophagus of pharaoh Seti I from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

As such these collections often formed the nucleus of later public museums. Among those early collectors, the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680, fig. 13.2) deserves special mention, a philosopher, mathematician, physician, and real polymath of his time. He even claimed to have deciphered hieroglyphic writing. Although most of his assumptions concerning the Egyptian script led him astray, his linking of the ancient Egyptian language with modern Coptic (see Kircher 1636 and 1643) was correct and later proved to be of great help for Champollion's philological studies. Some of the illustrations in Kircher's publications on ancient Egypt — especially the three lavishly illustrated volumes of his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* that appeared between 1652 and 1654 — show items of his own antiquities collection, the Museum Kircherianum in Rome. His editions also included texts and illustrations from the Book of the Dead, like the examples of a heart scarab and mummy bandages (fig. 13.4), published as early as 1654.

Of course at this early date the exact content and interpretation of these objects were still unknown. But some of Kircher's drawings are accurate enough to allow one to identify some spells from the Book of the Dead, such as the text on the scarab in fig. 13.4 as the heart spell BD 30B and the illustration of the seven cows in fig. 13.4 as the scene associated with BD 148 (see figs. 6.6 and 6.7). An even earlier example is reproduced in a French traveler's narrative from 1653 (fig. 13.5), showing a New Kingdom papyrus fragment with an extract from the ferryman spell BD 99B. This piece is of special interest because after more than 360 years it was recently relocated in the

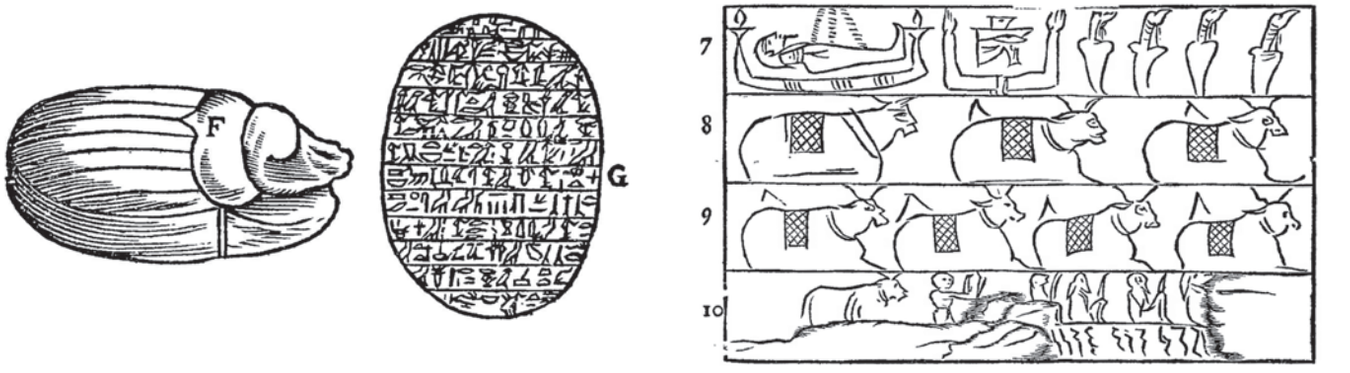


FIGURE 13.4. Drawings of a heart scarab (left) and BD vignette (right) made by Athanasius Kircher (after Kircher 1654: 423 and 534)

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collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (for the fascinating history of this papyrus fragment, see Lüscher 2017).

Other famous examples of early archaeological collections published and illustrated in detail are the monumental works of the French scholar Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741, Montfaucon 1719–1724) and those of the Comte de Caylus (1692–1765, Caylus 1752–1767), both including several objects with texts from the Book of the Dead (fig. 13.3, showing a *shabti* with BD spell 6).

One of the historical turning points that finally led to the decipherment of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs and subsequently to the founding of modern Egyptology was the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt (1798–1801), during which the famous Rosetta Stone was found by an engineering officer of the French army in 1799. It was not only a military campaign: the invading French force was accompanied by a contingent of more than 160 prominent scientists, engineers and artists with the aim to map, explore and document every aspect of ancient and contemporary Egypt in a most comprehensive way.

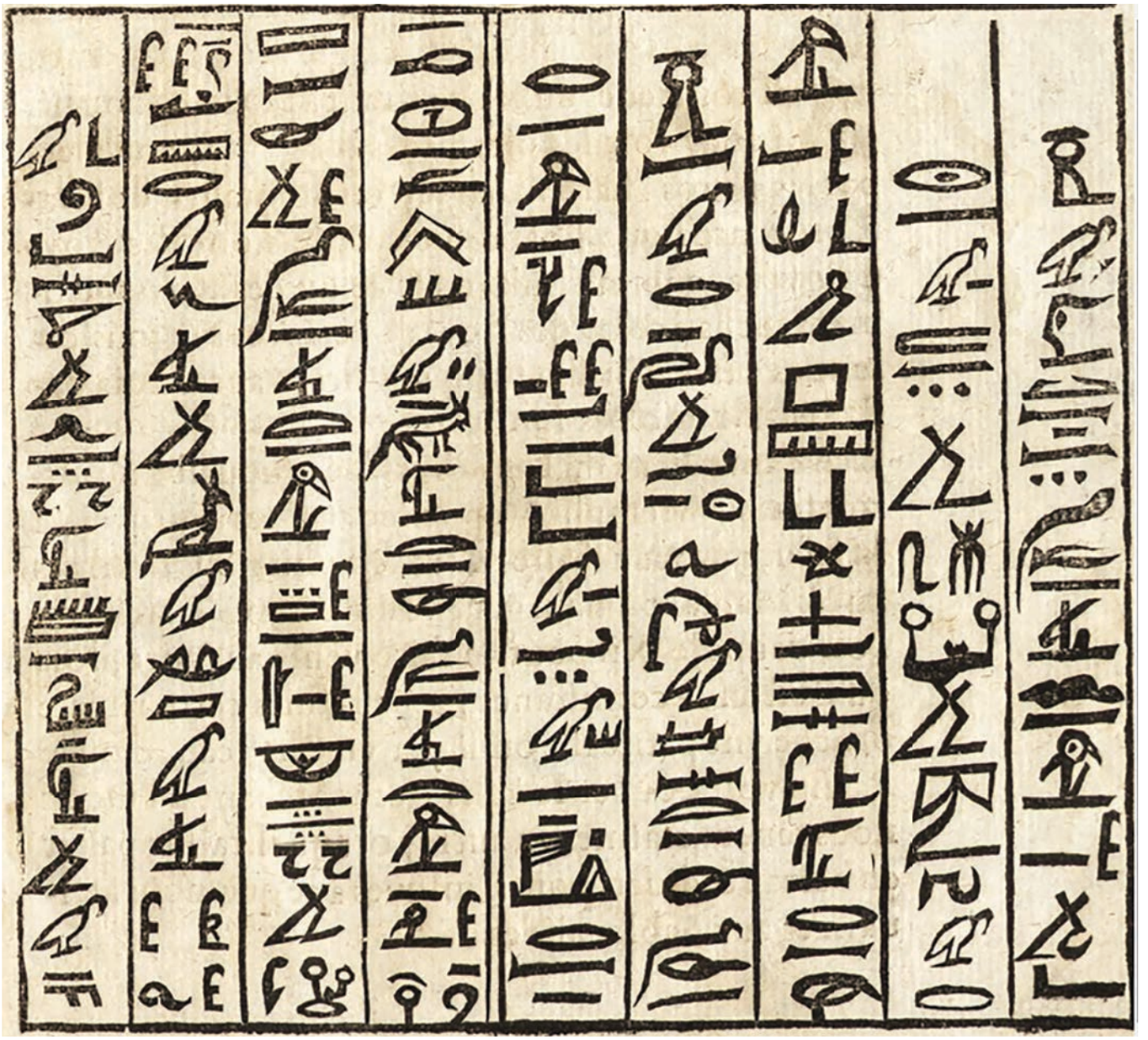


FIGURE 13.5. An extract of BD 99B from a French travel narrative of 1653 (after La Boullaye Le Gouz 1653, p. 357)

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FIGURE 13.6. A section from the first facsimile edition of a complete Book of the Dead manuscript by Jean-Marcel Cadet in 1805 (after *Description 1812*, pl. 75)

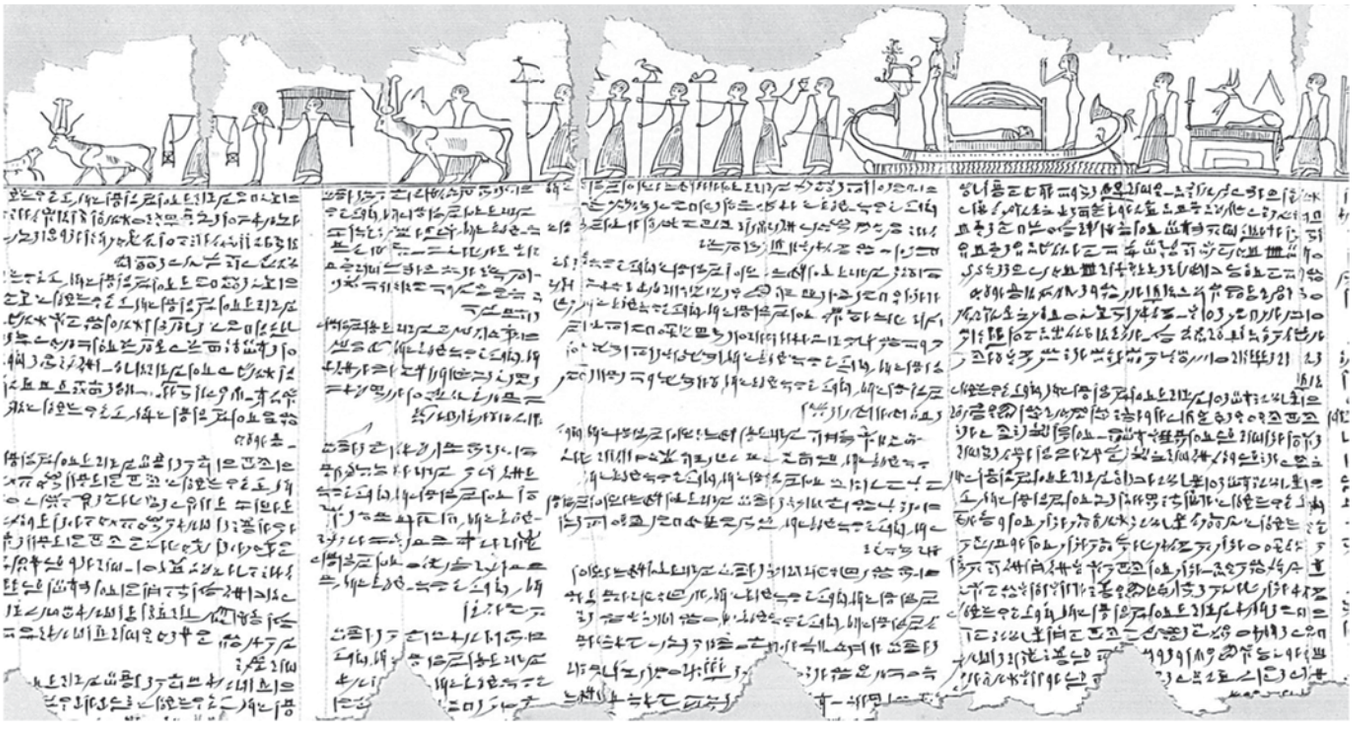


FIGURE 13.7. Copies of Book of the Dead manuscripts originally written in hieratic were copied and published by the "savants" in the Napoleonic *Description* (after *Description* 1812, pl. 61)

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Among those "savants," as they came to be called, were famous names like the mathematicians Joseph Fourier (1768–1830) and Gaspar Monge (1746–1818), the prolific inventor Nicolas-Jacques Conté (1755–1805), and the artist and diplomat Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825, see also Denon 1802), to mention just a few. Their collaborative works gave rise to the world famous *Description de l'Égypte*, published on Napoleon's orders between the years 1809–1830 in a series of giant, triple-folio-sized volumes that included nearly nine hundred plates. Among those magnificently executed engravings are also several Books of the Dead, and the papyri of some are still to be admired at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.

The Ptolemaic papyrus shown in fig. 13.6, known as Papyrus Cadet, is usually considered to be the first facsimile reproduction of a complete Book of the Dead manuscript, with its first edition in 1805 by the original owner Jean-Marcel Cadet (Cadet 1805) and later reproduced in the *Description de l'Égypte* (*Description de l'Égypte* II, pls. 72–75). A comparison with the original papyrus in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale BN 1–19) proves the copy to be quite accurate for a time when the hieroglyphic texts could not be read. Additional Book of the Dead manuscripts published in the Napoleonic edition (*Description de l'Égypte* II, pls. 60–71 and in vol. V, pls. 44–46) were written in hieratic, a cursive form of hieroglyphs (fig. 13.7). In the early days this cursive writing seemed at least as mysterious and exotic as the hieroglyphs and was believed by some scholars to be an alphabetic script. But it was Champollion again who discovered the correct relationship between the two forms of writing.

With the dawn of Egyptology as a scholarly discipline, the Book of the Dead finally began to reveal its contents and it soon became clear that it was not a sort of Bible or compendium of ancient Egyptian wisdom and mysteries but rather a changeable compilation of mortuary spells, whose purpose was to provision and protect the deceased in his afterlife. While for Champollion it represented a kind of funerary ritual, the "father of German Egyptology" Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884, fig. 13.8) was the first to establish the modern designation Book of the Dead, and he saw in it the most ancient and most extensive religious corpus of texts produced by the ancient Egyptians (on Lepsius, see Ebers 1885 and

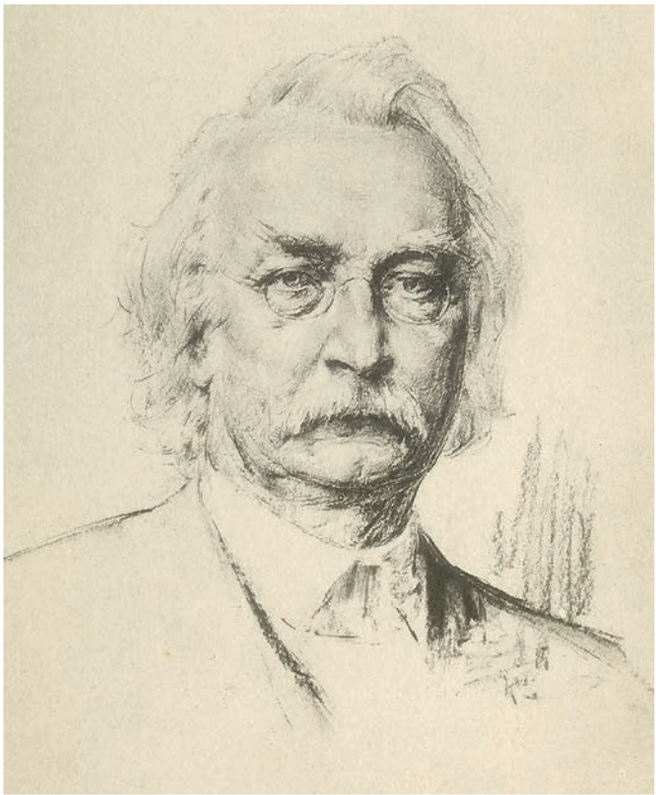


FIGURE 13.8. Portrait of Karl Richard Lepsius 1810–1884, the "father of German Egyptology," who gave us our modern numbering for Book of the Dead spells (after Ebers 1885, frontispiece)

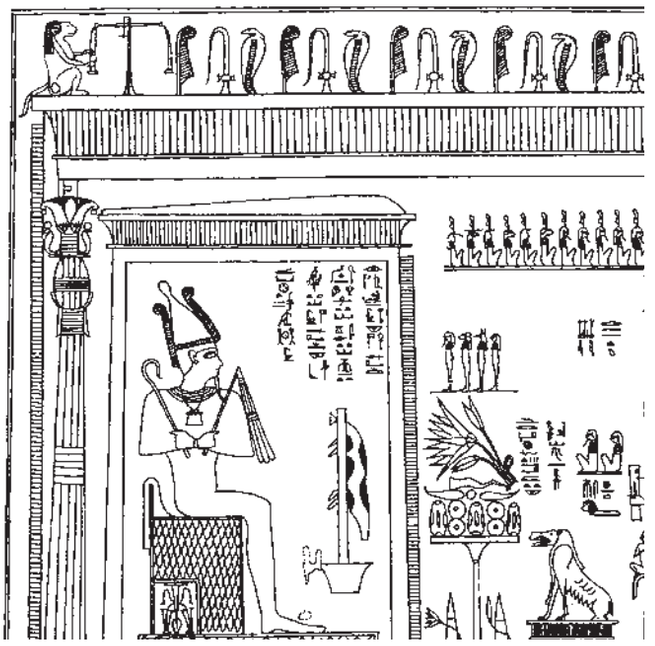


FIGURE 13.9. A section from Papyrus Turin 1791, as drawn in the work of Karl Richard Lepsius (after Lepsius 1842, pl. L)

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FIGURE 13.10. Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville 1844–1926 (photo © Fondation Naville, Geneva)

1887, Hanus et al. 2010, Mehlitz 2011, Lepper 2012). Therefore he considered it to be the best source for studying their language, religion and their concept of afterlife. His first Egyptological publication was the *Todtenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin* (Lepsius 1842, fig. 13.9), reproducing the Ptolemaic papyrus of Iuefankh (Turin inv. 1791). Based on Lepsius' edition, a very first complete translation of the Book of the Dead was presented by the British scholar Samuel Birch (1813–1885) in 1867 (Bunsen 1867), followed by a first (partial) German translation by Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894) in 1872 (Brugsch 1872) and a first French version by Paul Pierret (1836–1916) in 1882 (Pierret 1882).

While the sequence of spells in this Turin papyrus, a specimen of the late tradition known as the Saite Recension, still serves as the basis for our modern numerical system of identifying the individual spells, it does not really reflect the preferred spell sequences of the earlier manuscripts from the Theban Recension, which reflects the classical New Kingdom tradition. When Lepsius realized the high importance of the earlier versions for a fundamental understanding of this collection of texts known as the Book of the Dead, he decided that a new and full comparative edition of the New Kingdom sources was needed. For this enormous task he chose his former student, the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville (1844–1926) (fig. 13.10; Lüscher 2014).

It took him more than a decade to collect, copy, and transcribe all Book of the Dead material that was known and available at the time. In the task of drawing the illustrations he was aided by his wife Marguerite (on her see Maurice-Naville et al. 2014). The final result was an edition of three volumes (Naville 1886): an introductory description of the sources, a volume with facsimiles of the most relevant illustrations (see for example fig. 13.11), plus a volume presenting the documents spell by spell in parallel versions (fig. 13.16). It was to become the standard edition for more than a hundred years of Book of the Dead studies. As the primary and leading

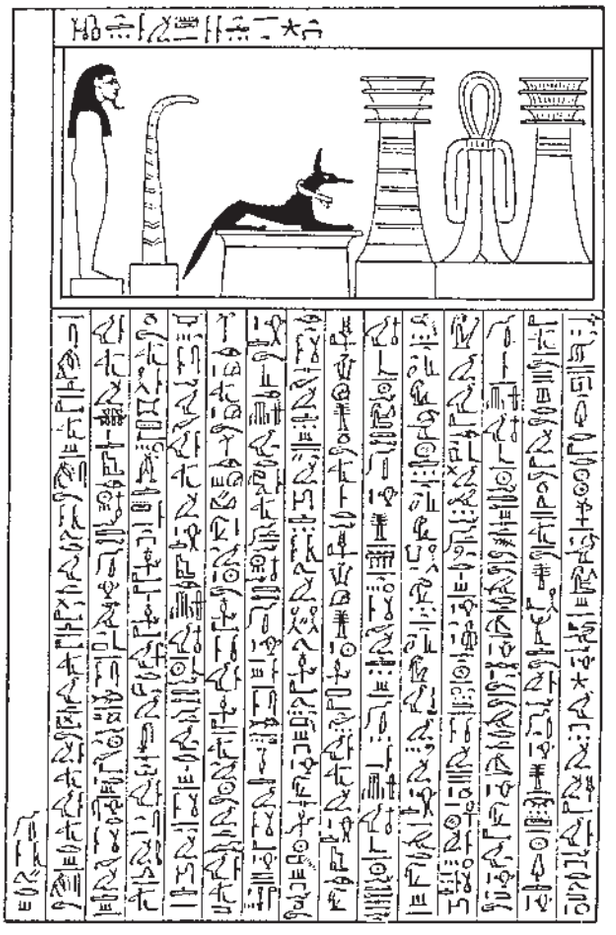


FIGURE 13.11. Facsimile of the papyrus of Neferwebenef (P. Louvre N 3092) (after Naville 1886, pl. CLXXXII)

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FIGURE 13.12. The papyrus of Nebseni (P. BM EA 9900) (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

text version for most of the spells in his synoptic edition, Naville chose the British Museum papyrus of Nebseni (British Museum EA 9900, fig. 13.12), one of the longest and most complete papyri of the Theban Recension. It was first published in photographs by the British Museum as early as 1876 and then again in 2004 (Lapp 2004).

Naville's presentation of several parallel versions of texts for each individual spell created a new and much wider basis of material for comparative studies and research in the field of the Book of the Dead. In addition to early scholarly articles presented in the oldest Egyptological journal, the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* (established in 1863 by Heinrich Brugsch and continued by Richard Lepsius and others), new studies of the texts along with several facsimile publications of papyri appeared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in England (where the many works of the British Museum's keeper Sir E. A. Wallis Budge have to be mentioned; for example fig. 13.13, Budge 1895, 1898, 1899, 1912, 1913), in the Netherlands (Leemans 1882), in France (fig. 13.14, Devéria and Pierret 1872; Guieysse and Lefébure 1877), and in Egypt (Mariette 1871–1876), to mention just a few. A closer look at all those new sources from the classical New Kingdom period soon made it clear that many of the older translations were outdated and full of misinterpretations. It also became obvious that there was a considerable difference in the sequence of spells as well as in the texts themselves between Late Period manuscripts (like Lepsius' Turin papyrus) and New Kingdom manuscripts (like those presented by Naville and in the editions presented by other scholars).

The translations that followed were now mostly based not only on one particular manuscript but aimed at presenting a sort of standard text by comparing the various known versions. Among the most widely used modern translations are: for English readers those by Thomas George Allen (Allen 1960, 1974), Raymond O. Faulkner (Faulkner 1985), and Stephen Quirke (Quirke 2013), for the French readers those by Paul Barguet (Barguet 1967) and Claude Carrier (Carrier 2009), and for German readers the one by Erik Hornung (Hornung 1979). In the context

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of this exhibit in Chicago the name of Thomas George Allen (1885–1969, fig. 13.15) deserves special mention. Born in Rockford, Illinois, this pioneer in early Egyptology had studied at the University of Chicago under James Henry Breasted (1865–1935), who was the first American Egyptologist and founder of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (C. Breasted 2009; Abt 2011). Like the other early American Egyptologists George Reisner and Albert Lythgoe, Breasted went to Germany for his doctoral studies. After having achieved his PhD in 1915, Allen was appointed secretary of Haskell Oriental Museum in 1917 and secretary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago at its inception in 1919. By 1927 he became editorial secretary and thus was in charge of putting the Institute's publications through the press until his retirement in 1950.

His dissertation on *Horus in the Pyramid Texts* (Allen 1916) already witnessed his interest and expertise in Egyptian philology and funerary literature. He was also part of the first comprehensive scientific project of the Oriental Institute, the Coffin Texts edition. A collaboration of various scholars, it was planned, overseen, and co-edited by James H. Breasted and the British Egyptologist Alan H. Gardiner. From 1925 onward the completion of copying as well as most of the final editorial responsibilities were put in the skilled hands of the Dutch Adriaan de Buck, a former pupil of the German scholar Kurt Sethe. The final edition set new modern standards and went far beyond the method used by Sethe for the Pyramid Texts and by Naville for the Book of the Dead.

Today the name of Thomas George Allen is mainly connected with his two excellent translations of the Book of the Dead (T. Allen 1960, 1974), wherein he presented new and modern translations of both traditions (the New Kingdom and the Late Period). For this task he profited from his previous experience with the older text corpora, the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts. The first volume (T. Allen 1960) presented the publication of the two most prominent Book of the Dead manuscripts in Chicago from the Ptolemaic period, known as Papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15) and Papyrus Ryerson (Cat. No. 14) that were acquired by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in the course of its first expedition in 1919. They also form the core of the current exhibit. Allen's second translation (T. Allen 1974) focused on the New Kingdom tradition. As he stated in the preface, "this



FIGURE 13.13. Facsimile of the papyrus of Hunefer (P. BM EA 9901) from the edition of Budge 1899, pl. 11

new volume was first planned merely for the benefit of the general reader, to replace the English version currently in use, that of Dr. (later Sir) E. A. Wallis Budge." This was indeed much needed because the older translations represented a very outdated state of Egyptological knowledge. Thus Allen's new translation became a standard reference work for scholars even today. Another useful instrument for anyone studying Egyptian mortuary texts is Allen's *Occurrences of Pyramid Texts* (T. Allen 1950), a cross index which reveals the degree of relationship and intertwinings between the Pyramid, Coffin, and Book of the Dead Texts.

More, however, was needed than up to date translations of the Book of the Dead spells. As pointed out by scholars like Kurt Sethe, who initiated a first Book of the Dead study circle at Göttingen, Germany, called the Göttinger Totenbuchstudien (Kees 1954; Westendorf 1975), Adriaan de Buck, and others,

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FIGURE 13.14. Facsimile of the papyrus of Nebqed (Louvre N 3068) made by Th. Devéria (after Devéria 1872, pl. III; cf. fig. 4.2)

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FIGURE 13.15. Portrait of Thomas George Allen (University of Chicago Photographic Archive, afp1-00121, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library)

Naville's presentation of the texts in his edition (Naville 1886, especially vol. 2) left many questions unanswered in part because he had presented the sources in a rather incomplete manner. Instead of giving the complete text found in each document for any given spell, he chose the text in one document as a basic version, in most cases the London papyrus of Nebseni (British Museum EA 9900, identified as "Aa" by Naville), and in the adjacent columns for the parallel texts from other documents he wrote only the more important variants (fig. 13.16).

Today the number of Book of the Dead manuscripts in museums and private collections has constantly grown since the time of Naville and his contemporaries, with the majority of it still being partly or completely unpublished. Therefore, after 120 years since Naville's standard publication, it was time for a new comparative edition of the New Kingdom Book of the Dead. This task was undertaken by a still ongoing Swiss project (by Günther Lapp and Barbara Lüscher) which started in 2006 (see the volumes in the series *Totenbuchtexte* of Orientverlag Basel). In contrast to Naville's way of presentation, all the variants of a particular spell are given in full, carefully presenting the original orientation of the signs and noting the rubric passages. By including a high percentage of hitherto unpublished sources it has been possible to multiply the number of variants per spell. This additional material also includes versions on tomb walls and funerary objects like coffins, stelae, statues, etc.

Of course, not only the texts themselves have to be addressed. For a comprehensive, more general, and wide-ranging approach the Book of the Dead documents should be published in full photography and presented with all their physical aspects. Information on special features like layout patterns, paleography, measurements, and colors, spell sequences, illustrations, etc. are important for finding much needed dating criteria, revealing the historical development, distinguishing local traditions, and so on. The study of the vignettes which accompany a majority of spells has long been neglected compared to philological studies (see Mosher 2016 for a detailed studied of the texts and vignettes of the Late Period tradition).

The aim of collecting comprehensive data including photographs of all existing Book of the Dead material worldwide was the objective of the German Book of the Dead Project, started in 1992 as a collaboration between the universities of Bonn (Ursula Rössler-Köhler) and Cologne (Heinz-Josef Thissen) and concluded in 2012. The archive's database is now accessible to scholars via a digital platform (http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/), and the edition of manuscripts as well as comprehensive studies continues in the project's own book series *Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches* (HAT) and *Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch* (SAT), also including an extant bibliography on the Book of the Dead (Backes et al. 2009) and a word index based on Lepsius' Turin papyrus (Backes 2005). A first index based on the Turin papyrus had already been published in 1875 by the Norwegian Jens Lieblein (Lieblein 1875).

In addition, the British Museum has started its own series called *Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum*, presenting some of their most important and well preserved manuscripts like the papyrus of Nu (Lapp 1997), Hor (Mosher 2001), and Nebseni (Lapp 2004). A growing number of

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monographs on particular Books of the Dead has been published in the last few decades by international scholars, including various authors of this catalog. But there is still a great number of sources waiting to be explored and discussed. Exhibitions with accompanying catalogs focusing on the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead — like the British Museum event in London 2009 (Taylor 2010) and of course this current one in Chicago — are therefore a wonderful opportunity to present this fascinating corpus in its various forms and facets to a wider public.

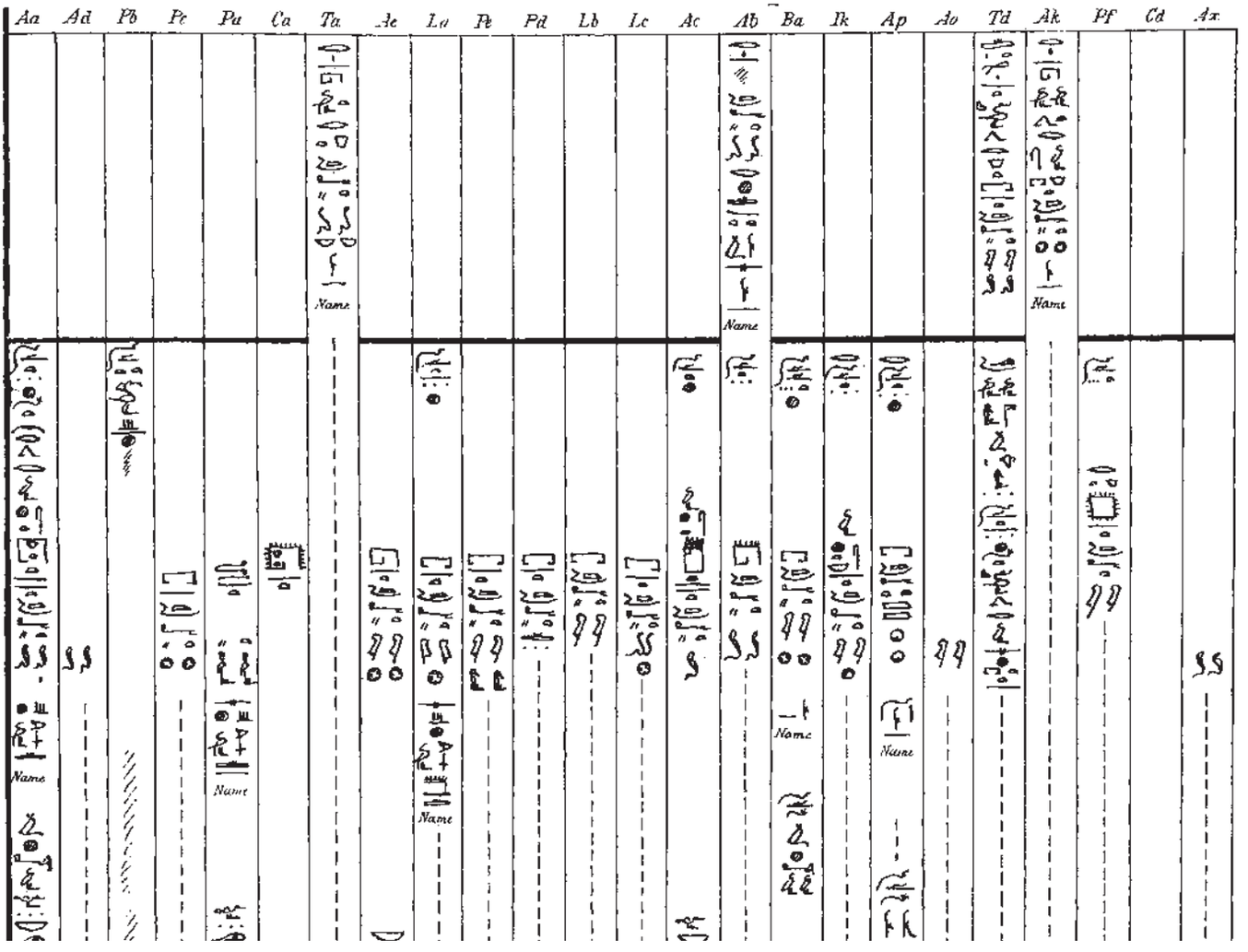


FIGURE 13.16. Comparison of parallel versions of BD 125 collected by Edouard Naville (after Naville 1886, p. 275)

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14. NECROBIBLIOMANIA: (MIS)APPROPRIATIONS OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

STEVE VINSON

A few days before March 23, 1904, Aleister Crowley — the notorious English occultist whom British tabloids proclaimed the "Wickedest Man in the World," and who considered himself to be the "Beast 666" — was visiting the then-new Egyptian Museum in Cairo's Ismailia (now Tahrir) Square, along with his wife Rose (fig. 14.1). For some time prior to this, Rose had been, as she thought, receiving visions, informing her that the gods had a message for Crowley. At first Crowley had been skeptical of these visions. It was not that he disbelieved in the possibility of such things; quite the contrary. But up until this time, wrote Crowley, Rose had never shown any clairvoyant ability and "should never have been allowed outside a ballroom." As far as Crowley was concerned, her main attractions were a figure that was "perfect, neither big nor little," and a face that was "pretty without being pretty." Her personality, according to Crowley, was "intensely powerful and magnetic;" and though her "intellect" was "absent," she had a "mind adaptable to that of any companion, so that she could always say the right nothing." But despite his doubts, once the alleged visions began, Crowley tested her repeatedly; and the more impossible knowledge she appeared to have, the more open he became to the possibility that, at least in this instance, Rose might truly be a medium for the gods.

Finally, on the day of their visit to the Egyptian Museum, Rose proved to Crowley beyond any doubt that she was the bearer of a new revelation, as Crowley recounted some eight years later in his journal *The Equinox*. In this extract, Crowley refers to himself in the third-person as "Fra. P.;" this was an abbreviation of "Frater Perdurabo" ("Brother I-Shall-Endure"), Crowley's fraternal name (or his cryptonym, i.e., the pseudonym he used in the context of his secret magical order A∴A∴). "W." refers to Rose Crowley, whom Crowley occasionally called "Warda," Arabic for "Rose."

> Fra. P. took her to the museum at Boulak, which they had not previously visited. She passed by (as P. noted with silent glee) several images of Horus. They went upstairs. A glass case stood in the distance, too far off for its contents to be recognized. But W. recognized it! "There," she cried, "There he is!"
>
> Fra. P. advanced to the case. There was an image of Horus in the form of Ra Hoor Khuit (i.e., Ra Horakhty) painted upon a wooden stélé of the



FIGURE 14.1. Aleister Crowley, his wife Rose Kelly, and their daughter Lola in 1910 (after Crowley 1910, backpiece)

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> 26th dynasty — *and the exhibit bore the number 666*! (Crowley 1912b, p. 368)

What Rose Crowley had "recognized," whether through prophetic inspiration or dumb luck, was the Saite era funerary stela of one Ankhefenchonsu (fig. 14.2; now Cairo A9422, see P. Munro 1973, p. 187, pl. 2, fig. 5). In his account, incidentally, Crowley had misremembered (or else, had never precisely understood) the location of these events. In 1904, there was no "museum at Boulak." The Bulaq Museum, the old Egyptian Museum popularly named for its location in the Bulaq district of Cairo, had been closed since 1890; the famous Egyptian Museum in today's Tahrir Square had opened to the public in 1902, two years prior to the Crowleys' visit to Cairo. But Crowley was correct to note that the stela had, from the time when it had been put on display in the Bulaq Museum, been given the accession number 666. This would no doubt have captured the attention and interest of any occultist, but for Crowley, this could not possibly have been seen as a coincidence; Crowley had long believed that the "Number of the Beast" 666 bore special significance to him personally (Crowley 1936a).

Crowley was so taken with this experience that he went on to dub the stela the "Stela of Revealing," and to regard it as the basis of a substantial portion of his own religious and mystical philosophy. He had a facsimile of the object made up, and had himself photographed in the garb of a wizard, posing with the stela-facsimile along with magical attributes referring to the suits of the Tarot: a sword, wand, cup and pentacle (fig. 14.3). But what, exactly, was written on the object? At some point after his discovery of the stela, Crowley and Rose had dined with Émile Brugsch, at the time Keeper of the Egyptian Museum and younger brother of the pioneering Demoticist



FIGURE 14.2. The stela bearing the inventory number 666 of the Boulaq Museum inscribed with portions of BD spells 91, 30, and 2. (photo courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and Ordo Templi Orientis)

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Heinrich Brugsch. Brugsch arranged for one of his assistants to translate the texts of the stela, which proved to be extracts from Book of the Dead spells 2, 30, and 91. Later still, although the date seems to be nowhere recorded, Crowley arranged with his friend, the esteemed Egyptologist Battiscombe Gunn, to provide him with a new translation. According to Crowley, Gunn had produced the new translation in association with Alan Gardiner, dean of British Egyptology in the first half of the twentieth century (see Crowley 1912b, p. 369. On Crowley's relationship with Battiscombe Gunn and Gunn's interest in esotericism generally, see Vinson and Gunn 2014).

What Gardiner made of all of this remains a mystery. Gardiner thought very highly of Gunn and was for many years Gunn's close friend and mentor, but he was also quite candid that he considered Gunn to be a bit unusual, a "true bohemian" (Gardiner 1962, p. 32). What exactly Gardiner meant by that, however, is unclear, just as it is also unclear what, if anything, Gardiner really knew or suspected about Gunn's flirtations with Aleister Crowley and his circle of occultists. I have never been able to discover any evidence that Gardiner knew Crowley personally or ever had anything to do with him directly. Possibly Gunn had kept Gardiner in the dark as to the real reason for his interest in the stela of Ankhefenchonsu, and perhaps Gardiner simply thought that he and Gunn were engaged in a purely scholarly enterprise in studying the object and its texts.

Crowley was and remains controversial and well-known, but he was far from being alone among those with a bent toward the occult or the esoteric in his interest in the Book of the Dead, or in other ancient Egyptian religious or esoteric texts. Since the very last years of the nineteenth century, the Book of the Dead has been intensively studied by mystics in Europe and North America; and of course it, and the idea of occult books from Egypt more generally, became an important element in popular culture, in works of fiction or in films that dealt with ancient Egypt. In the remainder of this chapter, we highlight a few of the major currents in (what professional Egyptologists, at any rate, would regard as) the "misappropriation" of the Book of the Dead. That is, we examine uses of, and approaches to, the composition that have deviated from the methods and goals of professional Egyptology: above all, the close philological and historical study of the Book of the Dead for the purpose of recovering and understanding ancient Egypt's beliefs concerning the nature of the human soul and its fate after death.



FIGURE 14.3. Aleister Crowley, dressed as a magus, poses with a number of occult objects, including a facsimile of the so-called "Stela of Revealing" (after Perdurabo and Virakam 1912, facing p. 1)

EARLIEST ACQUAINTANCES

The Book of the Dead had first become available and generally known as such in 1842, with the publication of Richard Lepsius' *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*. An English translation by Samuel Birch was available relatively soon thereafter, in 1867. But it was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that the Book of the Dead really became widely known and available to lay readers in translations intended for a more general audience. For British and other English-speaking occultists or Egyptophiles, the most obvious source to turn to was E. Wallis Budge's numerous published translations (some directed at a scholarly audience, others at an audience of lay readers), the first of which appeared in 1895.

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The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century — that is, the late Victorian and Edwardian periods — were also an early high point of occult interest in Britain and elsewhere in Western Europe and North America (Hutton 1999; Luckhurst 2002; Butler 2011). For most in this period, participation in occultism and esotericism merely entailed enjoyable diversions like Tarot reading or attendance at séances, or a general acceptance of the reality, or at least plausibility, of paranormal phenomena like ghost-materialization, telepathy, precognition, etc. But there were others who believed that it was possible — and indeed important — to actually recover the procedures, and to reproduce the (alleged) results, of esoteric practices from ancient cultures, particularly but not exclusively from ancient Egypt.

Two organizations in particular stand out for more serious esotericists in the Victorian and Edwardian periods. The first of these, which exists to this day, was the Theosophical Society, founded in 1875 by Helena Blavatsky (1831–1891). As a general proposition, Theosophy is an exponent of *prisca theologia*: the notion that there is a single, true theology that underlies and unites all of the world's religious and esoteric traditions (Hutton 1999, pp. 18–20; on the term *prisca theologia* and its relationship to beliefs about Egypt's status as a source of primordial knowledge, see Assmann 1997, pp. 18, 84, 230 n. 6). Blavatsky is perhaps best known for her massive two-volume treatise *Isis Unveiled* (1877), a work that does not deal with Isis as a specific deity, but identifies her as a manifestation of the universal "Divine Mother" (Blavatsky 1877, vol. 1, p. 16). That said, *Isis Unveiled* does occasionally make claims about the Book of the Dead in support of its basic arguments, including the notion that Christian ideas about the immortality of the soul were anticipated verbatim in the Book of the Dead (Blavatsky 1877, vol. 1, p. 518).

Blavatsky's longest disquisition on the Book of the Dead in *Isis Unveiled* comes in the context of an exegesis of the biblical Book of Job as an allegory on the initiation of a dead person into the Underworld. In the following extract, she apparently has in mind a comparison between the Egyptians' final judgment



FIGURE 14.4. The judgment scene before Osiris was interpreted by Helena Blavatsky as an allegory on the initiation of the dead into the netherworld. It is likely that the negative confession of BD 125, for which this scene serves as vignette, was used in ancient Egypt in priestly initiation rites. OIM E9787F = Cat. No. 14 (D. 28919)

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in the presence of Osiris (fig. 14.4) and the scene in Job 1: 6–12, in which God permits Satan to test the rectitude and faithfulness of Job:

> The whole allegory of Job is an open book to him who understands the picture-language of Egypt as it is recorded in The Book of the Dead. In the Scene of Judgment, Osiris is represented sitting on his throne, holding in one hand the symbol of life, "the hook of attraction," and in the other the mystic Bacchic fan (scil., apparently the royal flail). Before him are the sons of God, the forty-two assessors of the dead. An altar is immediately before the throne, covered with gifts and surmounted with the sacred lotus-flower, upon which stand four spirits. By the entrance stands the soul about to be judged, whom Thmei (scil., *maat* with initial feminine definite article, *t3 m3ʿ.t*), the genius of Truth, is welcoming to this conclusion of the probation. Thoth holding a reed, makes a record of the proceedings in the Book of Life. Horus and Anubis, standing by the scales, inspect the weight which determines whether the heart of the deceased balances the symbol of truth, or the latter preponderates. On a pedestal sits a bitch — the symbol of the Accuser. Initiation into the Mysteries, as every intelligent person knows, was a dramatic representation of scenes in the underworld. Such was the allegory of Job. (Blavatsky 1877, vol. 2, pp. 493–94)

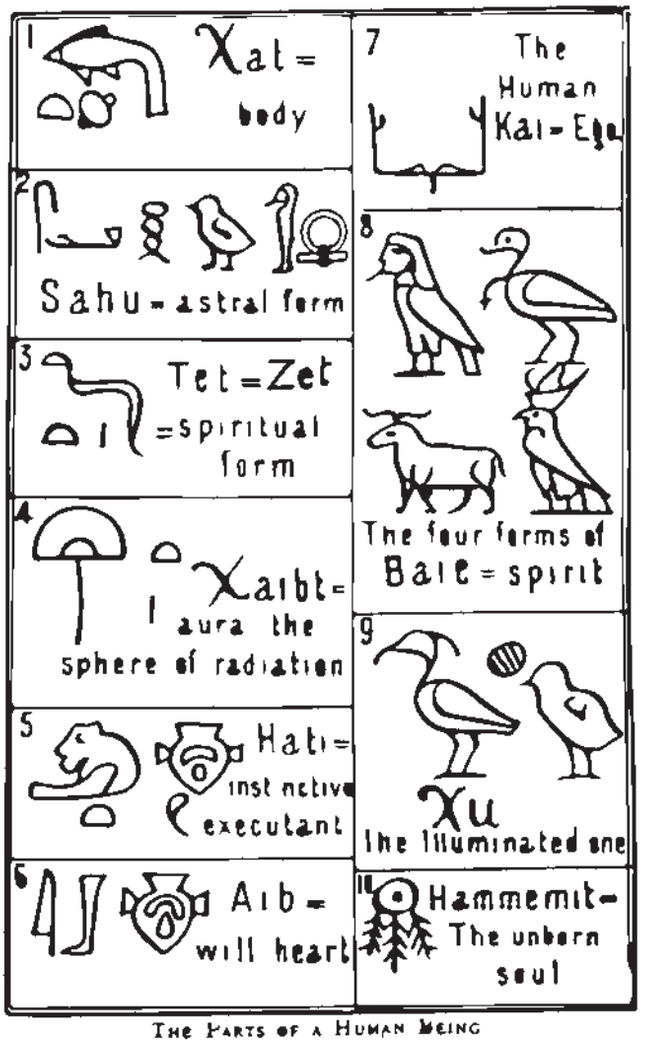


FIGURE 14.5. The frontispiece to Florence Farr's *Egyptian Magic* showing concepts associated with an individual's identity, which appear in the Book of the Dead (after Farr 1896)

The second of these organizations — whose membership overlapped substantially with the Theosophical Society — was the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. The original Golden Dawn was very small and short-lived, and largely limited to elite circles in late-Victorian Great Britain. But at the time of its heyday (ca. 1890 to 1900) it was notorious and somewhat influential (Owen 2004, pp. 51–84). Among modern occultists, it is remembered and even emulated to this day; in its original incarnation, it had numbered Aleister Crowley among its members, along with luminaries and celebrities like the poet William Butler Yeats (recipient of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1923), and the then-famous London stage actress Florence Farr.

Farr is a particularly interesting case (Owen 2004, pp. 3, 61, and 69). She was fascinated with ancient Egypt, and was evidently, like Aleister Crowley, a friend of Battiscombe Gunn. She wrote extensively on Egypt, producing both "scholarly" works on ancient Egyptian magic as well as a number of Egypt-themed dramatic works. One of these, her "The Shrine of the Golden Hawk" (written with collaborator Olivia Shakespear in 1895) had featured a young Gunn in the role of the "Priest of the Waters" when it was performed in London in 1905, during the second annual meeting of the Federation of European Sections of the Theosophical Society (Council of the Federation 1907, p. 21). But most relevant for us, in 1896, Farr — writing as "S.S.D.D.," or "Sapientia Sapienti Dona Data," "Wisdom is a Gift Given to the Wise" — had published a volume entitled *Egyptian Magic* in the series Collectanea Hermetica, published by the Theosophical Publishing Society.

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FIGURE 14.6. BD spell 64 with a vignette showing the deceased before a sun disk was the focus of attention by occultists in the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. OIM E10486D = Cat. No. 15 (D. 13327)

Farr's *Egyptian Magic* devotes a great deal of space to the Egyptian Book of the Dead (fig. 14.5), quoting and analyzing numerous passages. Short direct quotes come from chapters 26, 33, 46, 89, 91, and 92 (Farr 1896, pp. 30–31). For Farr, among the most important facts about the Book of the Dead was the insight it gave into the human heart:

> In the same way the Ab (will) (i.e., *ỉb* in current conventional transliteration) or Red Vessel of the Heart is represented in the Book of the Dead as containing an egg, and a concave germ: when this concave germ is developed by cultivation the real life and full development of the Ego could begin, that is to say the Ka could progress in its celestial evolution, just as the body could progress in its terrestrial evolution. (Farr 1896, p. 5)

But Farr devoted considerably fuller attention to chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead (fig. 14.6), including several pages of extracts. Chapter 64 itself is entitled "Spell for Coming Forth by Day," and in some versions, its concluding text contains the claim that it dates the reign of a king *Ḫ3sty*, the *Nbty*-name of the First Dynasty king Den (also occasionally appearing in late distortion *Qnty*; Allen 1974, p. 59; on the name, see also von Beckerath 1997, pp. 33, 38–39). For this reason, occultists and many early Egyptologists alike regarded this chapter as the heart of the entire Book of the Dead composition, perhaps the very oldest Egyptian religious text in existence (Budge 1901, pp. 210–11). For Farr, Chapter 64 was

> ... the Triumphant Death-Song of the Initiated Egyptian. To Him the Life beyond the grave — the abodes of the West — opened a wider range of activity. To him Initiation meant the hastening of the Time of Ripened Power when he might become One with the Great God of Humanity, Osiris; slain that he might rise again, perfected through suffering, glorified through humiliation. This was the highest work of magic, the Spiritual Alchemy or the Transmutation from human Force to Divine Potency. (Farr 1896, p. 15)

Aleister Crowley was also fascinated by this text, and actually composed a poetic paraphrase of it, known (not coincidentally) as "Liber LXIV" in the Crowley *oeuvre*. While some of this appears to be entirely Crowley's own invention, much of it also closely follows contemporary Egyptological translations

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of the text. Compare this extract from Crowley's paraphrase:

> Thou, whose skin is of flaming orange as though it burned in a furnace! Thee, Thee I invoke. Behold! I am Yesterday, To-Day, and the Brother of To-Morrow! I am born again and again. Mine is the Unseen Force, whereof the gods are sprung! Which is as Life unto the Dwellers in the Watch-Towers of the Universe. I am the Charioteer of the East, Lord of the Past of of (*sic*) the Future. I see by mine own inward light: Lord of Resurrection; Who cometh forth from the Dusk, and my birth is from the House of Death. O ye two Divine Hawks upon your Pinnacles! Who keep watch over the Universe! Ye who accompany the Bier to the House of Rest! Who pilot the Ship of Ra advancing onwards to the heights of heaven! (Crowley 1912a, p. 26)

With the corresponding passage from Budge's translation of Chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead:

> (1) THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY IN THE UNDERWORLD. Nebseni, the lord of reverence, saith: (2) "I am Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow, [and I have] the power (3) to be born a second time; [I am] the divine hidden Soul who createth the gods, and who giveth celestial meals unto the denizens of the duat (underworld), Amentet, and heaven. [I am] the Rudder (4) of the East, the Possessor of two Divine Faces wherein his beams are seen. I am the Lord of the men who are raised up; [the Lord] who cometh forth from out of the darkness, and (5) whose forms of existence are of the house wherein are the dead. Hail, ye two Hawks who are perched upon your resting-places, who hearken unto (6) the things which are said by him, who guide the bier to the hidden place, who lead along Rā, and (7) who follow [him] into the uppermost place of the shrine which is in the celestial heights! (Budge 1901, pp. 211–12)

The Tibetan Book of the Dead

Standing somewhat in a gray zone between esotericism and genuine scholarship was the work of Walter Yeeling Evans-Wentz (fig. 14.7). Evans-Wentz was a Stanford University educated anthropologist and folklorist who, in collaboration with the Tibetan translator Kazi Dawa Samdup, produced the first translation (1927) into a Western language of what they called the Tibetan Book of the Dead. The Tibetan title of this composition is the *Bar-do thos-grol chen-mo*, or "Great Liberation upon Hearing in the *Bardo*;" it is actually a compilation of Tibetan Buddhist ritual and philosophical texts designed to familiarize persons with what they experience when they reach the *bardo*, the immediate post-mortem state in which a departed soul is awaiting rebirth (Cuevas 2003, p. 27). For us, however, the actual purpose and context of the "Liberation upon Hearing" is less important than the fact that Evans-Wentz, in editing, interpreting and presenting it to a Western audience, immediately thought to connect it to the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

In part, Evans-Wentz's choice of title was intended to alert his Western readers to exactly what, in his view, the text was to deal with:

> It (scil., the title Tibetan Book of the Dead) has been adopted because it seems to be the most appropriate short title for conveying to the English reader the true character of the book as a whole. (Evans-Wentz 2000, p. 2 n. 1)

Evans-Wentz, however, was a follower of Helena Blavatsky and her Theosophical movement, with all



FIGURE 14.7. Walter Evans-Wentz (right) and Lama Kazi Dawa Samdup, ca. 1919 (Public Domain)

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that implied with respect to Egypt as a source of primordial esoteric knowledge (see the comments of Donald Lopez in the foreword to Evans-Wentz 2000, esp. pp. M-O; Cuevas 2003, p. 7). He had, in fact, traveled for three years in Egypt, pursuing "research in the ancient funeral lore of the Nile Valley," prior to taking up his interest in Tibetan Buddhism (Evans-Wentz 2000, p. 22). Evans-Wentz was particularly struck by the similarity that he found between the final judgment of the dead as depicted in the Egyptian Book of the Dead and in the Tibetan "Great Liberation":

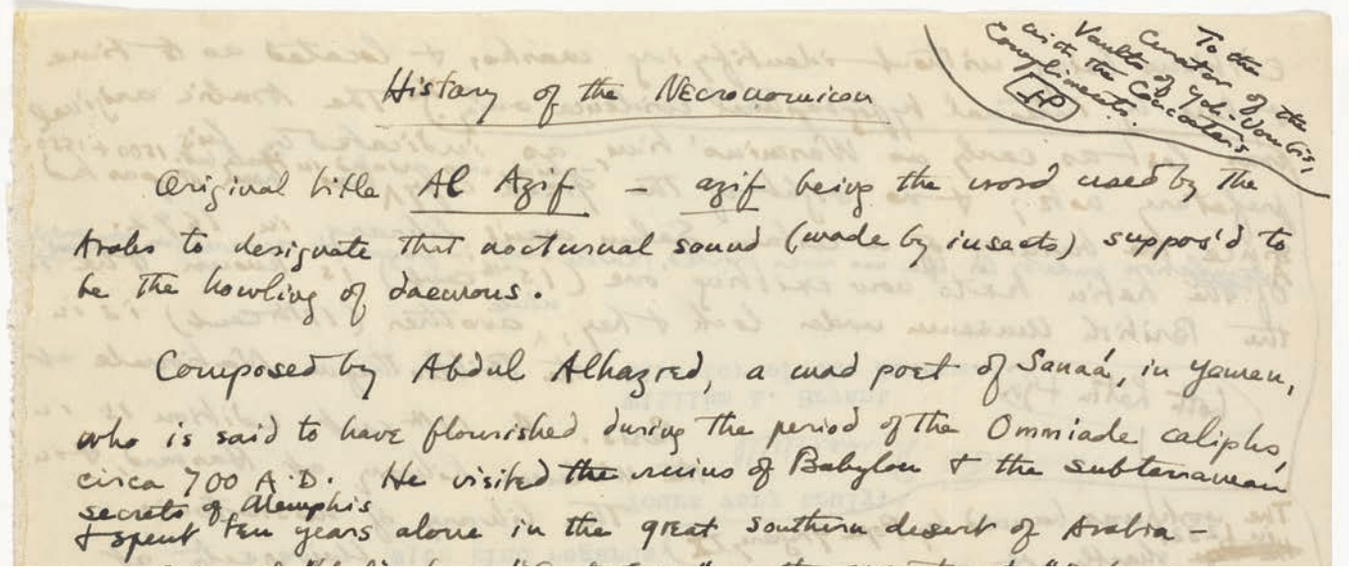
> The Judgement Scene as described in our text and that described in the Egyptian Book of the Dead seem so much alike in essentials as to suggest that common origin, at present unknown, to which we have already made reference. In the Tibetan version, Dharma-Rāja (Tib. *Shinje-chho-gyal*) King of the Dead … the Buddhist and Hindu Pluto, as a Judge of the Dead, corresponds to Osiris in the Egyptian version. In both versions alike there is the symbolical weighing: before Dharma-Rāja there are placed on one side of the balance black pebbles and on the other side white pebbles, symbolizing evil and good deeds; and similarly before Osiris, the heart and the feather … are weighed against one another. … (Evans-Wentz 2000, p. 35)

There follow, of course, extensive further comparisons, including the presence in both judgment scenes of a primate-headed divinity as witness, in Egypt the baboon-headed Thoth, and in Tibet "the monkey-headed *Shinje*" (Evans-Wentz 2000, p. 36).

When we consider Blavatsky, Crowley, Farr and Evans-Wentz together, there are three things that, we may say, appear to explain modern, esotericist interest in, and approaches to, the Egyptian Book of the Dead. In the first place, and most broadly, there was a commitment to ancient Egypt as the source of a *prisca theologia* — a notion with roots in the Renaissance, and which had informed eighteenth century Enlightenment notions of ancient Egypt's religion as well. But in the second place, there was undoubtedly the specificity of the subject matter of the Book of the Dead, and the specificity of the (modern!) title itself (Chapters 2 and 13), one which seemed at once to confirm modern conceptions of ancient Egypt as a culture obsessed with death, and to promise revelation of the deepest mysteries of Egyptian thought. And finally, occultists and other esotericists believed strongly in the continued relevance of ancient Egyptian spiritual ideas in the modern world, and they endeavored to put those ideas into practice.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN FILMS AND POPULAR LITERATURE

Fascination with Egypt, and particularly with its beliefs about death and resurrection, was of course not


History of the Necronomicon

Original title Al Azif – azif being the word used by the Arabs to designate that nocturnal sound (made by insects) supposed to be the howling of daemons.

Composed by Abdul Alhazred, a mad poet of Sanaá, in Yemen, who is said to have flourished during the period of the Ommiade caliphs circa 700 A.D. He visited the ruins of Babylon & the subterranean secrets of Memphis & spent ten years alone in the great southern desert of Arabia –

FIGURE 14.8. A handwritten manuscript of H. P. Lovecraft's "History of the Necronomicon" now in the John Hay Library of Brown University Library. Ms A18753 (1)

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limited to occultists. Particularly in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, Egypt was often the theme of Gothic and horror fiction and film. This confluence is no coincidence: the popularity of supernatural-themed popular entertainment in this period, of course, is probably to be seen as a reflex of the wide-spread belief in the genuine possibility of paranormal phenomena and interest in occultism and esotericism that we have already described.

However, while the Egyptian Book of the Dead was often invoked by name in esotericist discourse, its influence in popular culture has been somewhat more diffuse. Authors or screen-writers in need of a title of an Egyptian esoteric book have sometimes chosen the title of some other ancient Egyptian religious/occult text. One common choice has been the "Book of Thoth," the magic book that figures in the Demotic "First Tale of Setne Khaemwas," an actual ancient Egyptian tale of magic that even features a re-animated mummy (for the "First Tale of Setne Khaemwas, see Ritner 2003 and Vinson 2017). Others have simply invented a title of their own.

A case in point is the title *Necronomicon*, a fictional occult book (grimoire) that figures repeatedly in the fiction of legendary horror author H. P. Lovecraft. The title itself, with its invocation of death, suggests an association with the Book of the Dead, and in fact Lovecraft made it clear in his work that the *Necronomicon* was, at least in part, to be understood as comprising esoteric knowledge derived from ancient Egypt. But Lovecraft was also clear that the *Necronomicon* and the Egyptian Book of the Dead were not to be regarded as one and the same thing. No doubt in response to numerous requests from



FIGURE 14.9. An advertisement for the film *The Mummy* shows archaeological assistant Ralph Norton (Bramwell Fletcher) startled to find the mummy of Imhotep stealing the "scroll of Thoth" after Norton mistakenly resurrected him by reading the magical texts on the scroll (Universal Pictures, Public Domain)

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his readers, Lovecraft in 1938 produced a definitive back-story for his grimoire, entitled "History of the Necronomicon" (fig. 14.8; reprinted in Lovecraft 1980). In this fictional "History," Lovecraft reports that the *Necronomicon* had been compiled in AD 730 by one "Abdul Alhazred, a mad poet of Sanaá, in Yemen," who had searched — among many other places to be sure — in the "subterranean secrets of Memphis" for mystical knowledge (Lovecraft 1980, p. 6). The Book of the Dead is not mentioned as one of the Egyptian sources for the *Necronomicon*, but it does emerge in Lovecraft's short story "Through the Gates of the Silver Key" (written in 1934 with co-author E. Hoffman Price) that one of the sources of the *Necronomicon* was a "Book of Thoth." This title, in turn, is clearly derived — whether directly or indirectly — from the "Magic Book of Thoth" that figures in the Demotic "First Tale of Setne Khaemwas."

It is not clear how Lovecraft knew of the "Book of Thoth." No Lovecraft tale mentions "The First Tale of Setne Khaemwas" or any of its characters directly. However, "Through the Gates of the Silver Key" appeared only two years after the release of the original 1932 Universal Studios film *The Mummy*, which likewise centers around a search for a "Scroll of Thoth" (fig. 14.9; Lovecraft and Price 1934). Lovecraft could have taken his "Book of Thoth" from *The Mummy*. Or, he may have borrowed the idea from Sax Rohmer's 1918 novel *Brood of the Witch-Queen*, a tale that was directly ancestral to Universal Studios *The Mummy*, and which transparently derives much of its basic premise from "First Tale of Setne Khaemwas;" in one lengthy passage, Brood of the Witch-Queen paraphrases "The First Tale of Setne Khaemwas" directly to explain the origin of the "Book of Thoth" (Rohmer 1918, pp. 196–97). On the other hand, it is certainly possible that Lovecraft knew of the "First Tale of Setne Khaemwas" directly. If so, then presumably his source would have been Gaston Maspero's 1915 *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, the first English edition of his very successful anthology *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (first French edition published in 1887).

It is also interesting to note that, while the 1932 *The Mummy* also gives the name "Scroll of Thoth" to the Egyptian occult text around which the film revolves, a facsimile of a Book of the Dead papyrus in the British Museum was used in the actual production of the film (Daughterty 1989, p. 14; Balderston 1932, note to sequence A-17. The film uses a facsimile of the heart-weighing scene from the Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus of Hunefer, BM EA 9901, 3). And a Book of the Dead does feature in the 1999 Universal Studios *The Mummy*, alongside the fictional "Book of Amun-Ra." This Book of the Dead, though, appears to share no features with the authentic ancient composition beyond its name. And there are other invocations of the title Book of the Dead that one could point to in modern popular culture. To name but a few: In 2010, Danny Draven, director of low-budget horror films such as "Cryptz" (2002), "Hell Asylum" (2002) and "Dark Walker" (2003) published a manual on how to create and market horror films entitled *The Hollywood Book of the Dead*. In 2016, William McDonald, obituary editor for the New York Times, edited *The New York Times Book of the Dead*, a collection of "the most influential, notorious, and interesting *New York Times* obituaries of all time" with entries from the nineteenth century to 2016.

Of course, such popular reflections of the Book of the Dead have nothing to do with the reality of ancient Egypt itself. They are a tribute, however, to Lepsius' genius in selecting a modern title for the Egyptian composition; whether or not Lepsius chose the title Book of the Dead as part of a deliberate strategy to, as we would say today, "market" Egypt and Egyptology, he certainly hit on a formulation that was immediately comprehensible and compelling for a modern readership. And finally, all of these reflections of the Book of the Dead provide a demonstration of the enduring fascination on the part of Western readers with ancient Egypt and its very particular way of death.

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V

CATALOG

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HUMAN REMAINS

The human body was such an important component in the ancient Egyptian belief system that extensive measures were taken to preserve and protect it. As a standard part of the mummification process, various organs including the lungs, liver, stomach, and intestines were removed, separately embalmed, and stored in canopic jars within the tomb near the body. These organs were still necessary in the afterlife theology of the Egyptians, but they also believed that an inherently destructive plaque called *wekhedu* coagulated in these organs over the span of life (Ritner 2000, p. 114). Removal of this damaging substance was what motivated the extraction and cleansing of these organs in order to distance any deleterious effects on the mummy. The heart, being the seat of thought, rationality, and emotion, was usually kept inside the embalmed body.

Ancient Egyptians did not believe that the mummified corpse would itself physically reanimate, rise up, and leave the tomb, as in *The Mummy* movies. The human personality had a number of components (Assmann 2005), including what was called the body (*ḥꜣ.t*), spirit (*bꜣ*), social identity (*kꜣ*), and shadow (*šw.t*). These personal components performed a variety of functions for the afterlife existence of each individual for whom the requisite rituals were performed and who passed the final judgment before Osiris (Smith 2017). The spirit, or *ba* (*bꜣ*), allowed the dead freedom of movement. Its conceptualization as a human-headed bird (Cat. No. 40) symbolized this ability and further associated the deceased with the sun god as he flew through the heavens. As the deceased sought to join the solar-Osirian cycle, it was the *ba*-spirit that left the tomb during the day to join Re in the solar circuit through the heavens.

It was the body, or corpse (*ḥꜣ.t*) that represented the Osirian form of the deceased. Just as the sun god Re united with Osiris every night during his travels through the netherworld, so too did the spirit return to the tomb to reunite with the corpse (fig. 4.3). Osiris's resurrection served as a mythological precedent through which the deceased sought rejuvenation. Osiris, and therefore the corpse, represented the power of renewal, by which both gods and men enjoyed the cycle of existence. Re and Osiris represented the two poles of the solar-Osirian cycle: Re as lord of the earthly world illuminated by his rays and Osiris as the lord of the netherworld. Each Egyptian individual hoped to participate in this cycle of generation through their spirit and mummy.

The organization of the following catalog likewise places the human body at the center. Just like an Egyptian burial in which Book of the Dead spells are "layered" around the corpse, the following objects are arranged according to their proximity to the body. In this way, the catalog is designed to allow the reader to "unwrap" the materials and their associated texts away from the body, from the innermost layers to the outer walls of the tomb and beyond. This demonstrates the robust system of redundancy developed by the ancient Egyptians in order to surround their body within layers and layers of the necessary magical spells to transform them into a blessed spirit (*ꜣḫ*) in the transition from this world to the next. Like many cultures, this preoccupation was actually concerned less with death and more with eternal life. FS



FIGURE C1. The mummy of an elderly woman from Akhmim. OIM E271A = Cat. No. 1 (D. 28971)

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1. LADY FROM AKHMIM

Human remains, linen
Egypt, Akhmim
Purchased in Egypt, 1894–1895
Late Period–Ptolemaic Period, 664–30 BC
L: 139.4 cm x W: 25.4 x D: 22.4
OIM E271A



D. 28968

1, front

This mummy was purchased together with a group of other mummies, both human and animal, by James Henry Breasted in 1894–1895. It is believed that these individuals were buried in a necropolis at the site of Akhmim, a city near the center of Egypt famous for its cult dedicated to the god Min. Akhmim is well-known among scholars today for having a specific tradition for producing Book of the Dead manuscripts (Mosher 2001 and 2002). These manuscripts often contained unique spells and sequences of spells not found in traditions from Memphis and Thebes, as well as an unusual number of corruptions caused by copying from the same defective master copies. Unfortunately, we do not have any papyri or inscribed linen fragments associated with this woman from Akhmim. Her coffin (OIM E270) was painted with black and white decorations, while a mummy mask and sections of cartonnage decorated with funerary images were positioned on the outside of the linen wrappings. The foot case remains intact and shows a row of protective deities holding knives around the ankles and two images of Anubis as a jackal lying on a shrine over the feet. On the bottom appears a painting of the soles of her sandals.

Based on CT scans of her remains, it appears that this woman lived to an elderly age and probably died as the result of complications from some catastrophic event. Many fractures were present, but healing indicates that the injuries were not immediately fatal. The extent and pattern of the injuries suggest a specific scenario near the end of her life. In addition to these acute changes, she may have suffered from additional chronic issues such as bone loss and her teeth were in rather poor condition.

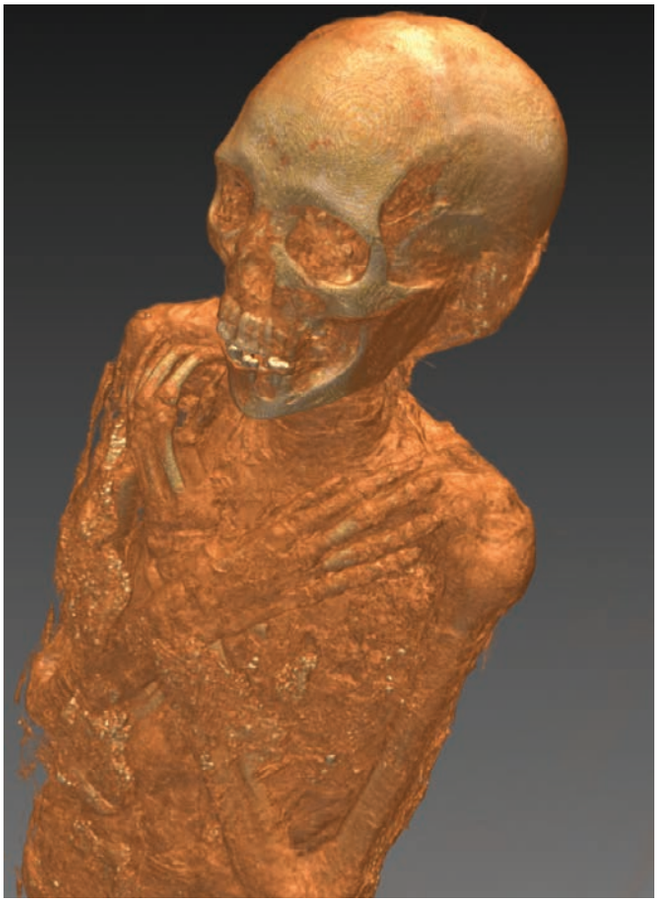
Today her mummy is partially unwrapped, exposing the head and upper chest. The arms were crossed over the chest; although often interpreted as a sign of royalty, this arm position could be taken by private individuals as well. Arms crossed over the chest mimicked the gesture of Osiris as he held the crook and the flail, both symbols of his rulership in the netherworld. The mummy was partially unwrapped at some point in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century when such practices were common. No additional objects were found inside the wrappings during recently performed CT scanning.

The body was wrapped in several layers of high quality linen bandages. The visible bandages of this lady from Akhmim were uninscribed, but it

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was very common for Book of the Dead spells to be written on shrouds or bandages and wrapped around the body. Such a practice symbolically wrapped the body in a magical cocoon, helping to ensure its protection while simultaneously keeping the spells closest to the body in case they were needed in the afterlife. References to the "mummy" (*sʿḥ*), an Egyptian pun on the word for "noble" (*sʿḥ*), in the Book of the Dead make clear the importance of protecting and empowering it. In BD 45, a "spell to prevent rotting in the necropolis," the deceased equates themself with Osiris, saying "I am Osiris." According to Egyptian mythology, the body parts of Osiris were brought together and wrapped into a mummiform figure by his sister Isis (see Chapter 10). Each individual mummy was produced in imitation of that mythological precedent in the hopes that the deceased, like Osiris, would be rejuvenated in the afterlife and join the retinue of gods. FS/MWV

UNPUBLISHED



1, CT reconstruction, front



D. 28965

1, foot case, bottom



D. 28963

1, foot case, front

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LINEN BANDAGES

The Egyptians literally wrapped themselves in the Book of the Dead. Occasionally, papyri were measured against the size of the mummy, inscribed according to the position where the texts would appear after applied, and were actually pasted to the mummy (Illés 2006a). This practice was rare and spells were more often written on linen cloth prior to applying the linen to the embalmed body of the deceased. Scribes used many different formats when inscribing these linen strips. Large format shrouds decorated with BD spells, like the famous example belonging to pharaoh Thutmose III (fig. C2), first appeared in the Thirteenth Dynasty and formed an important medium for the transition from texts on coffins to texts on linen wrappings and finally on papyri. In fact, some of the earliest attested BD spells were written in hieratic on the wooden coffin of queen Montuhotep (see Chapter 2). However, it was on the linen shrouds that the cursive hieroglyphic style laid out in columns was refined, prior to appearing on papyri. In the Ptolemaic Period, it became very common to inscribe Book of the Dead spells on numbered linen strips in hieratic laid out in horizontal columns. These strips were then wrapped around the body (see Chapter 5). FS

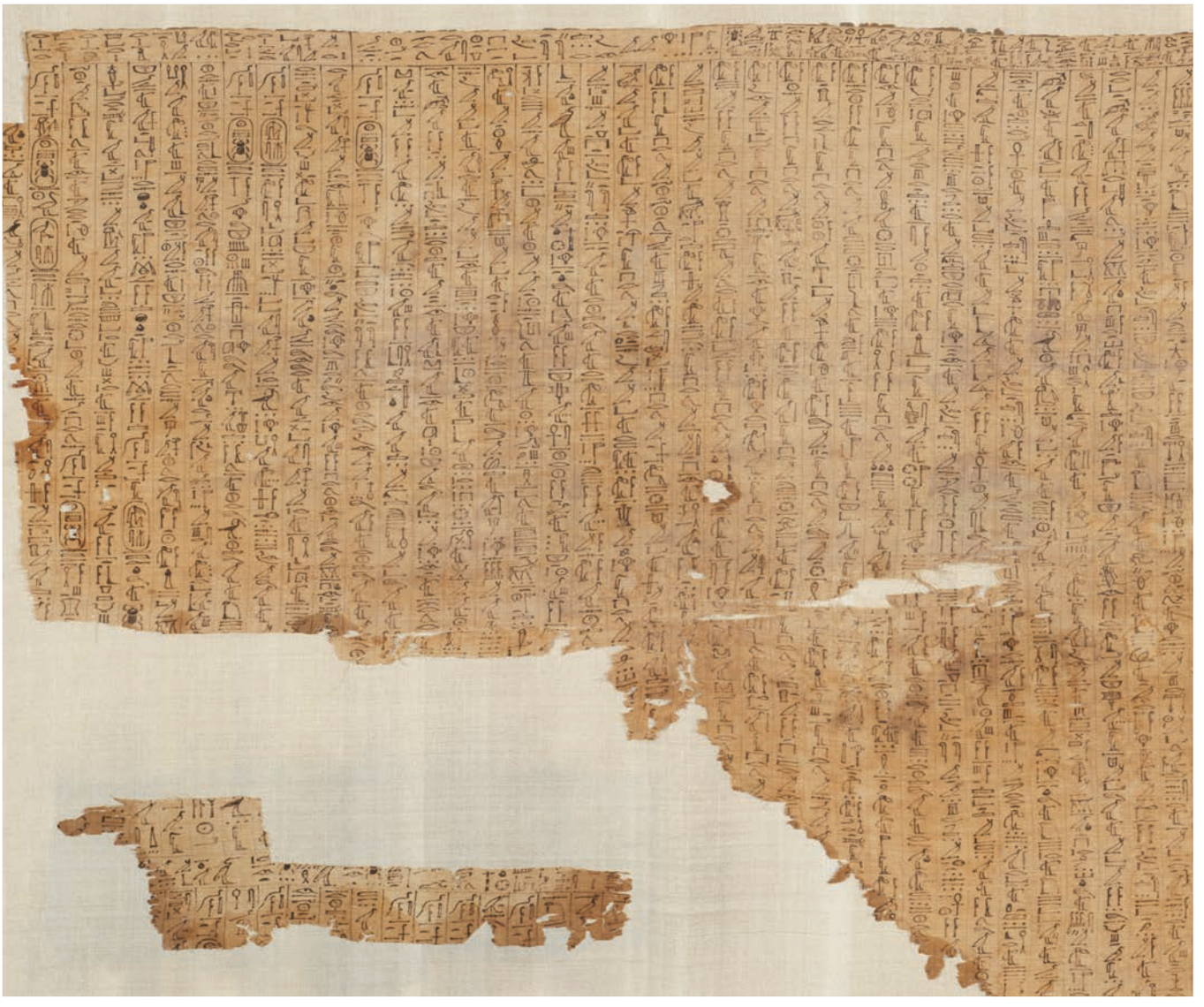


FIGURE C2. Fragment of the mummy shroud of Thutmose III inscribed with spells from the Book of the Dead. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 60.1472 (© 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

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D. 19931

2, front

2. LINEN BANDAGE OF HERANKH INSCRIBED WITH BD 1 IN HIERATIC

Linen, ink
Egypt
Gift of Harold N. Moldenke, 1935
Late Period–Ptolemaic Period, ca. 400–200 BC
H: 12 x W: 37 cm
OIM E19442

The present fragment derives from a Book of the Dead mummy bandage commissioned for the woman Herankh. Her mother, who is also mentioned on the piece, bore the same name. The bandage begins on the right with the full-height opening vignette. The deceased, clad in a long garment, is shown standing in a pavilion, her hands raised in adoration of Osiris, who is in front of her. An offering table stands between them.

The scene is followed to the left by the vignette and four lines of Book of the Dead spell 1. While the legend of the aforementioned introductory vignette is as usual written in hieroglyphs, the text of spell 1 is in hieratic. The title of the spell in the first line is also a general heading of the Book of the Dead in its entirety: "Beginning of the spells of going forth by day and of extolling the *akh*-spirits in the god's domain." The main theme of spell 1 is the triumph of Osiris and his protection against his foes. The deceased identifies himself with Thoth, who is the advocate and combatant of Osiris and Horus against the evil. By acting for Osiris, the dead becomes justified, a follower of *maat* and legitimated to continue his existence in the hereafter. The long vignette shows a funerary procession and the rites at the tomb, as the opening of the mouth ritual; on this bandage, only the outmost right end with the very beginning of the scene remains. First we see a group of women showing typical mourning gestures such as raised arms and hands in front of the face. The figure between them is generally interpreted either as a boy or as the deceased himself, represented in small scale or as a child, irrespective of the gender of Herankh. On the left, a canopic shrine with a lying jackal is seen, with a second chest on a sledge behind it, which is drawn by a woman.

In the middle of the right edge a numeration "first (bandage)" has been written. The Book of the Dead on mummy bandages spreads over several individual linen strips. With the aid of these numbers, scribes in the workshop could check the completeness of the whole set of bandages and of the sequence of spells. It remains uncertain how many bandages would have followed after the first bandage of Herankh. As recent research has demonstrated, a Book of the Dead on mummy wrappings could be very extensive and comprise a similar number of spells as the longest papyrus versions. Some Book of the Dead exemplars have been distributed over more than thirty mummy bandages.

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The original length of Herankh's bandage may have been several meters. It was torn into pieces either by tomb robbers when they opened the mummy or by antiquities dealers, who hoped to draw more profit from selling several small pieces than one single, complete bandage. HK

UNPUBLISHED



D. 19931

2, detail with workshop number

3. LINEN BANDAGE OF TJAIHORPATA INSCRIBED WITH BD 144 IN HIERATIC

Linen, ink
Egypt
Gift of Harold N. Moldenke, 1935
Late Period–Ptolemaic Period, ca. 400–200 BC
H: 10 x W: 47 cm
OIM E19439

The fragment stems from the mummy bandages of Tjaihorpata, whose mother was Taneferether (Kockelmann 2008, p. 276, no. 214). More pieces of his wrappings are being conserved in many other international collections: Boston (Museum of Fine Arts), New York (Brooklyn Museum), Greenwich (Heritage Centre), London (Petrie Museum), Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Art and Archaeology), Rouen (Musée des Antiquités de Seine-Maritime), Uppsala (Gustavianum) and Vienna (Austrian National Library).

The sequence of the remarkably accurate and elegant vignettes belongs to Book of the Dead spell 144. Though the pictures form a coherent unit, the artist has chosen to draw them at two



3, front

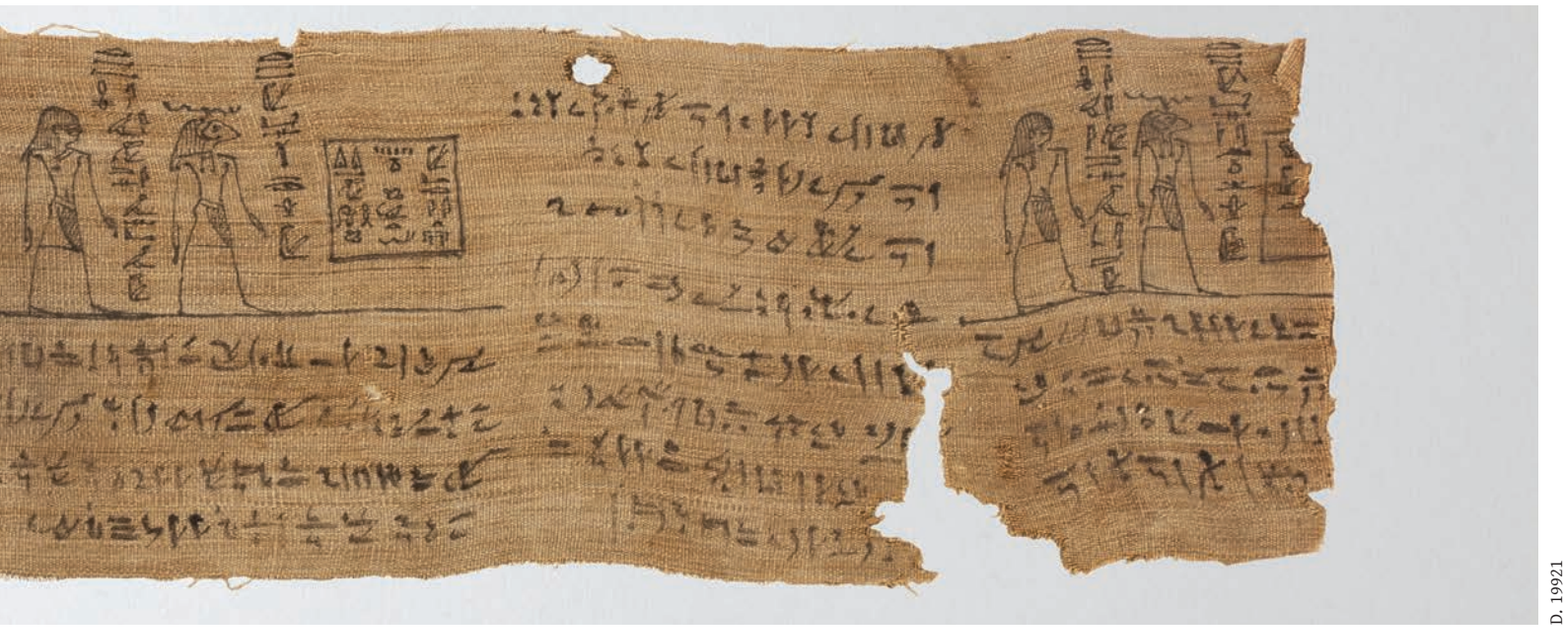
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different scales: the first two occupy only the upper half of the bandage, the remaining images cover its full height. The topic of Book of the Dead spells 144 to 147 is the gates of the hereafter and their guardians, which the deceased needs to pass. In total, BD 144 lists seven numbered gates, of which only four are preserved on the present bandage. The actual portals are not shown in this version of vignette BD 144, which limits itself to representations of the "guardian" and "announcer" who are affiliated with these gates (see also Cat. No. 5 below). The accompanying neat hieroglyphic inscriptions mention the number of the respective gate and give details as to the name of its keeper, of its guardian and its announcer. The character of these entities is of a terrifying, violent, and repelling nature, as their names reveal, such as "He who wards off the aggressor" or "With wakeful face." In Egyptian religious beliefs, knowledge of these names provided the deceased with the power and the justification to pass the gates.

Fragment OIM E19439 starts on the right with the second gate, then follows "the sixth gate," according to the ancient numeration. This is obviously a mistake by the scribe who wrote the wrong numeral (six instead of three small strokes). However, the texts in the rectangle of "gate six" and the legends of the entities next to it are correct and those of the third gate. The vignette continues with the fourth, fifth, and sixth portals.

The hieratic lines below and in between the vignettes do not belong to spell 144. The first section on the bandage fragments bears the last part of Book of the Dead spell 105, which focuses on the deceased's coming to his *ka*, which has separated from him at death and which he joins in the hereafter ("spell for propitiating the deceased's *ka* for him in the realm of the dead"). The second text is spell 106, starting without its heading below the second vignette ("spell for granting offerings in Memphis and in the realm of the dead"). The emphasis in this short text is on the supply of the departed with bread, beer, and beef. HK

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D. 19921

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4, front

4. LINEN BANDAGE OF TADIIMHOTEP INSCRIBED WITH BD 17 IN HIERATIC

Linen, ink
Egypt
Gift of Harold N. Moldenke, 1935
Late Period–Ptolemaic Period, ca. 400–200 BC
H: 7 x W: 34.5
OIM E19436

The Chicago fragment belongs to the Book of the Dead on the mummy bandages of a certain Tadiimhotep, whose mother was Nesnephthys. Though the bandages were commissioned for a woman, the vignettes show the deceased as a male.

At the right end we see remains of a vignette, which illustrates the solar hymns of Book of the Dead spell 15. In its form on Late Period and Ptolemaic papyri, this illustration consists of four registers placed vertically one above the other. Due to the narrow height of most mummy wrappings, these registers are usually not placed on top of each other, but horizontally, either in two blocks of two scenes each or one scene after the other. The first three represent the bark of the sun god, the solar disk between the western and eastern horizon and the sun being elevated by a divinity and greeted by the solar monkeys. These three pictures are lost on OIM E19436. What is partly left on OIM E19436 is the fourth scene showing the deceased and his wife sitting on chairs, receiving incense and libation from an officiant.

After the full-height scene of vignette spell 15 follows spell 17, which goes back to coffin text 335 and is one of the longest and most important spells in the Book the Dead. It can be characterized as a kind of compendium or "excerpt" of the Book of the Dead with the quintessence of its most central funerary beliefs. The spell contains also a remarkable number of explanatory annotations. The function of these glosses is to elucidate the mythological and theological content of the text and also to offer alternative interpretations of it. Only its beginning is preserved on the Chicago bandage. In the first part of spell 17, the departed is identified with the creator god. Besides cosmology, themes of the next sections are the victory over the evil forces, the healing of the eye of Horus, the myth of the sun's eye, the conjunction of Re and Osiris, and the protection of the deceased.

The vignette of spell 17 is a band of pictures similarly long and detailed as the stretch of illuminations of spell 1 (see Cat. No. 15). Its elements refer to various passages in the spell text. From right to left we see the deceased once

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D. 19762

standing with a staff and another time seated in a booth. In parallel scenes, the deceased is playing the *senet*-game, which is a symbol for the dead's journey through the underworld. On the Chicago wrapping, the game board, to which the departed is stretching out his hand, is missing. Then follow a standard with a falcon and the human-headed *ba*-bird of the departed. The sequence continues with the deceased in adoration of a bark, which carries six figures wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt and a ram on a stand. After this come two lions with a horizon-hieroglyph between them; they stand for "yesterday" and "tomorrow" or are identified with the eastern and western mountains. The *benu*-bird ("phoenix"), mentioned in the spell, comes next. The last preserved section shows the deceased as a mummy on the lion bed, mourned by Isis and Nephthys in the shape of birds; only the figure of Nephthys remains. HK

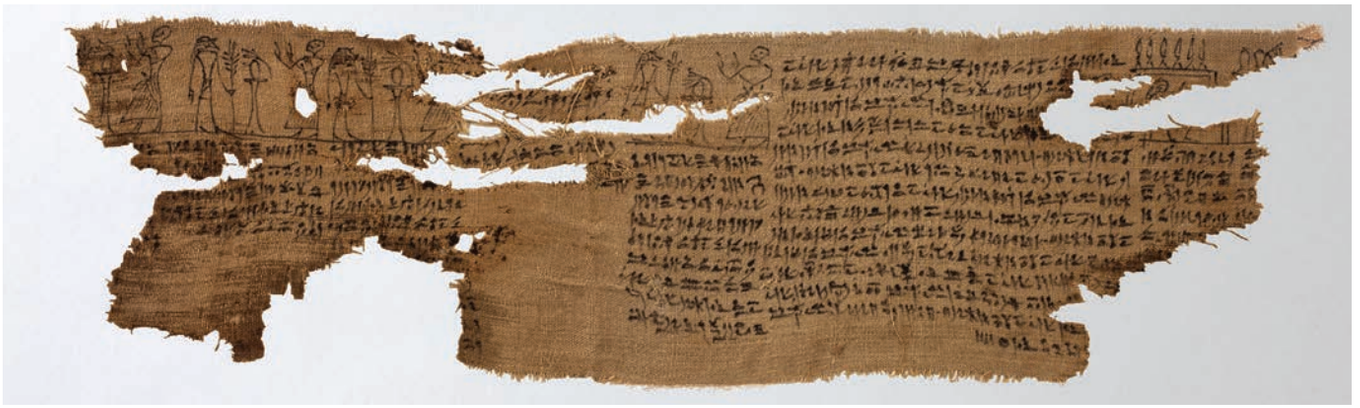
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D. 19762

4, front, detail of vignette to BD 17

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D. 19765

5, front

5. LINEN BANDAGE OF HOR INSCRIBED WITH BD 146–147 IN HIERATIC

Linen, ink
Egypt
Gift of Harold N. Moldenke, 1935
Late Period–Ptolemaic Period, ca. 400–200 BC
H: 11.5 x W: 40 cm
OIM E19437

The owner of the Book of the Dead mummy wrapping was the God's Father Hor, son of a woman named Nanefersakhmet (Kockelmann 2008, pp. 120–21, and 266, no. 148). Other pieces of his bandages are spread over several European museums: Bologna (Museo Civico), Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden), London (Petrie Museum), Rouen (Musée des Antiquités de Seine-Maritime) and Uppsala (Gustavianum).

The space on OIM E19437 is densely filled with lines, in a small hieratic hand with narrow signs. Spell 146 occupies the right half of the linen strip, spell 147 the left part. As already remarked in Cat. No. 3, the main topics of these texts are the gates of the netherworld and their guards, both depicted in the vignettes on the present bandage.

The style of the script and vignettes is fairly distinct. The same scribe and draftsman can be identified also on two other sets of Book of the Dead bandages, the first of which belonged to the mummy of Menkare, son of Tasheretihet, the second to the burial of Tjaihepuimu, whose mother bore the same name as that of Menkare; it might be that both men were brothers. What we can say with certainty is that their Book of the Dead exemplars on mummy wrappings and bandage OIM E19437 were produced in the same workshop (Kockelmann 2008, pp. 120–21, and 266, no. 148). HK

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D. 19765

5, detail

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HEART SCARABS

The heart was the seat of thought for the ancient Egyptians and, unlike the organs that were stored separately from the body, the heart usually remained in the body or was carefully treated and returned to the mummy. As the seat of thought, the heart carried with it the memories of each individual. As such, it had the potential to reveal any immoral deeds committed during one's lifetime. In the afterlife, the dead could pronounce performative utterances against their own heart, using magic to maintain control over it:

> "My heart belongs to me for I have power over it. It will not tell what I have done. … Listen to me, O heart of mine! I am your lord for you are in my body" (BD 27).

Having power over the heart also indicated that the person had not been carried away by their emotions or appetites during their lifetime.

Book of the Dead spells 26–30 sought to protect the physical heart from theft and other dangers, as well as shield the dead from any transgressions the heart might reveal to the gods in the afterlife tribunal. This set of spells ensured that the heart was given to the dead (BD 26), that the heart was not stolen (BD 27–28), that the heart was not removed by a divine messenger (BD 29), and that the heart did not offer negative testimony (BD 27 and BD 30). Of these spells, BD 29B and 30B spells were written on amulets carved into the shape of a heart or scarab beetle. They were typically positioned inside the linen wrappings close to the physical heart on the left side of the chest. It was also common for the amulets to be mounted in the face of a pectoral hung around the neck, which was often decorated with a funerary barge and the mourning goddesses Isis and Nephthys.

While BD 29B and 30B were often inscribed on these amulets, it did not preclude the use of the spells on the linen wrappings, papyri (Cat. Nos. 15 and 16), coffins, or tomb walls. The repetition of the spells would have provided additional security in case one were damaged. In other contexts, the heart scarabs may have supplemented what is found on the papyri, such as Third Intermediate Period papyri containing the sequence BD 26–28–27 (Cat. No. 14). The rubric of BD 30 indicates that the spell is a "magical charm" (*ḥqꜣ.w*) intended for "recitation over a scarab of green stone, fashioned and purified with gold, set in the area of the heart of a man." Such instructions help to reconstruct the history of transmission of such spells. Although papyrus manuscripts tend to be considered the primary media of transmission, many Book of the Dead spells probably first appeared in other contexts and were only later collected together into a single papyrus manuscript. Archaeological evidence seems to support this as some of the earliest known attestations of BD spells are on heart scarabs from the First Intermediate Period (see Chapter 2). There must have been a complex transmission history between spells written on different media. FS



FIGURE C3. A depiction of a heart-shaped scarab prepared to be inscribed. Cairo SRVII 10230 (photo courtesy of the Cairo Museum)



FIGURE C4. Scarab in the shape of a heart with ruled lines prepared for the text of BD 30B that was never inscribed. OIM E14982 (D. 18561 and D. 18562)

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D. 18534

6, top



D. 18535

6, bottom

6. HEART SCARAB INSCRIBED WITH BD 30B IN HIEROGLYPHS

Green stone
Egypt, Luxor, Medinet Habu
Excavated under the direction of Uvo Hölscher, 1929
Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasty 25–26, ca. 747–525 BC
H: 7.2 x W: 5.4 x D: 3.7 cm
OIM E14979

Having passed through the obstacles of the netherworld with the support of Book of the Dead spells, the deceased arrived before the god Osiris and forty-two judges tasked with admitting spirits into the afterlife. Following the negative confession, the heart of the deceased was weighed against the feather of Maat, typically depicted in the vignette of spell 125. If the heart outweighed the feather it was devoured by the hippo-lion-crocodile hybrid, Ammut, causing the second and final death for a person. Because the heart was believed to be the seat of one's consciousness and emotions, it became the only organ traditionally left inside the body during mummification.

In order to ensure a successful verdict in Osiris' court, Egyptians included a heart scarab among a mummy's wrappings. Spell 30B of the Book of the Dead, typically inscribed on the large stone scarabs, appeals to one's heart not to oppose or make false claims against the deceased during judgment. Inscribed on scarabs as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty (fig. 2.9), slightly different versions of this spell were recorded on papyri from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward.

The heart scarab pictured here records a somewhat corrupt version of the spell, with sections of the standard text omitted. This scarab must have been produced in a workshop rather than made to order, as the top line was left blank for the name of the deceased, which was never added. YB

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Hölscher 1954, p. 61, pl. 35; Teeter 2003, pp. 130–32, 216, 224, 230

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D. 18536

6, front

7. HEART SCARAB INSCRIBED WITH BD 30B IN HIEROGLYPHS

Green stone
Egypt, Luxor, Medinet Habu
Excavated under the direction of Uvo Hölscher, 1929
Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasty 25–26, ca. 747–525 BC
H: 7.4 x W: 5.2 x D: 2.4 cm
OIM E15020

While heart scarabs can occasionally take the form of the Egyptian hieroglyph for "heart" (fig. C4), this example is carved as a scarab beetle, representing the word for "being" or "becoming," signifying both the eternal essence of the deceased and the regenerative powers of the inscribed amulet in the afterlife.

The full text of the heart scarab spell, BD 30B, is carved on the obverse side of the beetle and, as was common, the first line was initially left blank to allow the name of the deceased to be added later, often in a different hand than that of the original engraver. In this case, a second scribe filled in the line with the owner's name (*Krḥ=f-wḏ*), which may have a foreign word as its initial element. The text has a few scribal oddities, which are common on such scarabs, but otherwise follows the "standard" version of BD 30B known from many other sources.

The utterance that follows is an address by the deceased, enjoining his heart not to speak out against him before the court of judges, so that both may find a happy existence together in the hereafter. It begins, "O heart of my mother! O heart of my mother! O heart of my being! Do not stand (against) me as a witness. Do not cause opposition (for) me in the tribunal." The illustration of the judgment tribunal has become the most iconic image from the Book of the Dead and was associated with BD 30 and BD 125 (see fig. 4.15) where the heart was weighed against Maat, the goddess of truth and righteousness.

A colophon to BD spell 30B, found in other sources, states that heart scarabs should be carved out of green stone, mounted in a gold frame (see Cat. No. 8 and fig. 2.9), and placed on the breast of the deceased. Most existing examples are indeed fashioned out of serpentine, jade, or another stone of greenish cast, a color associated with rebirth by the ancient Egyptians.

This scarab was found in a greatly disturbed context among house ruins south of the pool in the southeast corner of the great enclosure at Medinet Habu, and likely dates to a period extending over the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. PD/FS

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Hölscher 1954, p. 61 no. 6, pl. 35 (A5) and pl. 35; Teeter 2003, p. 124–25, pl. 54a

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D. 18542

7, top



D. 18538

7, bottom



D. 18540

7, front

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D. 18570

8, top



D. 18571

8, bottom

8. GILDED HEART SCARAB INSCRIBED WITH BD 30B IN HIEROGLYPHS

Green stone, gold
Egypt
Gift of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1950
New Kingdom–Late Period, Dynasty 19–26, ca. 1295–525 BC
H: 6.3 x W: 4.1 x D: 2.8 cm
OIM E18776

The craftsmen who produced this scarab made a valiant attempt to adhere to the instructions from the rubric of BD 30B by carving the scarab from green stone and adorning it with traces of gold paint or gold leaf. Both colors, green and gold, in combination with the form of the scarab beetle, had symbolic properties associated with regeneration and divinity. The beetle was a form of the god Khepri (*Ḫpri*), the form of the morning sun as it has just "come into being" (*ḫpr*) on the horizon. Green symbolizes fresh growth from new vegetation as it emerged and grew from the dark colored soil. Gold symbolized the shining rays of the sun, but also divinity itself because the Egyptians often described the flesh of the gods as being made from gold.

Most heart scarabs were simply bundled into the mummy wrappings, but others were actually placed around the neck. The most elaborate of these consisted of the scarab embedded into a frame with a small suspension loop at the top through which ran a necklace to hang. The band would pass around the neck of the mummy and through the suspension loop thereby securing the scarab over the chest. At least one example, belonging to Maruta (MMA 26.8.145, Lilyquist 2003, no. 18), had two suspension holes on either side.

This scarab, however, has a clear horizontal piercing through the thorax, running perpendicular to the orientation of the text and body of the scarab, for the purpose of suspension. There is a second small hole that was started on the left side of the scarab, but never finished. While small scarabs worn as jewelry or used as seals were typically pierced lengthwise in order to mount on

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a necklace, bracelet, or ring, heart scarabs rarely have such holes bored through them. One example from the Louvre (Forman and Quirke 1996, p. 102) and another from the British Museum (Taylor 2010a, p. 226) have such suspension holes, but they run lengthwise from head to tail and both of them included a human head on the scarab (see Cat. No. 9). An unusually large and well decorated example combining both the scarab and heart shaped motifs into a single design, now in the British Museum (BM EA 7925), contained two transverse attachment holes (Parkinson 1999, p. 139). As such, the left to right orientation of the drilled hole in OIM E18776 is exceedingly rare. Presumably the scarab could be secured to the mummy by means of this perpendicular hole like other scarabs with suspension mounts.

This particular scarab was made for a man who held the title "god's father," which indicated a fairly high rank in the priestly hierarchy. The individual's title is followed by his name in the first line of the scarab, but damage has made decipherment of his name uncertain. The end of his name is indicated by the hieroglyphic sign of a seated noble (*šps*). The following hieroglyphic text is cursorily inscribed, with many signs little more than half formed. A number of the signs have an unusual orientation, being slightly tilted or otherwise rotated. It is possible that this is the result of the craftsman turning the object during production.

Without the many parallels for this text, it would be difficult to interpret this particular example. The text has been only lightly inscribed in some areas and the signs were not well formed, but the scribe has been quite faithful to the standard phraseology of BD 30B. "The god's father ...y says, O heart of my mother, O heart of my mother! Heart of my being. Do not stand against me as a witness. Do not cause strife for me in the tribunal. Do not weigh against me before the keeper of the balance. You are my *ka* which is in my body, who makes whole my limbs. May you go forth to the good place prepared for us there. Do not cause our name to stink for the entourage who put people in (their) places. It is well for us. It is well for the listener. It is joyful for the judge. Do not speak lies against me beside the god ...." FS

PUBLISHED

T. Allen 1923, p. 150



D. 18572

8, front

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D. 18567

9, top



D. 18566

9, bottom

9. HEART SCARAB WITH HUMAN FACE INSCRIBED WITH BD 30B IN HIEROGLYPHS

Green stone
Egypt
Purchased, 1943
Second Intermediate Period–New Kingdom, Dynasty 17–18, ca. 1580–1295 BC
H: 4.8 x W: 3.4 x D: 2.1 cm
OIM E17478

This scarab was purchased by the Oriental Institute as part of a small antiquities collection from Tamara Campbell of Northeast Harbor, Maine, in 1943. Nothing else is known of its provenance, but it turns out to be a very interesting example of the heart scarab genre. It is beautifully carved from a bright green stone (*nmḥf*) as directed by the rubric to BD spell 30B. Details of the scarab beetle's upper back (pronotum) and wing covers (elytum) are delineated in sharp outline. In place of the beetle's head, an oval-shaped human face has been carved. This feature is most common on Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom heart scarabs, although it is already attested in examples from the Thirteenth Dynasty (Ben-Tor 2007, p. 103).

Although there are no direct textual references to clarify the meaning of the face, it is likely that it represents the owner of the scarab. In BD 30B the deceased calls out to his heart "O heart of my forms (*ḫpr.w*)," a reference to the various manifestations into which the deceased could transform. These transformations mirror the transformations (*ḫpr.w*) that the sun god made, one of which was Khepri, the morning sun in the form of a scarab beetle. In addition, another recitation from 30B addresses the heart as "You are my *ka*-spirit (*kꜣ*) which is in my body." The *ka*-spirit represents a person's social identity (Assmann 2005, p. 101), the psychic continuity through which one was known by their family and community. As the seat of thought, memory, and emotion, the heart is therefore a logical symbol of the *ka*-spirit and its relationship between the dead and the living.

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Association between the *ka*-spirit and the heart, as well as the heart scarab itself, is further made in BD 105. In this spell "for satisfying the *ka*-spirit" there is a reference to a "green stone," i.e., the heart scarab, which prevents any misdeeds from being revealed: "As for that evil phrase which I had said or that evil abomination which I had done, it was not allotted to me because I am this green amulet (*wꜣḏ*) which is at the throat of Re." The spell soothes the *ka*-spirit "from the worry that it might reject the 'I' who is addressing it and dissociate itself from him on the grounds of potential moral blunders, just like the heart, which the deceased implores not to abandon him and testify against him" (Assmann 2005, pp. 100–1).

The bottom is inscribed, as expected, with Book of the Dead spell 30B, although a few phrases have been redacted from the end of the spell due to the restricted space on the bottom of the scarab. Where one expects the name of the owner in the first line, we rather find the circumlocution "To whom is said So-and-so" (*ḏd n=f mn*). At the very least, this suggests that the name of the owner was unknown to those who produced the scarab. It is also possible, however, that this scarab was produced as a generic template for off-the-shelf purchase, simply filling in "So-and-so" for anyone who ended up acquiring it. Very little is currently understood about how individuals acquired the materials for their burial assemblage. It is not clear if they could walk into a workshop and choose items for immediate purchase or if most items were individually commissioned. Obtaining such items required a substantial financial investment. FS

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D. 18565

9, front

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SARCOPHAGI AND COFFINS

Sarcophagi and coffins were used throughout the history of ancient Egypt with many changes in construction methods, materials, shapes, and decorations. One constant, however, was the theological interpretation of these objects as cosmological models representing the earth and sky (Taylor 2001, pp. 214–16). In traditional Egyptian understanding, the lid was symbolic of Nut, the sky goddess who embraced the deceased and took them into her womb. Nut and Geb were the parents of Osiris and Isis. Therefore, the action of Nut accepting the individual's mummy into her body recalled the mythology of Osiris and directly associated the dead with him. Images of Nut routinely decorated the interior of lids, depicting her with arms extended to receive the deceased. The physical shape of the so-called *qrsw*-coffins deliberately evoked the arch of the sky between the four pillars which supported it with the trough as the earth.

Of course, sarcophagi and coffins also served the practical purpose of protecting the body from environmental hazards. Once the stone, wood, or cartonnage were smoothed and plastered, the surfaces of these objects provided large canvases for the prodigious ornamentation of religious imagery produced in the mortuary workshops. Dense fusions of text and image typically covered the exterior, and often the interior, surfaces. After the Third Intermediate Period, artists routinely blended spells and vignettes from any available funerary literature, with particularly popular materials from the Book of the Dead and the Books of the Netherworld. Although papyri are often considered the primary conduit for ancient Egyptian funerary literature, during the Late Period especially, coffins were a particularly important means by which spells were transmitted and at times served as the templates for papyrus manuscripts. FS



FIGURE C5. The inner and outer coffins of Khonsu from the Nineteenth Dynasty show the elaborate decoration of funerary images and texts. Metropolitan Museum of Art 86.1.1–2



FIGURE C6. The stone sarcophagus of Harkhebit from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty was inscribed with Book of the Dead spells on the lid. Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.229.1a, b

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10, E7196, front

10. FRAGMENT FROM THE COFFIN OF DJEHUTYMES INSCRIBED WITH BD 15

Cedar, paint
Egypt, Abydos
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903
Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC
H: 8 x W: 13 x D: 8 cm
OIM E7196

Coffins and sarcophagi were often elaborately decorated in ancient Egypt. Design and layout changed frequently over the centuries, but the most common theme of their decoration was religious imagery and texts concerning the afterlife. These traditions continued until the disappearance of native Egyptian funerary practices in the Byzantine Period. The coffin of Djehutymes was produced in the Ptolemaic Period, a time when Egypt was ruled by a Macedonian royal family, but funerary customs flourished under the Ptolemies. Djehutymes's coffin is an example of what is often referred to as a *qrsw*-coffin. Such coffins were modeled after the tomb of Osiris as it was known from mythology (see Chapter 10), which itself looked like a small shrine.

The basic form of the *qrsw*-coffin consisted of a low-lying trough on the bottom in which the mummy was placed and a lid which took the form of a small shrine with four posts at the corners and a vaulted roof (Riggs 2005, p. 186). The sides and vaulted roof were constructed from individual boards of cedar wood, cut thin, and assembled together using mortise and tenon joints or dowels. The lid fit down over the top of the mummy as it was positioned in the low-lying trough.

This flat fragment originally constituted one of the wooden slats from one of the sides of the coffin of Djehutymes. Similar slats would have been connected together to form each side and these slats would then be fit to the four corner posts (Cat. No. 11) to produce the rectangular coffin. Although the ends of the boards would have been hidden when tightly joined to the corner posts, the end of the right side of OIM E7196 was not left unfinished. It has a shape outlined in red and painted in with green paint just like the other decoration on the coffin.

Many coffins of the *qrsw*-type had sumptuous decoration on both interior and exterior. The Roman Period coffin of Soter now in the British Museum (BM EA 6705) had been decorated on the inside with a painting of the goddess Nut surrounded by symbols of the zodiac. Only meager fragments of the coffin of Djehutymes survive and therefore very little is known about its original decorative scheme. The backside of this plank, the interior of the coffin, was left mostly undecorated, although there is an oblong shape, outlined in red and filled in white, which extends off the edge. It is unclear if this is part of lost decoration or something else. Sections where wood was

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D. 19821

joined together seem to have been reinforced by a substance that has left a light yellow residue on the wood along the top edge and around knots in the wood under the text. This product was probably applied to strengthen these areas prior to decoration.

On the right side of the plank, we find a depiction of the solar bark with the sun god and his crew flanked by two Nile gods holding *ankh*-symbols, all depicted in vibrant colors, dominated by a brilliant seafoam green symbolic of rejuvenation. A baboon, avatar of Thoth, sits at the prow of the boat, behind which stands a goddess and a god. This arrangement is referenced in the accompanying text by "Thoth remains in the prow of the boat." In the center sits the sun god Re on a throne within a shrine, a form of the midday sun at the height of its powers. Four figures follow behind the shrine. The last figure whose skin is painted black must be Anubis. Since the crew of the solar boat is variable, it is difficult to identify with certainty the remaining fragmentary figures. It is possible that one of them represents Djehutymes because a primary goal of the Book of the Dead is to help the deceased join the solar-Osirian cycle.

The image of the solar bark is fitting for the adjacent text of BD spell 15, a composite spell consisting of a wide variety of hymns to the sun. In the text, the rising sun is implored to "shine in the face of Osiris, scribe, Djehutymes" so that "his soul may go forth." The central section of the hymn references the sun god as the primary creator, calling him "Khepri (*Ḫprỉ*) who came into being (*ḫpr*) himself." A complex solar theology is embedded in this pun through the use of the ancient Egyptian term *kheper* (*ḫpr*), which meant "to come into being." The sun god, by coming into being himself, is thus presented as the elemental creative force, appearing out of the inert waters of Nun and going on to subsequently create the rest of the visible universe illuminated by his rays. FS

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Petrie 1902, pp. 35, 48, pl. 71; T. Allen 1960, pp. 2, 10, 15, 79



D. 19731

FIGURE C5. Another fragment of Djehutymes's coffin showing Anubis and two goddesses, probably inducting Djehutymes into the afterlife. OIM E7199

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11. CORNER POST FROM THE COFFIN OF DJEHUTYMES INSCRIBED WITH GLORIFICATION SPELLS

Cedar, paint
Egypt, Abydos
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903
Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC
H: 46.3 x W: 5.4 x D: 4.3 cm
OIM E7197

This fragment from a rectangular coffin (for further fragments, see Cat. No. 10) made of cedar is the sole surviving corner post out of an original four. The post is inscribed on its two outer surfaces. The hieroglyphs between vertical stripes of green bordered in red are rendered with great skill and care in black ink. The text is applied directly onto the wood, showing off the reddish hue of the precious material.

The two vertical lines of text are taken from two almost consecutive passages from the final section of a well-known Osiris liturgy, nowadays known as Glorifications (*Sakhu*) I (for the meaning of *sakh*, see Chapter 10), but actually titled "Book of glorifying the spirit which is recited in the temple of Osiris" (Assmann 2008, pp. 37–225; Smith 2009a, pp. 167–92). Part of the same section is also preserved on the back-pillar of a fragmentary statuette from Sais, dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Bakry 1968). Papyri inscribed with Osiris liturgies feature in the burial equipment of some late tombs, predominantly of the early Ptolemaic Period (see Chapter 10). Several contemporary coffins from nearby Akhmim are also inscribed with excerpts from these liturgies, as well as one coffin each from Thebes and probably Aswan (cf. Rhode Island School of Design 38.206.2, published in Budge 1896, pp. 41–74).

From the evidence of the one surviving post it cannot be safely concluded that the three lost ones were also inscribed with passages from the liturgy. The coffin most closely comparable in this respect (BM EA 29779 from Akhmim), features a mixture of short excerpts of Glorifications II and III on its corner posts, but mostly glorifying phrases from other, as yet unidentified sources.


D. 19726

11, front


D. 19727

11, left edge

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Front:
O Osiris Khentamenti
Osiris of the scribe Djehutymes, justified:
Your two sisters glorify you with their mourning,
they lament you as their god.
The powerful ones on their portals pacify you,
they prepare your way in the netherworld,
Osiris of the scribe Djehutymes, justified.

Side:
O scribe Djehutymes, justified:
In peace!
Horus, he overthrows your enemies,
Horus conveys you in the bark of Re, he guides
you to the inhabitants of the *Duat*, that you may
shine in your tomb, the lady of the West!
those in the two chapels worship you,
they perform the *ha-senedj* rite for your two crowns
and Protection-of-the-Earth for your uraeus,
Osiris of (Djehuty)mes, justified.

The hieroglyphs are exquisitely executed with much attention to detail. For instance, the three squatting deities with sistra on top of their heads making up the word *sekhemu*, "the powerful ones" who guard the portals of the netherworld, have varying facial contours. The first appears to be a human, the second a lion and the third a baboon. This would be in accordance with the countless depictions of such guardians in the Book of the Dead (chapters 144, 145, 146, and 147), e.g., Papyrus Ryerson sheet H (Cat. No. 14) and Papyrus Milbank sheets L and M (Cat. No. 15). For all the great care in regard to aesthetics, the text features a few minor spelling mistakes in the suffix pronouns, omitting a sign here and inverting two others there.

Another fragment from this coffin (present location unknown) is inscribed with a spell of the goddess Nut based on passages of the Osiris liturgy Glorification III (Petrie 1902, pl. LXXI; Assmann 2008, pp. 428–29, 432). AK

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Petrie 1902, pp. 35, 48, pl. 71; T. Allen 1960, pp. 2, 10, 15, 79



D. 19728

11, back



D. 19729

11, right edge

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D. 18553

12, front

12. SARCOPHAGUS FRAGMENT WITH DIVINE GUARDIAN

Stone, paint
Egypt, Luxor, Ramesseum
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1896
Late Period, Dynasty 26, 664–525 BC
H: 16 x W: 30 x D: 10.6 cm
OIM E1368

This fragment belongs to the base (probably the head end, given two major curves in its shape) of the stone anthropoid sarcophagus of Ibi, an official who lived during the reign of Psametik I (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) and was the owner of one of the decorated tombs of the Asasif (TT 36). It is one of many fragments belonging to the sarcophagus scattered in the burial chamber and on the ramp leading to it (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1972, p. 204); this piece was probably already displaced from the tomb in antiquity and found back in the excavation area of the Ramesseum at the end of the last century (Graefe 1974, p. 202). The lid of this sarcophagus is kept in Turin (Turin Cat. No. 2202; Buhl 1959, p. 123, fig. 73, Gb3) while other fragments of the base are probably still in the tomb.

Most of its surface is carved with text but parts of the accompanying iconography are also present. The preserved hieroglyphs are inscribed in three vertical columns and in one horizontal line and they face right with the reading direction from right to left. The upper torso and head of a female figure with a snake behind her shoulder are recognizable below the horizontal line of text. The figure recalls one of the female goddesses represented in the Twelfth Hour of the Amduat, who attend the last phase of the sun's journey in the netherworld before his rise in the sky. On the left lower corner behind the goddess are traces of what looks like the horns and ear of a dorcas gazelle, one of the protective animal beings inhabiting the netherworld and being part of the followers of the sun god. Sometimes the prow of a ritual boat may have the shape of an ibex or gazelle as well, as in the case of the alabaster boat found in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Hints of another iconographic element are visible on the right upper

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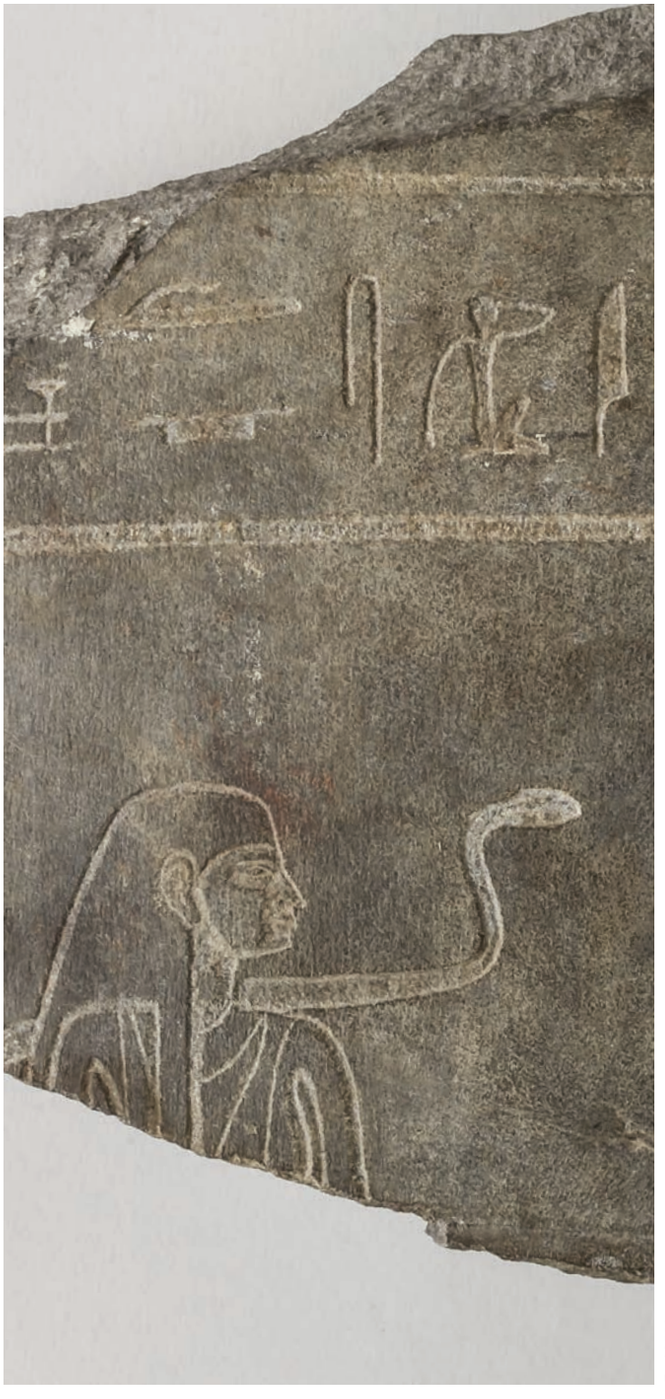
corner, which looks like part of an outstretched wing and probably belongs to the typical figure, in late anthropoid coffins like this one, of a winged goddess, maybe Nephthys, who is generally represented at the head of coffins and sarcophagi and who is also mentioned in the first column of text from the left.

The legible hieroglyphs seem to belong to what was a standard protective text employed on coffins and sarcophagi of the end of the first millennium BC, where Nut, the goddess of the sky and mother of the deceased, invites other goddesses such as Isis and Nephthys to recite words in favor of the deceased. On the first text column from right, one can read the formula "Recitation by" (*ḏd md.w ỉn*), which opens most of the funerary spells since the Pyramid Texts and is very commonly found also in the Book of the Dead spells, followed by the hieroglyph of the name of the goddess Nephthys. The second column shows Ibi's titles of "Overseer of Upper Egypt" (*mr šmʿw*) and "Overseer of the Great House of the Divine Adoratrice" (*mr pr wr dwꜣ.t nṯr*), to which the beginning of the name of Ibi follows, written according to the spelling *Ỉbꜣ*. The hieroglyphs visible in the third column should be part of the words pronounced by the goddess Nephthys mentioned in the first column; the first hieroglyph of a sitting human figure or god may represent the first person pronoun *=ỉ* of the verbal formation *pḫr=ỉ*, "I go around" to which the prepositional formation *ḥꜣ=k*, "behind you" follows; the expressions "I go around behind you" or alternatively "my protection (*sꜣ=ỉ*) is behind you" were included in many funerary spells of the Book of the Dead and other related protective incantations. The last two hieroglyphs on the third column, *sḥḏ*, "to illuminate," may belong to the spell's next sentence.

The horizontal line of text over the female figure seems to be an invocation: "Oh opener of the way" (*ỉ sd wꜣ.t*). The latter is a common epithet of a series of gods and supernatural beings populating the netherworld and also accompanying the journey of the sun god in his boat, as depicted in the already mentioned Amduat. RL

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Quibell 1897, p. 20, pl. 27:3; Graefe 1974, p. 202 n. 4



D. 18553

12, front detail

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PAPYRI CASES

In the preparation of the body for burial, care was taken to incorporate any funerary documents commissioned by the departed. There were many variations in how papyri were stored in the burial depending on time and place. With the body embalmed, wrapped, and secured in a set of coffins, it was common at all periods to include papryi directly in the mummy wrappings or placed inside the coffin. In those cases, the papyrus could remain unwrapped or it could have been placed in a protective linen sheath. The Books of Breathing (Chapter 12) included specific instructions for placing the papyri in the bandages near the chest, under the head, and under the feet. Small sheets of papyrus inscribed with BD 162 were placed under the head (fig. 9.7) or incorporated into the top of cartonnage mummy masks. On the outer leaf of a fourth century BC papyrus, a scribe named Nesmin wrote a note instructing that "a document be written for me for the inside of the pinewood coffin in which it will be placed. Let the papyrus be placed inside of my wrappings" (Martin and Ryholt 2006). The common factor uniting these customs together is the proximity of the papyrus to the body, a practice continued when papyri were placed in wooden containers positioned on or near the coffin.

A tradition of placing papyri inside a wooden statue began in the New Kingdom. The earliest known example is a royal statue of Amenhotep II (Daressy 1902, pl. XXXIII) that had been hollowed out and held a papyrus inscribed with the Book of Caves (BD 168). From the late New Kingdom through the Third Intermediate Period, a number of different styles developed, including figures of Osiris that were either varnished in black or brightly painted, but it is the figures labeled as the syncretistic deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris set into a rectangular base that became ubiquitous in private burials after ca. 700 BC (Raven 1978–79). Papyri, and sometimes small linen bundles, were secreted either into cavities in the statue itself or in the base. The wooden exterior offered protection to the more fragile papyri inside them, but the decoration of the exterior with hymns and offering texts points to the symbolic role these figures played. The texts identify the divine figure as Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, combining the creative and chthonic qualities of these gods into one, a typically Egyptian approach reflecting their lack of concern with mono- versus polytheism referred to as "the one and the many" (Hornung 1996). Through union with this deity, the dead were able to effect their rejuvenation. FS



FIGURE C7. A hollow statue in the form of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris made for the musician Ihet. Egypt. Wood and paint. H: 81.5 x W: 12 cm. Ptolemaic Period. Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1921. Metropolitan Museum of Art 21.9.1a–c

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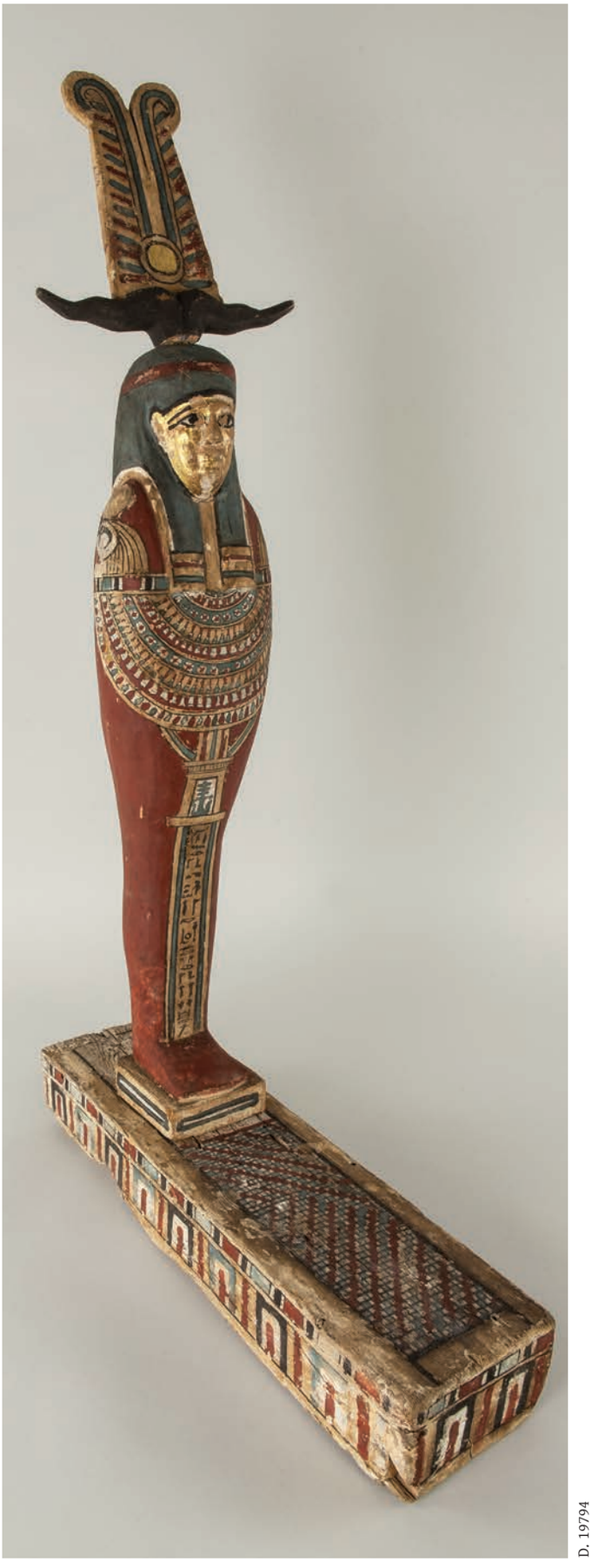
13. PAPYRUS CASE IN THE FORM OF PTAH-SOKAR-OSIRIS

Wood, gesso, paint, gilding
Egypt, Akhmim
Purchased in Egypt, 1894–1895
Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC
H: 77.9 x W: 18.3 x D: 4.31 cm
OIM E357

The mummiform figure represents Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the composite god of resurrection. His mummified body — akin to images of Osiris — is represented here wearing a crown of ostrich feathers, sun disk, and ram's horns — attributes of the gods Ptah and Sokar. The gilded face reveals the Egyptian belief that the flesh of the gods was made out of gold. The body of the statue is carved from a single piece of wood that fits into the base via a large square tenon fashioned below the feet. The crown is fixed via a dowel protruding from the top of the head.

Also known as papyrus sheaths, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures commonly contain such funerary papyri as the Book of the Dead or the Amduat. The manuscripts were rolled up and deposited either in the base under a sliding panel or in a cavity in the trunk of the statue (Raven 1978–79). In this case, a small rectangular panel was removed from the back of the figure's head, a cavity made, and the panel replaced, gessoed, and painted in an attempt to disguise it (cf. UPMAA L-55-29A–C). The cavity appears to be empty, perhaps unused at the time of burial. Future analysis may help to confirm the presence or absence of any material inside.

Attested first in the early New Kingdom, papyrus sheaths gained popularity in the Twenty-first Dynasty. However, figures like OIM E357 (Type IVB of Raven 1978–79) may not have enclosed papyri, but rather contained mummified remains, continuing the tradition attested after the Twenty-fifth Dynasty of frequently replacing the papyrus deposits with corn mummies, or figures of grain and mud that were meant to sprout, symbolizing resurrection. The composite divinity, himself a symbol of rebirth, protects the contents intended to assist the deceased's rejuvenation in the afterlife through sympathetic magic.



D. 19794

13, OIM E357, front

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D. 19789

13, OIM E357, back showing panel covering cavity

The elongated shape of this figure, its *wesekh*-collar, and the red, blue, and white checkered pattern are typical to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues manufactured in Akhmim. The inscription down the front of the mummy's legs consists of a formulaic hymn typical to such statues: "Words spoken by Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, Great God, Lord of Abydos. Sokar-Osiris, Great God who resides in the shrine." An offering inscription on the back of the statue also names Isis, Nephthys, Imseti, and Hapi, a group of funerary deities related to Osiris. Isis and Nephthys were his sisters who mourned his death and aided in his resurrection. Imseti and Hapi, known primarily as the sons of Horus who protected the internal organs of the deceased placed in canopic jars, were his grandchildren. YB

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PAPYRI

Papyrus has become the iconic medium by which the Book of the Dead is known. Spells and illustrations could be inscribed on small single sheets used as amulets (fig. C8) or on massive rolls over 10 m in length (Cat. Nos. 14–15). Production of the papyrus scrolls, layout of texts and images, and positioning within the burial, were dictated by scribal trends and cultural fashions of the time and place. As a general principle, papyri were placed near the mummified body in order for the dead to have ready access to them, but also to take advantage of the protective qualities of the scrolls as magical amulets.

The largest papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead were immense grimoires of magical knowledge containing up to 165 individual spells. So dense were these handbooks that the Egyptian scribes created spells to aid in memorizing all the other spells. In the papyrus that belonged to a man named Nu (British Museum EA 10477), BD spell 64 was called the "spell for knowing the spells of going forth by day in a single spell." Thus, by use of this spell, Nu would know all the other spells in the Book of the Dead. Knowledge of the book is an important component to its activation, as indicated by the rubric to Book of the Dead spell 68: "As for the one who knows this book, he comes and goes in the day. He will walk upon the earth among the living. He will never perish." It is knowledge of the spells that allows the deceased to ensure transformation into a blessed spirit (*ꜣḫ*) in the afterlife. In fact, provided they have the requisite knowledge, their transformation is obligatory for "whoever knows it can never perish" (BD 85).

Our knowledge of the papyri is due to their preservation, a result of the serendipitously dry environmental conditions of ancient Egypt combined with the fact that the papyri were placed in the protective surroundings of the tomb. Without these two factors, it is unlikely that we would have the hundreds and hundreds of papyrus copies of the Book of the Dead to study today. Originally, papyrus scrolls were rolled up (Cat. No. 18) and stored in a container or within the coffin. After thousands of years, the scrolls have become extremely brittle and easily damaged. In order to facilitate their study, it has become routine for papyrologists to work with conservators trained in the care of paper and papyrus who can carefully humidify and unroll the papyri. The unrolled papyrus is cut along various sections where text or illustrations would not be affected in order for the cut sheets to be mounted individually between glass or acrylic sheets. This helps to preserve the papyri for future generations as well as provide access to scholars studying them without risking damage to the artifacts by physically touching them or handling an unwieldy 10 m scroll. Our modern interaction with the Book of the Dead tends to be through these individual sheets, either in museum exhibits or in exhibition catalogs. In order to emphasize the original materiality of the Book of the Dead, two complete papyri have been displayed in this exhibit and catalog. FS



FIGURE C8. This small sheet of papyrus was inscribed with the text and images of BD spells 100 and 129, the texts of which contain two versions of the same spell. It was found folded up together with a small golden plaque inscribed with 32 amuletic images. Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.2.18

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14, E9787A, detail of vignette for BD 17

14. BOOK OF THE DEAD PAPYRUS OF NESSHUTEFNUT (PAPYRUS RYERSON)

Papyrus, paint
Egypt, Luxor
Purchased in Paris, 1919
Ptolemaic Period, ca. 250 BC
H: 39 cm x W: 924 cm
Spokane 1 + Columbia 784 + OIM E9787A–J

Papyrus Ryerson (OIM E9787; hereafter pRyerson) was acquired in Paris in 1919 with funds donated by Martin A. Ryerson, after whom the document is named today. This outstanding Book of the Dead was produced specifically for a priest named Nesshutefnut, prophet of Khonsu, the great god of Edfu, Prophet of the Falcons Who Live in His Tree(?), *snty wr*(?), and Fourth Prophet of Osiris, whose mother and father were respectively Asetreshti and Iunihor. The Oriental Institute section of the papyrus is roughly 30 feet long in its original state, but is today mounted in 10 framed sections. The first part of the document with BD 1 through BD 15i was missing when purchased in Paris, but a fragment with part of spells BD 13 and 14 survives in New York at Columbia University. Substantial fragments from the beginning of the papyrus covering BD 1–15 have recently been identified by Bryan Kraemer in the Spokane Public Library, which acquired them through the collector George Washington Fuller. They appear in this catalog for the first time and it is also the first time the entire papyrus of Nesshutefnut has been brought together, in this case digitally, since its original deposition in his third century BC tomb.

In pRyerson the surviving portion begins with the four-register illustration commonly known as BD 16, a textless spell that consisted only of the illustration itself. It is followed by the standard Theban Ptolemaic complement of spells from BD 17 through 162, written in the hieratic script, but with BD 58 and 139 omitted, as was the case for most Theban traditions. While BD 163 to 165 were routinely included in documents from the N3079 and N3089 Traditions upon which pRyerson was partially based, they were omitted in pRyerson as well as in all other documents of the Ryerson Tradition. pRyerson is highly unusual in that another scribe added the hieroglyphic texts of the somewhat rare BD 191 and 192 at the end, followed by four offering formulas, all of which came from a different source than the normal collection of spells in Theban Ptolemaic Books of the Dead.

The style of pRyerson is unlike the typical Theban pre-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic documents where the texts of the spells were presented continuously from the top of one column to the bottom and on to the next column, and where the vignettes were typically located by the titles of their respective spells (fig. 7.3). Instead, more often only a single spell was given in a column,

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D. 28914

with the rest of the column left blank, and the vignettes were presented at the top. In this respect the layout is similar to a Saite style (fig. 7.1), but without the formal lines separating the columns and the illustrations. This hybrid arrangement is somewhat rare, other examples being Louvre N 3145, Berlin 3058, and Turin 1833, the latter two from the Theban-y Tradition. Where the texts of two adjacent spells were short, however, the scribe for pRyerson sometimes placed them in a single column; for example BD 22 was placed under BD 21, and BD 37 was placed under BD 36. The latter arrangement led to an interesting problem for both scribe and artist discussed further below.

The versions of the texts in pRyerson are typically like those in the other documents of the Ryerson Tradition, for which pRyerson is the most significant document, and its texts are particularly close to those in BM 75044 and Louvre N 3145.

The versions of the illustrations are like those found in the N3079, N3089, and Ryerson Traditions, many dating back to pre-Ptolemaic documents, if not earlier. The striking and highly unusual feature of pRyerson is the use of multiple colors. Saite illustrations involve multiple colors, a practice continued by two of three Theban pre-Ptolemaic workshops. The third pre-Ptolemaic workshop, however, used simple black line-drawings with the occasional use of red, and this tradition served as the basis for the texts and illustrations of the subsequent Ptolemaic N3079, N3089, and Ryerson Traditions. Among these traditions only pRyerson employed multi-colored illustrations, although Berlin 3058 and Turin 1833 from the Theban-y Tradition mentioned above as having similar styles to pRyerson also employed multi-colored illustrations. Interestingly, Louvre N 3145 with the same style as pRyerson used only black line-drawings. Two documents from the Theban-x Tradition also used multiple colors, but they were based directly on the Saite Tradition, so their use of color is not surprising. In pRyerson the artist added black line-drawings first and later colored them, where the colors often bled over the black lines and sometimes over parts of the text immediately below. The use of color may well have been an archaism, a notion also evident in the increased use of older Saite and pre-Ptolemaic texts.

In terms of construction, the scribe clearly added the texts first, leaving blank space for the artist to add the illustrations later, and this led to an interesting set of problems. As observed above, the text of BD 37 was located under the text of BD 36 (OIM E9787B), and the scribe allocated space for the illustration of BD 37 below the title of that spell. When the artist later added the illustrations, he overlooked that allocated space and mistakenly added the illustration of BD 37 above the text of BD 38, which resulted in all subsequent illustrations at the top of the document being aligned with the wrong texts all the way down to the illustration of BD 109 (OIM E9787E). Somehow in subsequent

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columns with two spells, the artist managed to add the correct illustrations to some of the secondary spells in those columns, but he overlooked three allocated spaces in several columns before the great scene of BD 110, and he placed the scene of BD 105 above a column of blank space (OIM 9787E). It is interesting to observe the blank space immediately below the end of BD 140 and above the spread out text of BD 137 at the bottom of the papyrus (OIM E9787G). Here we can reasonably speculate that the scribe must have previously warned the artist to be more careful about missing the allocated spaces for secondary illustrations further down in the columns, but in this particular area he must then have worried that the artist might add an illustration in that blank space below the end of BD 140, particularly where he had allocated space for the illustration of BD 137 down in the preceding column. So to avoid this, he added a short tag in Demotic that essentially reads: "It is not an empty space for a picture" (Scalf 2015–16, p. 73).

Dating a Book of the Dead that cannot be corroborated by other datable objects is always speculative. Some date pRyerson to the pre-Ptolemaic era, but the texts of the Ryerson Tradition, based to a great degree on the N3089 Tradition, seem more likely to have been assembled during the second half of the third century BC, the same general timeframe as the Theban-y Tradition. MM

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T. Allen 1952, pp. 177–86, pl. XIX; T. Allen 1960, pls. XIII–L; Teeter 2003, 98–99; Stadler 2003, pp. 59–105; Kockelmann 2006; Woods 2010, pp. 163–64 (no. 84); Scalf 2015, pp. 71–76, pl. 1; Wüthrich 2015, pp. 53, 72–73, 75–76

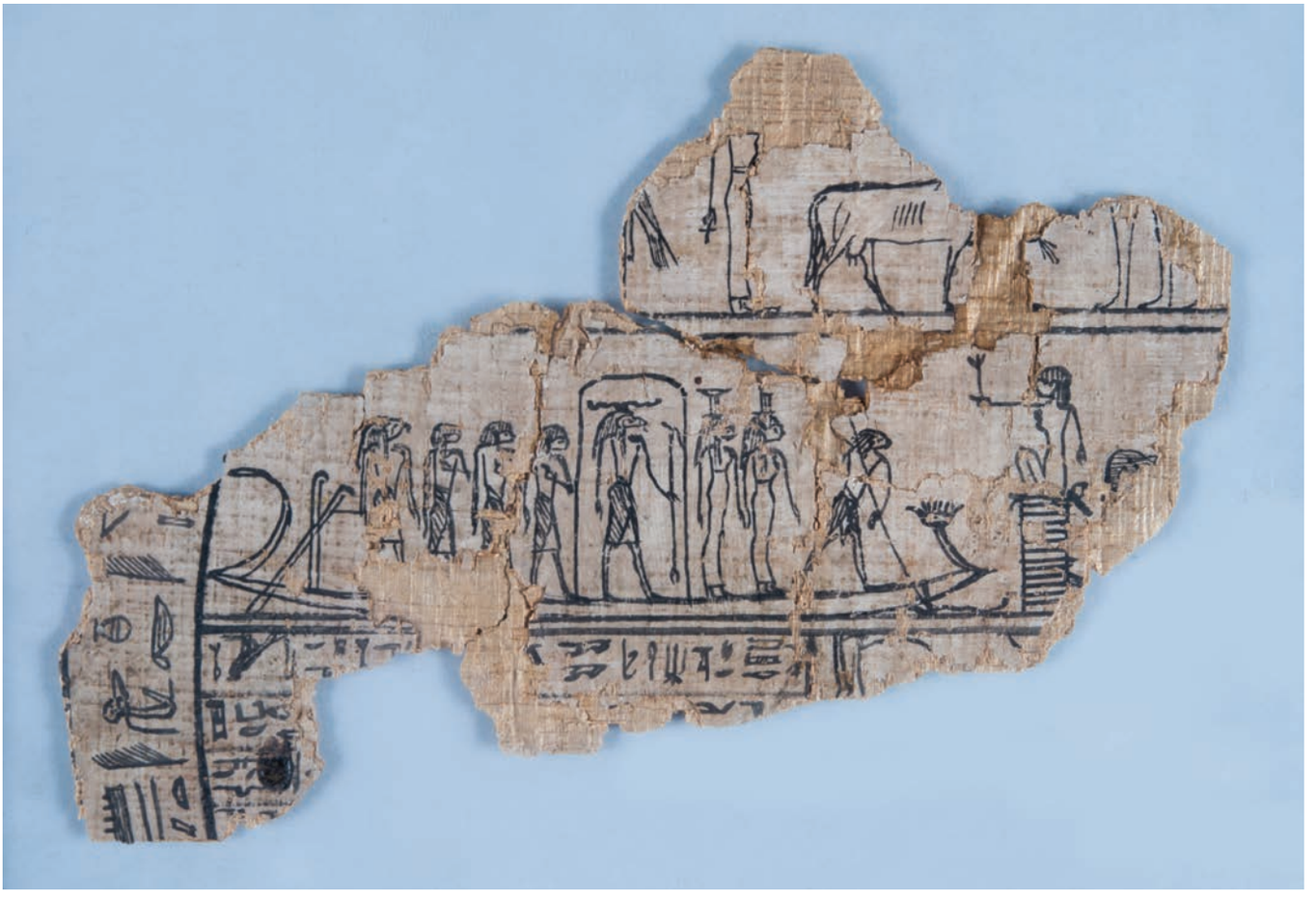


FIGURE C9. The hypocephalus of Nesshutefnut inscribed with BD 162. Cairo SR 4, 10689Z (photo courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo)

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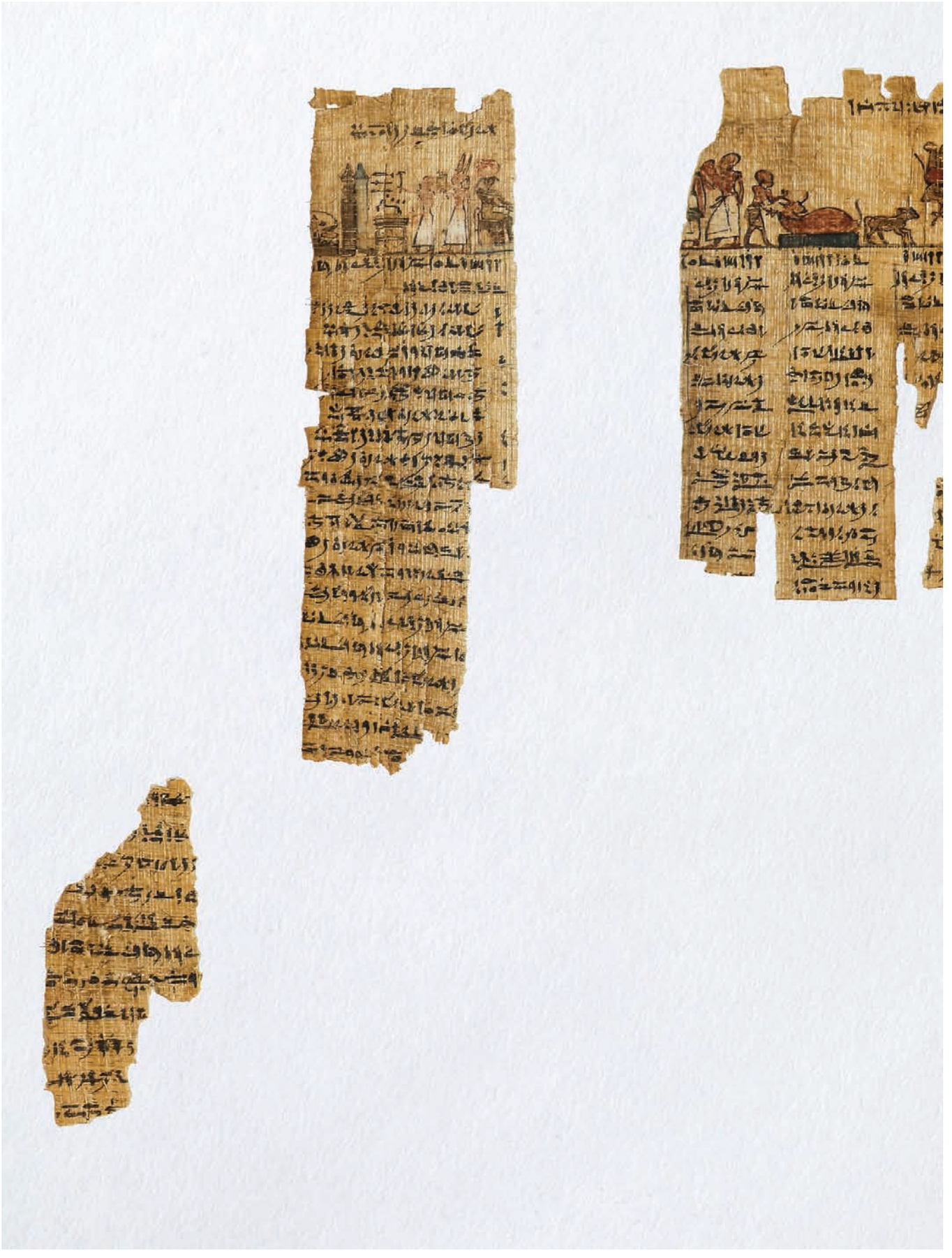
14, Papyrus Spokane 1, columns x+1–x+6, BD 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10

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14, Papyrus Spokane 1 + Papyrus Columbia 784, columns x+7–x+14, BD 11, 12, 13, 14, 15

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14, Papyrus Spokane 1 + Papyrus Columbia 784, columns x+15–x+17, BD 15

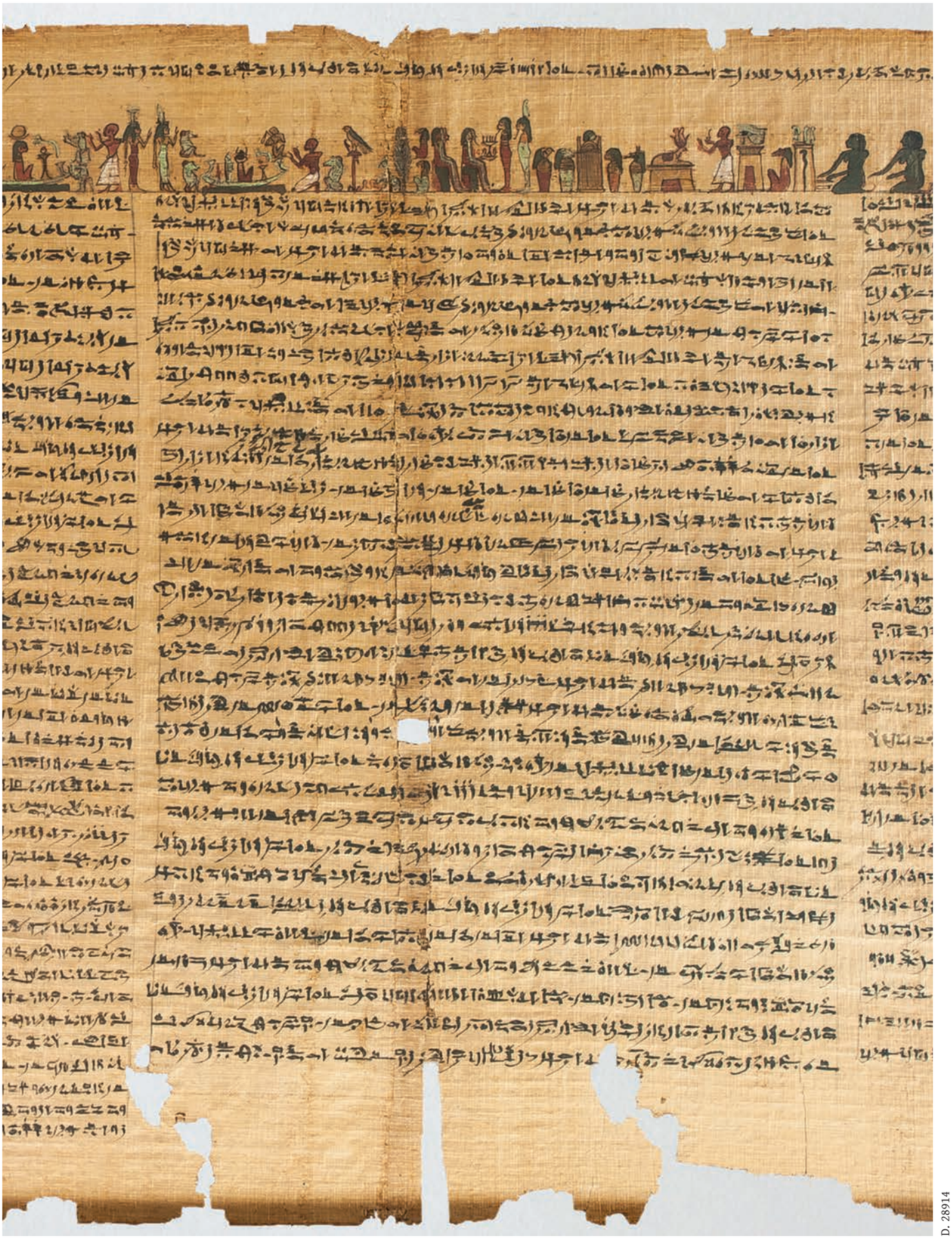
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D. 28914

14, OIM E9787A, columns 1–2, BD 16, 17

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14, OIM E9787A, column 3, BD 17

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D. 28914

14, OIM E9787A, columns 4–6, BD 17, 18

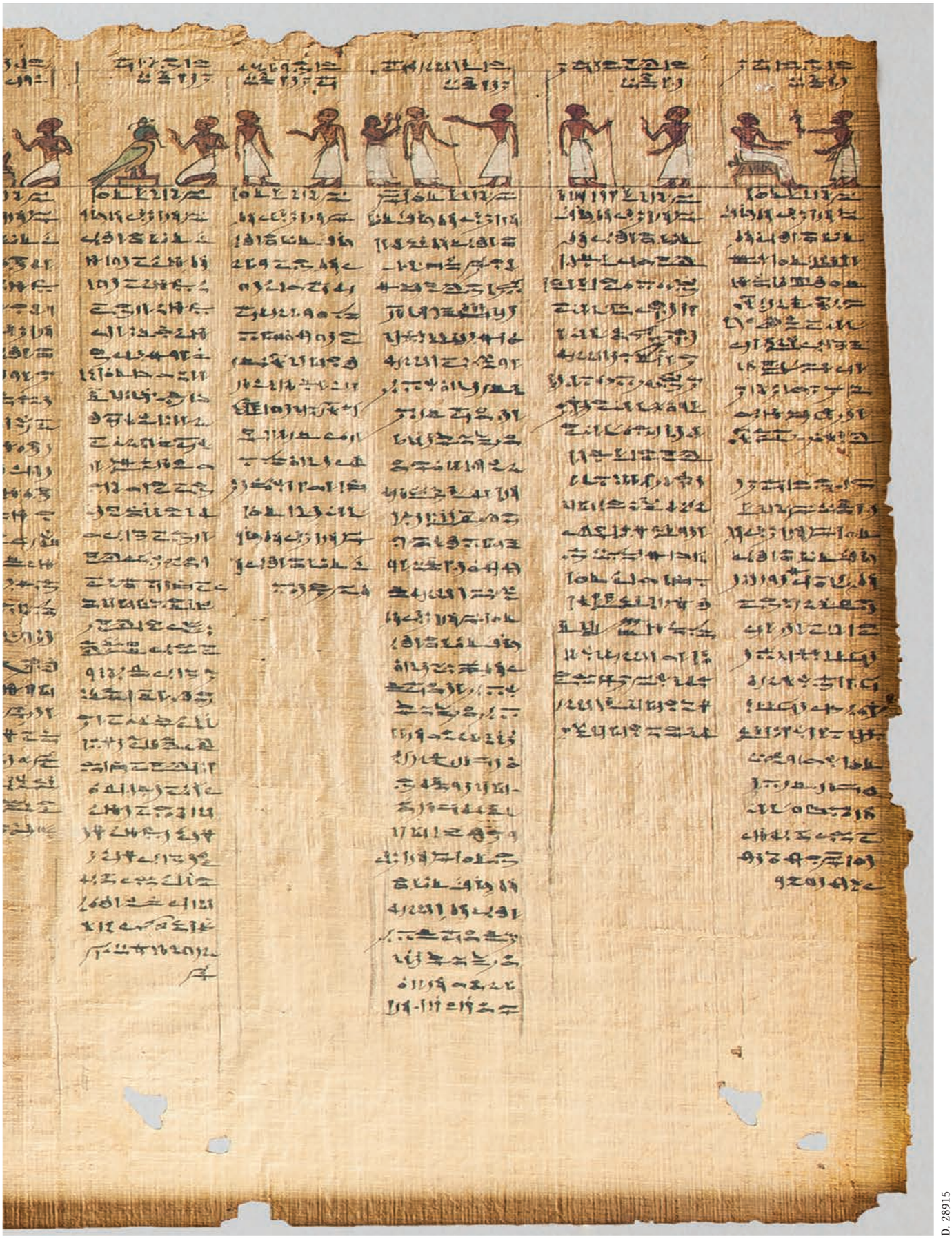
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D. 28914

14, OIM E9787A, columns 7–11, BD 18, 19, 20

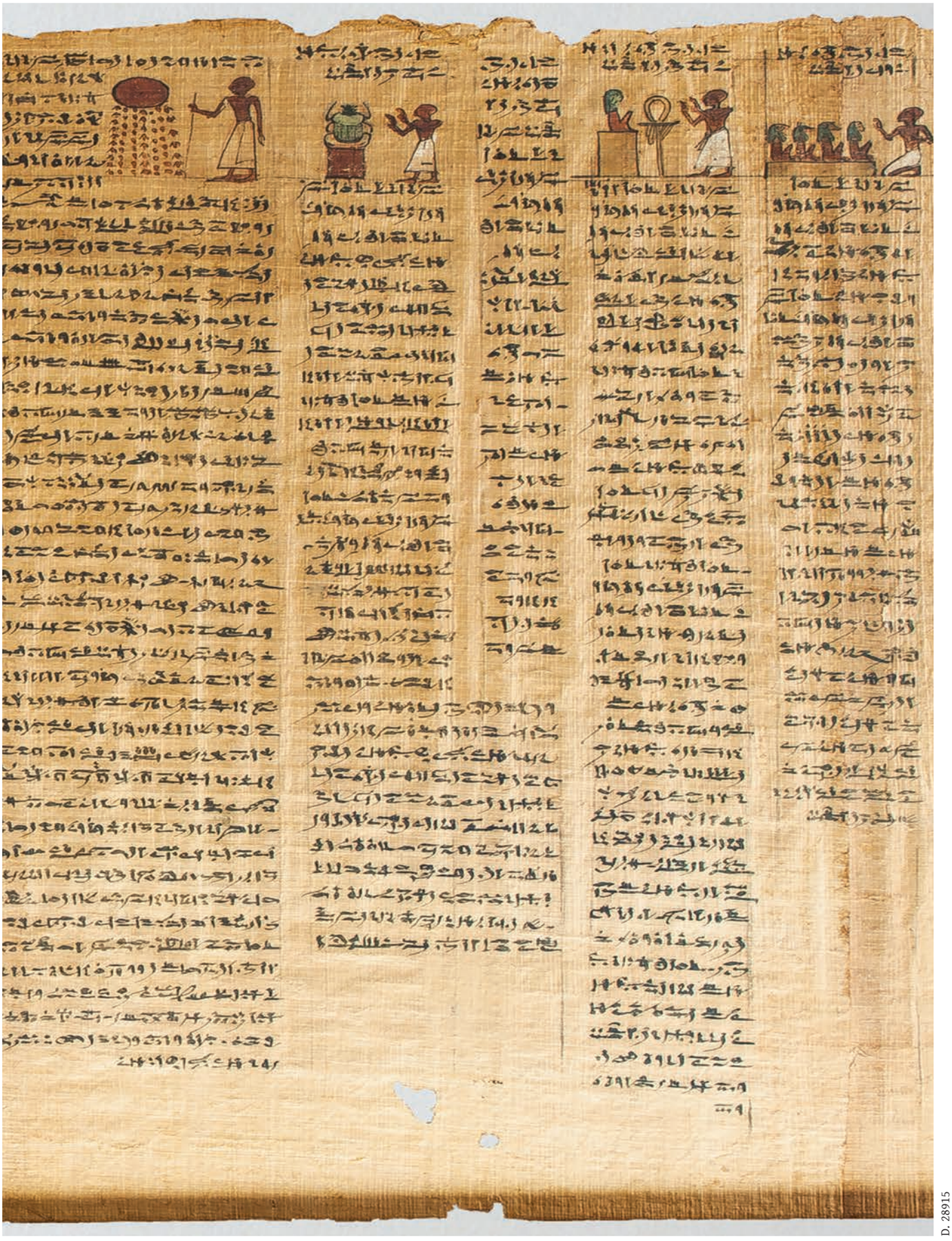
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D. 28915

14, OIM E9787B, columns 12–16, BD 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26

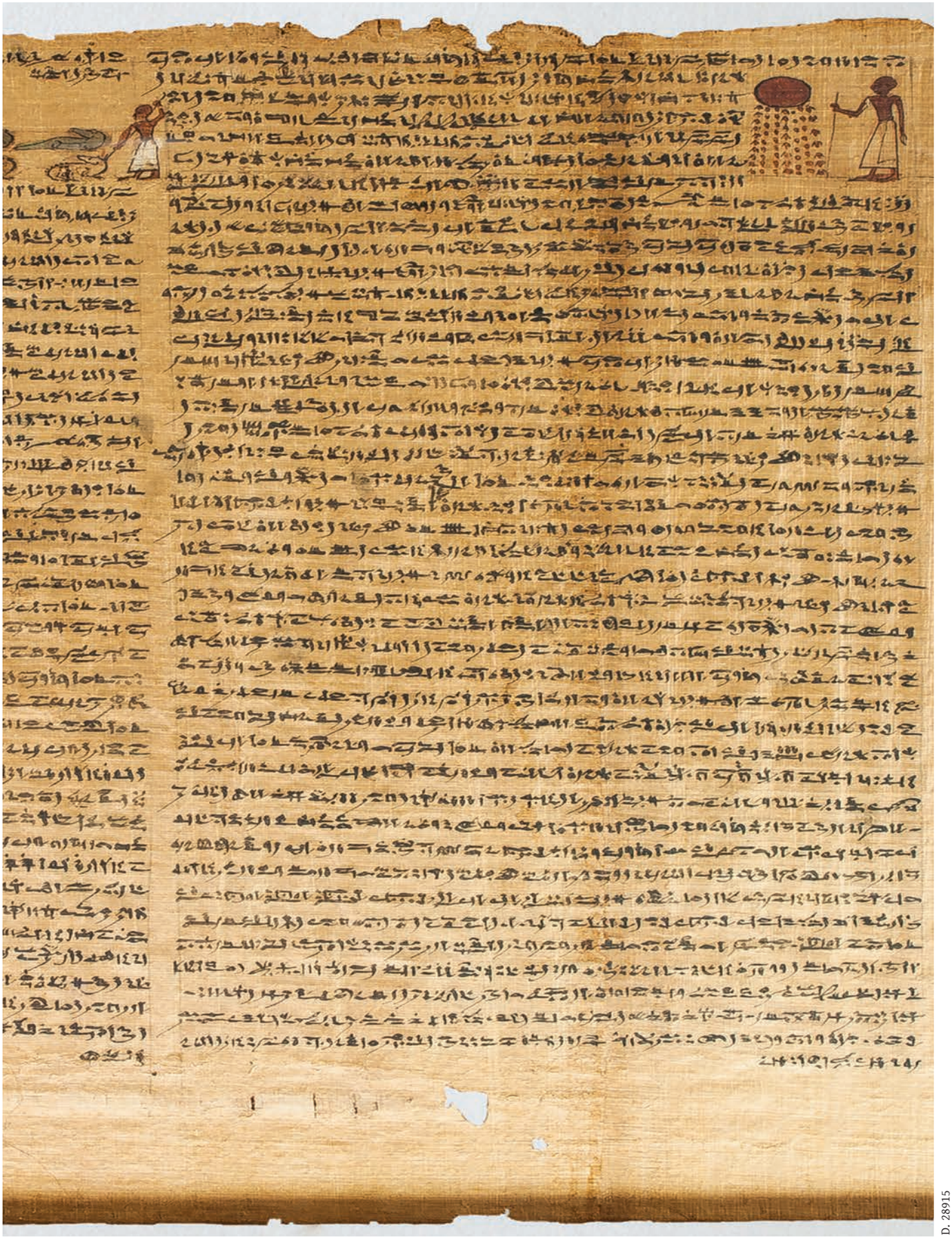
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D. 28915

14, OIM E9787B, columns 17–20, BD 27, 28, 29, 30, 30B

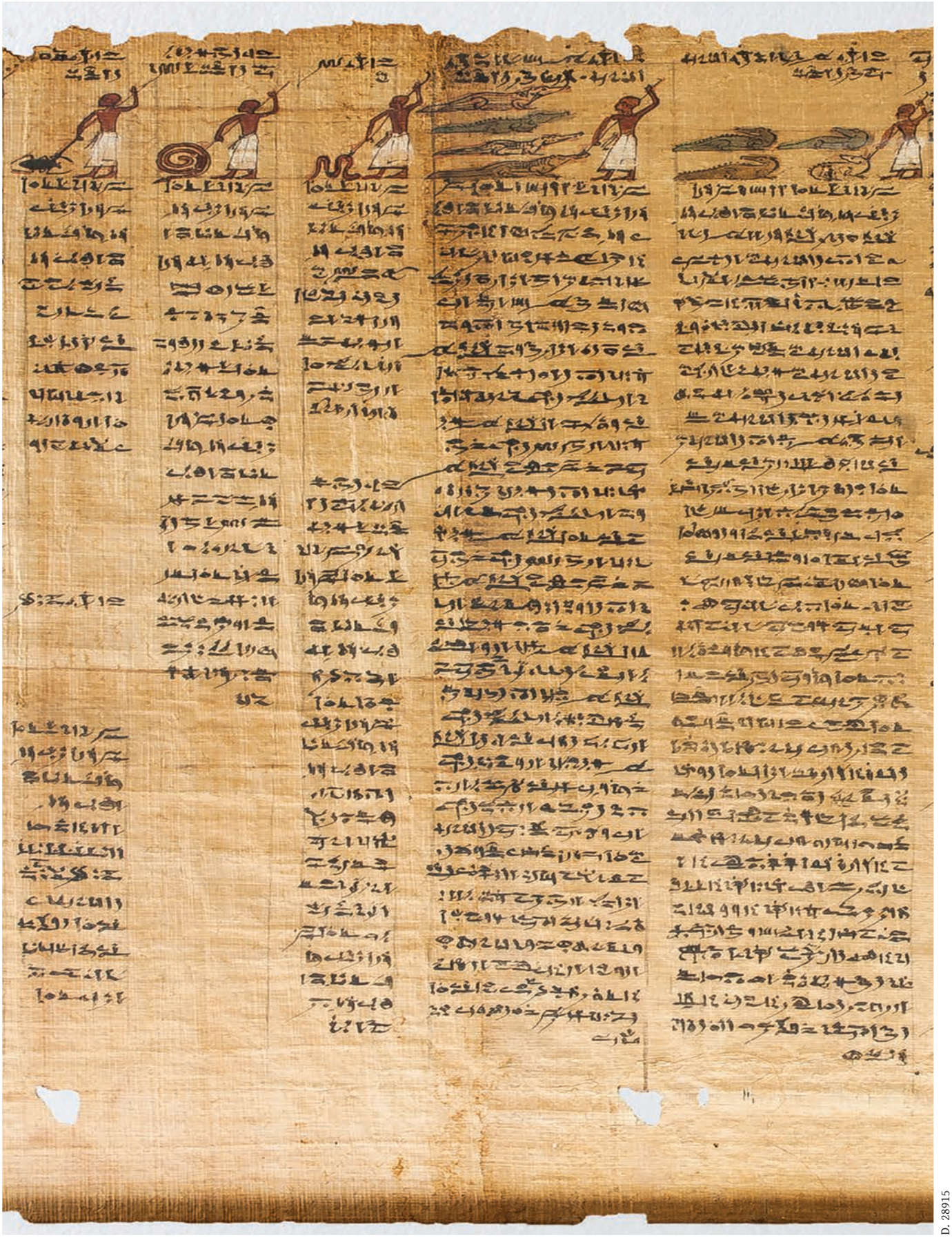
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D. 28915

14, OIM E9787B, column 21, BD 64

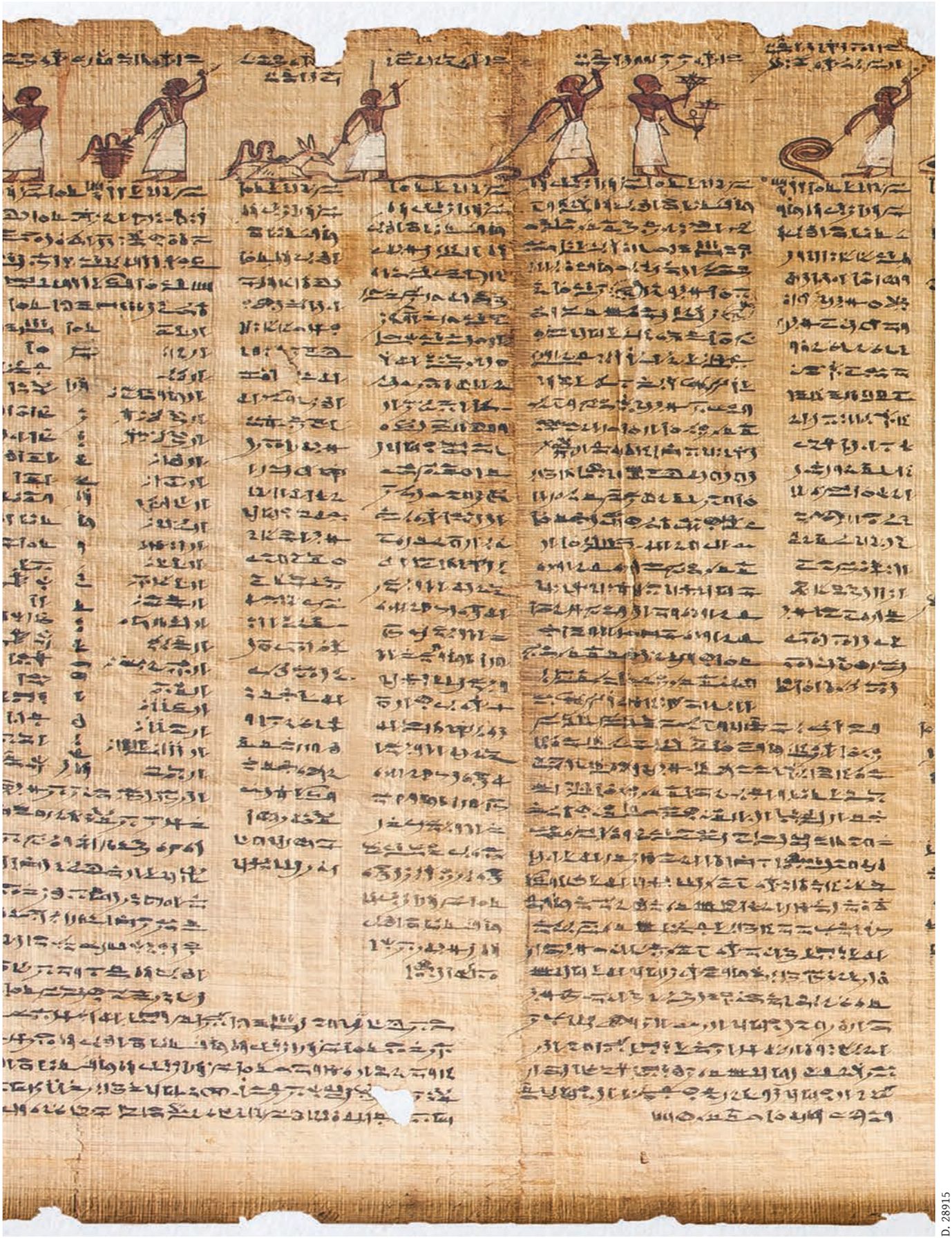
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D. 28915

14, OIM E9787B, columns 22–26, BD 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37

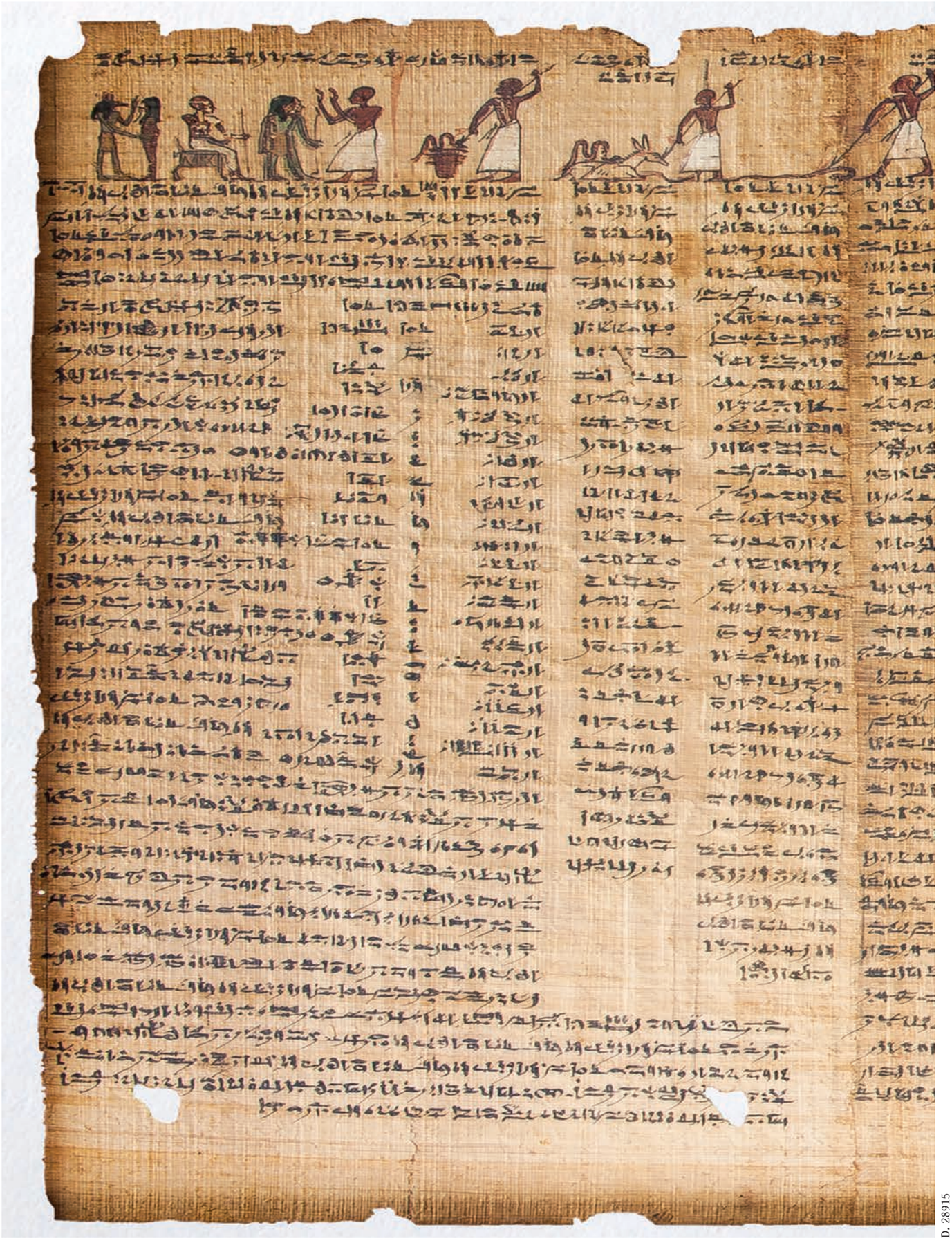
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D. 28915

14, OIM E9787B, columns 27–30, BD 38, 39, 40, 41

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D. 28915

14, OIM E9787B, columns 29–31, BD 40, 41, 42

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D. 28916

14, OIM E9787C, columns 32–38, BD 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54

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D. 28916

14, OIM E9787C, columns 39–47, BD 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70

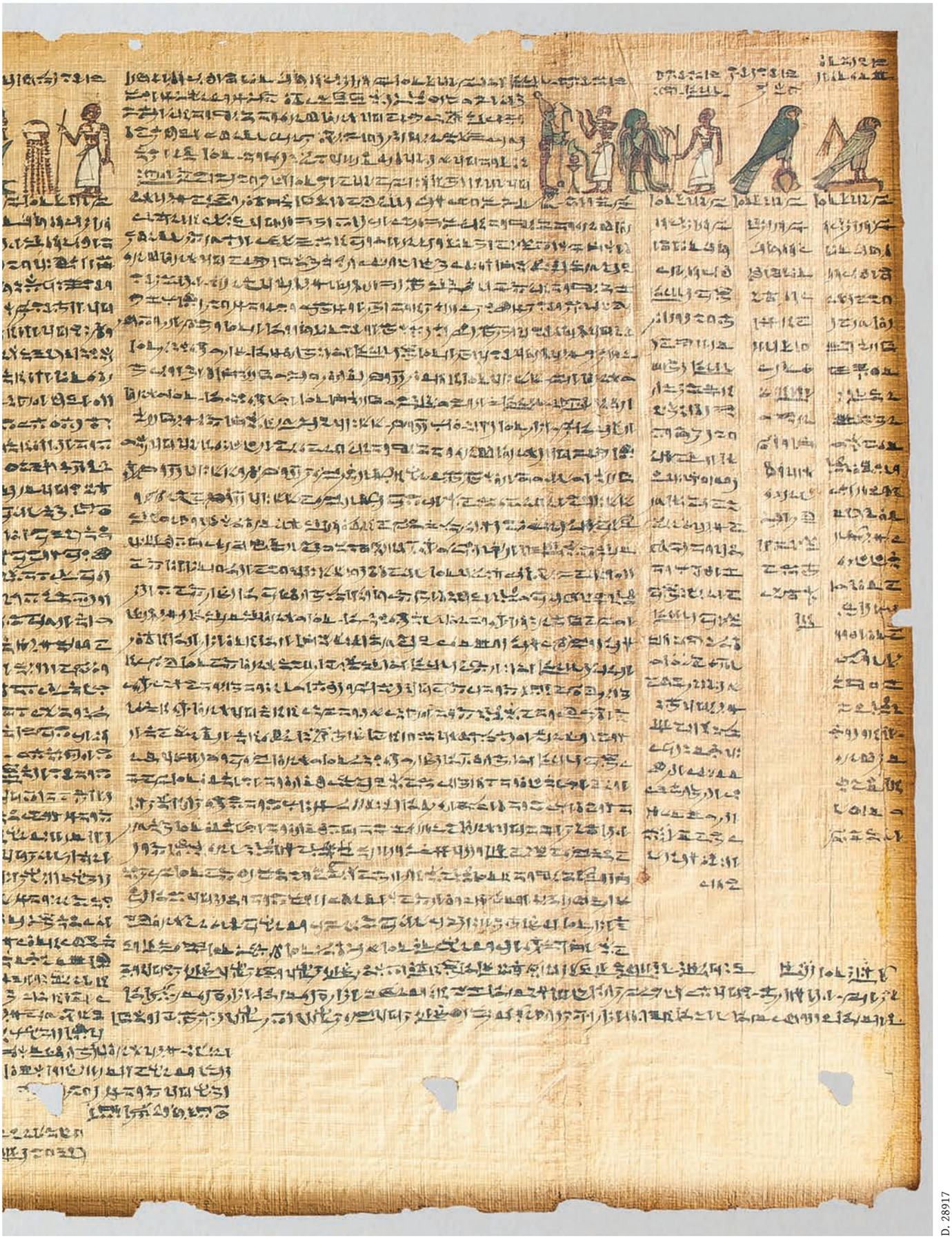
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D. 28916

14, OIM E9787C, columns 45–51, BD 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74

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D. 28917

14, OIM E9787D, columns 52–56, BD 75, 76, 77, 78, 79

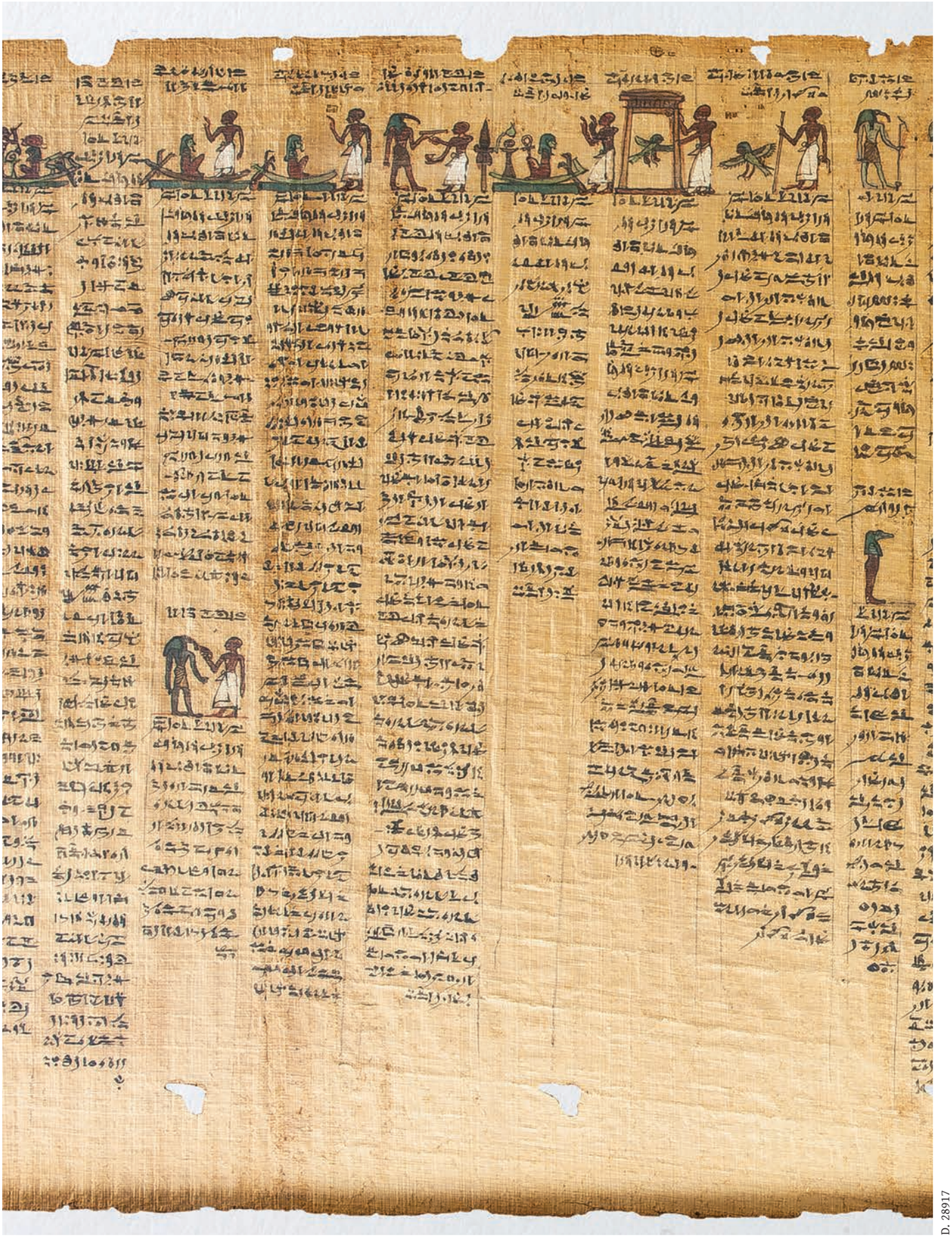
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D. 28917

14, OIM E9787D, columns 56–62, BD 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86

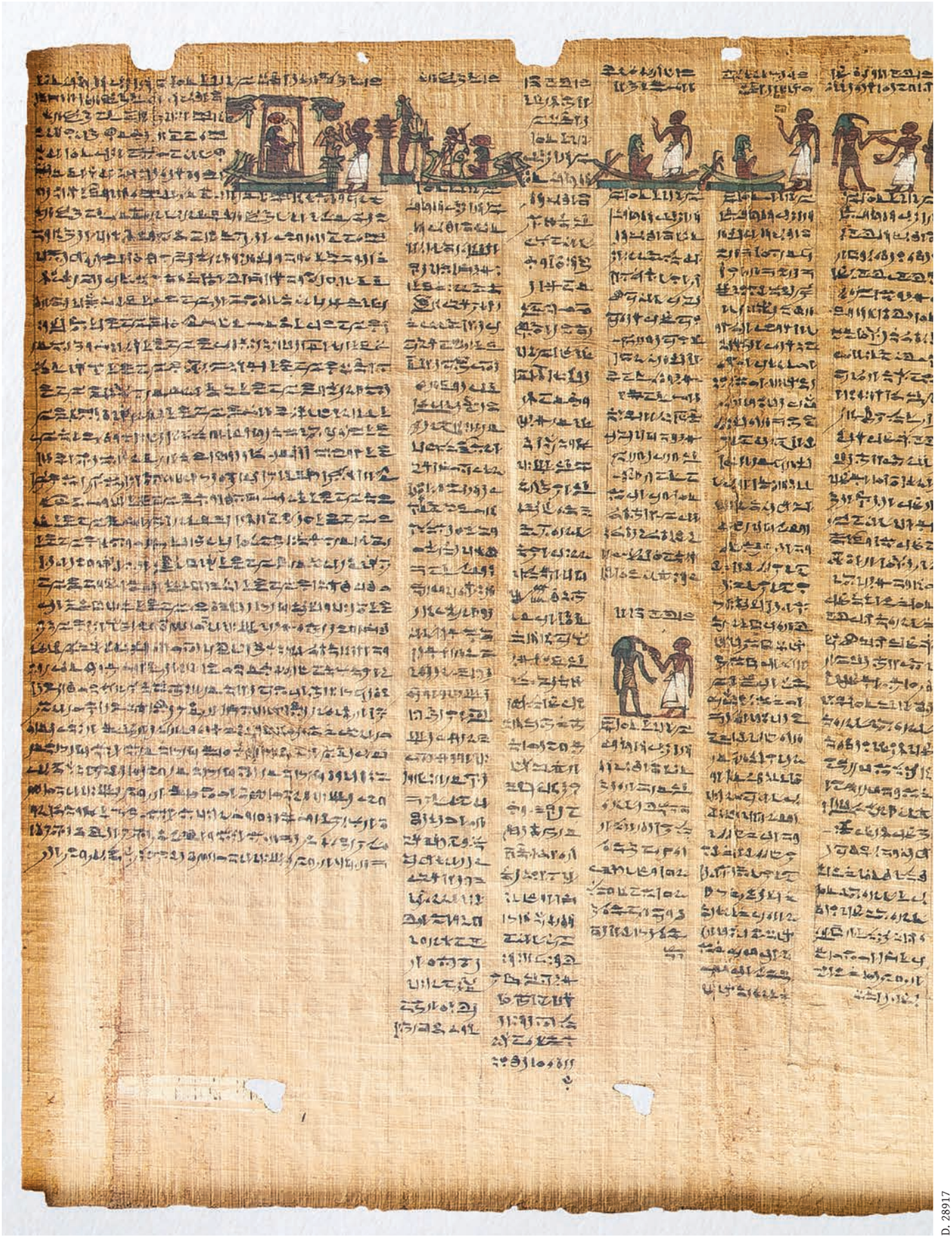
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D. 28917

14, OIM E9787D, columns 63–70, BD 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97

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D. 28917

14, OIM E9787D, columns 68–72, BD 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99

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D. 28918

14, OIM E9787E, columns 73–78, BD 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108

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D. 28918

14, OIM E9787E, columns 79–81, BD 109, 110c, 110b

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D. 28918

14, OIM E9787E, columns 81–85, BD 110b, 111, 112, 113, 114

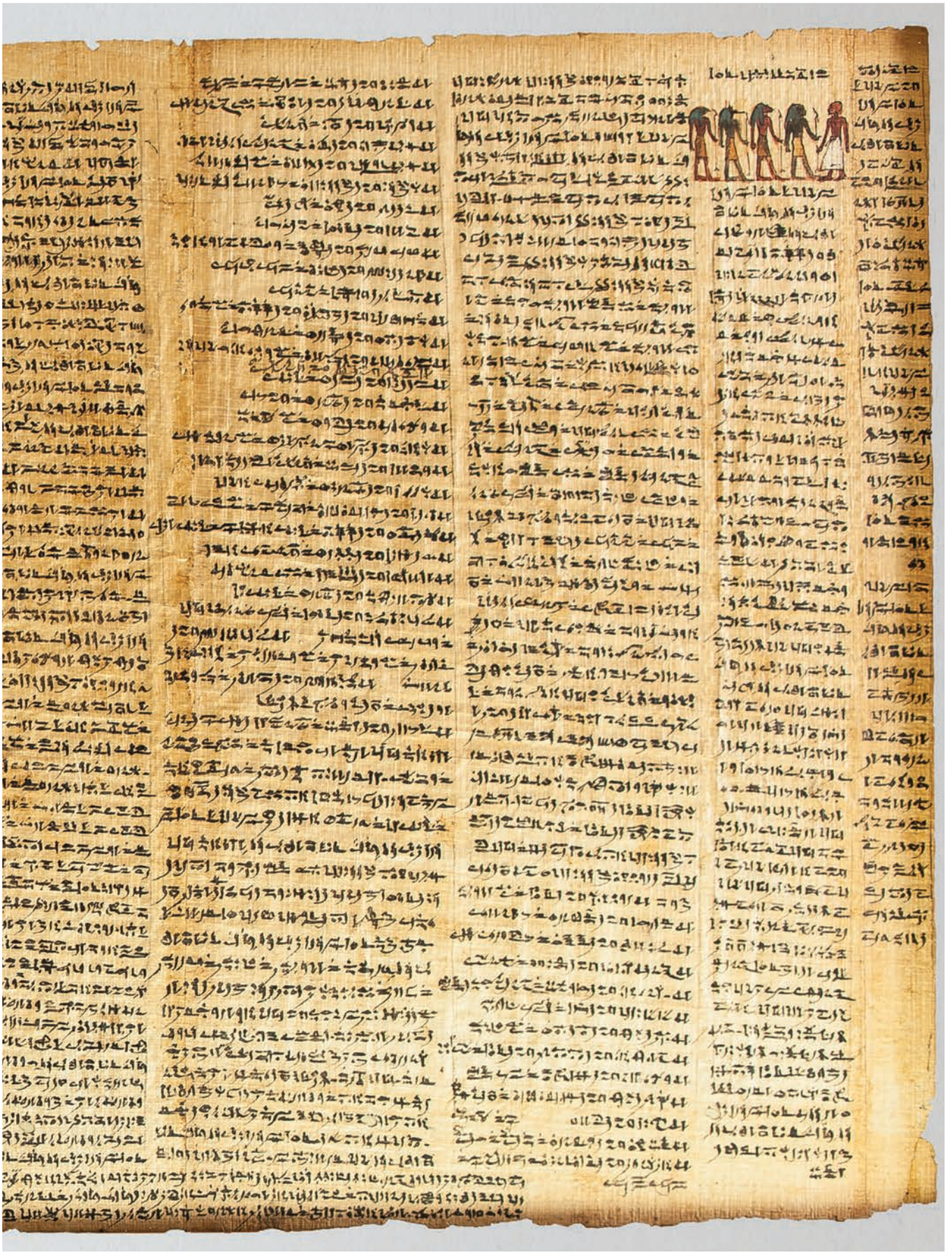
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D. 28918

14, OIM E9787E, columns 83–89, BD 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122

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D. 28919

14, OIM E9787F, columns 90–94, BD 121, 123, 124, 125

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D. 28919

14, OIM E9787F, columns 94–95, BD 125

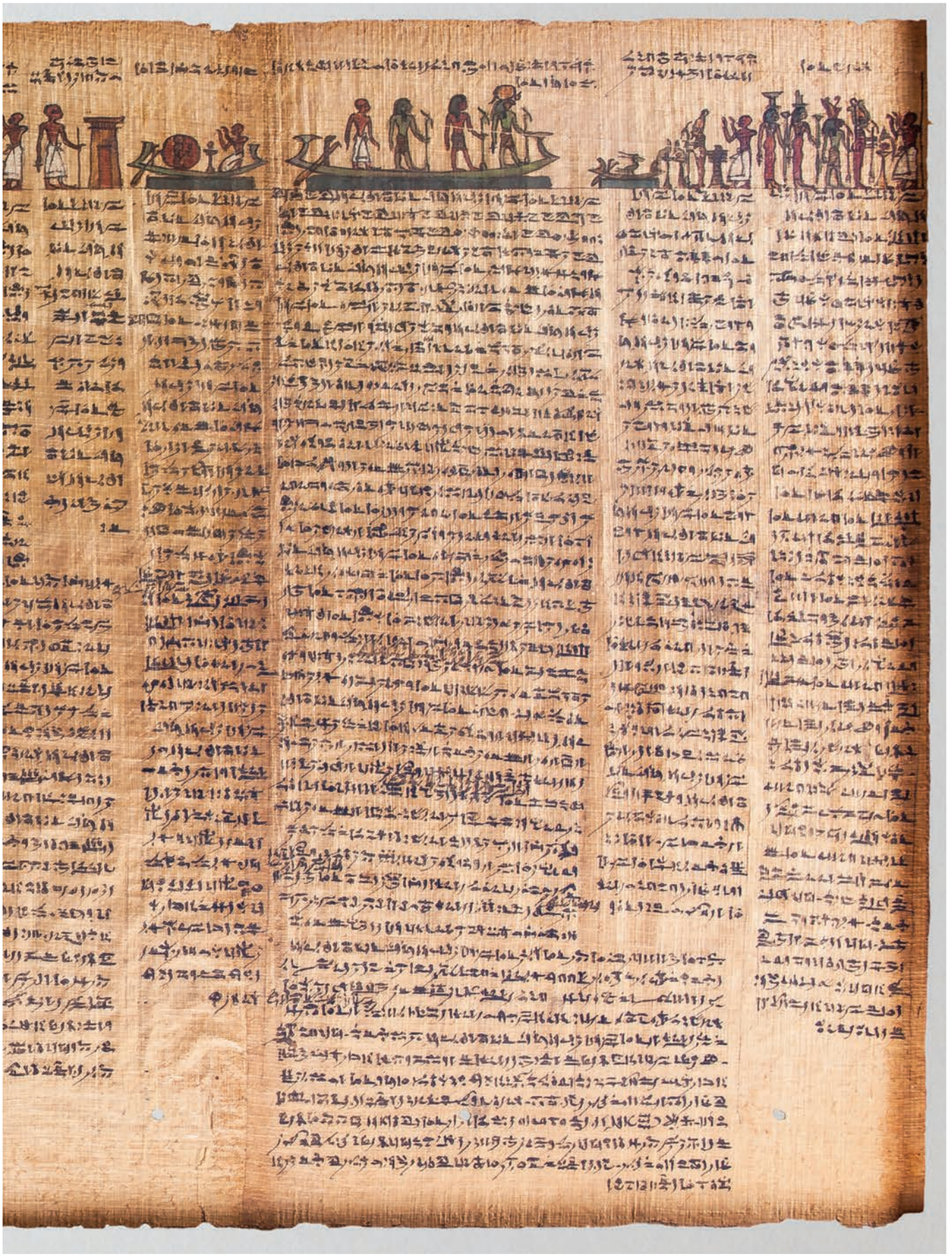
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D. 28919

14, OIM E9787F, columns 95–97, BD 125, 126, 127

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D. 28920

14, OIM E9787G, columns 98–103, BD 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133

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D. 28920

14, OIM E9787G, columns 103–109, BD 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 137, 140

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D. 28920

14, OIM E9787G, columns 109–114, BD 141, 142, 143

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D. 28920

14, OIM E9787G, columns 111–115, BD 142, 143, 144

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D. 28921

14, OIM E9787H, columns 116–122, BD 145

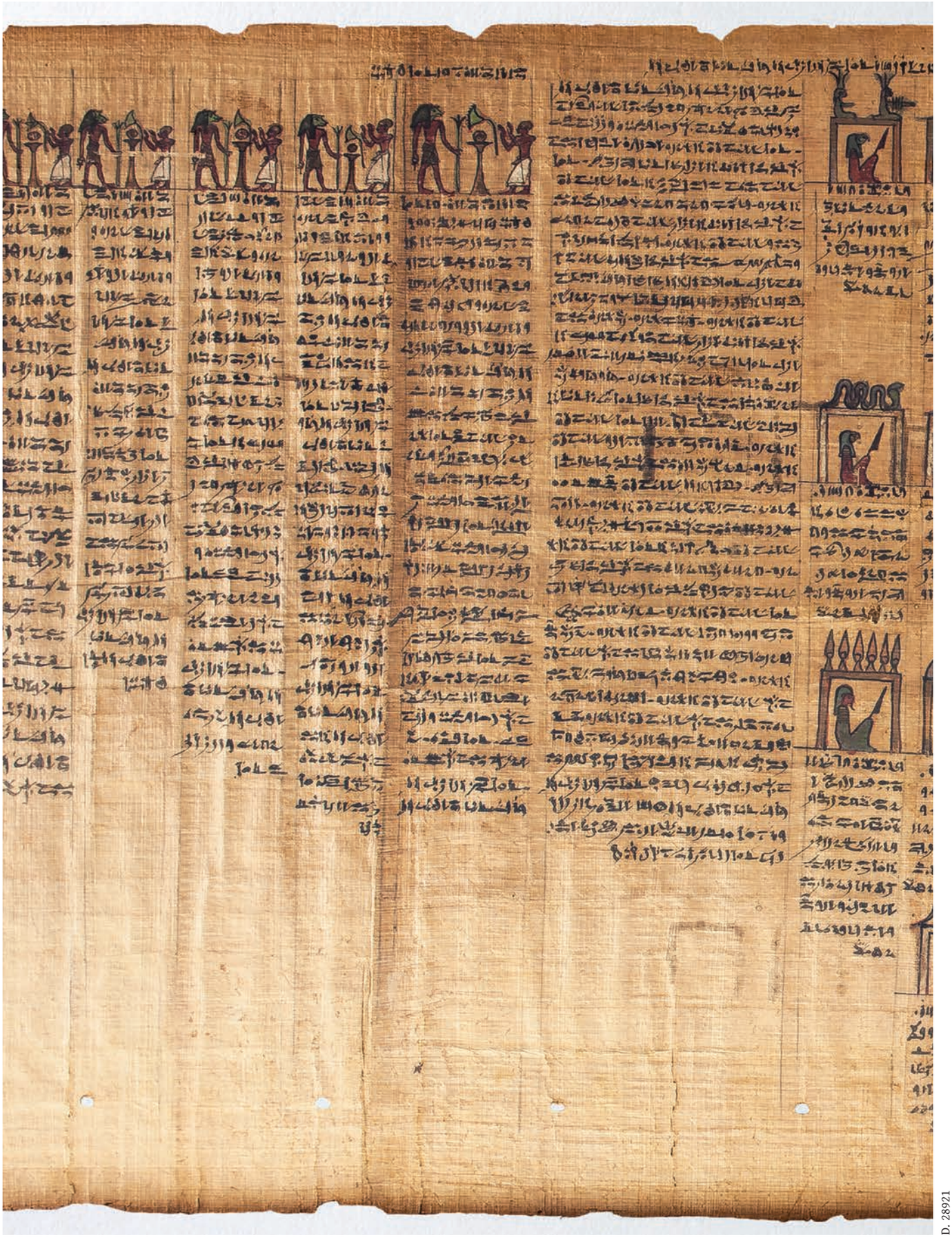
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D. 28921

14, OIM E9787H, columns 123–129, BD 145, 146

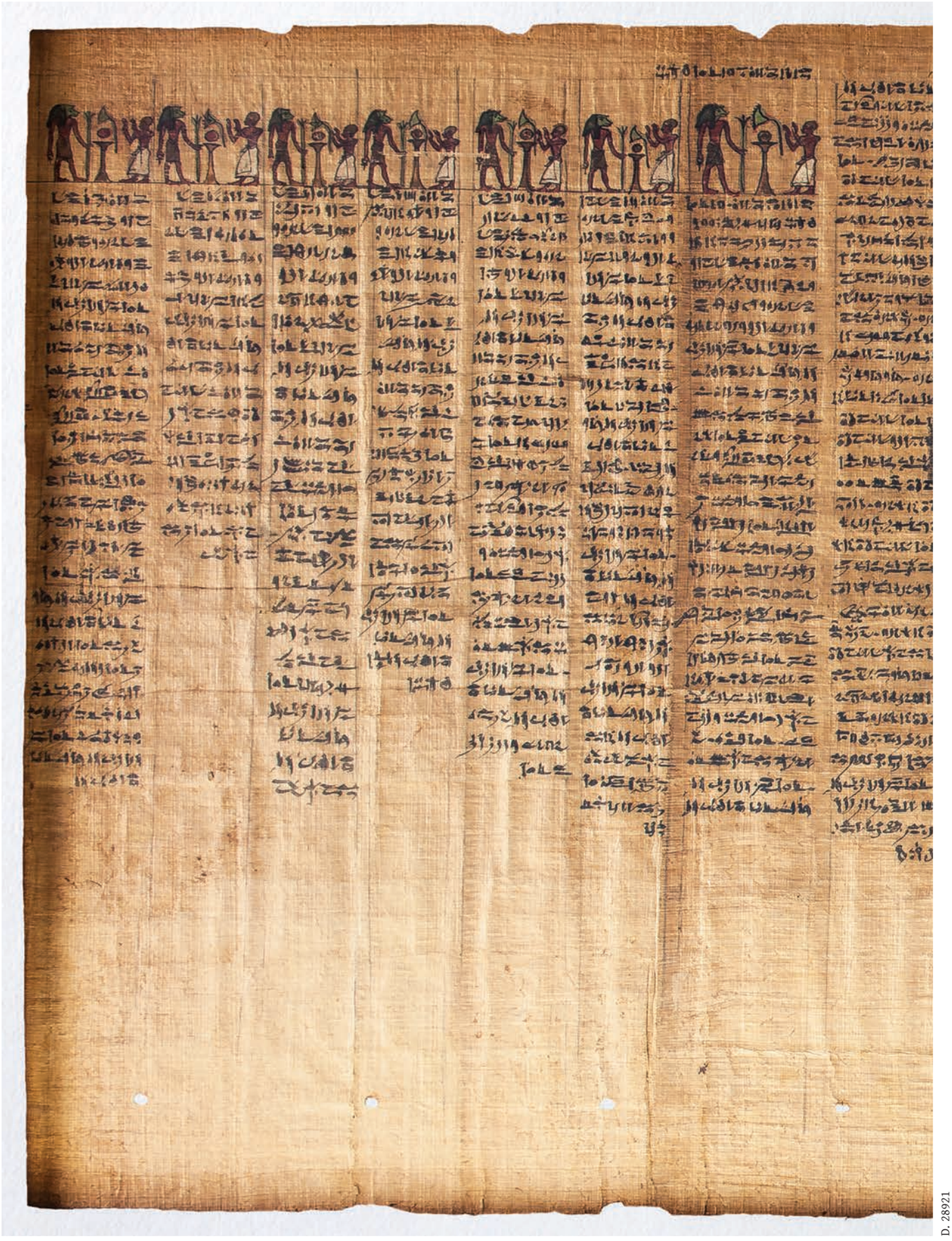
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D. 28921

14, OIM E9787H, columns 130–135, BD 146, 147

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D. 28921

14, OIM E9787H, columns 132–138, BD 147

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D. 28922

14, OIM E9787I, columns 139–140, BD 148

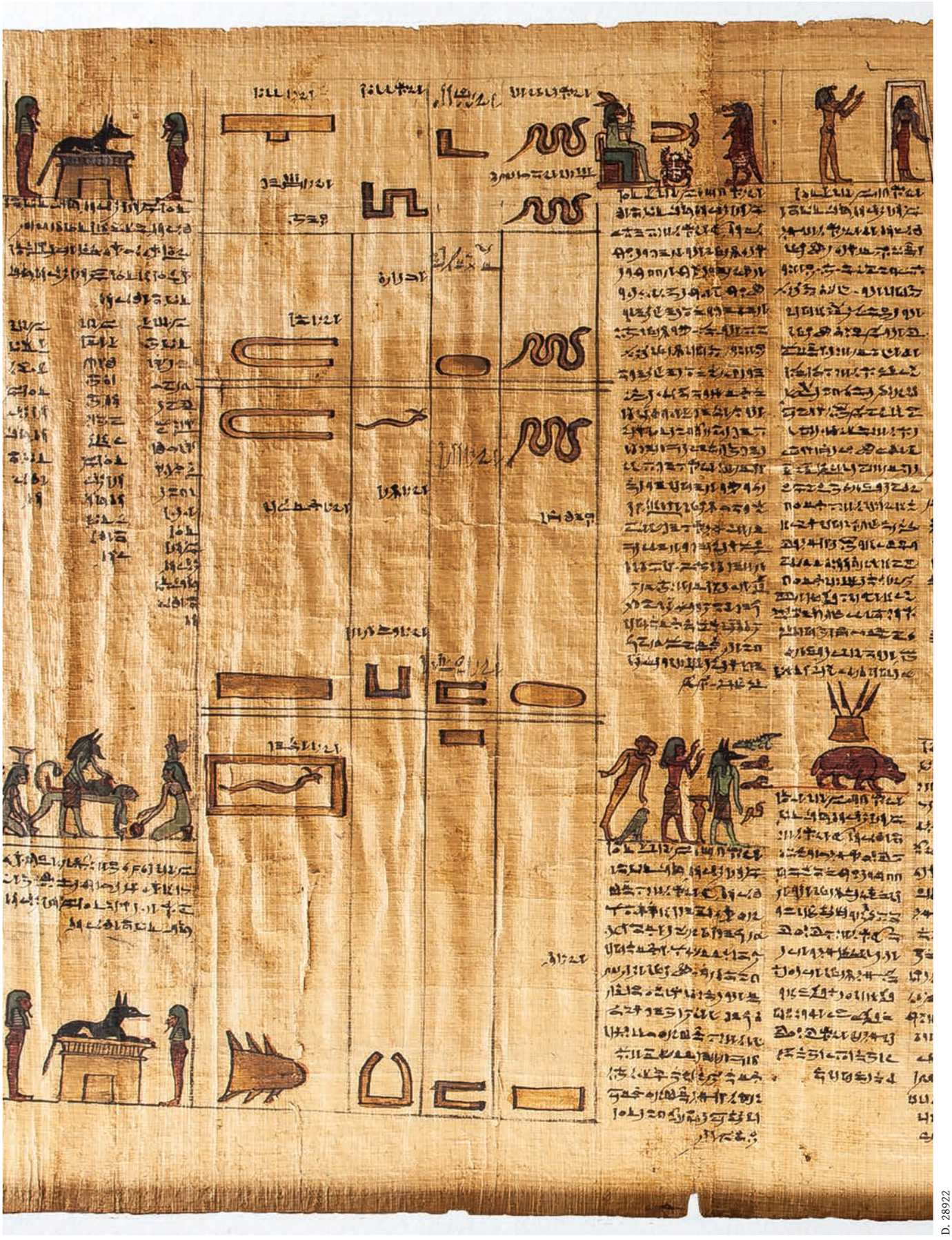
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D. 28922

14, OIM E9787I, columns 140–145, BD 148, 149

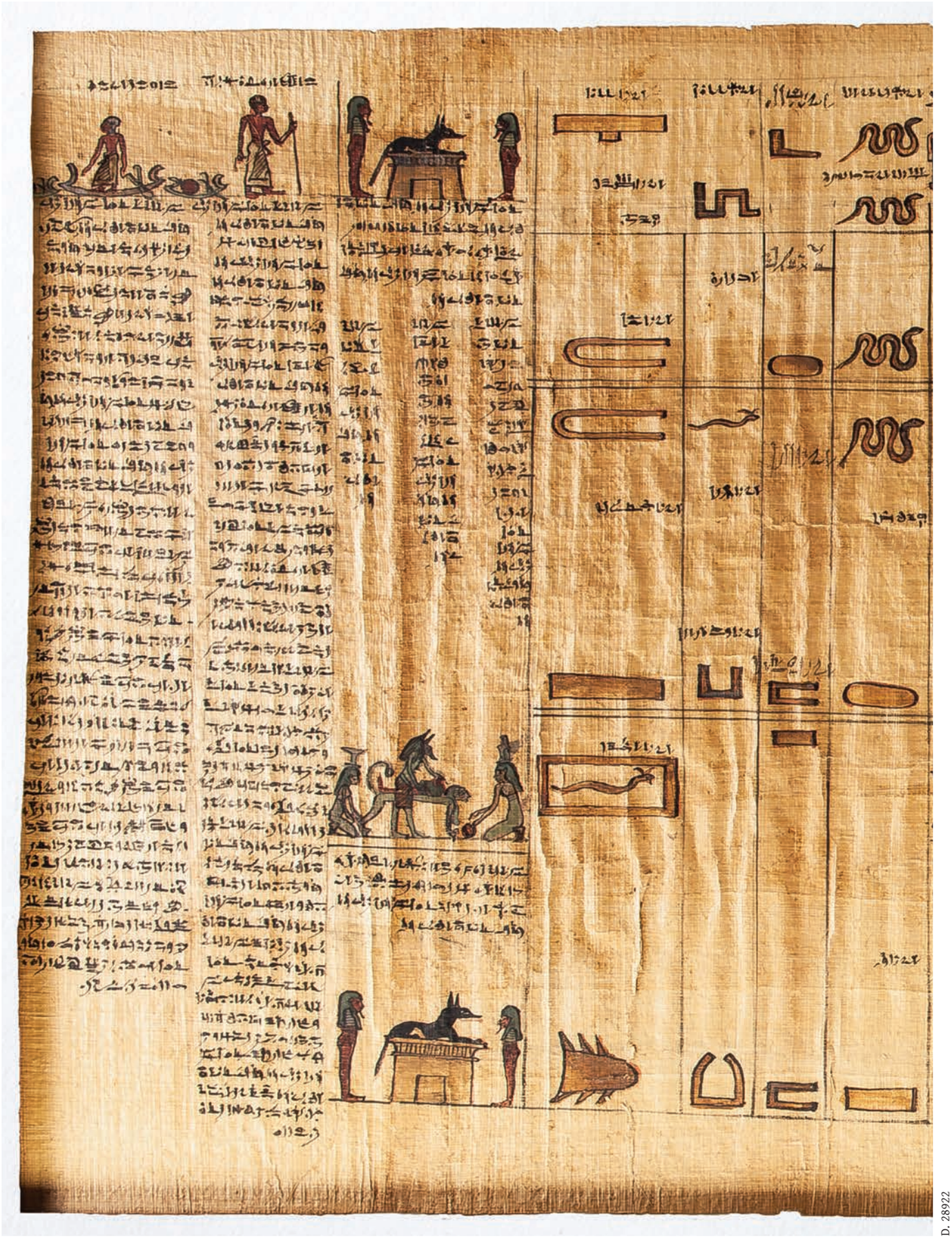
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D. 28922

14, OIM E9787I, columns 146–149, BD 149, 150, 151

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D. 28922

14, OIM E9787I, columns 148–151, BD 150, 151, 152, 153

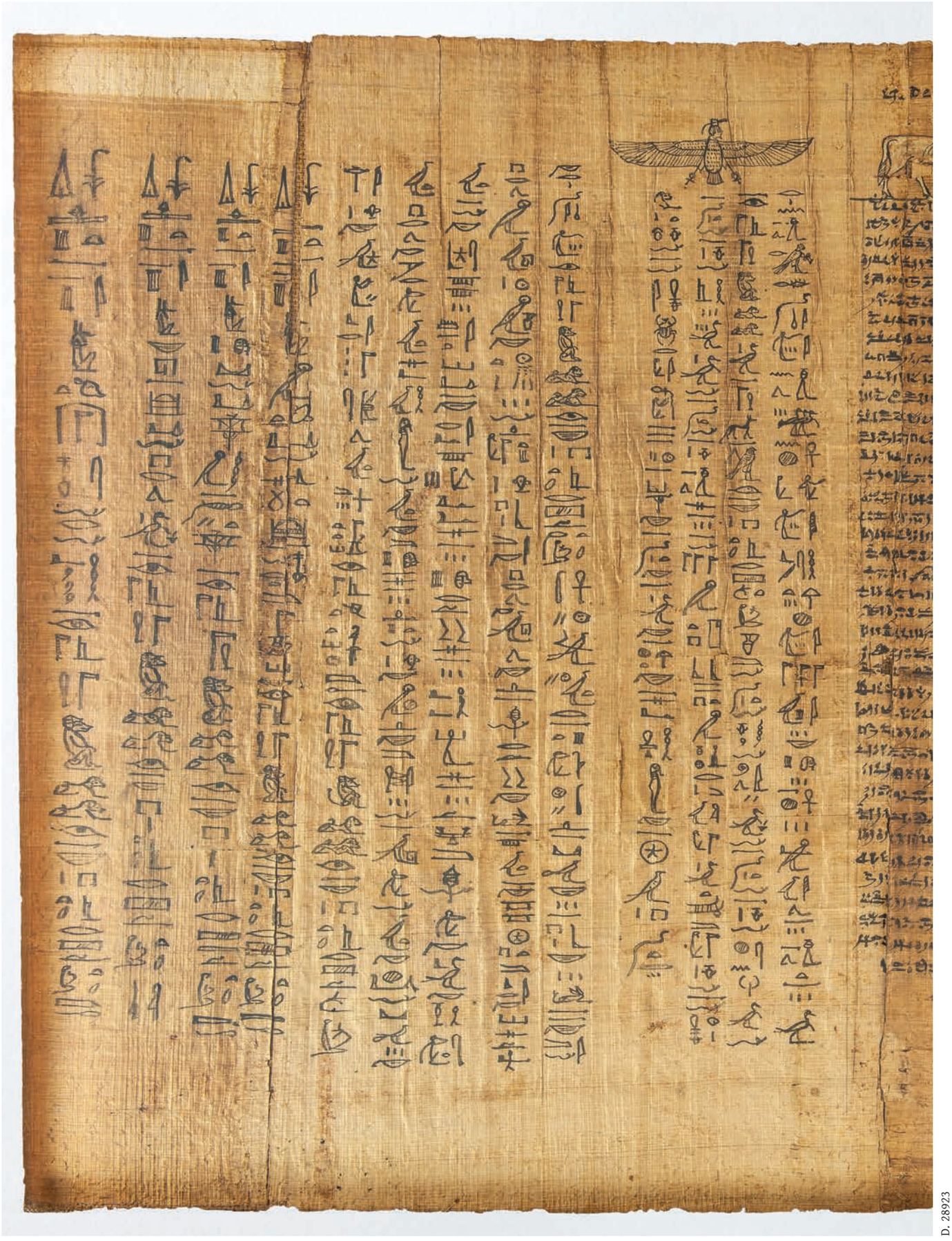
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D. 28923

14, OIM E9787J, columns 152–157, BD 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162

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D. 28923

14, OIM E9787J, columns 157–160, BD 162, 191, 192, Offering Formulae

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15, E10486B, detail of vignette above BD15 to the right and the vignette of BD 16 to the left

15. BOOK OF THE DEAD PAPYRUS OF IRTYURU (PAPYRUS MILBANK)

Papyrus, paint
Egypt, Memphis(?)
Purchased in Egypt, 1919
Ptolemaic Period, 332–30 BC
H: 30.6 x W: 1029 cm
OIM E10486A–O

Papyrus Milbank (hereafter pMilbank) was acquired in Cairo, 1919, during the first field expedition of the newly formed Oriental Institute with funds donated by Elizabeth Milbank Anderson, after whom the document is named today. This magnificently preserved Book of the Dead was originally purchased from stock by a priest named Irtyuru, whose mother and father respectively were Dyaset and Arptahkhai. When acquired by James Henry Breasted, founder of the Oriental Institute, the papyrus was still rolled up. It was sent to Dr. Hugo Ibscher in Berlin, who expertly cut the papyrus into sections and mounted them into fifteen frames.

In a letter to Mrs. Anderson, Breasted recalled his first encounter with this document with palpable excitement: "... I could hardly believe my eyes, for I saw something which I have never yet seen in all my years in Egypt ... a beautiful brown roll of papyrus, as fresh and uninjured as if it had been a roll of wall paper...the first roll I ever saw in such perfect condition that it could be thus unrolled as its owner might have done. And then came the writing! An exquisitely written hieroglyphic copy of the Book of the Dead with wonderfully wrought vignettes..."

Viewing the document today, one can appreciate the enthusiasm of Breasted because the document is beautifully laid out, the script well executed, and the illustrations are detailed and elegant. For example, the scene of the great judgment of the deceased before Osiris includes a wealth of detail, and the same skill was applied even to the small scenes, such as those with the crocodiles (BD 31 and 32; fig. 9.6).

Like Papyrus Ryerson, pMilbank also includes the range of spells from BD 1 to BD 162, but the scribe omitted forty-four spells from this range, and he omitted the texts of even more spells, although those are represented by the corresponding illustrations, where the magic associated with those spells was likely thought to be delivered by the illustrations alone.

Breasted recognized the sequence of the texts and illustrations, where instead of the typical ascending numerical progression of texts from BD 1 through 162, the sequence appears quite jumbled. This becomes particularly evident in the central portion of the document where the texts and illustrations are presented on two registers where one normally reads vertically, from top down.

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D. 13325

In several places, however, the texts and scenes suddenly switch to a horizontal progression and then revert back to vertical. For example the text of BD 72 is spread horizontally at the top, while below the horizontal sequence is BD 54, 56, and 59 (OIM E10496F). Another example of confusion on the part of the artist is the placement of the concluding scene from the long illustration of BD 17 before the three scenes associated respectively with the hymns of BD 15a, BD 15b, and BD 15f.

Yet, in spite of the appearance of confusion in this jumbled sequence of spells, nearly the same sequence of texts and illustrations can be observed in two other documents, and virtually the same sequence of illustrations can be observed in a third document. One document dates back to the Saite Period, while the other two are Ptolemaic. Therefore, while the normal ascending numerical sequence of spells can be observed in hundreds of documents, the fact that four documents have virtually the same sequence, either for texts and illustrations or only for the illustrations, indicates that the sequence in pMilbank was not the aberration of its scribe and artist. Rather, they were clearly following an unusual sequence that is evident in several other documents.

With regard to the illustrations, black line-drawings were used throughout, although a finely executed yellow wash colors the pavilion of Osiris in the great judgment scene as well as Osiris and his garb, and the same can be observed in the representation of Hathor as a cow in the illustration of BD 162 at the end of the document. There is no question that the artist was highly skilled. At the same time one must also admit that either he was confused about some scenes or his source may have been problematic. For example, the illustration for BD 68 should depict the goddess Hathor in a pavilion, but here her figure is mistakenly depicted with the head of a crocodile, and in the scene for BD 24, the wife of the deceased is mistakenly depicted falcon-headed and wearing a priest's garment.

Another aspect of considerable interest is that the texts are often unique to this document, not infrequently demonstrating scribal confusion, even though the hieroglyphs were well drawn. This invites the question — what was its provenance? This is unknown, but several observations can be made. While the texts are non-standard, a number of illustrations follow versions found in Ptolemaic Memphite documents. For example, the illustrations for BD 23 and 24 are paired together, with the scene for BD 24 following the Memphite version, albeit with the wife of the deceased incorrectly represented. Similarly BD 26 and 27 are paired together, with the four sons of Horus presented in profile, an arrangement in some later Memphite documents. Like other Memphite documents, pMilbank does not include BD 48, 49, 120, 121, 163, 164, and 165. These Ptolemaic Memphite features suggest pMilbank was either produced in the greater Memphite area or outside

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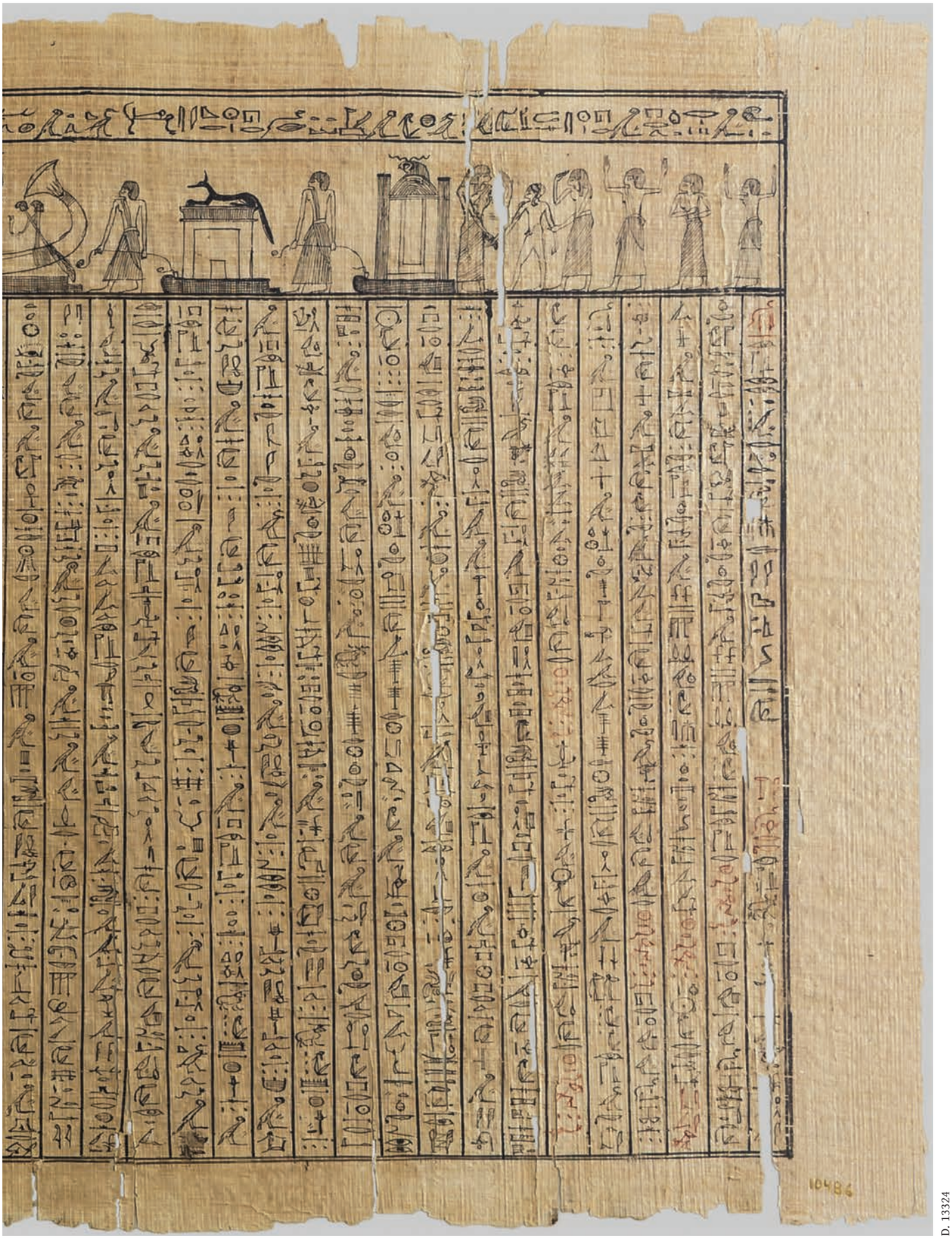
of Memphis but clearly in a workshop supplied with Memphite sources. For example, Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.9.20 was found at Meir in Middle Egypt. It used Memphite sources, and it is one of the documents whose sequence of illustrations closely follows that of papyrus Milbank. Given the close association between the two documents regarding their sequence of illustrations, it is possible that pMilbank might also have come from Middle Egypt.

Regarding its date, the consensus is Ptolemaic, but at present it is not possible to be more precise, although a second century BC date seems more reasonable than third century, given the confused nature of some texts and the features it has in common with other second century Memphite documents. MM

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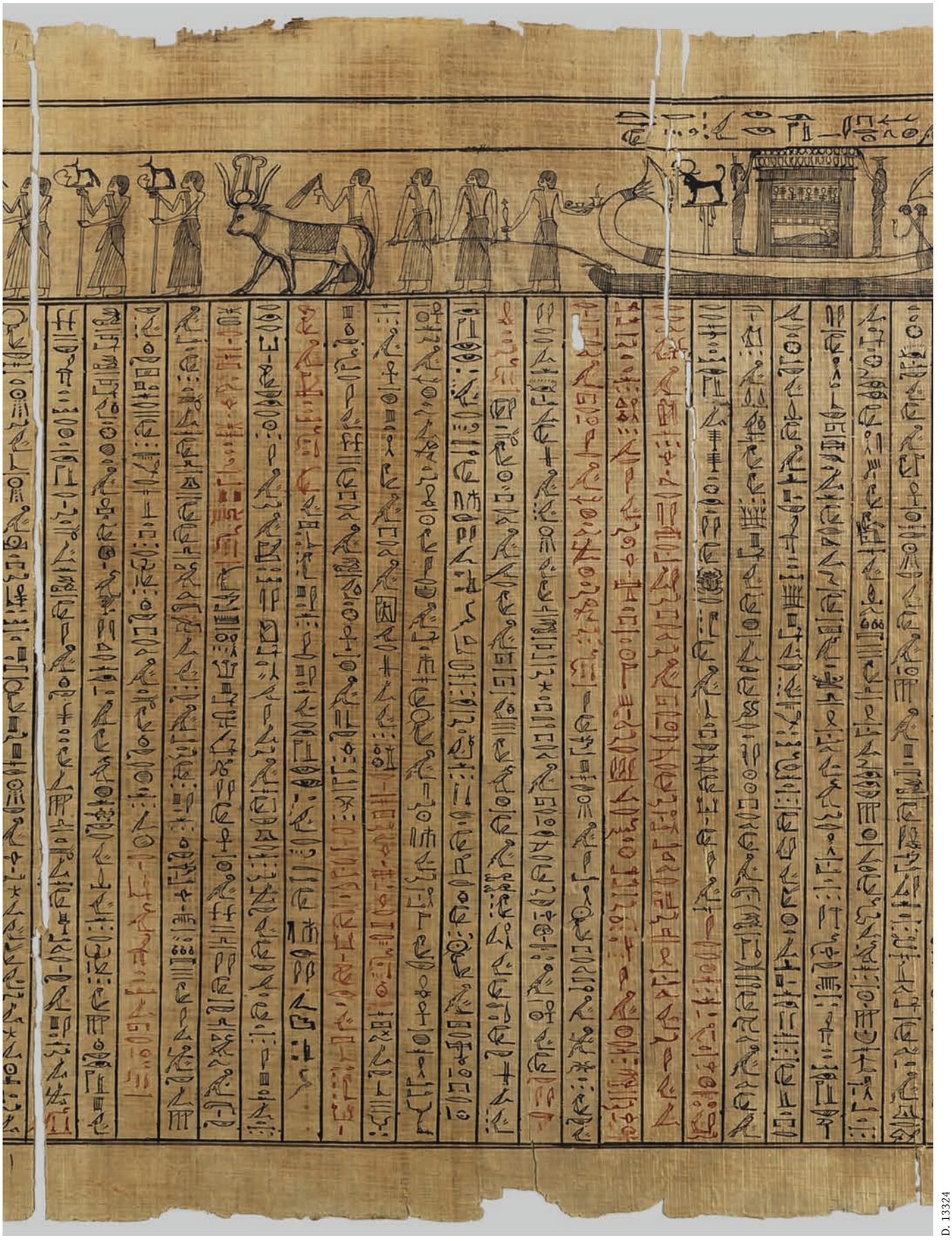
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D. 13324

15, OIM E10486A, lines 1–20, BD 1

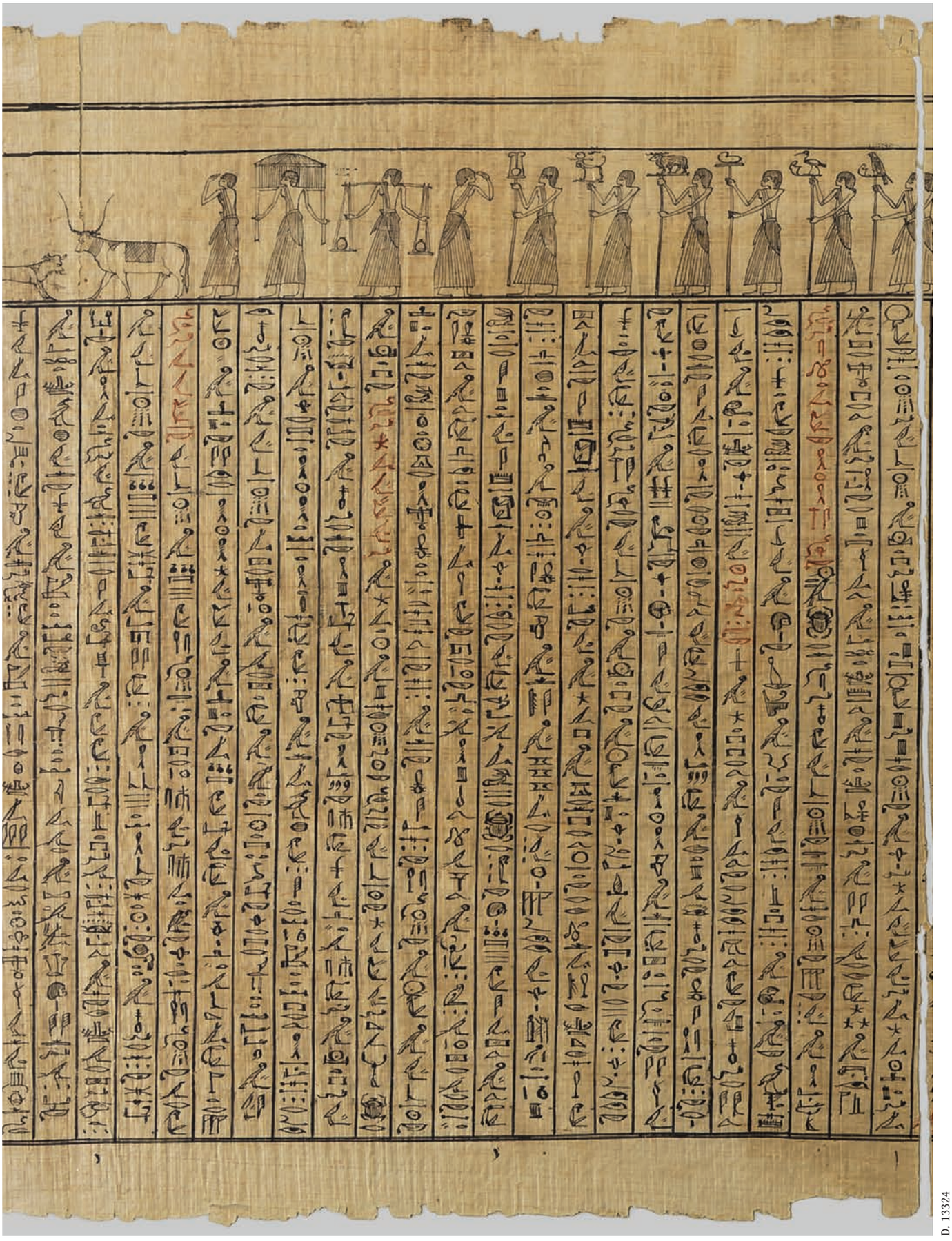
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D. 13324

15, OIM E10486A, lines 20–42, BD 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15a

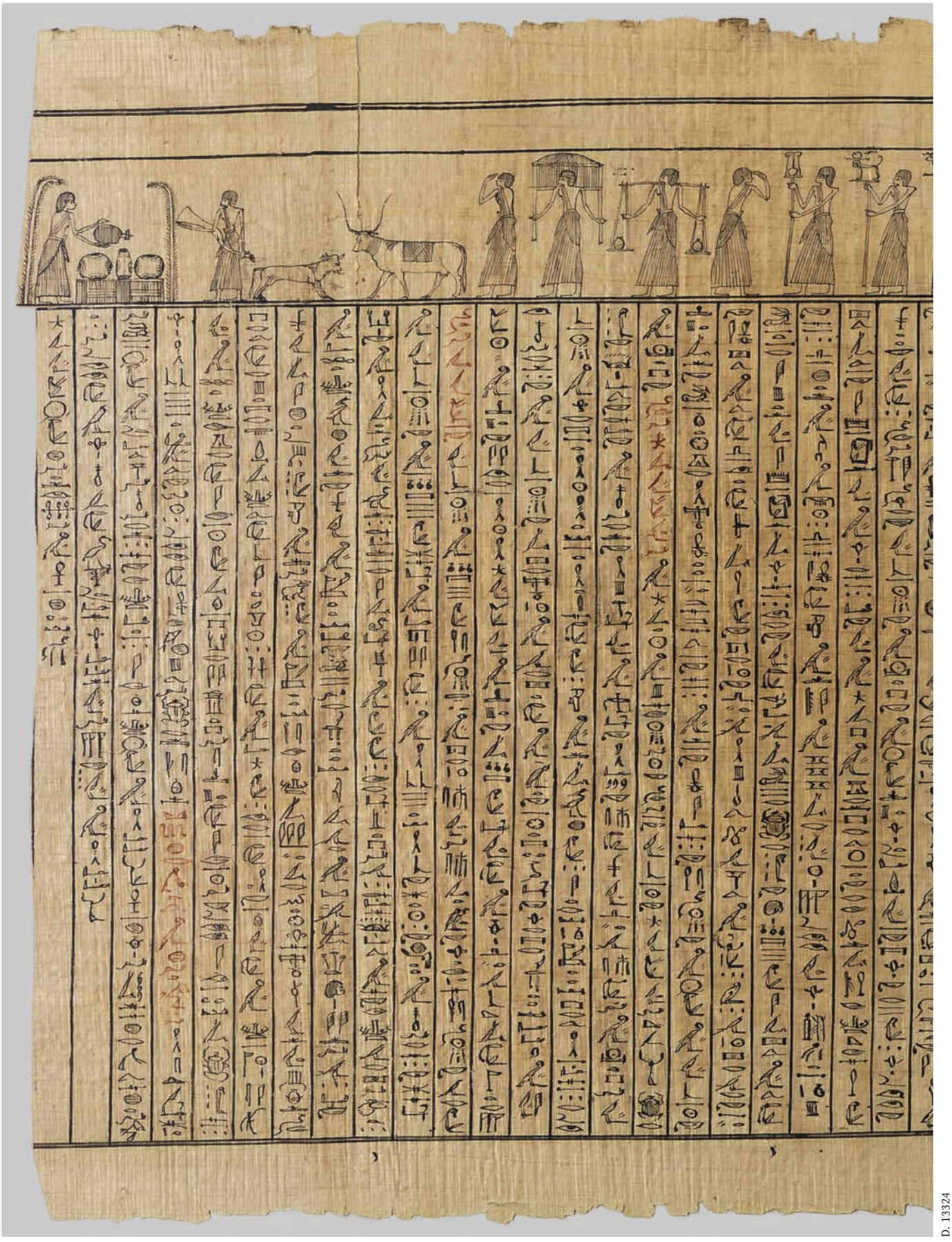
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D. 13324

15, OIM E10486A, lines 42–64, BD 15a, 15b, 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f

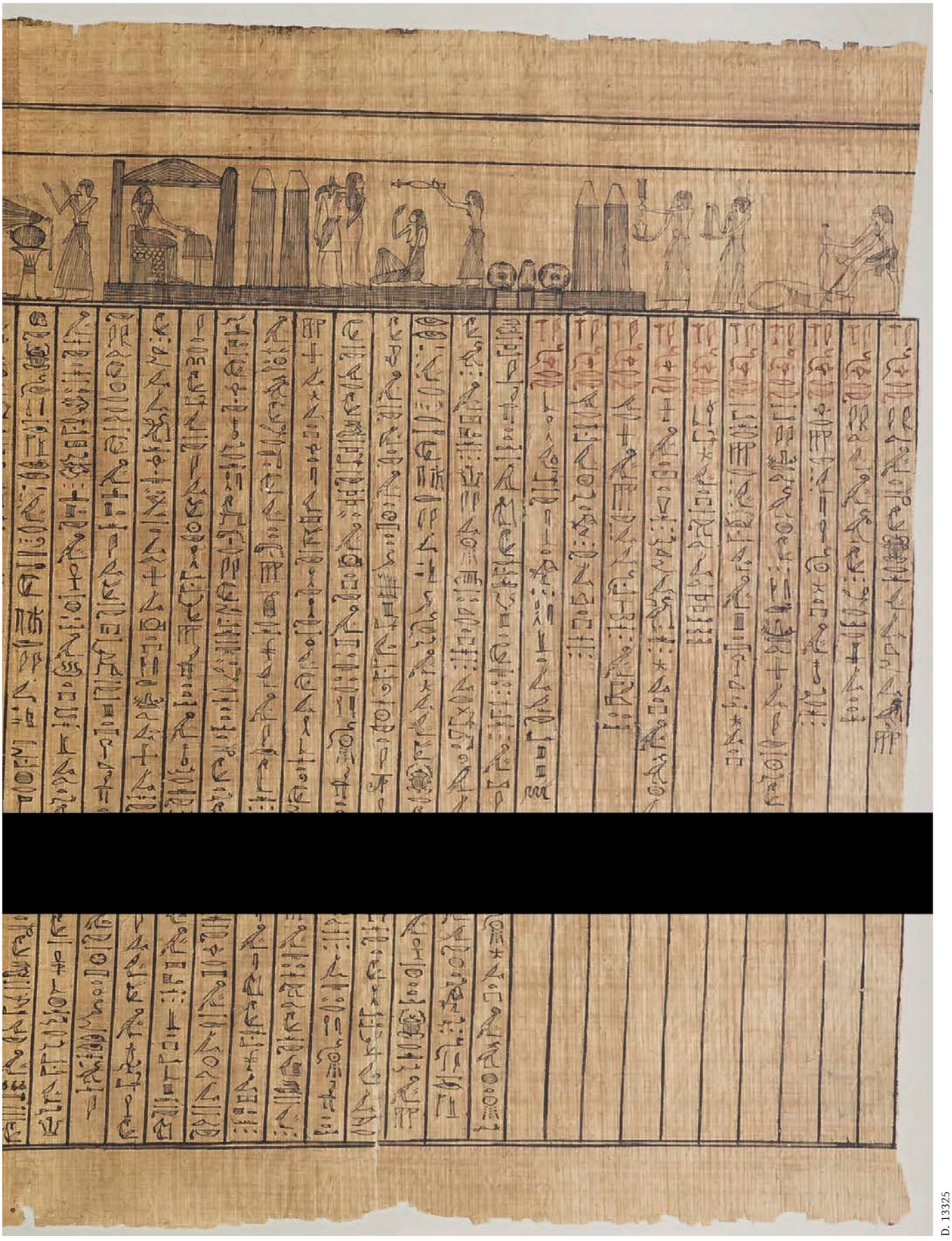
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D. 13324

15, OIM E10486A, lines 49–70, BD 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f, 15g

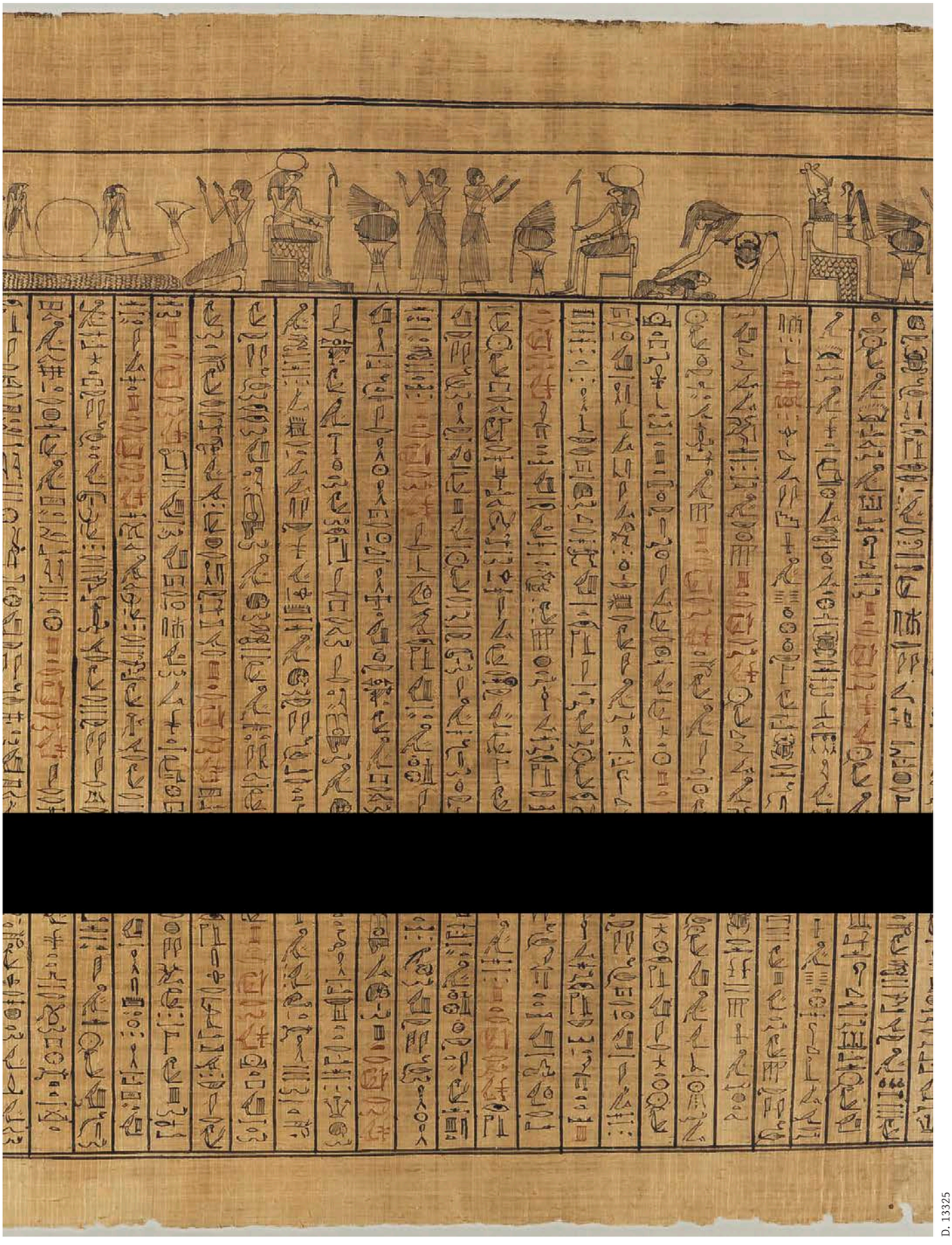
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D. 13325

15, OIM E10486B, lines 71–93, BD 15g–15h, 15i, 15h

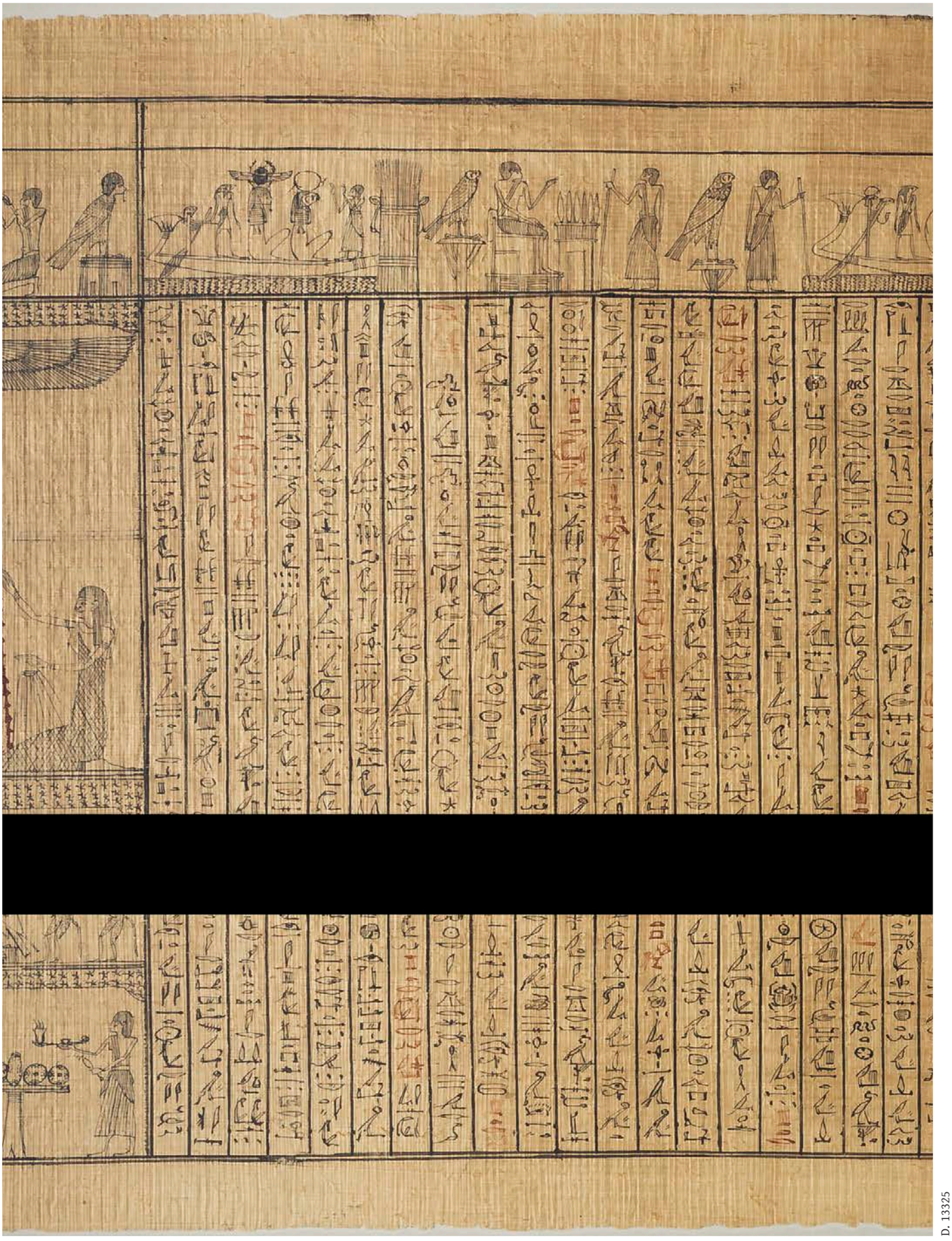
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D. 13325

15, OIM E10486B, lines 93–114, BD 15h, 17

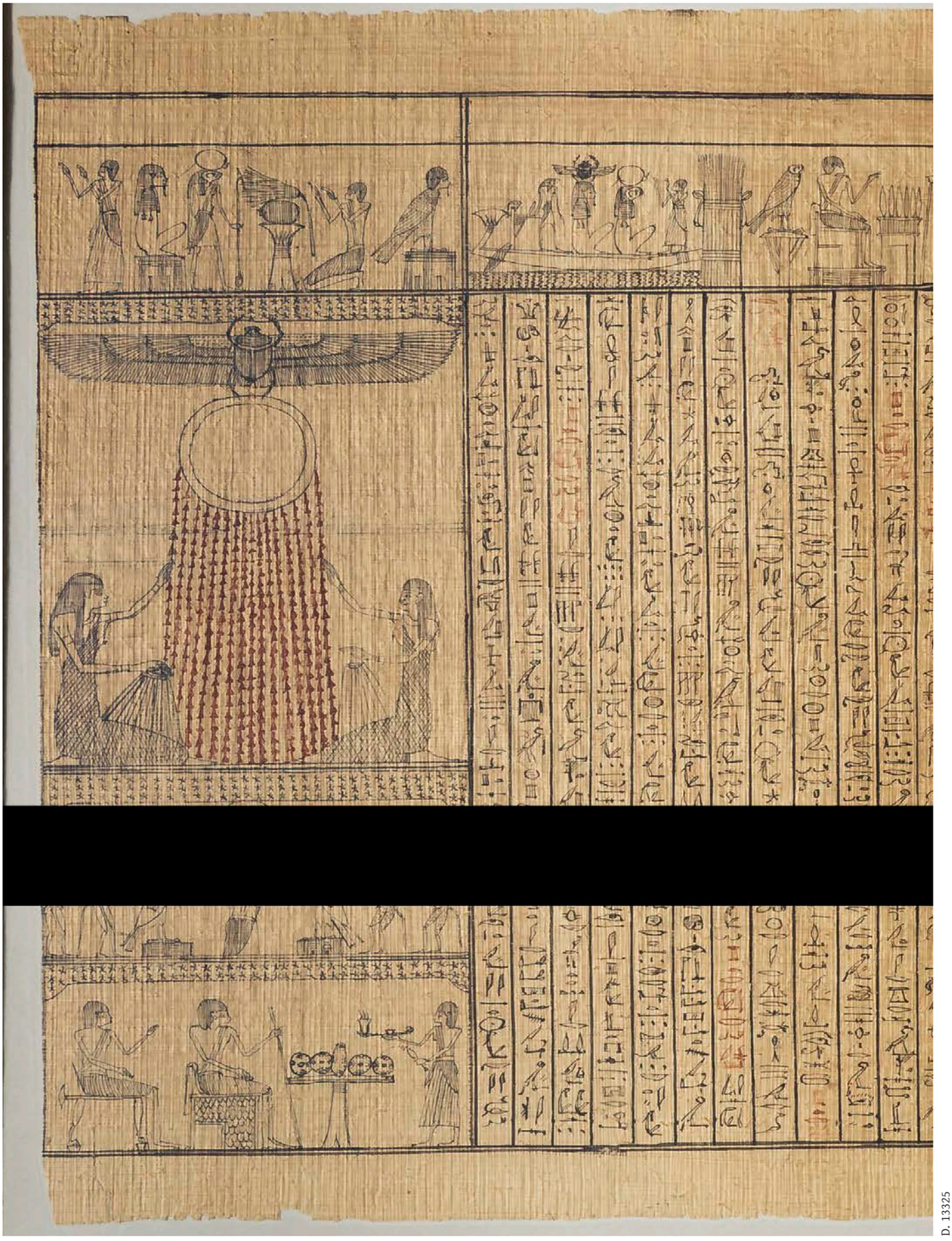
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D. 13325

15, OIM E10486B, lines 115–133, BD 17, 16

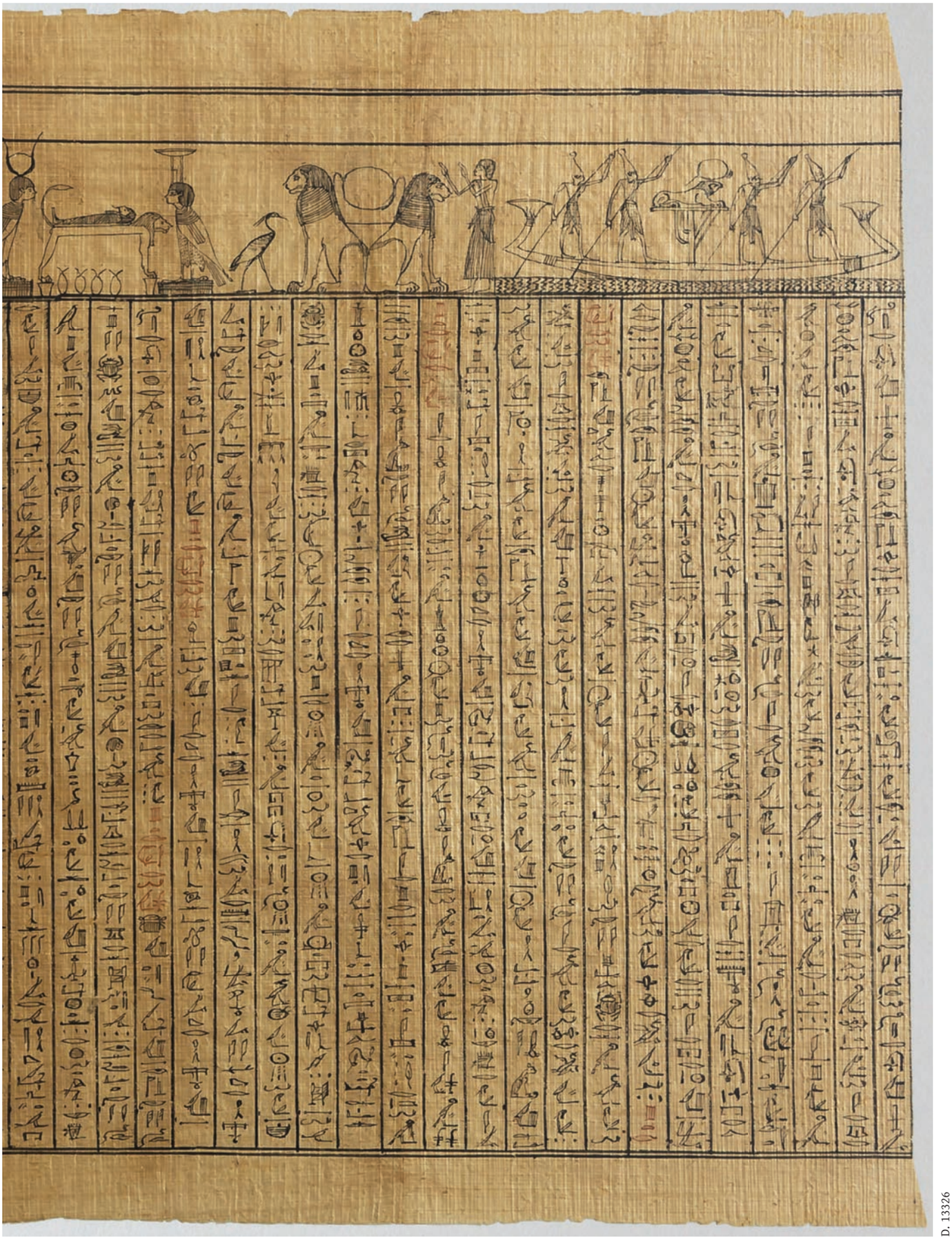
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D. 13325

15, OIM E10486B, lines 123–133, BD 16

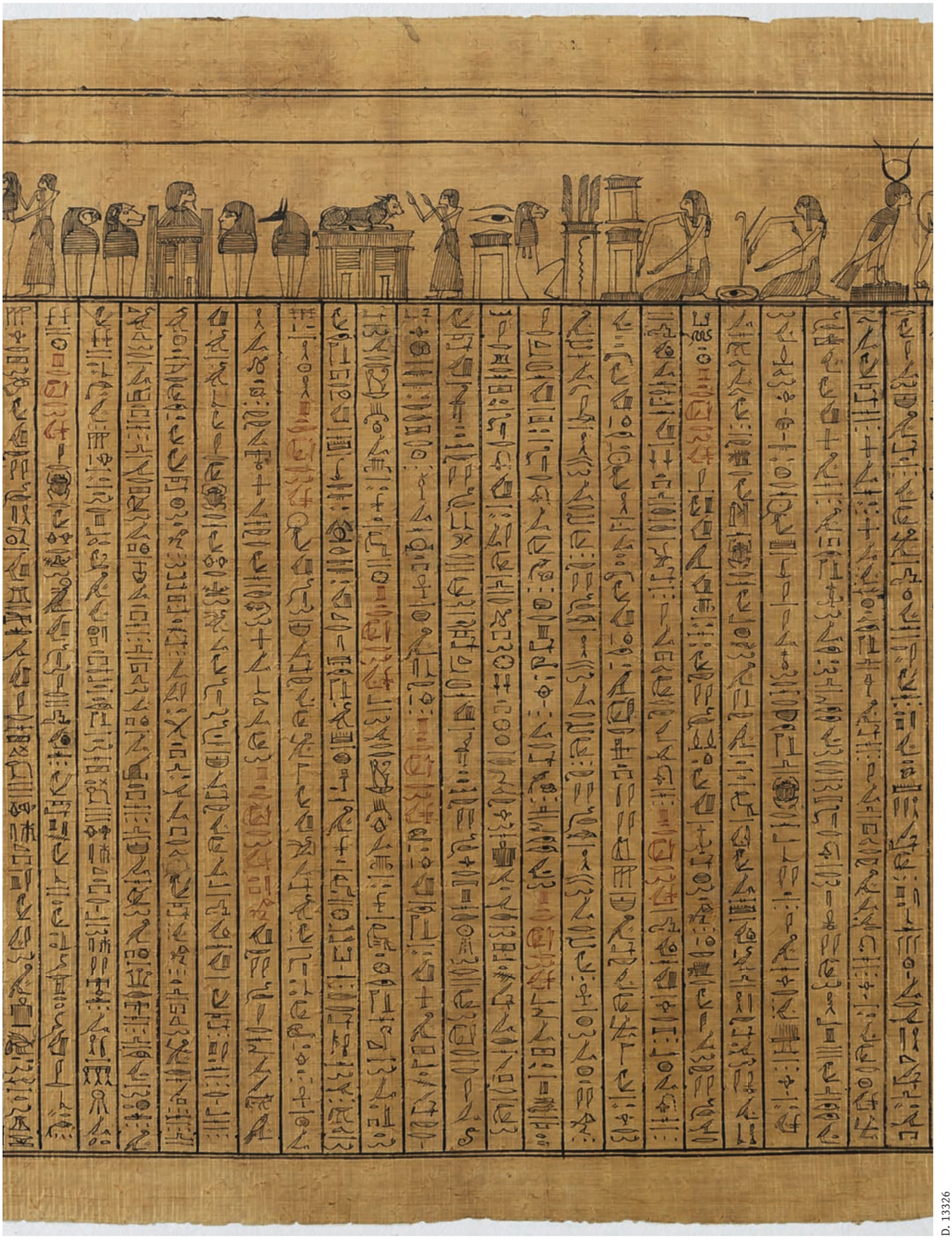
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D. 13326

15, OIM E10486C, lines 134–155, BD 17

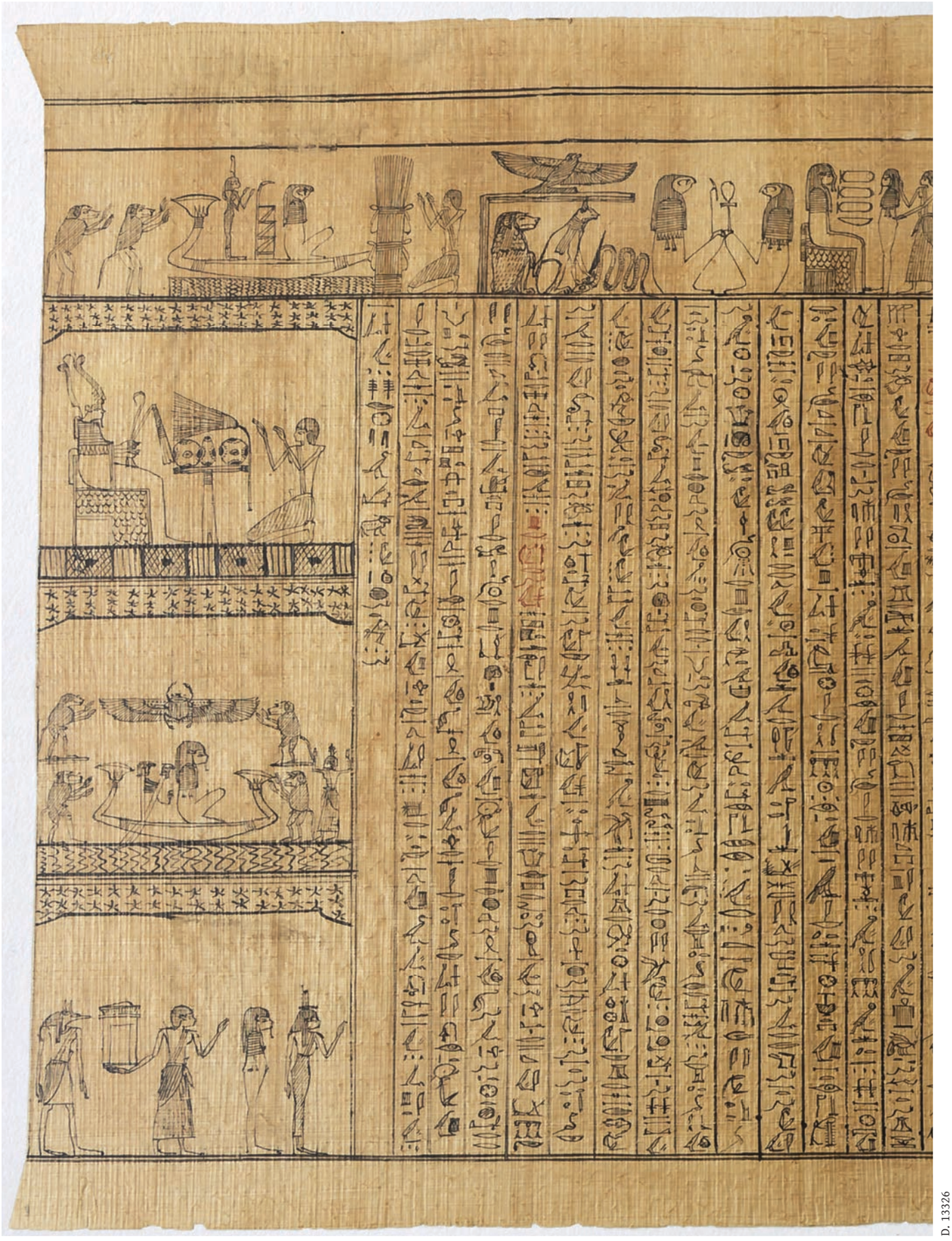
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D. 13326

15, OIM E10486C, lines 155–177, BD 17

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D. 13326

15, OIM E10486C, lines 177–190, BD 17

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D. 13327

15, OIM E10486D, lines 191–236, 240–243 BD 18

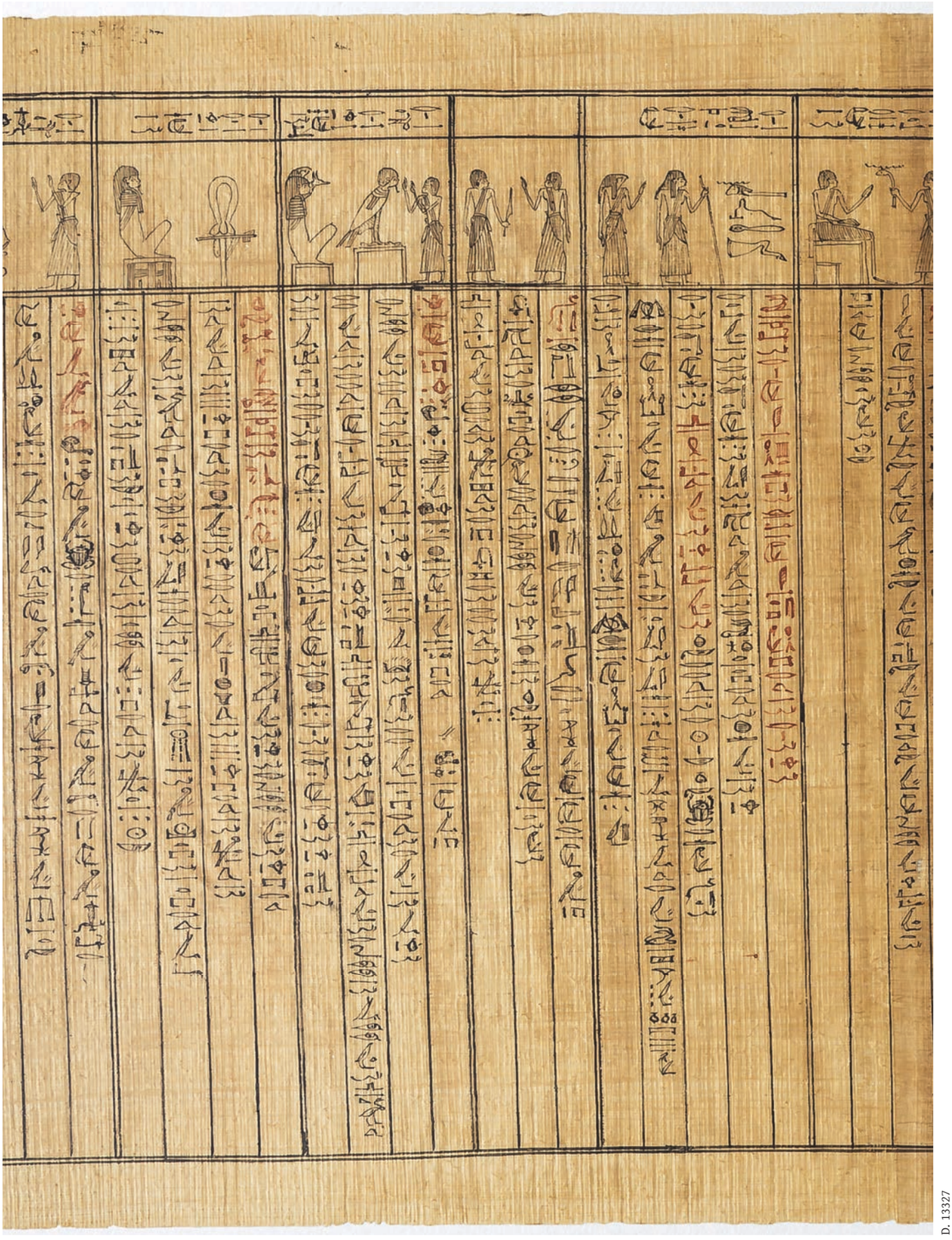
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D. 13327

15, OIM E10486D, lines 233 end, 236–239, 240 end, 243–267, BD 18, 19, 18, 21

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D. 13327

15, OIM E10486D, lines 265 end, 267–291, BD 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30B

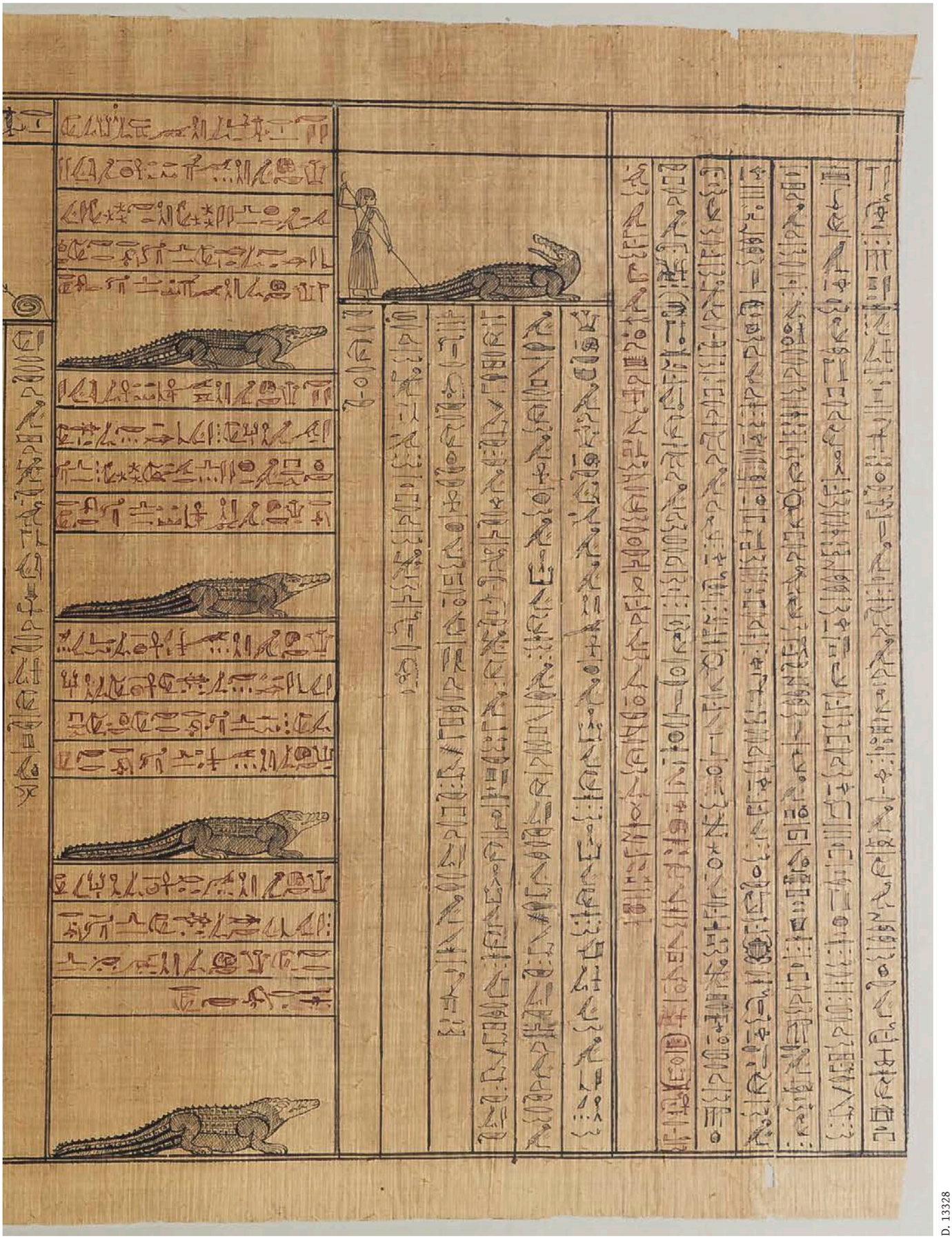
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D. 13327

15, OIM E10486D, lines 270 end, 273–295, BD 24, 25, 26, 28, 30B, 64

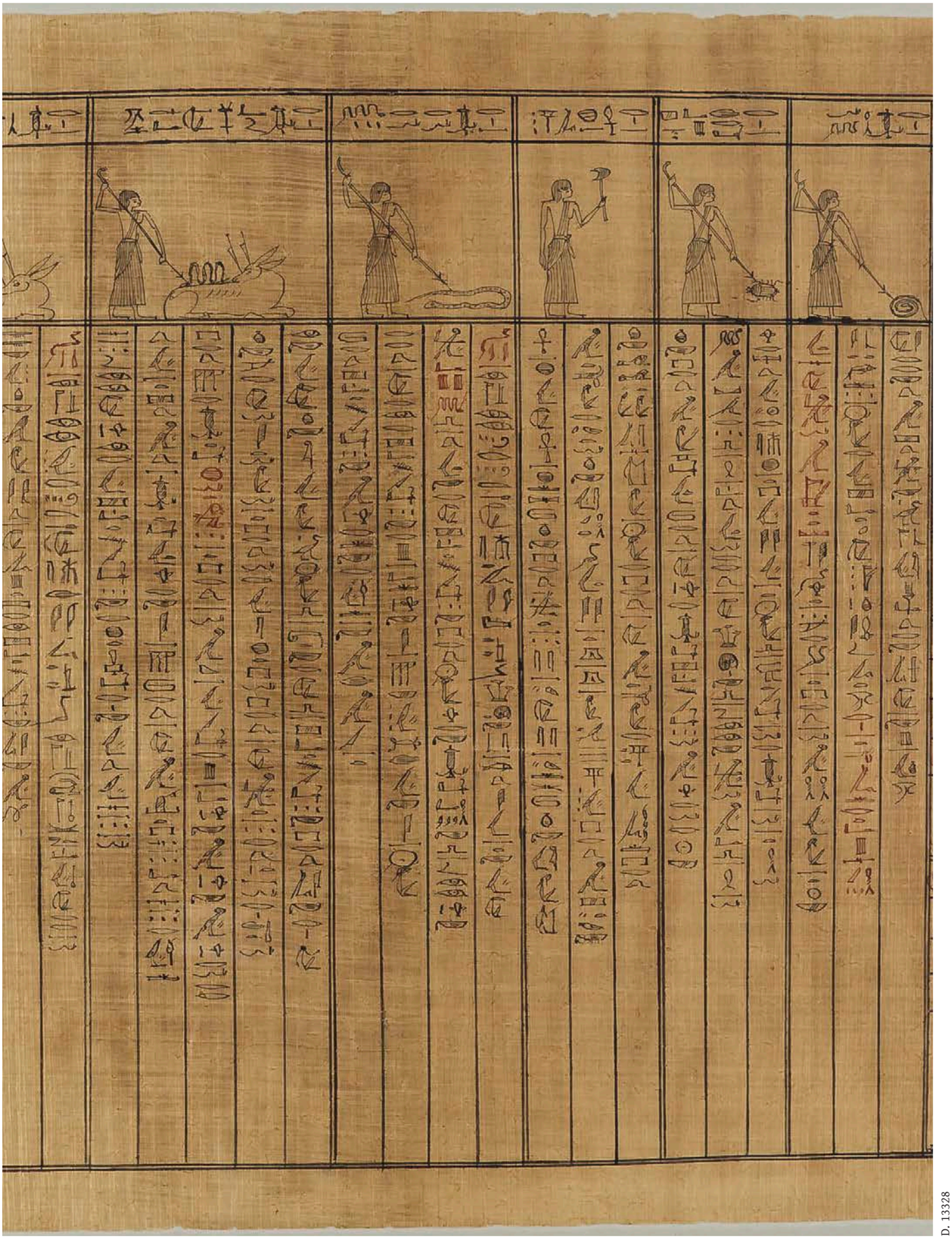
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D. 13328

15, OIM E10486E, lines 296–327, BD 64, 31, 32, 33

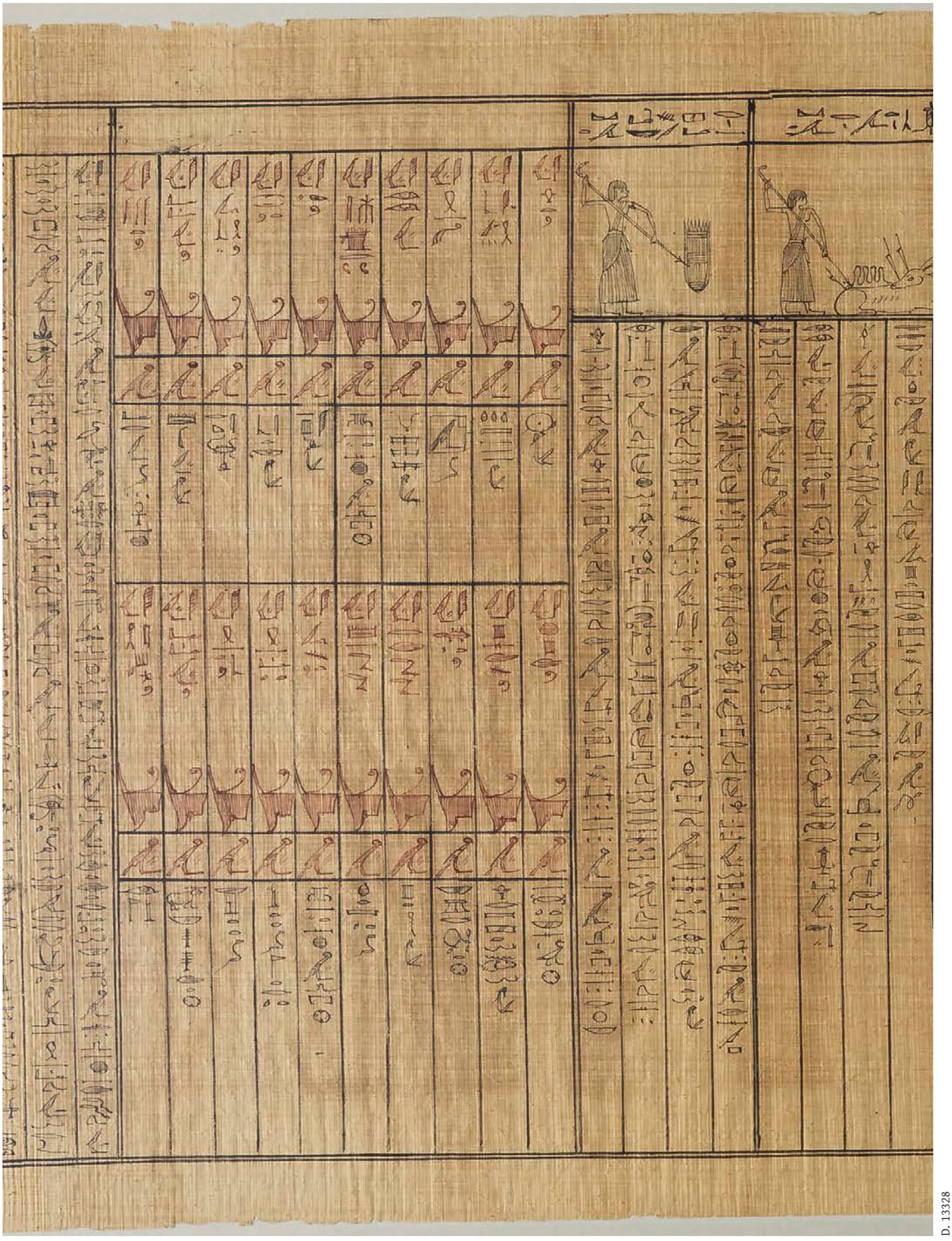
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D. 13328

15, OIM E10486E, lines 326–351, BD 33, 34, 37, 36, 39, 38, 56, 39, 40, 42

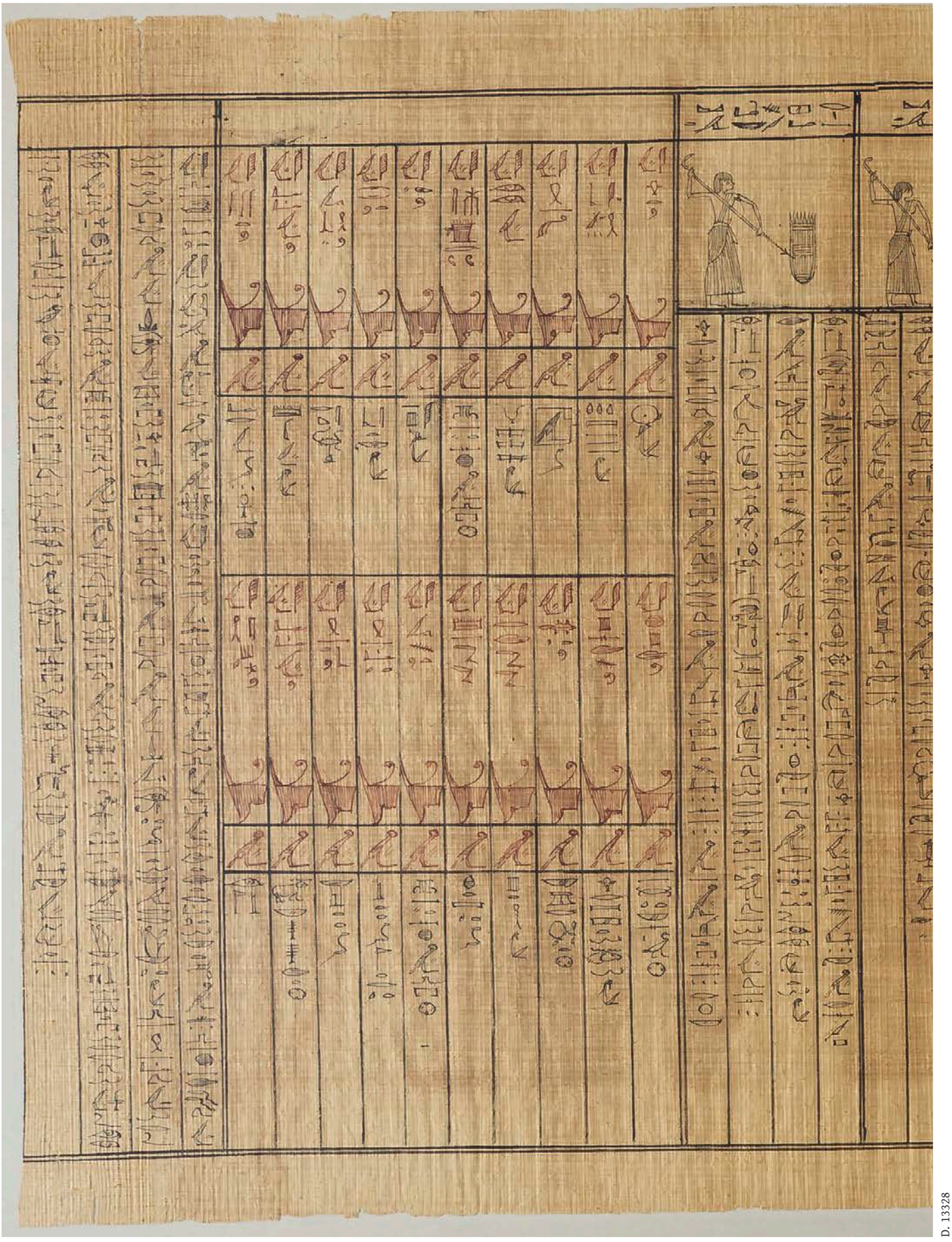
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D. 13328

15, OIM E10486E, lines 349, 351–381, BD 42

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D. 13328

15, OIM E10486E, lines 353–383, BD 42

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D. 13329

15, OIM E10486F, lines 384–432, 433, 436–437, BD 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88

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D. 13329

15, OIM E10486F, lines 432–477, BD 87, 88, 72, 54, 56, 38a, 59, 63, 52, 51, 44

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D. 13329

15, OIM E10486F, lines 478–507, BD 45, 50, 93, 43, 89, 91, 92

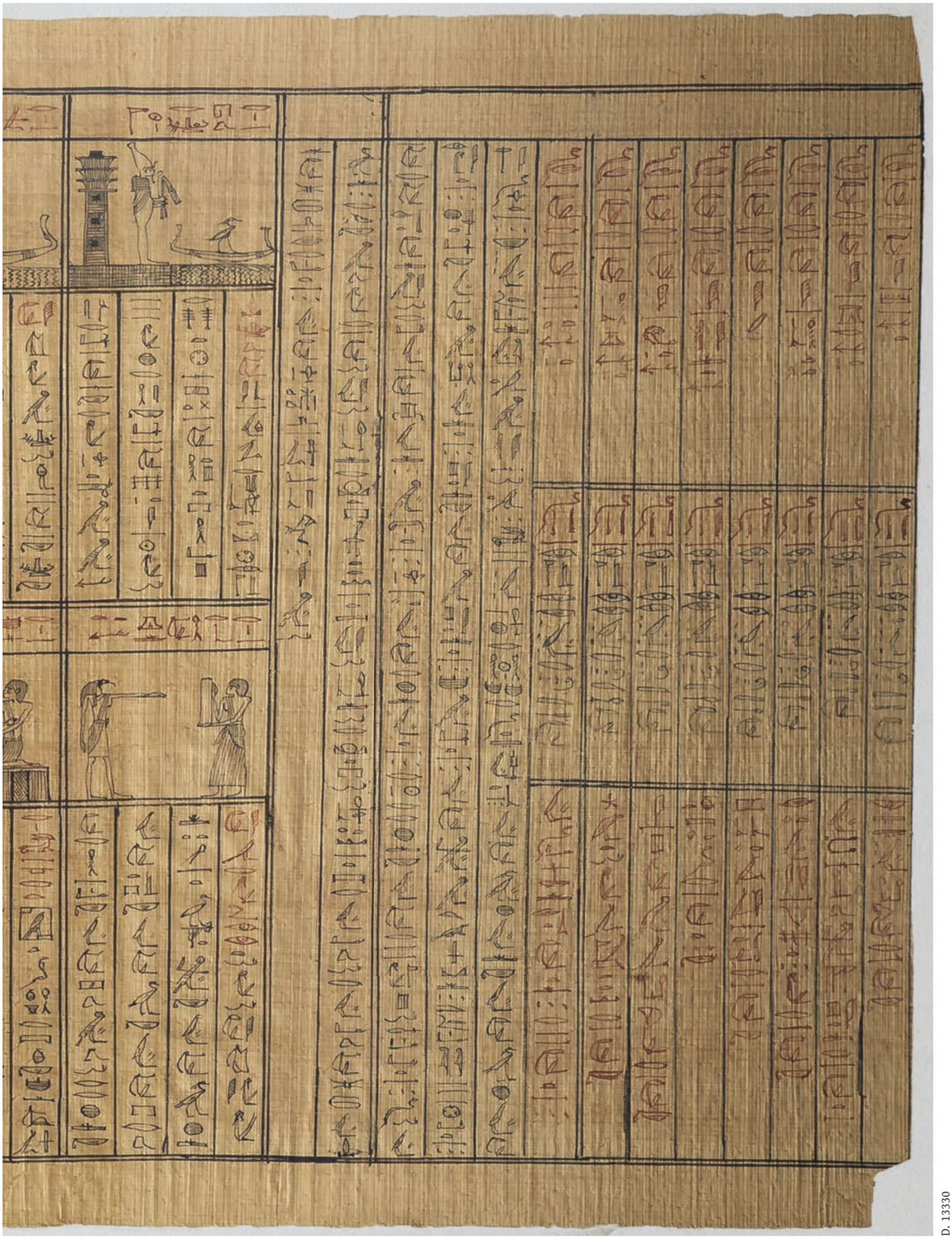
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D. 13329

15, OIM E10486F, lines 488 end, 491–515, BD 93, 43, 89, 91, 92, 99

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D. 13330

15, OIM E10486G, lines 516–533, 534–535, 544–550, BD 99, 100, 94, 102, 104

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D. 13330

15, OIM E10486G, lines 534–543, 549–582, BD 102, 104, 101, 68, 71, 105, 106

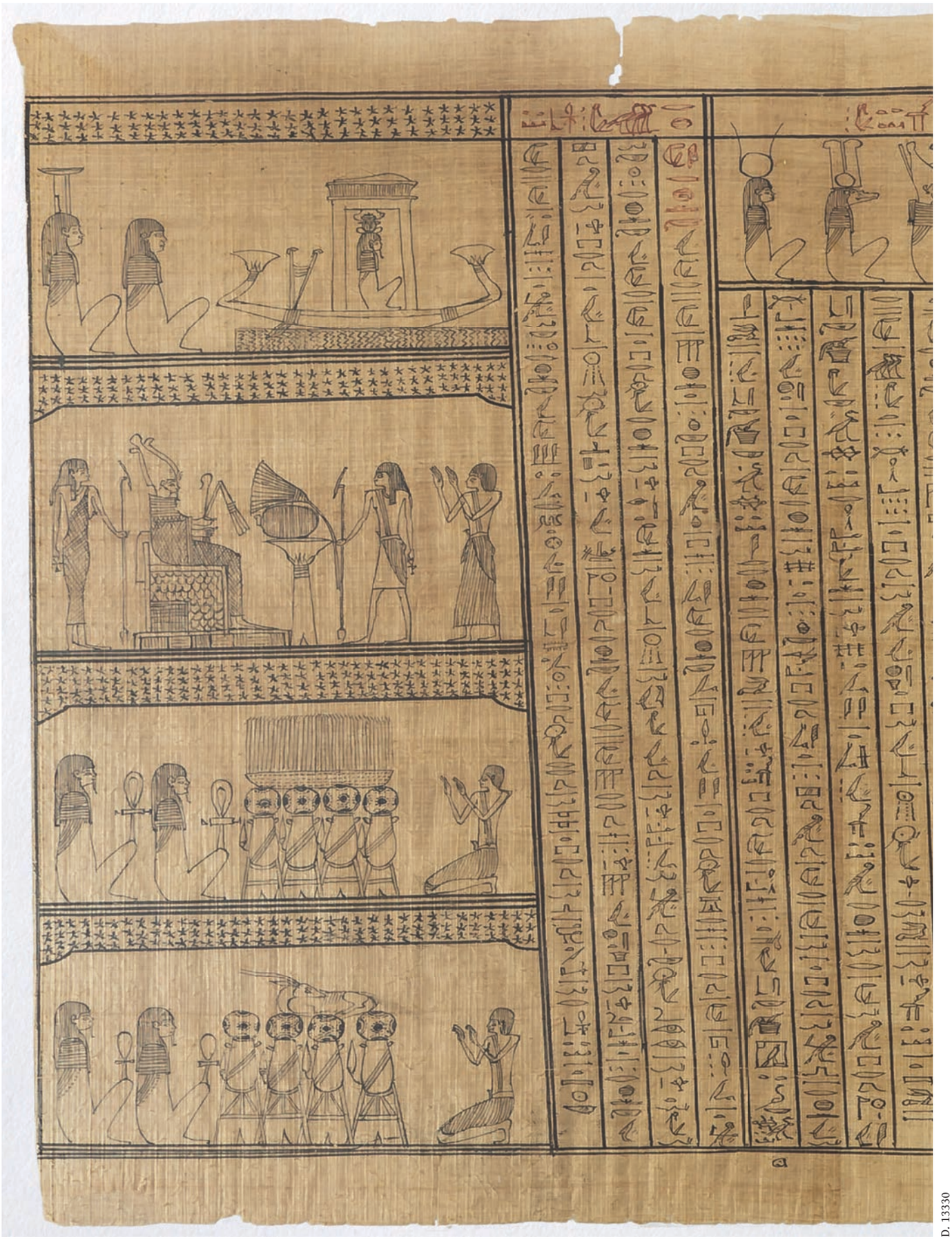
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D. 13330

15, OIM E10486G, lines 583–596, BD 108, 109, 110c

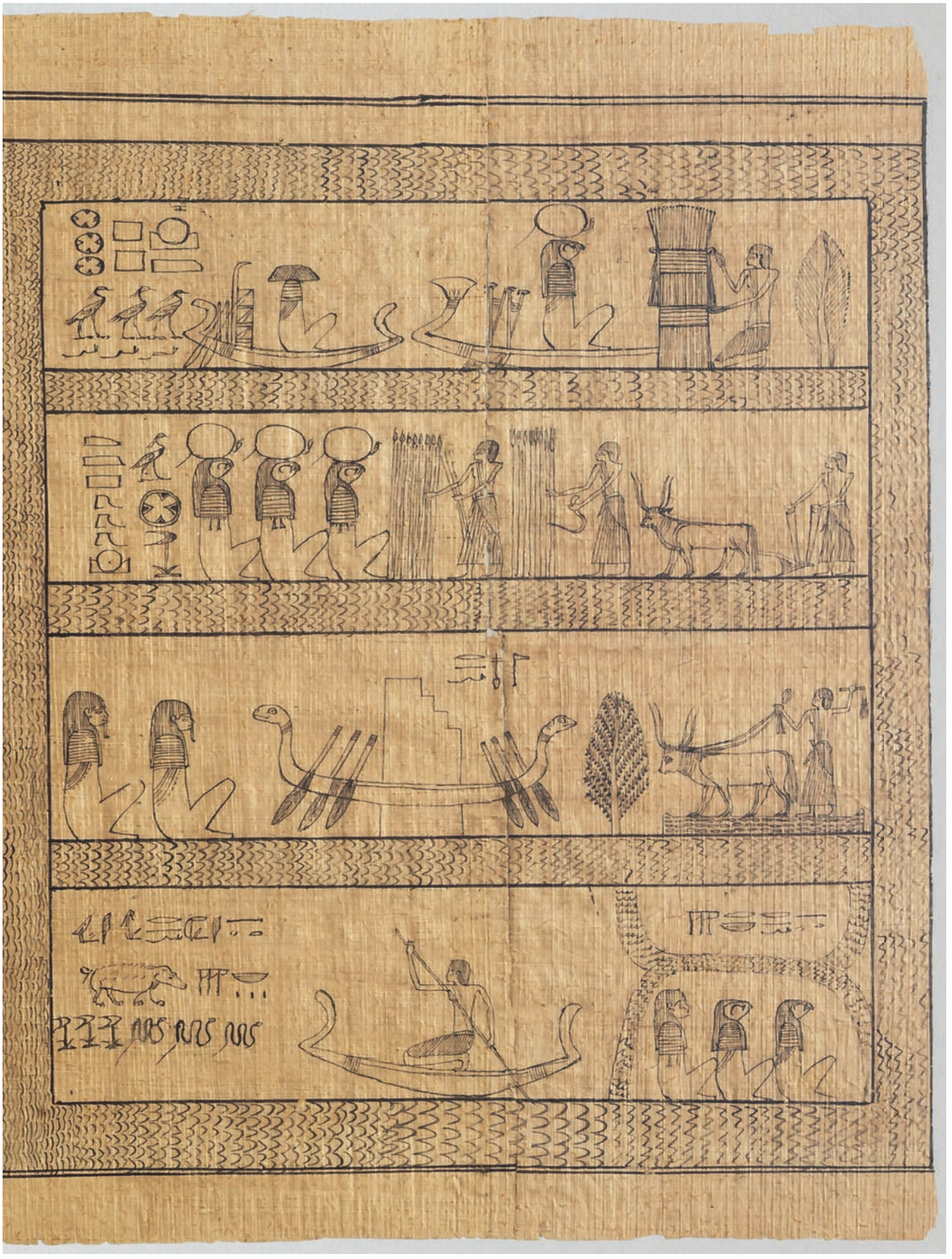
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D. 13330

15, OIM E10486G, lines 588–596, BD 108, 109, 110c

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D. 13331

15, OIM E10486H, lines 597–603, BD 110b

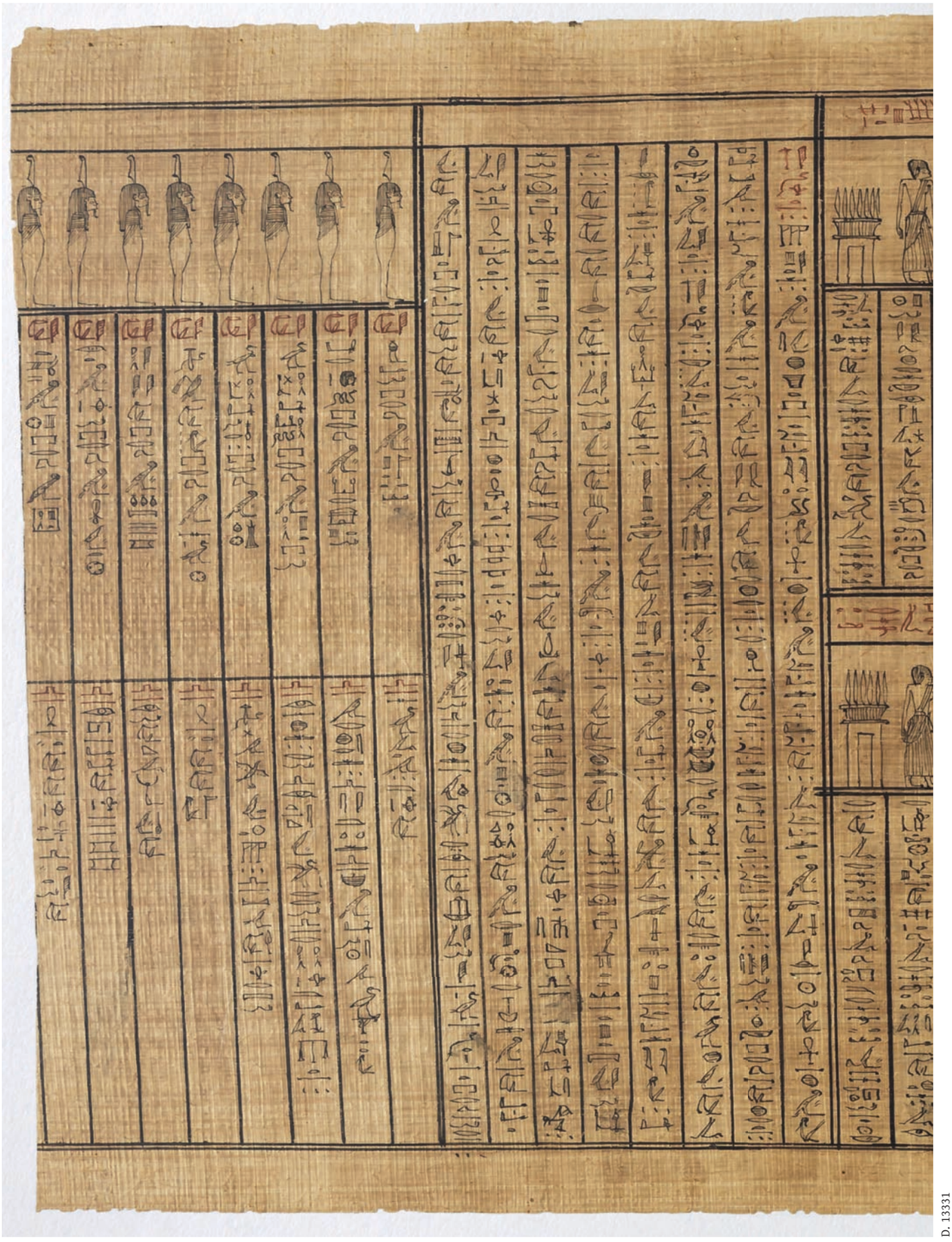
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D. 13331

15, OIM E10486H, lines 604–646, 648–650, BD 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 124, 117, 119

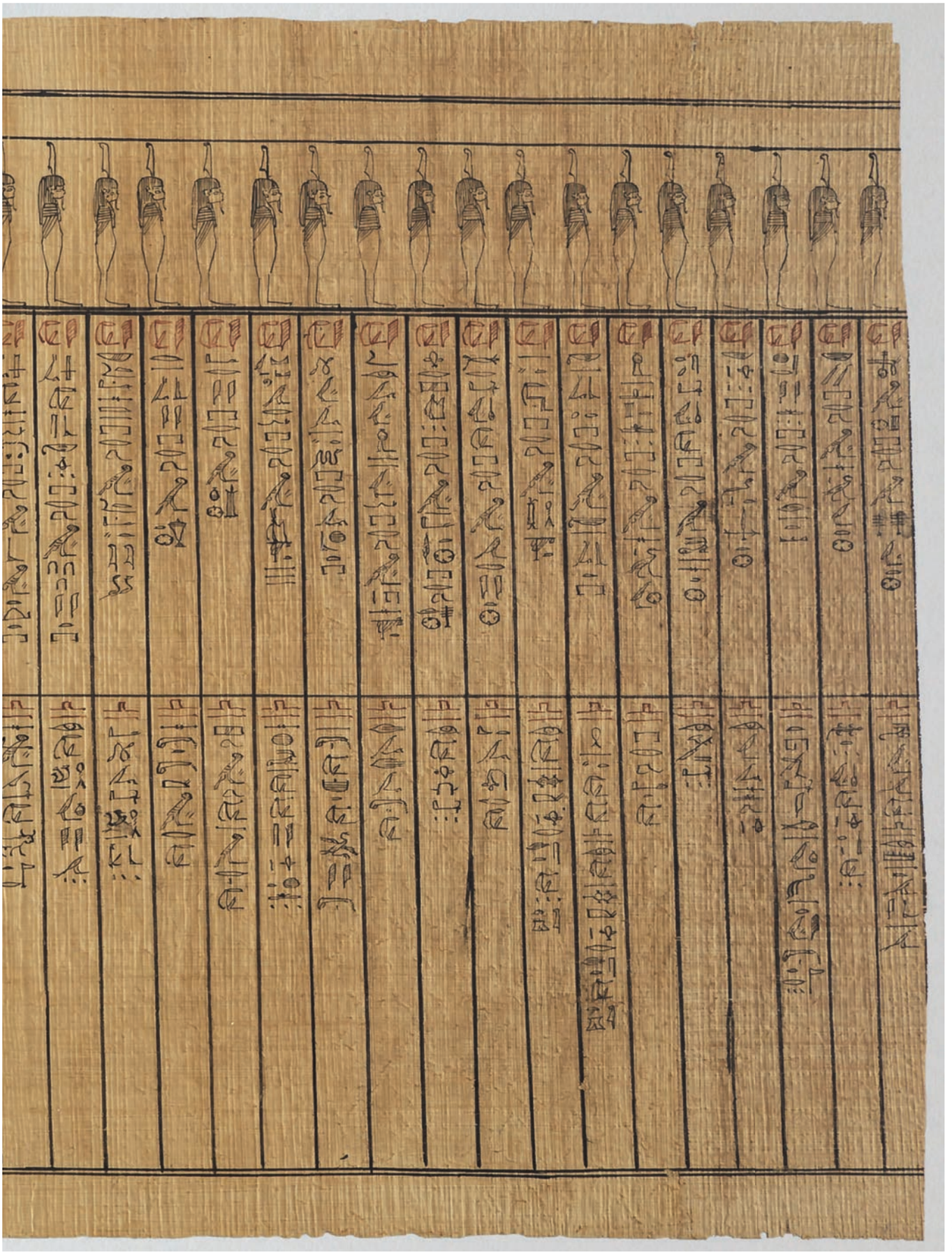
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D. 13331

15, OIM E10486H, lines 644 end, 646–647, 648 end, 650–667, BD 117, 119, 125a, 125b

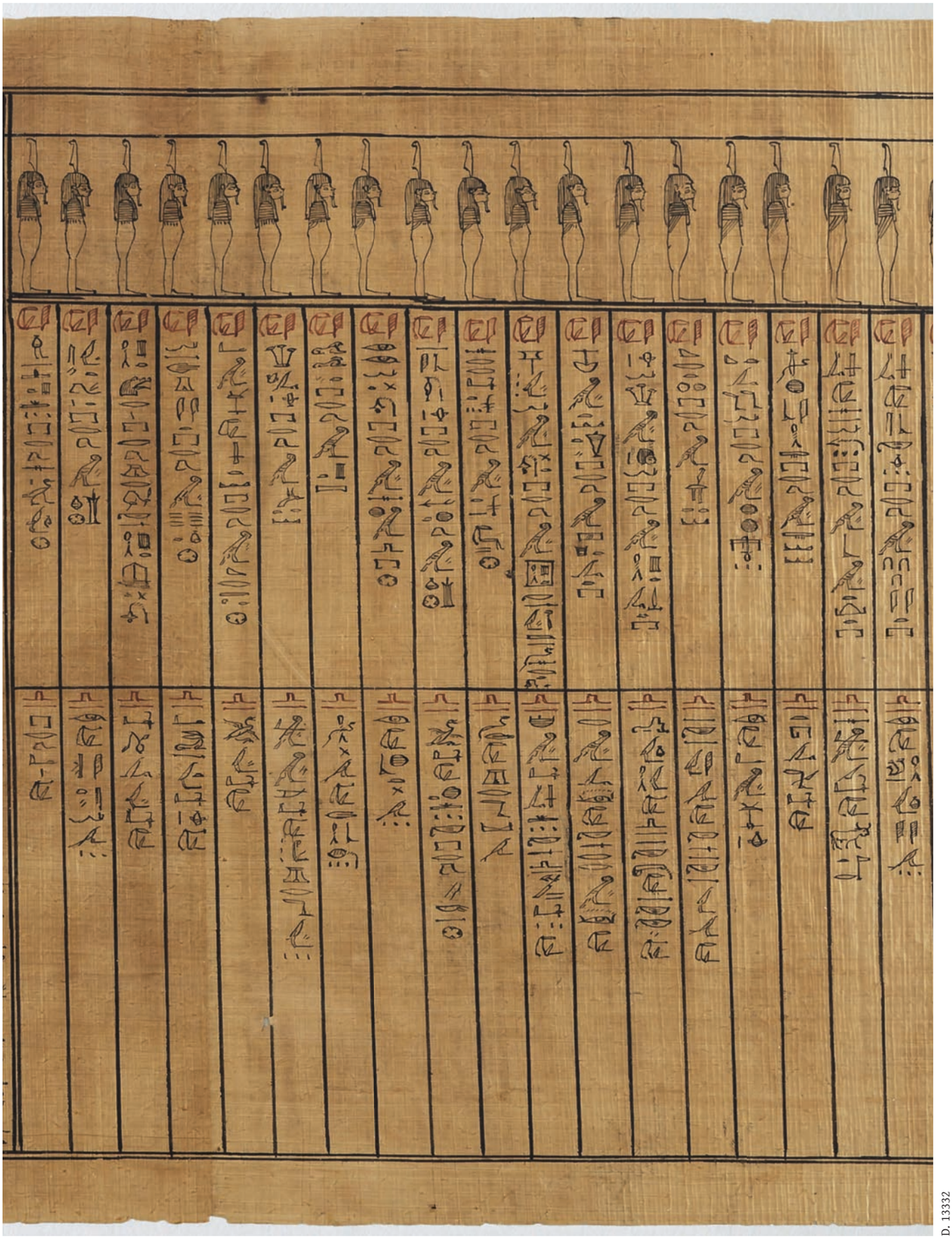
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D. 13332

15, OIM E10486I, lines 668–684, BD 125b

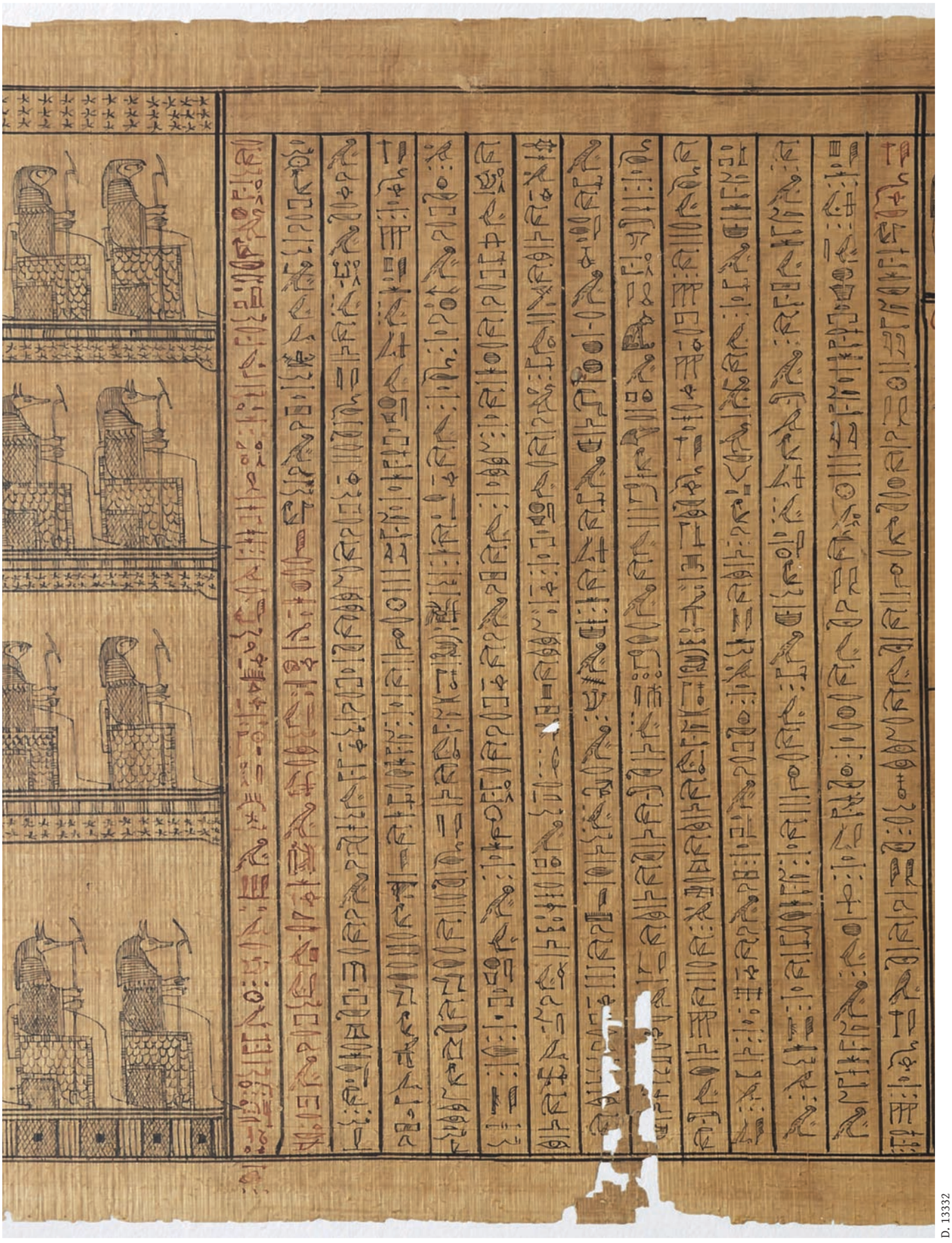
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D. 13332

15, OIM E10486I, lines 684–701, BD 125b

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D. 13332

15, OIM E10486I, lines 702–715, BD 125c, 112, 113

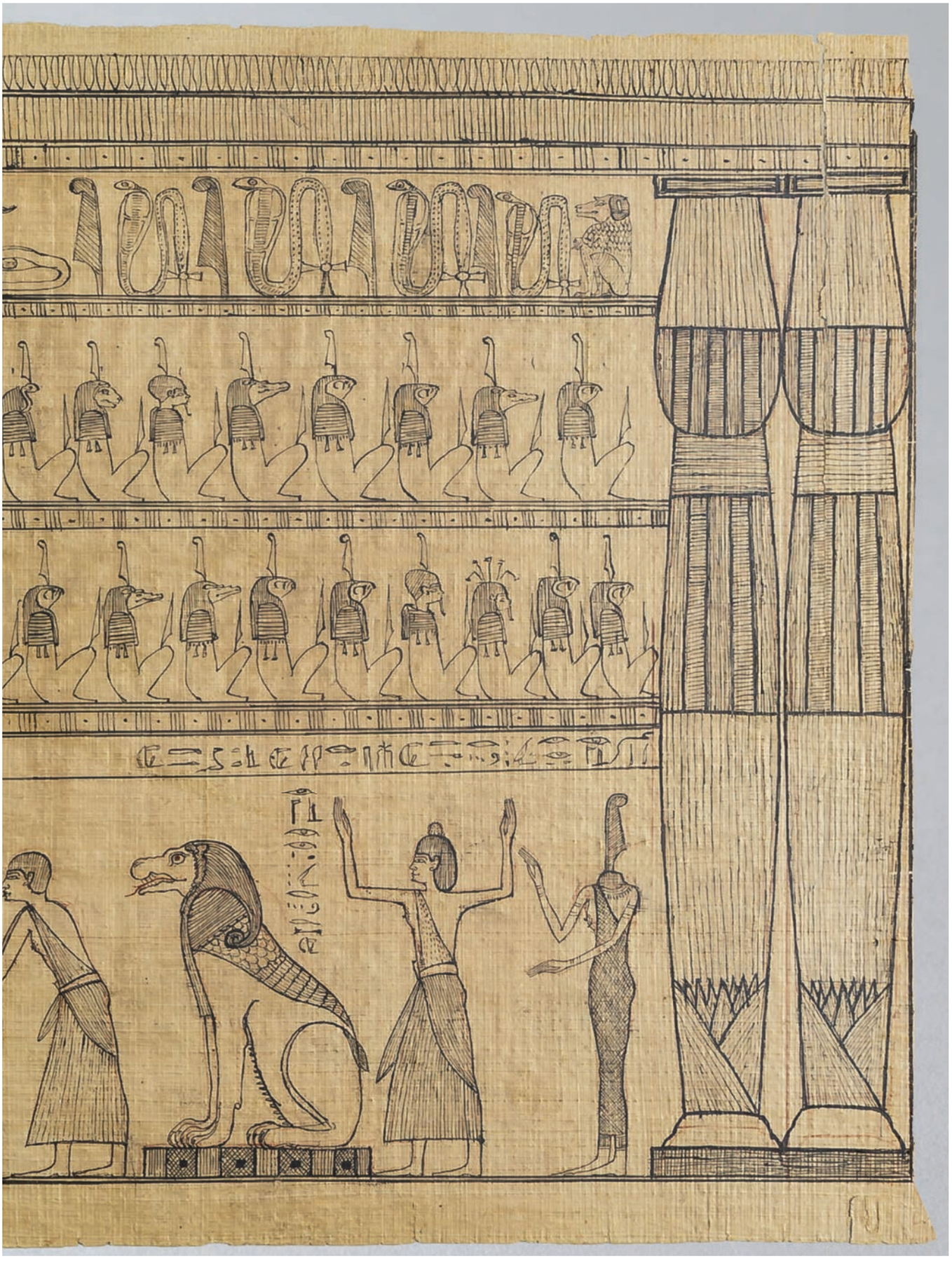
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D. 13332

15, OIM E10486I, lines 705–715, BD 125c, 112, 113

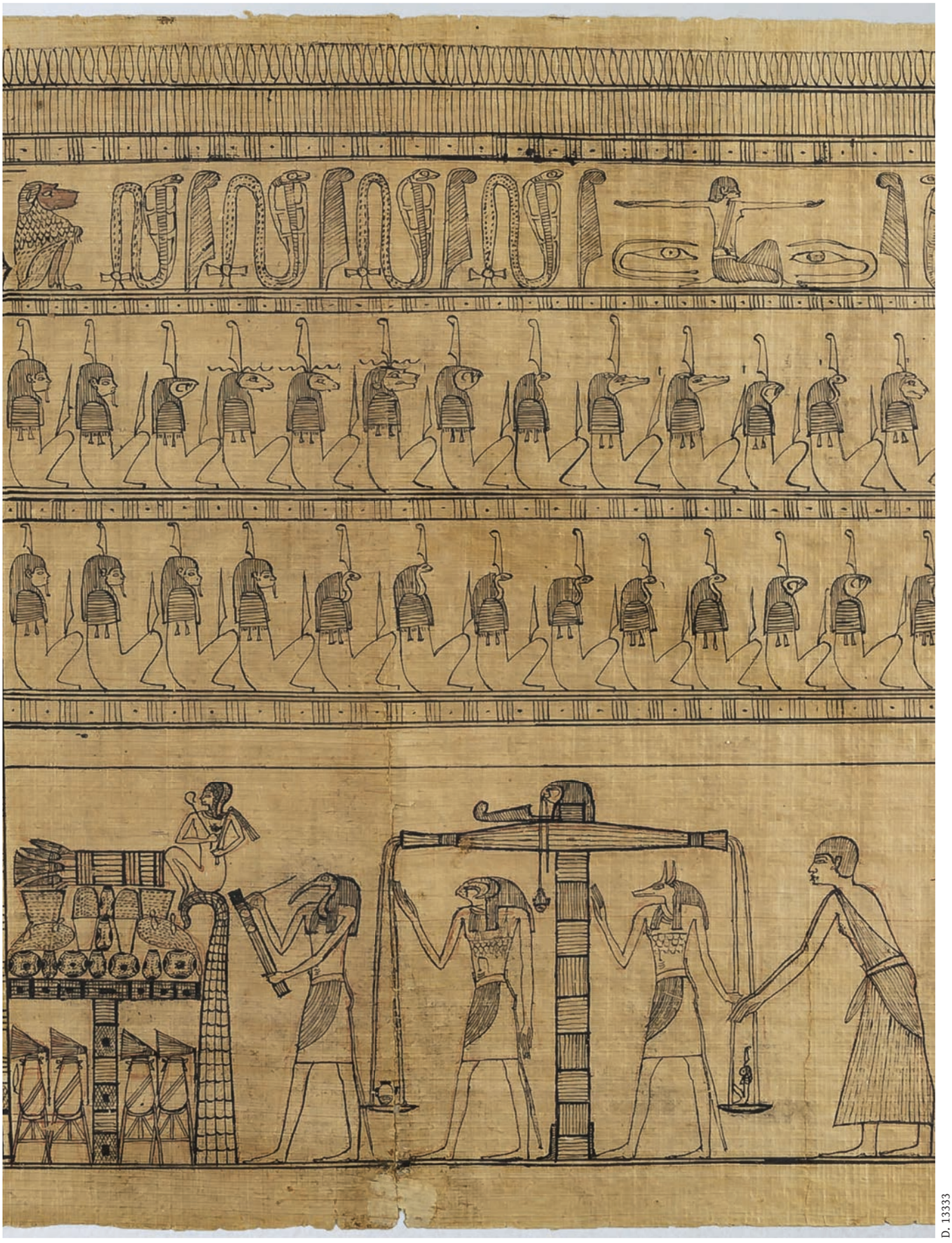
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D. 13333

15, OIM E10486J, lines 716–717, BD 125d

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D. 13333

15, OIM E10486J, BD 125d

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D. 13333

15, OIM E10486J, lines 718–723, BD 125d

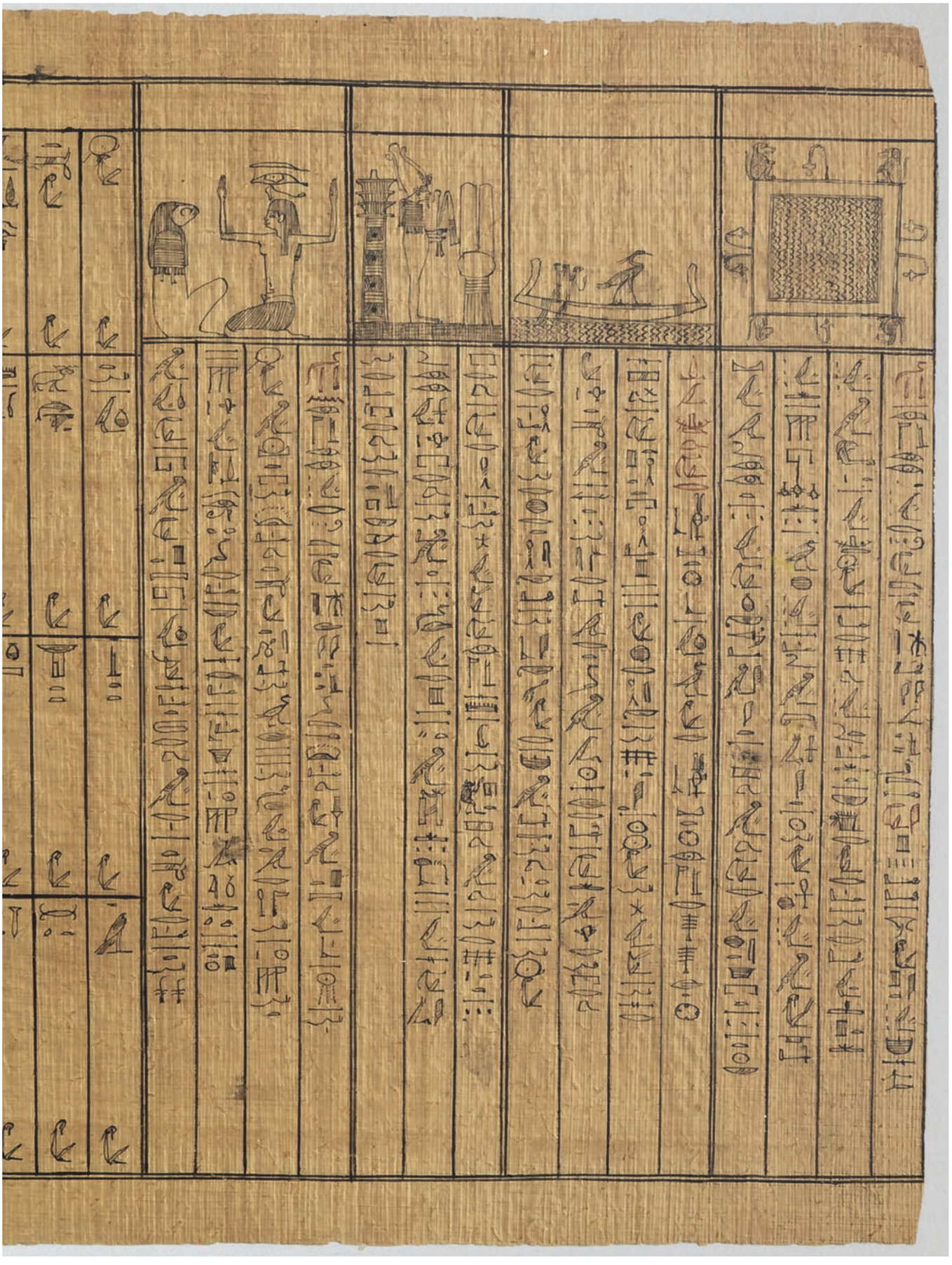
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D. 13333

15, OIM E10486J, lines 721–723, BD 125d

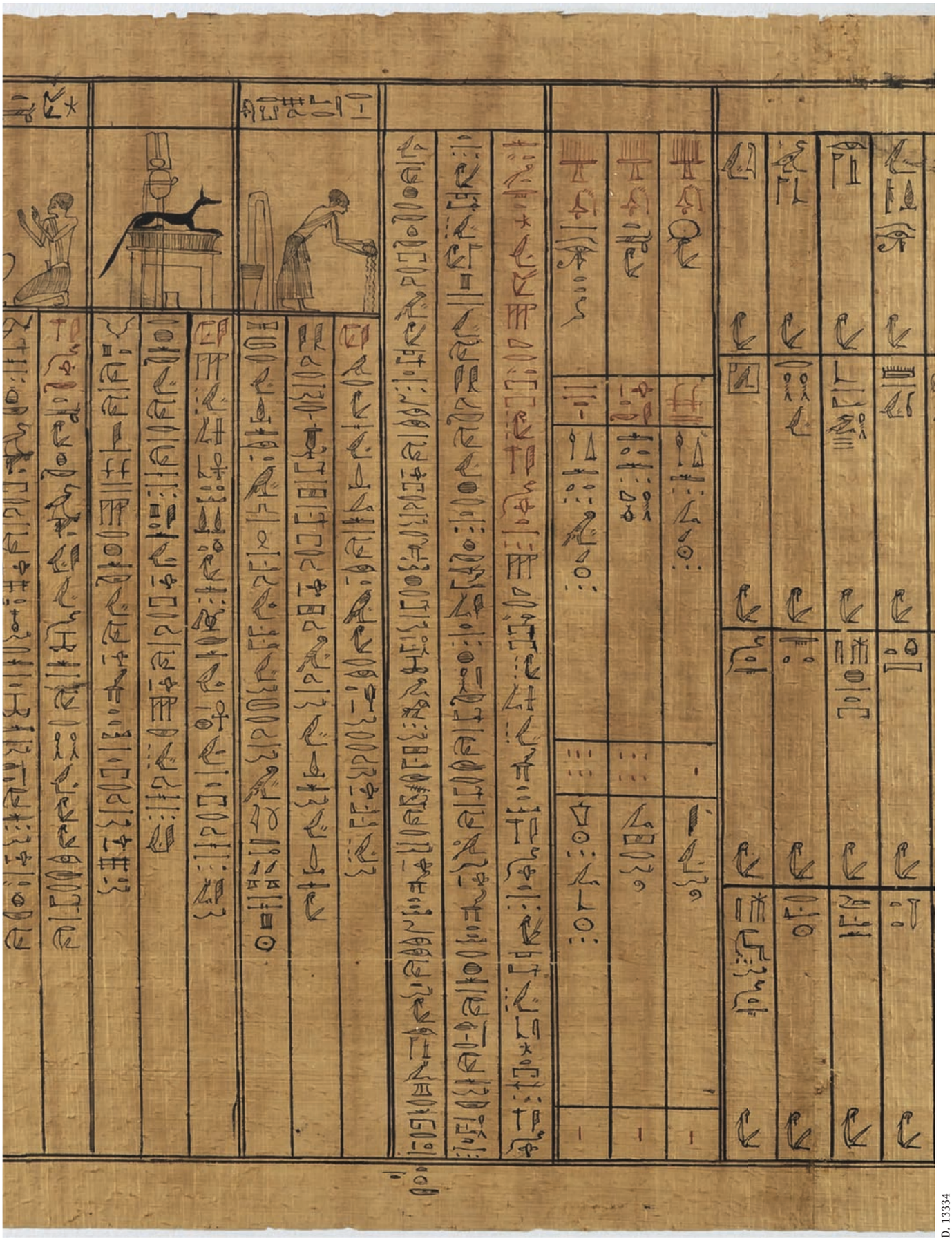
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D. 13334

15, OIM E10486K, lines 724–740, 745–746, 751–752, 757–758, BD 126, 127, 129, 140

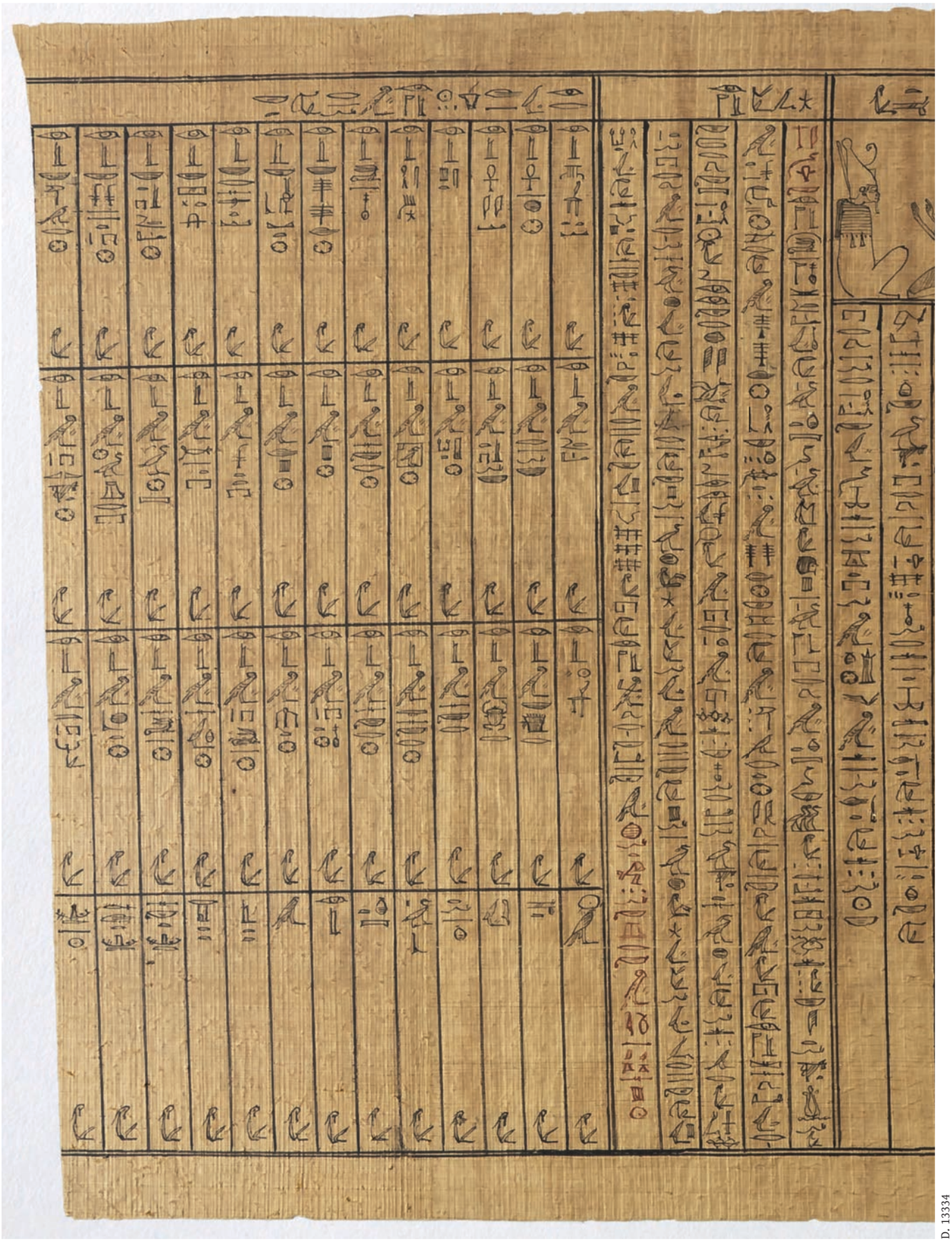
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D. 13334

15, OIM E10486K, lines 741–744, 747–750, 753–756, 759–785, BD 140, 127, 137, 138, 139

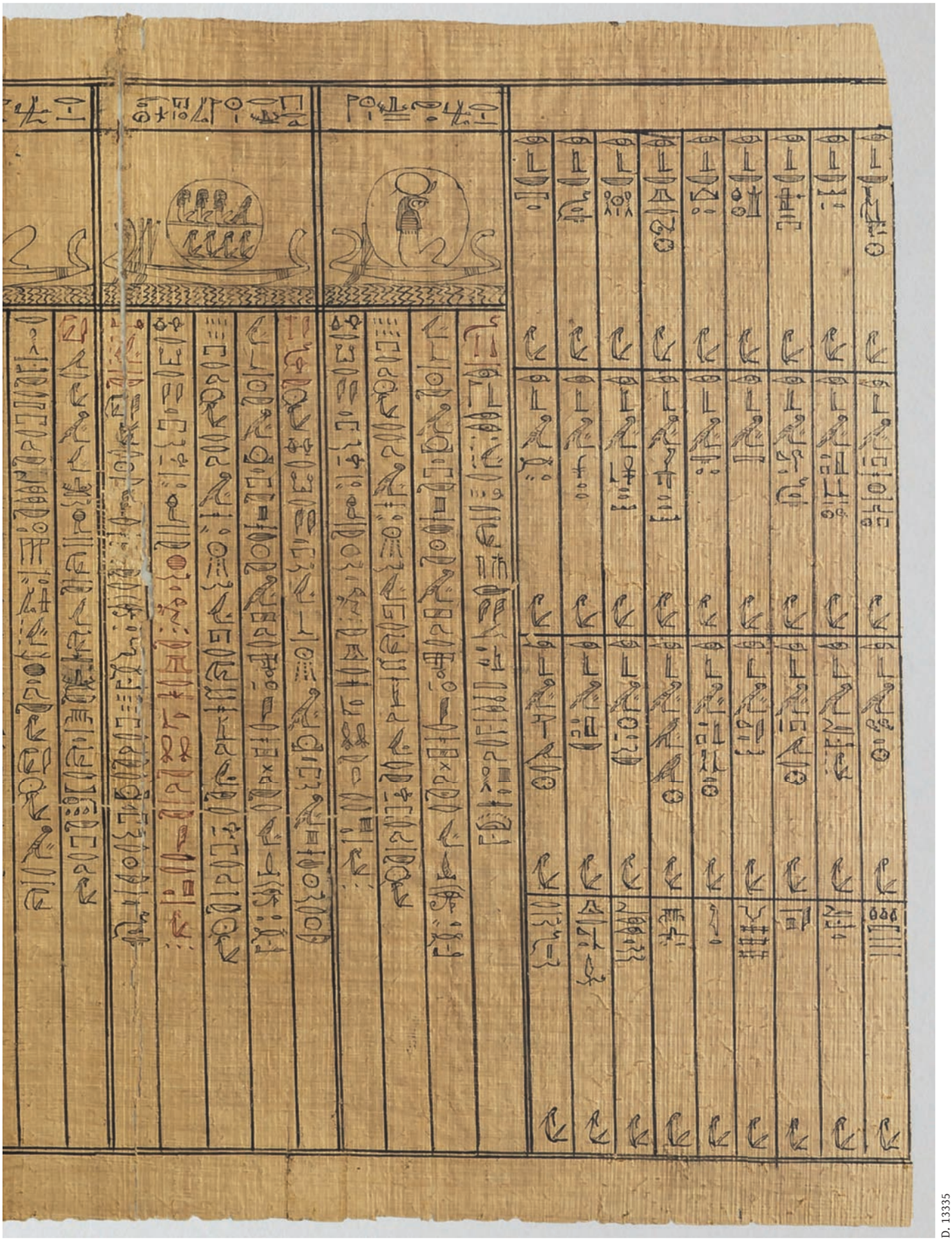
oi.uchicago.edu



D. 13334

15, OIM E10486K, lines 783 end, 785–806, 816–828, 838–850, 860–872, BD 139, 128, 142

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D. 13335

15, OIM E10486L, lines 807–815, 829–837, 851–859, 873–895, BD 142, 133, 134, 133, 102, 101

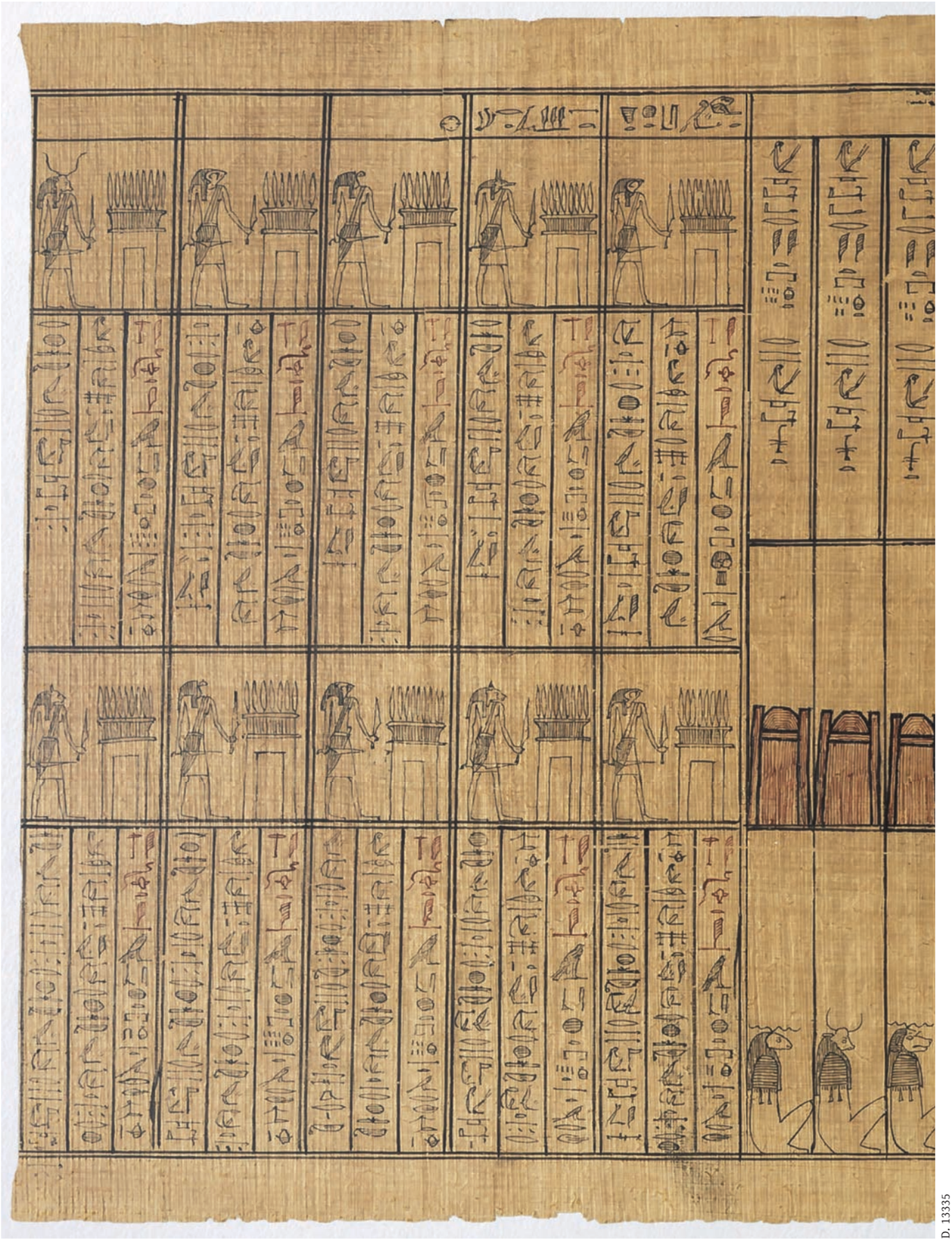
oi.uchicago.edu



D. 13335

15, OIM E10486L, lines 893 end, 896–908, BD 102, 101, 130, 143, 144

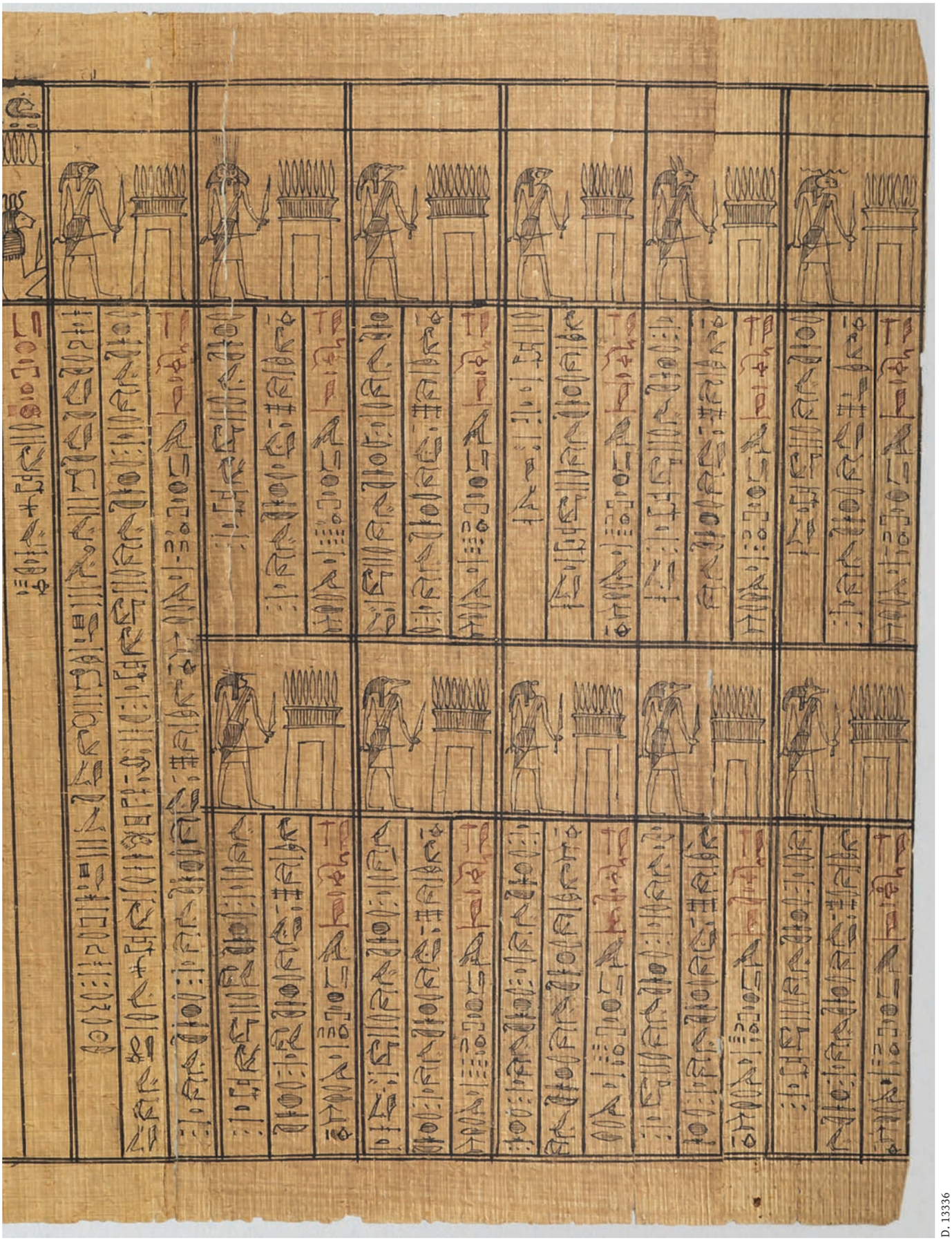
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D. 13335

15, OIM E10486L, lines 907–940, BD 144, 145

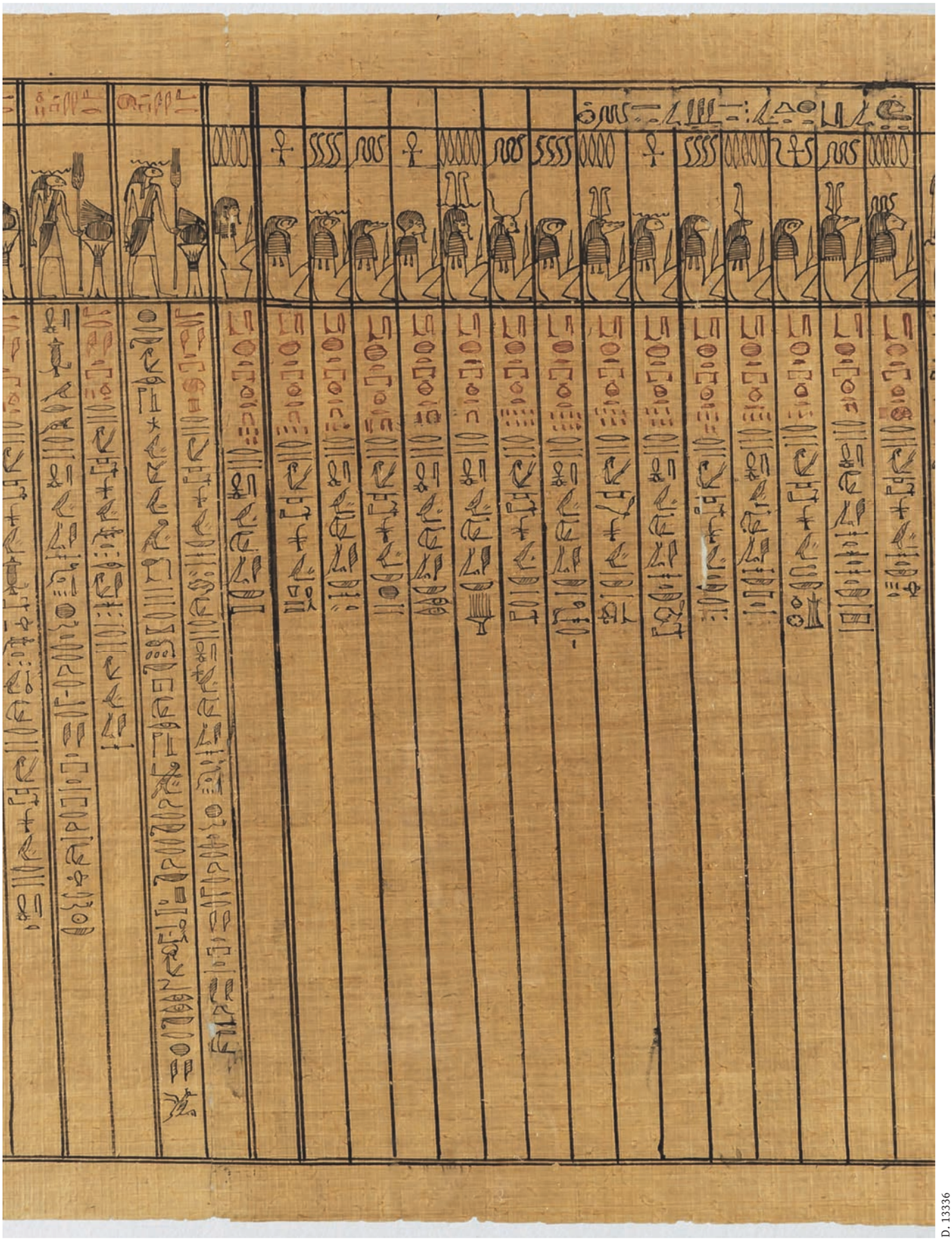
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D. 13336

15, OIM E10486M, lines 941–975, BD 145, 146

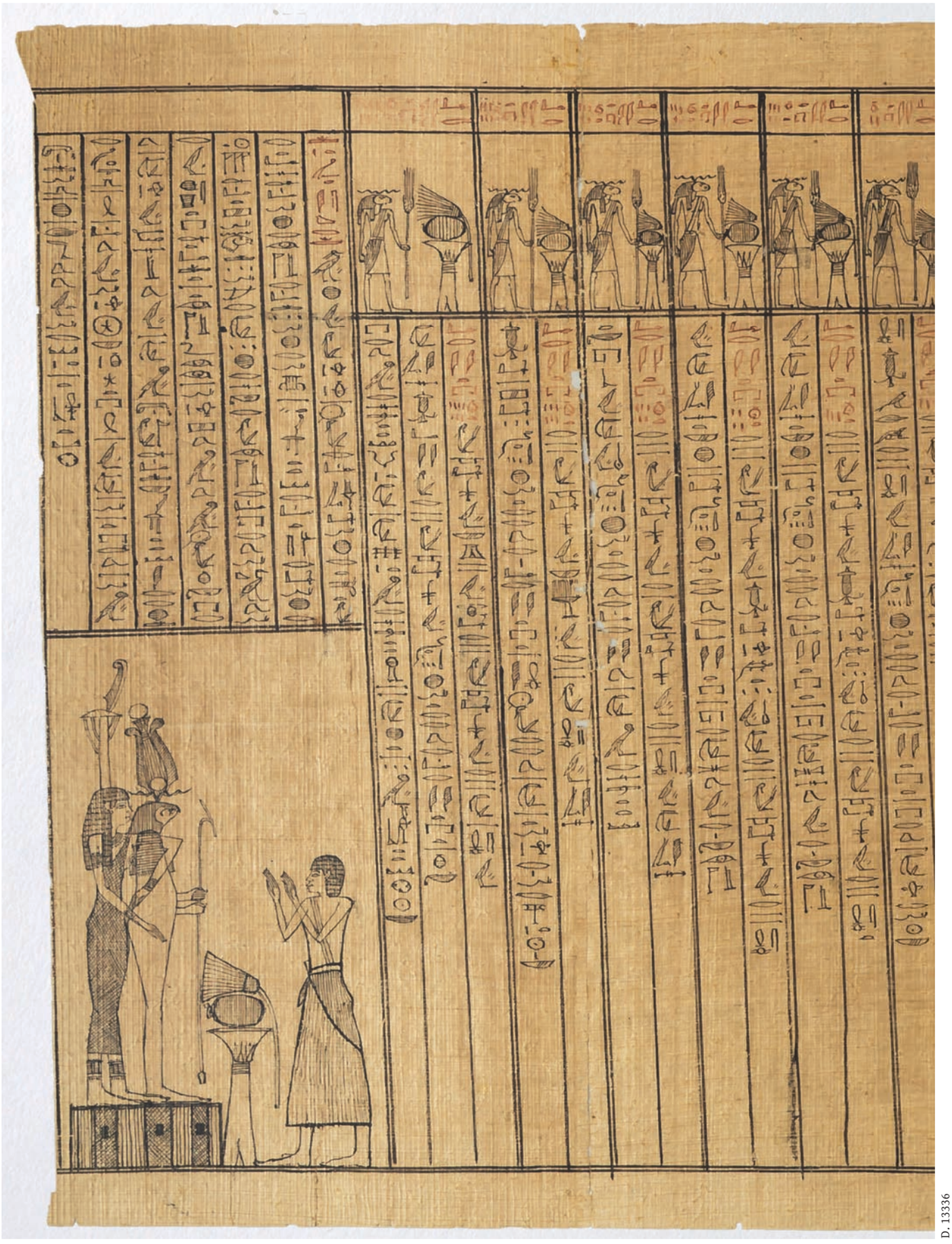
oi.uchicago.edu



D. 13336

15, OIM E10486M, lines 974–995, BD 146, 147

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D. 13336

15, OIM E10486M, lines 995–1018, BD 147, 148

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D. 13337

15, OIM E10486N, lines 1019–1024, 1026, 1030, BD 148, 149

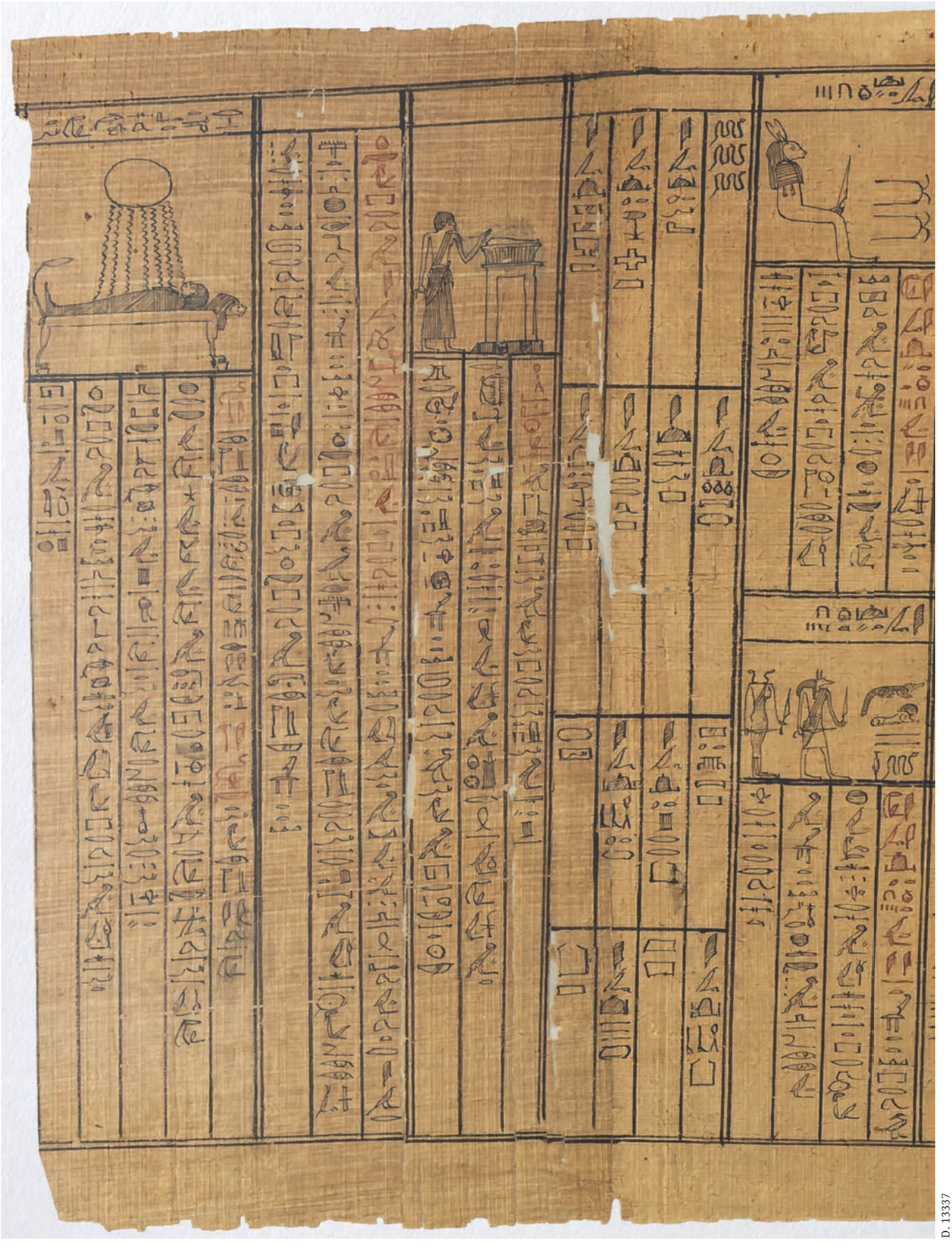
oi.uchicago.edu



D. 13337

15, OIM E10486N, lines 1025–1072, 1074, 1079, BD 149

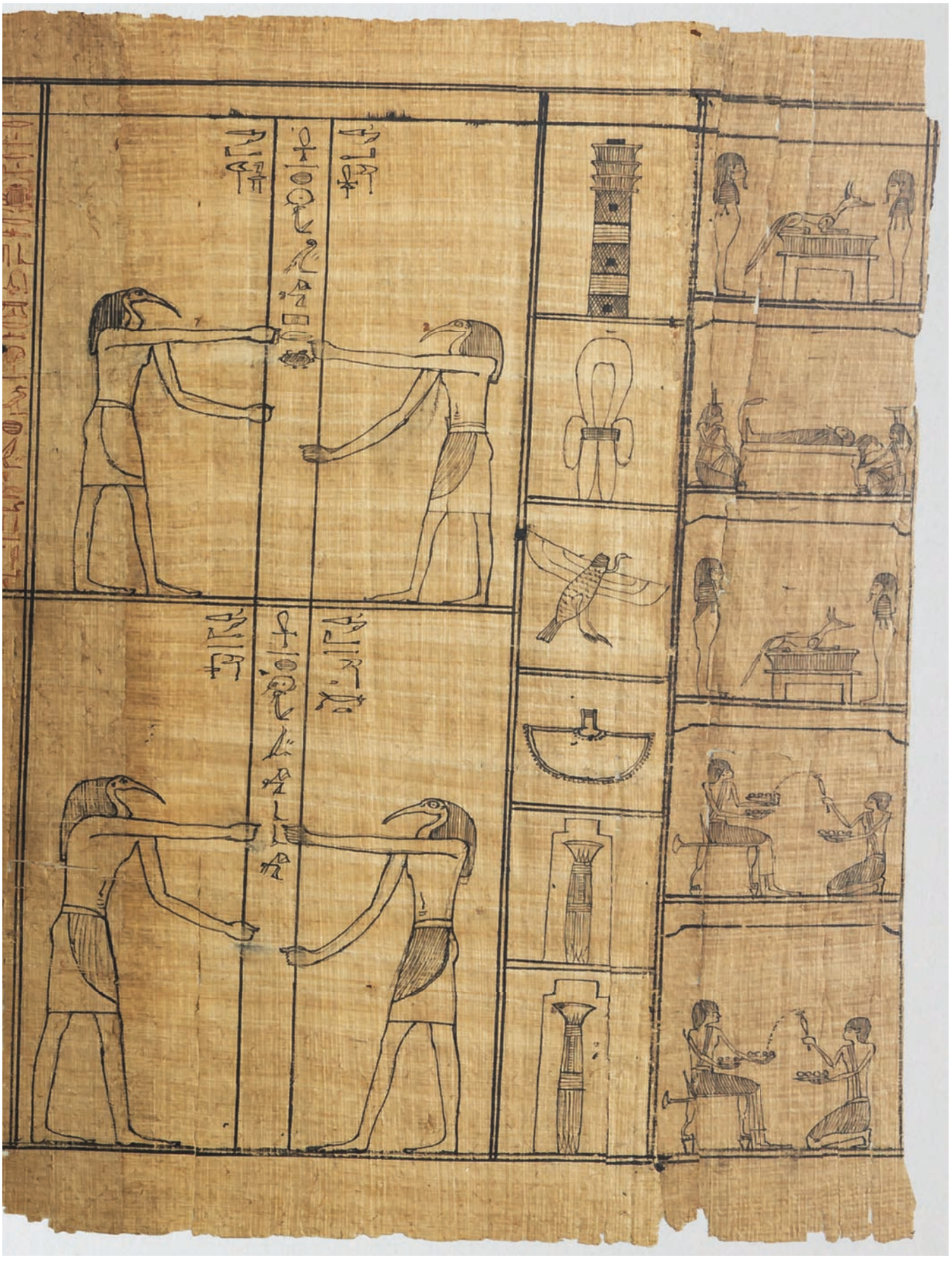
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D. 13337

15, OIM E10486N, lines 1073–1098, BD 149, 150, 152, 153, 154

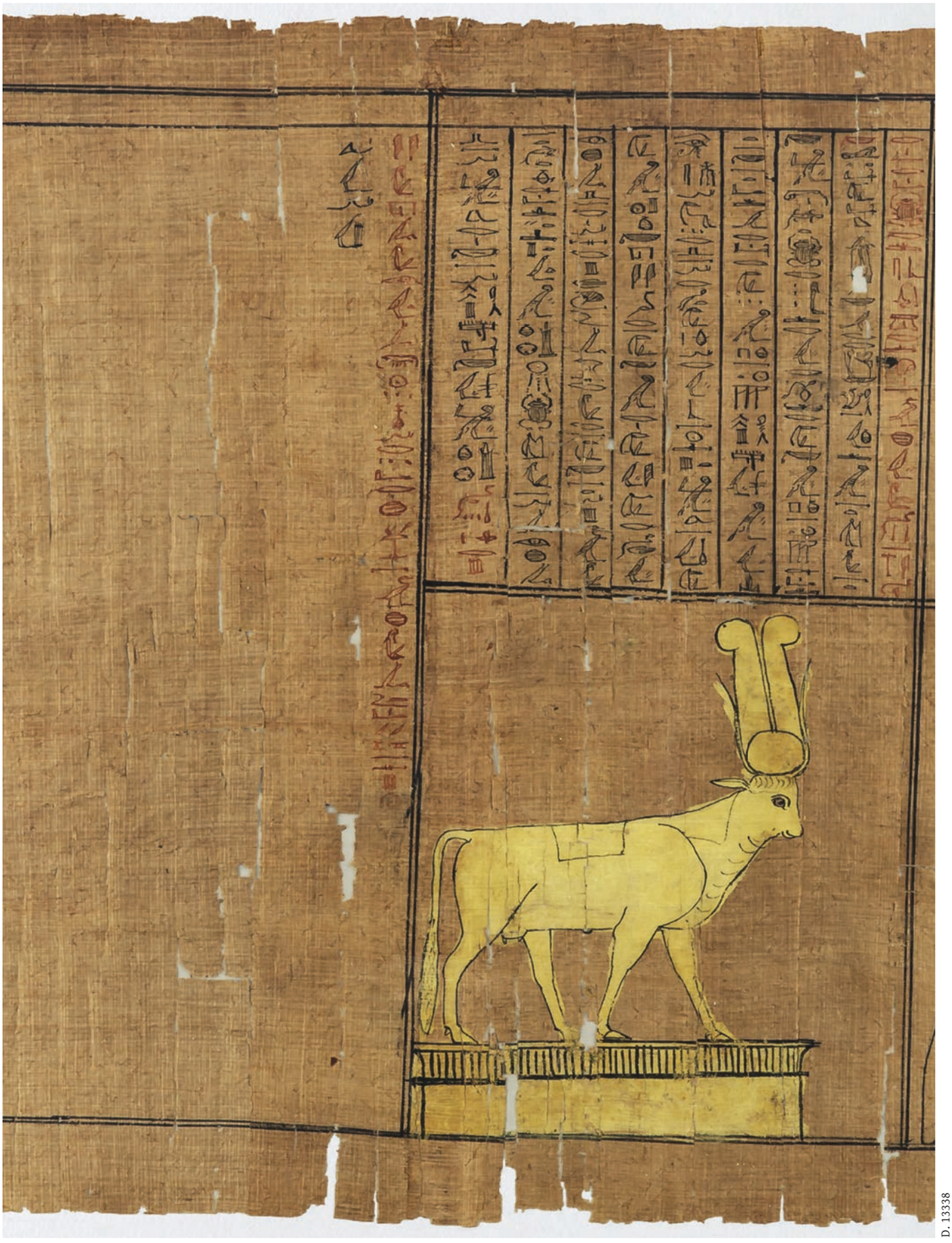
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D. 13338

15, OIM E10486O, lines 1099–1104, BD 151, 152, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161

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D. 13338

15, OIM E10486O, lines 1105–1115, BD 162

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D. 13338

15, OIM E10486O

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16, front

16. PAPYRUS INSCRIBED WITH THE FIRST BOOK OF BREATHING

Papyrus, paint
Egypt, Luxor
Purchased in London, 1894
Ptolemaic–Roman Period, 100 BC–AD 200
H: 27.3 x W: 104.14 cm
FMNH 31324

This papyrus preserves four complete columns and one partial column of text, each with twelve to thirteen lines written in hieratic, and accompanied by vignettes in the upper register. Only the beginning of the text is missing, which was copied on the right side of the scroll and filled the first column, for a total of six columns of text. At first sight, judging by the kind of vignettes accompanying the text (a triad of armed hybrid figures and the scene of the final judgment) and layout of the fragment, one may think that we are dealing with a late specimen of the Book of the Dead. Instead, the copied text belongs to a composition that, although derived from the Book of the Dead genre, has its own distinctive character and title, namely the "Book of Breathing," which started to replace the Book of the Dead from the fourth century BC. Although the ancient Egyptian title *šʿ.t n snsn* "Book of Breathing" occurs on a number of other compositions as well, three specific labels apply to papyri similar to this one: "Book of Breathing which Isis Made," "First Book of Breathing," and "Second Book of Breathing."

The papyrus in question belongs to the First Book of Breathing and contains an abridged version of it (Scalf, forthcoming). Unlike the Book of the Dead, the Books of Breathing do not repeat the papyrus owner's name throughout the text but mention it only at the beginning, which in this case is lost.

As is common for the funerary papyri of the Ptolemaic Period, including manuscripts of the Book of the Dead, the vignettes occupy the higher register; their subdivision corresponds to the lines that also frame the columns of text. The first vignette represents a cow goddess upon a shrine, probably Hathor, followed by a series of three vignettes belonging to the same scene of the final judgment, which in the Book of the Dead is associated with spell 125. The mummiform deceased is here accompanied by Anubis and the four sons of Horus in mummiform shape as well. In the third vignette Anubis occurs again while overseeing the weighing of the heart together with Horus and in the company of a hybrid Maat, the goddess of Truth, depicted with an anthropomorphic body and a feather (symbol and hieroglyph for Maat) for her head. The goddess, with raised arms in a worshipping, jubilant pose, follows the mummiform deceased. The double representation of the deceased within the same scene is a common trait of many illustrations from Book of the Dead papyri as well, and denote the time sequence of ritual phases through which she/he has to pass during the journey in the netherworld.

The next vignette depicts Thoth in his typical pose of recording the verdict of the judgment

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16, front, detail of column 3

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16, front, detail of columns 1–3

on papyrus while standing behind Amemet, the "Devourer of the Dead." The menacing demonic creature is sitting on a shrine, as often on papyri of the later periods, where it seems that her status is upgraded to that of a worshipped god; the two *maat*-feathers on her head accentuate the divine status of the Devourer. Before Amemet are smaller mummiform figures of the Sons of Horus on a lotus flower facing Osiris and Isis.

Finally, in the last vignette three figures holding weapons (the first and third ones hold a knife, while the second one holds a mace) occur, which recall the guardian demons of the Book of the Dead (Chapter 11). The first one has a human head, the second one is crocodile-headed, and the third one is jackal-headed. Guardian demons became very popular in funerary and magical objects and monuments of the Ptolemaic Period. Particularly in this kind of papyri, they appear as protectors of the body of Osiris (i.e., the deceased) during the night before rebirth. However, when connected to the scene of the judgment in this context, they may also be representative of the forty-two judges of the netherworld mentioned in spell 125 of the Book of the Dead and depicted in the accompanying vignette representing the "Hall of the Two Truths" where the judgment takes place.

The title of the First Book of Breathing, as known from other manuscripts, is "The book of breathing which is to be placed under the head of ..." after which the name of the deceased generally follows. In five cases, the deceased is explicitly referred to as *nṯr* "god." The divine status of the deceased is a central theme of the First Book of Breathing, whose text contains the identification of the deceased's limbs with the main gods, which recalls spell 42 of the Book of the Dead. In the last preserved column of text of this papyrus (column 5), the deceased recites: "My face is Re. My eyes are Hathor. My ears are Wepwawet ... My lips are Anubis ... My throat is Isis ..." and so on until the final sentence of the text summarizes: "There is no limb in me devoid of divinity for Thoth is the protection of my limbs ...." Thoth plays a main role in this genre of texts as god of wisdom and author of sacred books; various funerary compositions, including spell 64 of the Book of the Dead and the Book of Breathing which Isis Made are said to be

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16, front, detail of columns 4–5

"Books of Thoth" (Scalf, forthcoming). Even most of the Book of the Dead spells, whose phraseology and passages are recognizable in the First Book of Breathing, are texts related to the justification of the deceased in the tribunals of the netherworld, where Thoth plays a central role, such as spells 18 and 20 (Stadler 2009, pp. 320–43).

It has been pointed out how the Book of the Dead passages, selected when redacting the First Book of Breathing, were enriched by new texts functioning as commentary on the Book of the Dead spells (Herbin 2008; Scalf, forthcoming). The process of re-editing older funerary texts and integrating them with new sections was not an invention of the ancient Egyptian scribal workshops of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods; many Book of the Dead spells were actually a re-elaboration of the earlier textual collections of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts. In the Greco-Roman period, however, one can note an even more accentuated and active editorial work of ritual and magical texts, where the scribes were carefully selecting the older texts and producing an exegesis about them, which they often included in the new compositions. The First Book of Breathing, in the specimen under discussion, is a perfect example of this creative scribal work. RL

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Scalf (forthcoming)

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D. 19871

17, OIM E25389H, front

17. PAPYRUS OF SHEMAYNEFER INSCRIBED WITH A MORTUARY COMPENDIUM

Papyrus, paint
Egypt, Esna
Gift of E. L. Hynes, 1946
Roman Period, 30 BC–AD 100
OIM E25389H: H: 14.8 x W: 15.8 cm
OIM E25389Y: H: 15 x W: 25 cm
OIM E25389Z: H: 15 x W: 28.7 cm

The Hynes Papyrus (OIM E25389) is one of the rare funerary documents not deriving from either the Memphite or Theban areas, and it is the only known example from Esna in southern Egypt. The geographic connection is evident by numerous internal references and in the owner's name, Shemaynefer, "The Good Upper Egyptian," which echoes the name of the divine crocodile, son of Neith at Esna (Quaegebeur 1984, p. 575). Written in a combination of hieroglyphic and cursive hieratic scripts, the thirty-five sections of the papyrus in Chicago represent a compendium of funerary spells including multiple chapters of the Book of the Dead. Formerly part of the William Randolph Hearst collection, the papyrus was purchased at auction in 1939 by Edward L. Hynes, a Chicago Egyptology student who left the field and donated the text to the Oriental Institute Museum in 1946. The Chicago document is incomplete; the initial five columns appeared for sale at auction in London in 1972 and their current location is unknown (Coenen 1997–2000, pp. 41–48). The Hynes Papyrus is one of the latest Books of the Dead to survive and is likely to be Roman in date, written either in the final years of the first century BC or in the first half of the first century AD (Herbin 1994, p. 13). By this period, the script in which the funerary papyri were written had already begun to shift to Demotic, and afterward, Books of the Dead and its thematic descendants appear increasingly in Demotic.

The Hynes papyrus is here represented by three critical sections: the depiction of an underworld gateway through which the deceased must pass, the adoration of the sun god Re by Shemaynefer with the text of his prayer, and the preparation

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D. 19873

17, OIM E25389Y, front

and presentation of his mummy following the purification of his spirit.

Penetrating underworld gates and portals forms the theme of BD spells 144 through 147, with much repetition of the names of doorways and guardians. The extract on OIM E25389H represents the initial section of spell 146, depicting only the first of twenty-one portals of the house of Osiris that are typically found in copies of the spell. A knife-wielding doorkeeper stands beside the underworld gate topped by *kheker*-elements (𓋴) and uraei spitting fire. The text above and beside the vignette labels the gateway and its protector: "[First] Portal: Lady [of Fea]r. Doorkeeper of the First Portal" (following the later papyri of Iwefankh in Lepsius 1842, pl. LXV; following the later papyri of Nesshutefnut in T. Allen 1960, pl. XLIII, and Kerasher in Faulkner 1985, p. 25); earlier papyri have "trembling" for "fear").

In the Hynes papyrus, an adjacent column (not shown here) provides a condensed textual version for the first and second portals named in spell 146, interpolated with the texts for the first two gates of BD 144. The merging of these portal and gate texts seems unique, but the content is related, and in earlier papyri the spells may be copied one above the other (Faulkner 1985, pl. 11). In addition to its composite format, the text deviates from the standard versions in its modified names. For the illustrated first portal, the combined text reads, from BD 146: "First Portal: Lady of Fire, high of voice and wall, the superior of the lands, lady of destruction, foretelling matters, repelling raging storms, savior of the robbed. The name of her doorkeeper is Cattle-herder of Nephthys, more exalted than anyone." There follows a similar section from BD 144: "Keeper of the First Gate: Downcast of face, numerous of forms. The name of its Guardian: Interrogator. The name of the reporter in it: Sad of voice." The importance of Book of the Dead chapter 146 is indicated by its unusual selection for relief carving within private tombs (Sotheby's 2006, p. 81, no. 71).

In section OIM E25389Y, the deceased kneels in prayer before the sun god Re. Hieroglyphic text directly above the kneeling figure provides

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D. 19875

17, OIM E25389Z, front

Shemaynefer's family names and title. Before and behind him are his prayers to Re. Modern slicing of the papyrus roll into segments has left the final two words of his (left to right) prayer on the adjacent column to the right (not shown here). Overlap between the columns is further evident by the ends of hieratic funerary spells (right to left) that extend from the right edge for three lines above and two lines below the hieroglyphs. The texts read: "The prophet Shemaynefer, the justified, son of Hekatefnakht, born by the lady of the house, Tabiket. Come to my voice, may you heed my prayer. May you give to me years in breathing air in exchange for cutting off my years on earth." Shemaynefer's prayer here is one of three similar requests in his papyrus for extended years of life in paradise in recompense for his loss of life on earth.

OIM E25389Z depicts, on the right, the purification ceremony for the spirit of Shemaynefer, shown as a living man wearing a sheer linen tunic and a fillet tied about his head. He is labeled with his name and that of his mother only — a common practice in religious texts: "The Osiris Shemaynefer, the justified, born of Tabiket." The purifying priest, a "doorkeeper of the Hall of the Two Truths," pours water over the deceased in a ritual of cleansing that reflects the ritual for washing the corpse (fig. 9.2). Variant representations of the scene indicate that the water serves as a "baptism" showering the spirit with divine powers. That is explicit in a royal context in the so-called "baptism of Pharaoh" scenes on temple walls where gods pour the signs of life ☥ and dominion 𓋴 over the king (fig. C10). Such royal scenes are adapted for private individuals as well, as in the funerary papyrus for the temple chantress Heriweben (fig. C11).

To the left of Shemaynefer's scene of purification is the presentation of his mummy to "the righteous gods of the underworld," who stand under a baldachino. The scene is labeled "Induction before the righteous gods," and the divine actor is "Anubis, foremost of the embalming booth." The text between the mummy and the underworld gods records Shemaynefer's prayer: "The prophet Shemaynefer, the justified, born of Tabiket. May you be favorable to me, your prophet. May you attend to me. O ones who cut off flesh and bones together, kings of life on earth! May you cause that I go forth in justification in any place in which you desire." RKR

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Herbin 1994 (source G + G'); Coenen 1997–2000; Ritner (forthcoming b)

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FIGURE C10. The "Baptism of Pharaoh" of Tiberius from the temple of Esna (photo by Robert K. Ritner)



FIGURE C11. A scene from the mythological papyrus of Heriweben (Twenty-first Dynasty) shows her purificatory baptism by Horus and Thoth as part of her ritual rejuvenation (Thomas George Allen Archival Collection, Oriental Institute; Schott photo g; Piankoff 1957, pl. I)

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D. 19862

18, OIM E10783A–B

18. PAPYRUS SCROLL WITH LINEN WRAPPING

Papyrus, linen
Egypt
Purchased in Egypt, 1920
Third Intermediate Period-Late Period, ca. 1069–332 BC
H: 24.9 x W: 5.5 x D: 6.7 cm
OIM E10783A–B

Although many interment methods are attested from different periods and various sites, Book of the Dead papyri were typically rolled up and deposited within the burial chamber near the mummy. The papyrus itself could be further wrapped in linen, like the example here, a practice reflected in the instructions for how to treat the Books of Breathing (Chapter 12). Encasing the papyrus in linen wrapping helped prevent damage to the papyrus that could result from contact with the various embalming and mortuary fluids such as the dark resin liberally applied to items in the funeral assemblage.

The nearly perfect preservation of this papyrus raises many questions. Little is known about the object apart from the fact that it was purchased by James Henry Breasted in Luxor on January 23, 1920 from the antiquities dealer Mohammed Mohasseb. In the accession papers of the Oriental Institute, it is described simply as a "papyrus roll." However, an object registration card made some years later describes a "papyrus roll of the Book of the Dead, wrapped in linen, unopened." The papyrus is tightly wound and no text is currently identifiable from either a visual or X-ray examination. Therefore, at this stage, it is impossible to say if it is a Book of the Dead papyrus or not.

The papyrus itself looks ancient, but it is uncertain if the linen bandage and papyrus were originally packaged together or they were associated together for the antiquities market. It is possible that the scroll is a blank and served simply as a magical substitute for an inscribed and illustrated Book of the Dead scroll. Such a custom is attested elsewhere, such as the blank papyrus roll discovered in the Early Dynastic tomb of Hemaka (Emery and Saad 1938). Model scrolls made out of limestone were produced as similar substitutes (e.g., OIM E11106). While some owners employed these objects as cheaper alternatives to illustrated Book of the Dead papyri, it is clear that others used them in addition to expensive papyri to increase redundancy in the burial. The Egyptians apparently believed that the more copies they had the better. If one were damaged or destroyed, another was available to fill the void. In the future, it may be possible to unroll this scroll with careful conservation treatment or perhaps check further for texts using additional technology. FS

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MAGIC BRICKS

As part of the burial ritual from the New Kingdom to the Late Period, a set of small clay bricks were inscribed with sections of BD spell 151, combined with an amulet, and placed within the burial chamber (Chapter 8). Each brick, spell excerpt, and amulet worked to ward off a specific dangerous force that approached from the cardinal directions: north, south, east, and west. Instructions accompanying BD spell 151 directed that the bricks be placed inside niches within the walls facing out toward the spiritual threats. In many cases, the niches were then plastered over and decorated, thereby disguising the location of the bricks inside. Short excerpts from these instructional texts could also be inscribed on the bricks themselves (Cat. Nos. 19–20).

Despite being called "bricks" (*ḏb.t*), magic bricks had relatively few similarities to architectural bricks in ancient Egypt beyond their roughly rectangular shape. Architectural bricks were made by combining wet mud with a binding agent such as straw and drying them in the sun. Magic bricks were made from a finely levigated, dark-colored clay that was typically left unbaked, as indicated in the instructional texts. Sieving the clay made for a solid-bodied brick and a very smooth surface. When inclusions are found in the clay, they are often the product of the rites associated with production as some of the rubrics stress that the clay be mixed with incense. For example, BD spell 151g, which is associated with the Anubis figurine placed in the east wall, states: "This spell is to be said over an Anubis of unbaked clay mixed with incense" (T. Allen 1974, p. 149). The brick of Nespamedu (Cat. No. 21) has amber-colored chunks of resinous material mixed with the clay, just as the spell indicates.

Magic bricks were in use from the early New Kingdom, at present first attested in the reign of Thutmose III, until the Thirtieth Dynasty. Both royal and private bricks appear to have been made according to the same templates (Theis 2015b). It is uncertain why the practice ceased despite the fact that Book of the Dead spells continued to be inscribed on papyri and other objects for another 350–400 years. FS



FIGURE C12. A complete set of magical bricks from the New Kingdom for Henutmehyt. BM EA EA41544–7 (© Trustees of the British Museum)

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19. MAGIC BRICK OF THE SCRIBE AMENEMHAT

Clay, paint
Egypt, Luxor, TT 82
Purchased in Egypt, 1920
New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, Reign of Thutmose III, ca. 1479–1425 BC
H: 14.8 x W: 7.5 x D: 2.4 cm
OIM E12289

This brick originally belonged to a set of four magical bricks found in the Theban tomb of the scribe Amenemhat (TT 82). According to chapter BD 151, they were walled up in the burial chamber in relation to cardinal points to protect the mummy (Chapter 8). However, this brick seems to have been deposited on the floor, for no niches were discovered in Amenemhat's tomb. Amenemhat was the steward of the vizier, and scribe of the granary of Amun under the reign of Thutmose III. This makes Amenemhat's brick the earliest known example. Three other bricks completed the set according to the description of tomb TT 82's excavators. However, their present whereabouts are currently unknown.

The object is inscribed with the northern protective formula (BD 151d), associated with a mummiform figurine of *ỉm3*-wood seven digits high (about 13 cm high). A hollow was indeed prepared to fix this amulet on the upper surface of the brick. The directions for use of chapter BD 151 stipulate that the opening of the mouth ritual has to be performed on the figurine. This practice "activated" the function of the amulet.

The inscription reads from right to left. It is organized horizontally and separated by lines. The script used is hieroglyphs but some signs show a more cursive form. It reads: "(O) you who comes to entangle, [I] will not allow you to entangle. (O) you who comes to [assault], I will not allow you to assault. [I] will entangle you, I will assault you (for) I am the protection of the Osiris, scribe, Amenemhat (justified), whom the overseer of the ploughlands Djehutymes fathered, whom Intef bore." On the front edge, traces of a white ink inscription probably indicated the position and orientation of the brick.



D. 20056

19, top



D. 20059

19, front edge

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An interesting feature is the presence of two finger imprints on the back edge of the brick. It may not be a coincidence because the treatment of the clay (Egyptian *sỉn*) used to model the bricks is linked to the notion of kneading in BD 151 (Aufrère 1991, p. 682).

The text was preparatorily written with white ink before incising it. This enabled the scribe to position the whole spell on a single surface, rather than to continue the inscription on the brick's edges, as it is often the case. In addition, the use of paint and the type of writing reveal that the text was not incised on "fresh" clay as required, but on drier clay. The rather clumsy trait of the hieroglyphs betrays a more difficult incision on clay compared to the brick of king Thutmose III (Cat. No. 20), whose inscription was clearly made on moist clay.

Another remarkable feature is the drawing of the mummiform figure (*twt*) with white ink on the back edge. One can wonder if it was a marker for the craftsman to attach the relevant amulet on the dried clay brick, or if it could have compensated for the loss of the actual amulet, for some bricks bear only a drawing instead of the wooden amulet.

Lastly, in the middle of the bottom surface, the incision of an eye (with eyebrow) sign may be read "see!" (*mỉ*) or "watch!" (*rs*). This inscription is unusual, for eye notations are usually associated with the eastern spell in which Anubis has to watch over the deceased (Cat. Nos. 21–22). IR

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Davies and Gardiner 1915, pp. 24 n. 4, 116–18; Scalf 2009, pp. 275 n. 2, 277, 280–81, 294–95, pls. 17–18; Régen 2010, pp. 28 n. 25, 29, 33, 34 n. 59, 35 n. 62; Theis 2015a, pp. 86 n. 10



D. 20061

19, bottom



D. 20058

19, back edge

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20. MAGIC BRICK OF PHARAOH THUTMOSE III

Clay, paint
Egypt, Luxor, KV 34
Purchased in Egypt, 1920
New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, Reign of Thutmose III, ca. 1479–1425 BC
H: 11.4 x W: 5.1 x D: 2 cm
OIM E10544



D. 20054

20, top

The brick of Thutmose III is the earliest known magical brick for a king. The earliest private magical brick is that of the steward of the vizier, Amenemhat, who lived during his reign (Cat. No. 19). Both sets of bricks seem to have been deposited not in niches, but on the floor of the burial chamber, contrary to the directions for use of chapter BD 151 (for the ritual, see Chapter 8).

This brick is inscribed in hieroglyphic script with the eastern protective spell (BD 151g), associated with the lying canid Anubis amulet, made of "unbaked clay mixed with incense." The incense is visible in the form of small red particles in the clay (Cat. No. 22). The inscription reads, from right to left: "Be vigilant, (for) He-who-is-on-(his)-mountain (= Anubis) is vigilant! Your striking power is warded off. I have warded off the striking power of the angry one (for) I am the protection of the Osiris, king Menkheperre (justified)." These are Anubis's words to the attacker coming from the west. Indeed, this brick was deposited in the eastern wall facing west, as indicated by the white orientation note on the right of the broken Anubis amulet. Traces next to the right foot of the jackal indicate that the following words are the "recitation" by Anubis.

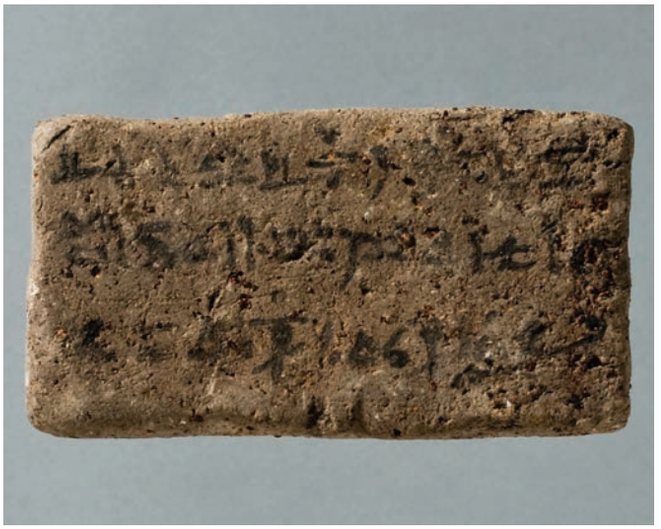
Contrary to Amenemhat's brick (Cat. No. 19), the text of the spell was here neatly incised on moist clay without painted preparation, respecting the prescriptions of chapter BD 151. The incision was obviously made by an experienced hand. The use of moist clay is apparent from tiny amounts of clay on the external contours of the hieroglyphs, by the act of writing with a sharp object like a stylus.

The Anubis amulet was a matter of concern, for it was the biggest of the four amulets of chapter BD 151A, leaving a reduced space for text on the upper surface of the brick. It was made of unbaked clay and was consequently one of the most fragile amulets. One of the viziers of Thutmose III, Useramun (whose bricks were deposited in niches) had preferred an alternative for his eastern brick. Instead of attaching a friable clay amulet on the brick, he had a drawing of Anubis' eyes inside a rectangle made on the verso of the brick (tomb TT 61, Régen 2002). Consequently, the whole upper surface of the brick was dedicated to the inscription. IR

PUBLISHED

Scalf 2009, pp. 277–81, 293, pl. 16; Régen 2009, pp. 34–36; Theis 2015, p. 86; Theis 2015b, p. 234

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D. 20022

21, front



D. 20026

21, back

21. MAGIC BRICK OF THE VIZIER NESPAMEDU

Clay, ink
Egypt, Abydos, Tomb D 57
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902
Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 25, ca. 747–656 BC
H: 5.4 x W: 9.6 x D: 4.7 cm
OIM E6330A

The vizier Nespamedu owns the biggest tomb of Cemetery D in Abydos which was built around 670 BC. Two bricks of his father, Nespaqashuty C, are kept in the Oriental Institute (OIM E6776–E6777). Two magical bricks belonging to the vizier Nespamedu are also kept in Chicago (OIM E6330A, OIM E6401). This one bears the eastern spell, like Thutmose III's brick (Cat. No. 20) (chapter BD 151g; for this ritual, see Chapter 8). The other brick is inscribed with the western spell associated with the *djed*-pillar amulet (OIM E6401).

Faint traces of an Anubis amulet subsist in the form of indentations and fragments of clay on the top of the brick. In accordance with the prescriptive notices on papyri, clay is mixed with incense. Indeed, here, small red particles arise from the clay. The text was inscribed in hieratic script and drawn in black ink. Consequently, it was not incised as required by directions found in papyrus copies for use of chapter BD 151.

The spell reads, from right to left: "As you are vigilant in peace, so the Osiris, vizier Nespamedu, and he who is upon his mountain are vigilant! Your striking power is warded off. I have (indeed) warded off the angry one (for) I am the protection of the Osiris, the prophet of [Amun-Re], vizier, Nespamedu, whom [Takha]auenbastet(?) bore." The sequence "vigilant in peace" is uncommon. It is only known from two other bricks and is absent from papyri versions. IR

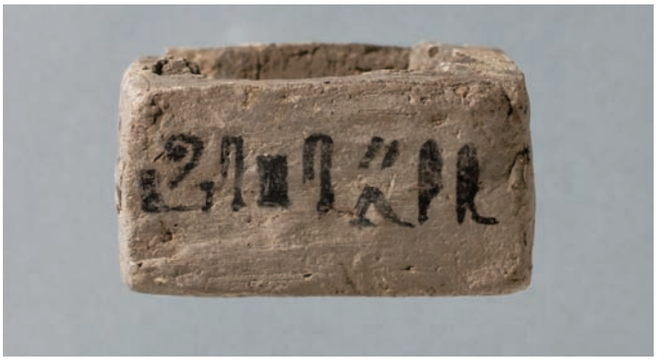
PUBLISHED

Scalf 2009, pp. 278, 282–83, pl. 9; Aston 2009, pp. 145, 380, Budka 2012, pp. 34 n. 45, 43.

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22. MAGIC BRICK OF THE GOD'S FATHER OF AMUN PAIBMER

Clay, ink
Egypt, Abydos, Tomb D 14
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902
New Kingdom, Dynasty 19, ca. 1295–1186 BC
H: 3.1 x W: 6 x D: 10.8 cm
OIM E6786



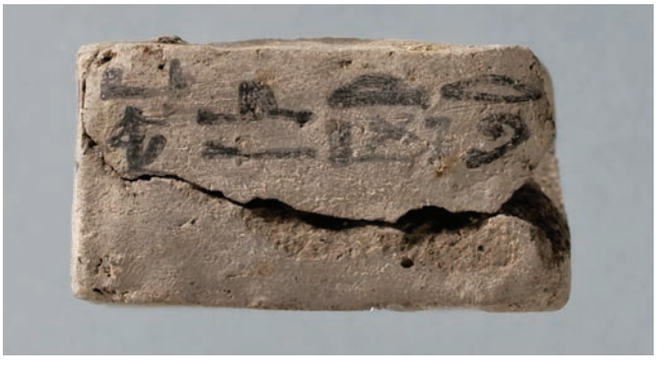
D. 20049

22, front



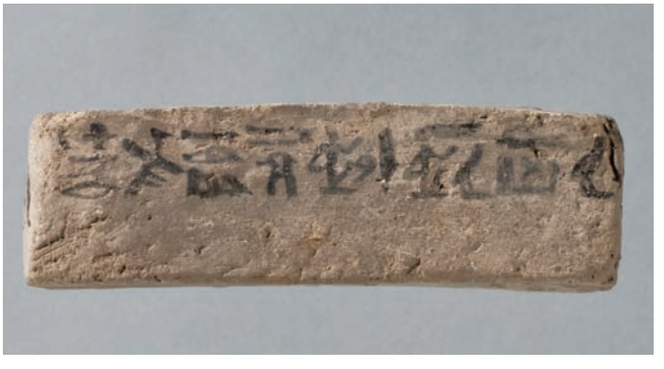
D. 20046

22, left side



D. 20051

22, back side



D. 20047

22, right side

The Oriental Institute Museum Collection owns the almost complete set of magical bricks belonging to a god's father of Amun, Paibmer; only the southern text for the protective torch is missing. However, there seemed to be a mismatch in the correspondence between text and amulet; the eastern text of the Anubis amulet (fragments OIM E6780+E6785) was not associated with the relevant canid, but with the northern human figurine (modeled in clay instead of wood, and in a striding posture, instead of a mummiform appearance). In addition, the brick presented here bears the "human figurine" northern spell and may have hosted the Anubis amulet, judging by the rectangular cavity on the upper surface. Lastly, the inscribed *djed*-pillar may have been a self-standing amulet, without the support of a clay brick (OIM E6792 = Cat. No. 23). Such discordances between practice and papyri's instructions of the Book of the Dead are not uncommon, even for kings (see Chapter 8).

The hieroglyphic script of Paibmer's brick is drawn in black, not incised as required by papyri. The northern spell reads, from right to left: "(O) you who comes (to) entangle! I shall not allow you to entang[le me. (O) you who comes] to assault, I shall not allow you to assault me. I am the protection of Osiris Paibmer."

One can note the position of the text running on all sides, the upper surface being wholly dedicated to receive the amulet. IR

PUBLISHED

Scalf 2009, pp. 279, 281, 291, pls. 13–4; Aston 2009, p. 148

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D. 20044

22, top

23. *DJED*-PILLAR OF THE GOD'S FATHER OF AMUN PAIBMER

Faience, ink
Egypt, Abydos, Tomb D 14
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902
New Kingdom, Dynasty 19, ca. 1295–1186 BC
H: 16.3 x W: 6.8 x D: 2 cm
OIM E6792

Besides the northern and eastern magical bricks of Paibmer (OIM E6780+E6785; E6786 = Cat. No. 22), the Oriental Institute Museum collection contains the western *djed*-pillar. Curiously enough, this pillar seems not to have been attached to a clay brick. No traces of a fixation system are visible. Consequently, Paibmer's *djed*-pillar may have been a self-standing amulet. The text was inscribed directly on the pillar, rendering the brick unnecessary. However, the context in which this amulet stood remains unclear. It may have been leaning against a wall. In any case, the excavator's report does not provide any information about the presence of niches on the tomb walls, but this does not mean they were absent.

The typology of Paibmer's *djed*-pillar is reminiscent of a slightly earlier amulet: the *djed*-pillar of Maya, king Horemheb's architect (Eighteenth Dynasty), who was buried in Saqqara. Instead of being incised on a brick as required by papyri, the text is painted in black, directly on the faience of the amulet and no brick has been found. Unfortunately, the lower part of the pillar is damaged and it is therefore impossible to know if and how it had been attached to a brick. If Paibmer's and Maya's *djed*-pillars were self-standing amulets, they may have been similar to the mummiform figurine of Yuya (Eighteenth Dynasty, Cairo CG 51035), inscribed with two spells (north and south), whose feet clearly show no fixation system. In addition, this figurine was not found in a niche, but among funerary servant figurines called "*ushabtis*" (see Chapter 8).

Inscriptions on other *djed*-pillars are usually reduced to the deceased's name, such as that of the Nineteenth Dynasty queen Nefertari (Turin 5163) or the Twentieth Dynasty Apis III buried during the reign of Ramesses IX (Louvre N 5416). The text on Paibmer's pillar reads, from right to left (chapter BD 151e): "(O) you who comes seeking, who repels you, Ha is over you [...] I am the one who stands behind, [(that is to say), the *djed*-pillar,] on the day

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of repelling slaughter, (for) <I am> the protection of the Osiris, god's father of Amun, overseer of the treasury, Paibmer, justified. See!" The spell ends with the word "See !" (Egyptian *m3*), referring to watching out for enemies (cf. Cat. No. 19). The addition of a pair of eyes in the upper part of the pillar adds a human element to the amulet. Djed-pillar's personification is well known, for example, in the case of the Memphite *djed*-pillar during the New Kingdom, which is dressed and adorned like a human being.

The variant "Ha is over you" sometimes appears on some bricks instead of the name of the demon Kap-Her "the one whose face is hidden." The first occurrence of this variant seems to appear on the western brick of the Apis I, buried under the reign of Amenhotep III (Louvre I.M. 5337 = N 842). IR

PUBLISHED

Scalf 2009, pp. 279, 281, 292, 295, pl. 15; Aston 2009, p. 148



D. 20052

23, front

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FUNERARY FIGURES

Funerary figures are one of the most ubiquitous items in collections of Egyptian antiquities throughout the world. Very portable and often far more affordable than other artifacts, they are widespread in both private and public collections. Funerary figures are often called *ushabtis* (or *shabtis*) after the ancient Egyptian term for them (*wšbty* or *šwbty*). Figures and figurines produced for the burial were very diverse, had many different purposes, changed over time, and developed many regional variations. The funerary figures known as *ushabtis* were also quite diverse. They could be produced from molds or alternatively carved by hand. Examples are known that were made from wood, stone, faience, and even precious metals. Some were carefully crafted in the likeness of their owners, while others were very rough, bearing little more than their mummiform shape. One tomb could contain hundreds of them.

Their common factor is the ancient Egyptian belief that these figures could be animated in the afterlife in order to perform work on behalf of the dead. Ancient Egyptians developed BD spell 6, a "spell for causing a *ushabti* to do work for a man in the necropolis," as a means to ensure the figures would perform their required tasks. The spell takes the form of an address by the deceased to the figure itself, which agrees to be presented for the work: "O *ushabti*, if I am called upon and assigned to do any work which is done in the necropolis, ... you will assign yourself for me to them everyday. ... 'I will do them. Here I am,' so you will say." Many figurines had BD spell 6 inscribed directly on their exterior surfaces. FS

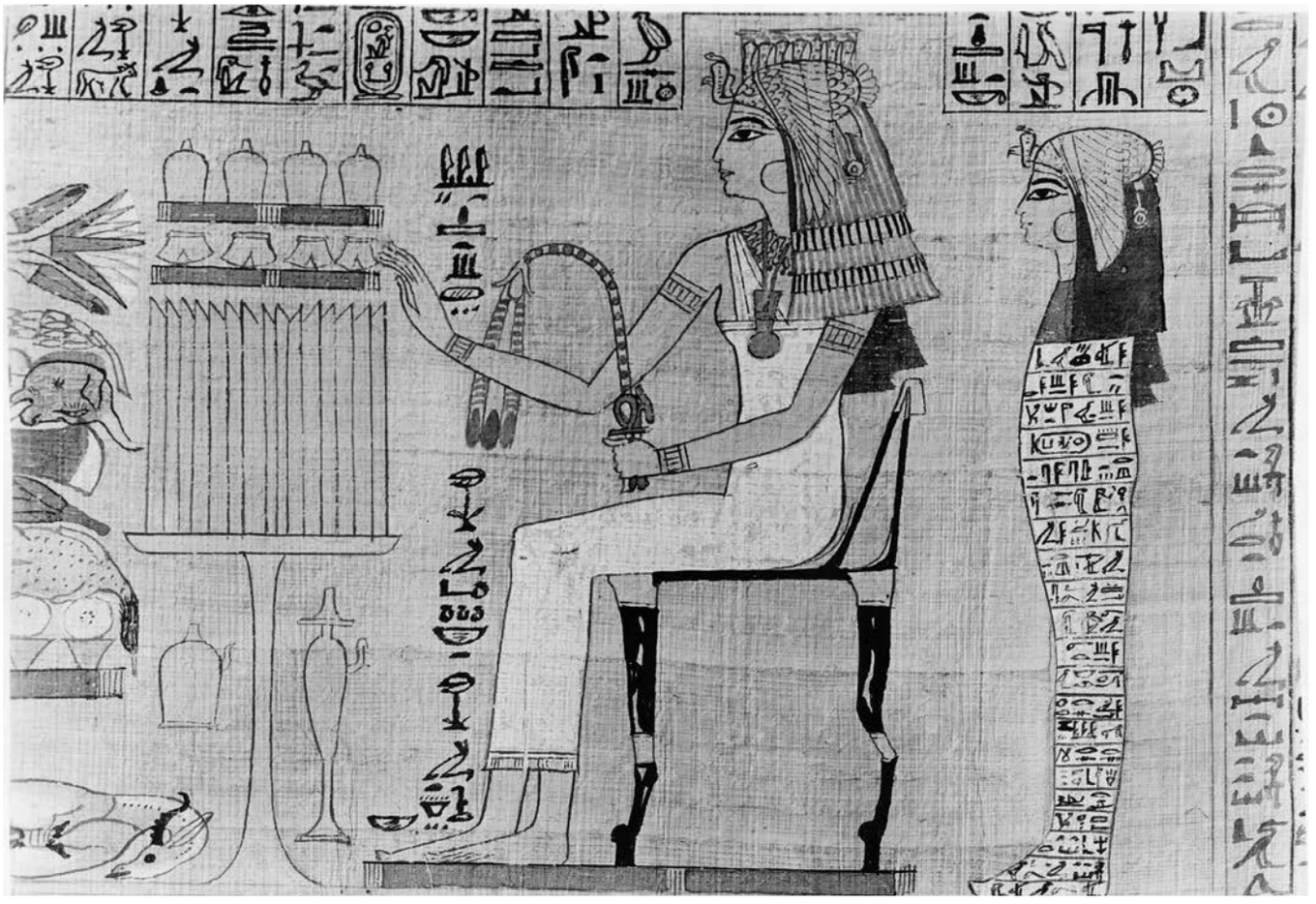


FIGURE C13. The funerary papyrus of Maatkare, daughter of the high priest Pinudjem I, showing her life-size mummy behind her in the guise of a massive *ushabti* with the text of BD 6 inscribed upon the wrappings. Cairo JE 26229 (Thomas George Allen Archival Collection, Oriental Institute; Schott photo aa)

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24. FUNERARY FIGURE OF PHARAOH AMENHOTEP III

Wood, yellow paste
Egypt, Luxor, Medinet Habu
Excavated under the direction of Uvo Hölscher, 1928
New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, reign of Amenhotep III, ca. 1390–1352 BC
H: 32.8 x W: 7.4 x D: 6.15 cm
OIM E16738

Although weathered and partly broken, this figurine of Amenhotep III is similar in execution to the finest wooden *ushabtis* prepared for the burial of the king, exemplified by one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 15.2.10). The *ushabti* is depicted wearing the bag-like *khat* headdress and a coiled uraeus serpent on its brow; a long ceremonial beard extends almost to the insignia on its breast. The eyes were originally inlaid with colored glass set in a bronze or gold frame and the eyebrows with paste or glass in order to imbue the figure with a lifelike aspect. The crossed hands clasp the traditional Osirian symbols of the flail (now missing) and crook. Inlaid with yellow paste, the inscription incised into the front of the *ushabti* is a special version of BD spell 6 devised for Amenhotep III. The text diverges from the usual directive by the deceased commanding the servant figure to carry out menial labor on his behalf. Rather, it begins with the formal title of the spell: "Causing a *ushabti* to perform work in the necropolis." The text then continues with a speech in which the *ushabti* itself speaks, exhorting the gods of the underworld to ensure night-offerings on behalf of the king and to grant petitions during the *Wag* festival in the sacred precinct at Abydos, traditionally the resting place of Osiris. The spell concludes with the more usual assertions of performing work as a substitute for the deceased.

Beginning at the time of the French military and scientific expedition to Egypt launched by Napoleon in 1798, approximately sixty royal *ushabtis* of Amenhotep III have so far been identified, made of faience and various types of stone as well as wood. The discovery of this *ushabti* near the southern enclosure wall within the fortified enclosure of Medinet Habu, rather than in closer proximity to Amenhotep III's tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 22), may reflect the involvement of local residents of Medinet Habu in the systematic clearance of the royal tombs at the very end of the New Kingdom. PD

UNPUBLISHED



D. 19754

24, front

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D. 18521

25, front


D. 18523

25, right side


D. 18522

25, back


D. 18524

25, left side

25. FUNERARY FIGURE OF PRINCESS NITOCRIS

Faience
Egypt, Luxor, Medinet Habu
Excavated under the direction of Uvo Hölscher, 1927
Late Period, Dynasty 26, 664–525 BC
H: 17.4 x W: 6 x D: 4 cm
OIM E14094A–B

Nitocris was the daughter of the first ruler of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Psamtek I, who sent her to Thebes to be inducted into the prestigious office of God's Wife of Amun in order to maintain local economic and political dominance on behalf of the royal family, whose primary residence was the northern delta city of Sais. Following the usual practice for this religious position, she was "adopted" by the incumbent officeholder, Shepenupet II, and was eventually buried in one of the mortuary chapels at Medinet Habu, where the God's Wives were memorialized.

Made of molded faience, the *ushabti* was reproduced in large numbers. The hands protrude from an enveloping cloak, grasping two hoes rendered in fine detail, and the right hand also clasps a rope connected to a woven seed bag visible behind the left proper shoulder, emblematic of the laborious farming tasks the *ushabti* was enjoined to perform in the text of BD spell 6, inscribed on the body and legs. The headdress is crowned with a low modius, and two round lappets frame the face, while the flat lappet at the rear is coterminous with a broad back pillar. The uraeus serpent on the brow signifies Nitocris's royal status.

Found near her mortuary chapel at Medinet Habu, this *ushabti* was among two dozen other similar servant figurines inscribed for Nitocris that had apparently been removed from the plundered crypt below her chapel and discarded in a water holding tank located 30 m away next to the small temple of Amun at Medinet Habu (see also Cat. No. 27). PD

PUBLISHED
Hölscher 1954, p. 28

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D. 18526

26, front


D. 18528

26 right side


D. 18527

26, back


D. 18529

26, left side

26. FUNERARY FIGURE OF AMUNIRDIS

Serpentine
Egypt, Luxor, Medinet Habu
Excavated under the direction of Uvo Hölscher, 1927
Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 25, ca. 747–656 BC
H: 22.2 x W: 6.7 x D: 4.6 cm
OIM E14198

This servant figurine of Amunirdis is carved with care and given a highly polished finish, showing her arms crossed at the wrist and her fists clenched but not grasping work implements that are related to menial labor. Her headdress is adorned with the royal uraeus serpent, a reference to her status as the sister of the Nubian pharaoh Piye, who unified Egypt as the first ruler of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and who had her anointed as the God's Wife of Amun in Thebes to represent the interests of the royal family in southern Egypt. The standard text for *ushabtis*, BD spell 6, is carefully incised in seven horizontal lines around the body and legs, summoning the substitute figurine to work on behalf of Amunirdis in case she is called upon to perform agricultural labor in the afterlife.

The earliest ritual text to describe the purpose of servant figurines for the dead is the immediate forerunner of BD spell 6, Coffin Text utterance 472, found on Twelfth Dynasty coffins from Bersha (c. 1900 BC). The first examples of *ushabtis* inscribed with this spell, however, are not attested until the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty (c. 1773–1650 BC), uniting the spoken word with the ritual object to which it pertains.

The *ushabti* of Amunirdis was recovered from the same water holding tank as Cat. No. 25, along with four other similar figurines belonging to her as well as two alabaster canopic jar lids, doubtless cast aside after the looting of the crypt below her mortuary chapel. PD

PUBLISHED

Hölscher 1939, pp. 40; Hölscher 1954, p. 23; Teeter 1995, p. 196

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D. 19841

27, right to left E6336, E6335, E6332, E6333

27. FUNERARY FIGURES OF KHAUNBASTET

Faience
Egypt, Abydos
Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900–01
Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 21–25,
ca. 1069–664 BC
E6332: H: 11.5 x W: 3.9 x D: 2.1 cm
E6333: H: 10.6 x W: 4.1 x D: 1.5 cm
E6335: H: 11.9 x W: 3.9 x D: 1.9 cm
E6336: H: 11.8 x W: 3.9 x D: 1.8 cm
OIM E6332, E6333, E6335, E6336

These funerary figures made for a woman named Khaunbastet were excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund at Abydos between 1899–1901. It seems that they were produced by pressing faience material, a powdered quartz mixture, into a mold as the front sides show some uniformity, but the back sides have varying characteristics, suggesting that some details were applied by hand.

Khaunbastet's figures are special because they were inscribed in ink with BD spell 6 in hieratic, a far less common practice than the use of hieroglyphic text. The style of the handwriting clearly derived from a well-trained scribe with a "typical" hieratic paleography for the period. It is uncertain whether the scribe copied from a source or composed the text from memory as there are small idiosyncrasies between each copy. A scribe added the hieratic text by hand, starting on the upper right of the backside — the same side that received individual treatment in the manufacturing process — and wrote the text from right to left, often overlapping onto the front of the figure. It is clear that the text was added as the last step in production for the ink overlaps imperfections in the glaze that are probably the result of the firing process. Additional blemishes such as the discolored gray surface and the brownish-red color found beneath the glaze are unusual and suggest either the presence of uncommon minerals or problems with the control of temperature when fired. The broken foot of OIM E6333 shows a fine white interior typical for faience objects. FS

PUBLISHED

T. Allen 1960, pp. 8, 9, 61, 75, pl. CXXIV

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STELAE

Egyptian stelae were important elements in the mortuary assemblage with flexible customs of decorum dictating their usage. While stelae were erected in a multitude of different environments, such as temples, funerary chapels, or tombs, stelae specifically inscribed with Book of the Dead spells tended to be located in the burial chamber near the body of the deceased along with the other burial goods inscribed with these funerary spells. This location kept the power of the spells in close proximity to the dead.

BD spell 15 was commonly attested on stelae, as reflected by the objects below (Cat. Nos. 28–29). It may at first seem odd to find a hymn to the sun in the depths of the tomb, but it was the sun god who, according to OIM E6898A–C (fig. C9) was "the divine soul (*bꜣ*) who illuminates the netherworld with rays ..., who shines in the day, (but is also) lord of the night" (after T. Allen 1960, p. 87). This theology follows from the concept of the solar-Osirian cycle with Re and Osiris as complementary poles on a continuum. FS



D. 19886

FIGURE C14. A stela with BD 15 inscribed in hieroglyphs below a worshiping scene. Limestone and paint. Egypt, Abydos. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1897–8. Saite Period–Persian Period. H: 47.5 x W: 4.1 x 5.9 cm. OIM E6898A–C (D. 19886)

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28. STELOPHORUS STATUE OF PASHED INSCRIBED WITH BD 15

Limestone
Egypt, Luxor, Deir el Medina
Purchased in Egypt, 1928
New Kingdom, Dynasty 19, ca. 1295–1186 BC
H: 32 x W: 13.3 x D: 21 cm
OIM E13700



D. 19753

28, front, face detail



D. 19746

28, front, stela detail

Stelophorous statues, depicting a kneeling man holding an inscribed stela in front of him — none are known for a woman — evolved during the early Eighteenth Dynasty, a time of notable innovation in private sculpture. The forerunners of stelophores are kneeling statues with arms raised in a gesture of adoration, on which brief texts extolling the sun god Re were inscribed on the area of filled stone left between the arms, continuing onto the kilted thighs. The filled area later became enlarged to encompass more text and, by the time of Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425 BC), was eventually transformed into a round-topped stela perched on top of the knees. Still later, by the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1390–1352 BC), the stela was shown set firmly on the ground with the main figure usually kneeling behind it, as is the case here. Pashed is depicted leaning slightly forward toward the stela, with his gaze lifted upward and his hands placed on its upper surface. His wide eyes are outlined in black paint, which is also used to highlight the carved hieroglyphic signs.

Stelophorous statues are commonly inscribed with brief sun hymns in praise of Re(-Horakhty), but in the case of Pashed the text has been redacted from a series of offering prayers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, soliciting a series of benefits desired by the deceased and encapsulating in succinct terms the boons to be bestowed by the Book of the Dead:

> "Adoring Re as he rises until he sets in life; coming forth from the horizon with the pleasant north wind at the nose; accompanying Sokar in Rosetjau without being turned away from the portals (of the underworld); being abundantly provided (with) wine and milk; receiving oils, ointment, black eyepaint, clothing, linen, and alabaster ritual

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vessels — for the ka of the servant of Amun Pashed, true of voice, and his wife, mistress of the house Isetma(i)."

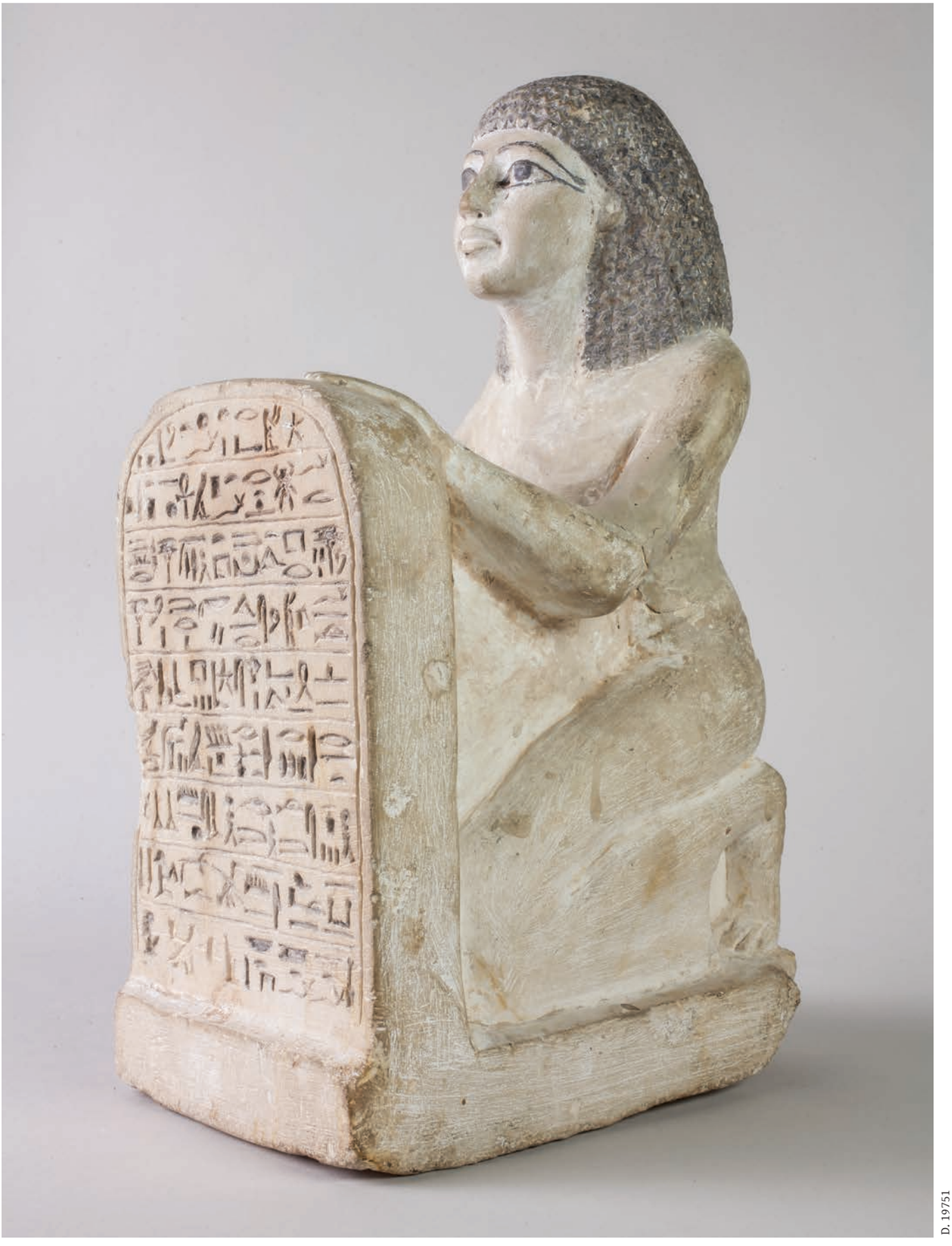
The sequence of these benefits mirrors the daily circuit of the sun god, beginning with the perpetual adoration of Re from dawn to sunset, as well as free egress for the deceased's *ba* from the "horizon" — a reference to the tomb — while enjoying the refreshing breeze of the north wind. The mention of Sokar invokes the chthonic deity of the Memphite necropolis (Rosetjau) who, by the time of the New Kingdom, was believed to merge with Osiris during the hours of night and thus enable the sun god to achieve regeneration. Pashed thus accompanies Sokar back into the underworld, unimpeded by the dread guardians of the portals and fully supplied with the necessities for subsistence in the afterlife.

The dating of the statue, as a purchased object with no archaeological context, can only be suggested by other criteria. The heavy wig with its unusual zigzag curls and long skirt point to a Ramesside date, a time when the name Pashed commonly occurs, especially at the workmen's town of Deir el Medina. This stelophore, however, cannot be definitely ascribed to any other Pashed known from extant monuments, and the name of his wife, Isetmai, is otherwise unattested. PD

PUBLISHED

Vandier 1958, pp. 472–73, pl. 160.1; Silverman 1976, pp. 201–08, fig. 45

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D. 19751

28, front and side

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29. STELA OF HARSIESE INSCRIBED WITH BD 15

Wood, paint
Egypt
Gift of Alfred C. Maynard, E. P. Maynard, and Guy F. Maynard, 1925
Late Period, Dynasty 26, ca. 664–525 BC
H: 43.1 x W: 34.5 x D: 1.6 cm
OIM E12220

Wooden stelae decorated with offering scenes before various gods became fashionable during the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. Such stelae shared many similarities of design, including the winged sun disk above, an offering scene in the center, and a text at the bottom. Captions identified the figures in the scenes and the longer texts below often consisted of offering texts such as the *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* "An offering which the king gives" formula. The offering texts below matched the offering scenes above and encapsulated the method by which the reversion of offerings worked in the Egyptian mortuary cult. That is, offerings laid before the gods were then later circulated to the tombs of private persons in the necropolis. This stela belonged to a man named Harsiese. He was a priest of Montu, lord of Thebes. Harsiese's father, Ankhefkhonsu, was also a priest in the Theban region. These stelae were commonly erected in the tomb or nearby in associated chapels. Harsiese's stela is extremely well preserved, and the original colors of yellow, green, black, and gold remain vibrant. The stela is split on the left side, but fortunately with preservation this crack has not resulted in further damage.

Harsiese's stela was not inscribed with the common offering formulae of other Third Intermediate Period and Late Period stelae. Instead, it contained a much more elaborate text in the lower register. The text and the scenes have been carefully planned and laid out by the craftsmen and scribes who designed it. The lunette at the top shows "the great god, Behdeti" as a winged sun disk beneath a vaulted sky decorated with stars. In the center, Harsiese is shown worshiping Rehorakhty on the left and Atum on the right. These gods symbolized the rising and setting sun respectively. Beneath the scene the text has been divided into two columns reflecting the same division as the scene above. Inscribed on the left is BD 15c, a hymn focused on the rising and shining sun: "Hail to you when you rise in your horizon as Re, who is satisfied with truth. With every face seeing you, you have crossed the sky. When you place yourself in the netherworld in the course of everyday, you have gone away, having hidden yourself from their faces." Inscribed on the right is BD 15g, a hymn focused on the late evening sun and his descent into the netherworld: "Hail to you, having come as Atum, having become as the creator of the gods. Hail to you, having come (as) the (soul) of souls, sacred one who is in the west. Hail to you, chief of the gods, who illuminates the netherworld with his beauty. Hail to you, who conveys the blessed dead, who sails as one who is in his disk. Hail to you, one greater than the gods, who appears in the sky, ruler of the netherworld."

In addition, the column on the left gives the name and titles of Harsiese's father, Ankhefkhonsu, while the column on the right gives the name and title of Harsiese's mother, Muthotep. References to the living Harsiese in the scene of worshiping Rehorakhty and Atum is distinguished from references to him in the text. In the scene, the captions provide his name and titles: "god's father, beloved of the god, seeker of the sound eye, Harsiese, justified" on the left and "priest, worshiper of god, Harsiese, justified" on the right. However, in the text below, he is always referred to as "Osiris Harsiese," a reflection of his transformation after death as a result of the funerary rites. FS

PUBLISHED

T. Allen 1960, pp. 12, 13, 60, 80, 82, pl. CIII; Teeter 2003, pp. 85–86

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D. 19857

29, front

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TOMB RELIEFS

Despite the prominence of papyrus manuscripts in Book of the Dead studies, the largest physical copies of the Book of the Dead were inscribed on tomb walls. Already in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, some individuals decorated the walls of their tombs with larger than life spells. Amenemhat, a scribe in the reign of Thutmose III, inscribed over two dozen spells in his burial chamber (Theban Tomb 82) in addition to those spells found on other material in his mortuary assemblage (Cat. No. 19). This adornment mimicked the style of decoration from the New Kingdom royal tombs, and Amenemhat may have imitated the general scheme planned for Thutmose III's tomb, which had the entire walls covered with funerary texts. However, the Book of the Dead was not used in the royal tombs of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Netherworld books such as the Amduat, Books of the Earth, and Books of the Sky dominated their tombs. It was only after the Amarna interlude that Book of the Dead spells then appeared in the royal tombs. The tomb of Nefertari in the Valley of the Queens contains an exceptionally well-preserved body of Book of the Dead spells (fig. C15), for which the life-size, fully colored vignettes are a surprising contrast to the miniature illustrations of papyri. The craftsmen planning the tombs took the opportunity to use the underground layout of a tomb's architecture as a microcosm of the Egyptian netherworld, or *duat* (*dwꜣ.t*). Spells from the Book of the Dead were carefully arranged to reflect this. FS



FIGURE C15. Nefertari stands before Thoth in a scene from her tomb in the Valley of the Queens. Behind her is the text of BD 94, a spell for "requesting a water pot and palette from Thoth" (photograph by Guillermo Aldana. © 1992 The J Paul Getty Trust. All rights reserved)

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30. RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THE VIZIER BAKENRENEF INSCRIBED WITH BD 39

Limestone
Egypt, Saqqara, Tomb L 24
Purchased, 1899
Late Period, Dynasty 26, reign of
Psammetichus I, ca. 664–610 BC
H: 39.5 x W: 32 x D: 7.5 cm
Field Museum of Natural History 31322



30, front

This limestone block derives from the eastern wall of a niche in a room near the rear of the tomb of Bakenrenef (L 24) at Saqqara. It is inscribed with one row and four columns of hieroglyphic text in sunk relief containing the title, vignette, and beginning of BD spell 39. The end of BD 39 is found on the left side of an adjoining block also in the Field Museum collection (FMNH 31318), which derived from the west wall of the same niche.

The vignette shows the vizier Bakenrenef spearing a snake. A row of text occurs above the vignette and contains the beginning of the title of the spell, which describes well the illustration: "Spell for Opposing the *re*[*rek*-snake]." The columns appear below the vignette and contain the body of the spell beginning with the standard introduction for ritual and funerary texts: "Recitation by the *sem*-priest, [vizier, Bakenrenef]."

Bakenrenef held the highest civilian position in the political establishment of ancient Egypt — the vizier — as well as a number of priestly titles. His privilege provided him with access to the wealth necessary to decorate his entire tomb with images and texts from the Book of the Dead. Having been carved in stone, a medium far more durable than papyrus, such texts served to ensure Bakenrenef's successful transition to the hereafter and beyond by adding a layer of redundancy in addition to other materials inside his tomb. In this particular relief, the text of BD 39 and the image of Bakenrenef dispatching the serpent relied on the magical power of the spell and its associated image to prevent snakes from harming him in the other world or his corpse on earth.

The spell equates the common *rerek*-snake with Apep, the primeval serpent and enemy of Re who tries to destroy all existence by devouring the sun during the nightly journey through the netherworld. By the principle of *pars pro toto*, any snake could be a symbol of the ultimate evil serpent Apep. As Re and Osiris were poles on the same cosmic cycle, the image of a snake trying to devour the deceased's corpse evoked Apep's attempt to swallow the sun. Bakenrenef is here equating his defeat of the snake with the mythological precedent of Re's defeat of Apep.

The left edge, not visible in the photograph, bears a colored decoration, which indicates that this block was located on a corner of the niche in the tomb. Book of the Dead spells concerned with protection from destructive pests were inscribed in these dark corners of the tomb, like Cat. No. 31. Other blocks from the tomb are now in museums all across the world (Cat. No. 31). FS

PUBLISHED

Lepsius 1897–1913, Band I, pp. 177–81 (No. 24), and Band VIII, Abtheilung III, Blatt 266d; Gestermann 2005, pp. 48–58

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31, front

31. RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THE VIZIER BAKENRENEF INSCRIBED WITH BD 36 AND 37

Limestone
Egypt, Saqqara, Tomb L 24
Purchased, 1899
Late Period, Dynasty 26, reign of Psammetichus I, ca. 664–610 BC
H: 24.5 x W: 58.5 x D: 9.5 cm
Field Museum of Natural History T2003.1.28

This limestone block derives from the north section of a niche along the west wall of a room in the rock-cut tomb of the vizier Bakenrenef (L 24) at Saqqara. As is evident from his monumental temple-tomb, built into the steep rocks of the desert edge and being the largest and most carefully decorated of the Saite rock-cut tombs at Saqqara, Bakenrenef was an important official of his time, namely the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty under Psammetichus I. Because of the fragile nature of the rock in Saqqara, Tura limestone blocks like this one had to be used for the walls' decoration. They are characterized by an impressive textualization with peculiar variants of spells of the Book of the Dead and a selection of vignettes, according to the so-called "Saite redaction" *en vogue* on papyri of this period.

Moreover, extracts from the Amduat as well as from earlier compositions such as the Coffin Texts and the Pyramid Texts had also been copied on the tomb walls, testifying to the archaistic trend of tomb and monument decorations of this period (Gestermann 2005). The textual selections found in the tomb of Bakenrenef are indeed very similar to those employed for other Saite tombs in Saqqara, so that we could speak of a well-thought out and homogeneous model for the decoration of the elite tombs of this period in Northern Egypt.

Bakenrenef's tomb was essentially intact when Karl Richard Lepsius recorded texts and reliefs from the tombs between 1842 and 1845 (Lepsius 1913) but unfortunately, the tomb was plundered in the nineteenth century and the limestone blocks removed and sold to various museums, including the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, the Staatliche Sammlung für Ägyptische Kunst in Munich, and the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. An Italian mission of the University of Pisa has been working on the restoration of the tomb since 1974, mainly focusing on the conservation of the fragile rock (Bresciani 1988).

This limestone block in particular is inscribed with seven columns of hieroglyphic text in sunk

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relief, with the hieroglyphs facing right and therefore with a reading direction from right to left. They contain part of the short spells 36 and 37 along with a vignette for spell 36 showing Bakenrenef spearing a kind of beetle, the so-called *ʿpšʾit*-insect, mentioned in the title of the spell ("for warding off the *apshai*-insect") and which belonged to those crawling insects feared for being potentially able to harm the mummy. A few incantations against this insect are also attested on papyri of spells of daily magic of the Ramesside Period; moreover, it is interesting to note how in certain variants of this spell on papyrus, the name of the insect is replaced by the very similar term *šʾi* "pig" in ancient Egyptian, therefore still referring to an impure, demonic animal to ward off in the netherworld through magic. A few words from spell 36 are recognizable in the first three columns under the vignette, while the remaining four columns contain spell 37, a spell "for repelling the *Mr.ty*-snakes." The latter are two goddesses manifesting as cobras in the vignette of spell 37, since the spell belonged to the thematic group of anti-snake spells in the Book of the Dead (Chapter 11). However, the *Mr.ty* occur in a variety of other texts as well, where they do not necessarily appear as demonic serpent-like creatures as in this spell; the goddess *Mr.t* is attested since the Old Kingdom and the two *Mr.ty* derived from her are seen also as chant goddesses or siren-like figures in other texts (Guglielmi 1991).

It seems that not only the north niche to which this fragment belongs but all the six niches in the tomb of Bakenrenef were decorated with similar Book of the Dead spells, which had as a main theme the warding off of dangerous animals and creatures in the netherworld. This feature shows a sort of thematic arrangement in the decorative program of this monumental burial place; the pillared hall, for instance, is instead decorated with texts related to the final judgment such as spells 125, 28, and 30. The fact that the group of apotropaic spells was selected for the niches, which were also the darkest and most remote areas of the tomb, may be connected to the fact that these places were considered the most vulnerable as liminal spaces in between this and the other world (Buongarzone 1990). It is therefore not a coincidence that some of the anti-snake spells belonging to the corpus of the Pyramid Texts are also copied in the tomb in between two niches at the entrance of the shaft leading to the burial chamber, which was probably considered an important transitional area in need of protection.

The use of thematic groups of Book of the Dead spells in this tomb is a reminder, therefore, of the similar process of spell selection and grouping that also occurred in the papyri of this genre. RL

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Lepsius 1897–1913, Band I, pp. 177–81 (No. 24), and Band VIII, Abtheilung III, Blatt 265d; Gestermann 2005, pp. 48–58

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32. DEMOTIC GRAFFITI FROM THE TOMB OF THE VIZIER NESPEQASHUTY

Limestone
Late Period, Dynasty 26, Reign of Psammetichus I (c. 664–610 BC)
Deir el Bahari, TT 312
OIM E18236I
Gift of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950



32, front

The Book of the Dead was extremely popular over the 1,500 years of its use, from the Second Intermediate Period to the Roman Period. However, its popularity began to fade in the Ptolemaic Period and by the end of the first century BC, production of manuscripts according to the Saite Recension had ceased. A few Book of the Dead spells were translated into Demotic and a few other spells were incorporated into longer hieratic compilations (Cat. No. 17), but other funerary texts became more fashionable, such as the Books of Breathing, the Book of Traversing Eternity, and, finally, the Demotic Document of Breathing. Use of the Demotic Document of Breathing hit its apex in the late first and second centuries AD. Over fifty examples of this composition have been preserved. Unlike the Book of the Dead manuscripts in this catalog (Cat. Nos. 14–15), the Demotic Document of Breathing was quite short, usually about ten lines of Demotic text. Like other funerary texts, it was inscribed on various media, but coffins and papyri were the primary vehicles for its transmission. As a short composition, papyrus manuscript copies tended to be small sections cut from a larger sheet of papyrus.

The brief contents of the Demotic Document of Breathing focused on the quintessential elements of Egyptian religious theology such as rejuvenation and everlasting life of the *ba*-spirit, fraternity and assimilation to Osiris, as well as offerings and sustenance (Scalf 2016). Individual manuscripts showed great variation in choice and order of formulae, but Papyrus Berlin 1522 serves as an excellent example: "May his *ba* live forever. May it rejuvenate for eternity, Pamontu, whom Taytau(?) bore. And may his *ba* serve Osiris. And may he be among the favored ones of Osiris. And may he take water from the offering table after Osiris and from the lake after Wennefer. And may he favor those who buried him before Osiris, foremost of the west, the great god, lord of Abydos. And may his children remain after him upon the earth for eternity. Years of life which he passed on earth (were) 55. May he rejuvenate for eternity. May his *ba* rejuvenate for eternity."

This graffito, inscribed by a pilgrim nearly half a millennium after the tomb was originally made for Nespeqashuty, represents the earliest copy of the formulae that would become the Demotic Document of Breathing. The fragmentary remains show a text that began "[May his soul] live forever. [May it rejuvenate for] eternity." Its placement was no accident as it was located immediately behind the figure of Anubis holding the mummy, which is among the most common illustration found on papyrus copies of the Demotic Document for Breathing. The graffito attests to a time when the composition was passed around orally, for the pilgrim who wrote the text must have had these passages memorized. It was only later, perhaps within a century, that the composition was entextualized and transmitted in a written form. FS

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Ritner (forthcoming a)

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STATUES AND FIGURES OF DEITIES

Images of gods were widespread in ancient Egyptian religious practices and their complexity cannot be easily captured in the restricted space of an exhibit catalog. Their use was ubiquitous, from official cult statues in the state temples to household shrines, from colossal royal statuary to miniature amulets. The statues and figures that appear in the catalog entries below were chosen to illustrate several primary topics as they relate to the Book of the Dead. First is the need to provide examples of how the primary funerary deities appeared in the ancient Egyptian iconographic repertoire. In this case, focus is placed on Osiris and his immediate family who play such a critical role in Egyptian afterlife theology. The second motivation influencing these choices is the desire to show the divine forms into which the deceased could transform by means of Book of the Dead spells. Thus, the following catalog entries are not representative of general Egyptian customs for the manufacturing or use of statuary and figurines. Likewise, the examples are not characteristic of a particular time or place. Although they each derive from periods contemporary with Book of the Dead usage, their appearance here is mainly for illustrative purposes to give the reader an idea of how Egyptians envisioned these gods and goddesses.

The role of Osiris in the cult of the dead has obvious significance as discussed throughout this catalog (Chapter 10). However, the fact that Egyptians used spells by which they believed they could, at least temporarily, take on the forms of major gods may be a surprise to those unfamiliar with the details of Book of the Dead spells. While the transformation spells (BD 76–88) are the most famous of such texts, statements of identification with the gods appear throughout the Book of the Dead and occur in nearly every spell (Chapter 9). These identifications typically take the form of "I am" followed by a god's name, but the dead can also take on various attributes and epithets of godliness, including those of the creator deities. For example, the owner of BD 1 could declare: "Look, I am in your presence, lord of the gods. Having appeared as a living god and having shined as the ennead in the sky, I have reached the pool of righteousness. I am like one of them." In addition, gods and goddesses often proclaim the divinity of the deceased, particularly before the divine tribunal. FS



FIGURE C16. Bronze statue of a falcon-headed god, probably Khonsu, with lunar and solar disks on his head. In BD 83, the deceased identifies with Khonsu, stating "I am Khonsu who slaughters lords." Egypt. Gift of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1917. Late Period. H: 17.2 cm. OIM E9453 (D. 18518)

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33. STATUE OF OSIRIS

Stone
Egypt, Luxor, Medinet Habu
Excavated under the direction of Uvo Hölscher, 1927
Late Period, Dynasty 26, ca. 664–525 BC
H: 27.2 x W: 8 x D: 6.9 cm
OIM E14292



D. 18531

33, front

Osiris was arguably the most important god in ancient Egyptian funerary religion. He was the god of the dead who presided over the divine tribunal during which the righteousness of the deceased was judged. A passage from the Adventures of Setna and Si-Osire, a Demotic tale from Roman Period Egypt, epitomizes the ancient Egyptian understanding of this tribunal:

> "They went inside the seventh hall. Setna saw the secret form of Osiris, the great god, seated upon his throne of fine gold and crowned with the atef-crown, with Anubis, the great god, on his left, the great god Thoth on his right and the gods of the council of the inhabitants of the West standing to the left and right of him, the balance being set up in the center before them while they measured the faults against the good deeds and Thoth, the great god, wrote while Anubis gave information to his colleague. And the one who will be found with his faults more numerous than his good deeds will be given to the Devourer belonging to the Lord of the West, while his *ba*-spirit and corpse are destroyed, nor does she let him breathe ever again. But the one whom they will find that his good deeds are more numerous than his faults, they will bring him in among the gods of the council of the Lord of the West, while his *ba*-spirit goes to heaven with the noble spirits. And the one whom they will find that his good deeds are equal to his faults, they will bring him in among the excellent spirits who serve Sokar-Osiris." (Ritner 2003, p. 474).

Comparing this description with the vignette of BD 125 (figs. 4.15, 6.8) demonstrates how closely matched they are; so much so that the scribe of the Demotic tale may have had the vignette in mind when writing this part of the story.

In addition to the role of Osiris as the head of the divine tribunal, the deceased sought intimate

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fellowship with him after death, wishing to join his retinue, become a part of his following, and even unite with the god himself. There has been some recent debate in the academic literature regarding the latter phenomenon (Smith 2017), with some scholars arguing for a "mystical union" (Morenz 1957; Kákosy 1995, pp. 3005–08) between the deceased and Osiris, while others have argued for a "liturgical union" (Assmann 1995; Smith 2006). In the former, the personality of the dead individual merges completely with the god, the two becoming fused. In the latter, the deceased becomes part of the god's "cultic community," where "the deceased acquires divine status as well, and with it, immortality" (Smith 2006, p. 334). In this instance, the personality of the deceased remains separate from the god, although there is a close spiritual relationship.

Regardless of the outcome of this academic debate, everyone agrees that after death each individual hoped for an intimate fellowship with Osiris and the associated benefits. This relationship was certainly fluid and cyclical, repeated daily in the cycles of nature and ritually as necessary. Funerary rites and Book of the Dead spells were meant to ensure this happened. Through the appropriate rituals and recitations the dead was rejuvenated as an Osiris, so that Nesshutefnut (Cat. No. 14) could refer to himself as "Osiris Nesshutefnut." Furthermore, throughout Egyptian magical texts like the Book of the Dead, individuals who recited the spells routinely identified themselves with various gods. Certainly each pronouncement was not thought of as a new, permanent identity for a single spell may contain many such pronouncements. For example, the beginning of Book of the Dead spell 69 casts the deceased as Osiris: "I am Osiris, brother of Isis, while my son Horus, with his mother Isis, saved me from my enemies." Later in the spell, he is presented as Orion: "I am Orion, who reaches his two lands, who sails by the light of the sky in the body of my mother Nut." This is followed by an identification with Anubis: "I am Anubis on the festival day of the centipede." At the end of the spell, the deceased appears before Osiris: "So that I may save my own body have I come. I will sit upon the birth brick of Osiris. I will dispel what he suffered being sick. I am powerful and divine upon the birth brick of Osiris. With him, I have been born rejuvenated." Finally, at the end of the spell before an offering text for Osiris, the role of Thoth appears: "I will sit beside him as Thoth, scribe of the one with healthy heart." Thus, it is clear that the dead could take on a wide variety of divine roles as needed, within even a single text.

Considering that each person sought such a close postmortem association with Osiris, it is not surprising to find many objects in the form of Osiris buried among the tomb items. This statue of Osiris shows excellent workmanship of the stone in modelling the soft and elegant features of the god. He wears the white crown of Upper Egypt and holds the crook and flail as symbols of his rulership. It derives from a stone burial chamber that belonged to an unidentified individual buried at Medinet Habu, near the enclosure wall of the small Amun temple. This location was one of incredible religious importance as it was set within the larger landscape of what had been the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, but had since taken on more cosmic significance. To the west was the temple proper. To the south was the tomb of the divine adoratrices, priestesses associated closely with Amun. Next door was the small temple of Amun, originally built during the Eighteenth Dynasty, by which this group of tombs was located, dedicated to Amun-Re *Djeser-Set*, the demiurge. As such, the temple was the locus of "the mortuary cult of Amun and the Ogdoad as primordial creator-gods" (McClain 2011, p. 93). Having a tomb so close to this important cult center ensured that the tomb owner would participate in the weekly "decade feast" that occurred every ten days when Amun of Luxor traveled to the west bank to pay tribute to his divine ancestors. The tomb had further surprises. In one corner of the tomb, excavators discovered "the skeleton of a small monkey in an upright sitting position" (Hölscher 1954, p. 30). Among the debris scattered around the plundered chamber were several stone Osiris statues, including OIM E14292. Unfortunately, due to the tomb's disturbed condition, it is now impossible to reconstruct the original context of this statue and the exact role it played within the design of the tomb. FS

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Hölscher 1954, p. 30

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34. STATUE PAIR OF THE MOURNING GODDESSES ISIS AND NEPHTHYS

Wood, gesso, paint
Egypt, Luxor, Deir el Bahari
Gift of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1917
Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 23–25, ca. 750 BC
OIM E9417: H: 49.8 x W: 9.8 x D: 23.8 cm
OIM E9418: H: 49.7 x W: 9.7 x D: 23 cm



D. 19898

34, OIM E9417, front

The two statuettes, a matching pair, are almost identical. Each represents a slender woman dressed in a tight, mid-calf length skirt fastened at the waist with a knotted sash with long, drooping ends. Both skirts are red; the sashes, however, differ in color, one is white, the other green. The upper part of the body is bare, the skin a pale yellow. In startling contrast to this, the faces of both statues are painted a vivid green. Both women wear a white *khat* headcloth which completely envelops their hair. A headband holding the *khat* in place is present in one statue only. The other one, in contrast, wears armlets, bracelets, and anklets, which the first figure lacks. Only one arm out of four is completely preserved. The figures are mounted on unadorned wooden socles extending considerably to the front, a standard feature in Egyptian sculpture.

Their attire identifies these figures as *djeret*. The literal meaning of *djeret* is "kite," a long-winged bird of prey. Already in the Pyramid Texts the term refers to the divine sisters Isis and Nephthys acting as guardians and attendants of the deceased. The Chicago figures once held their respective name-signs on top of the *khat* headdress. While these signs are lost, the outline of their bases shows clearly that the figure with the green sash is Isis, and Nephthys the one with the red sash. Sometimes the two are actually depicted as kites, or as a kite and a tern. For a rare variation, Papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15, OIM E10486C) shows Isis and Nephthys guarding the deceased as human-headed *ba*-birds. These avian manifestations refer to the search for the body of Osiris which the goddesses accomplished from above, the kite circling over the land, the tern hovering above the Nile (Kucharek 2008).

As *djeret* Isis and Nephthys guard and mourn the deceased as they did, in the original myth, their brother Osiris. The mourning aspect of the Chicago statues is reflected solely in their bare-breasted appearance. Just enough remains of the arms to conclude that they do not perform a mourning gesture. Rather, they are laying their hands upon the deceased in protection.

There is ample evidence of comparable figures mounted on funerary sledges, standing at each end of the shrine enclosing the mummy during the funeral procession (cf. TT 54, an Eighteenth

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Dynasty scene continued on OIM E11047). At least one actual pair of such sledge figures, dated to the Ramesside Period, has survived (Brussels E 6885, Budapest 51.22255; Rammant-Peeters 1987; Nagy 1999, pp. 60–61, fig. 42; Kóthay and Liptay 2010, pp. 54–55). With arms folded across the chest and completely wrapped in white cloth, they represent a different iconographical type of mourning women. Two further pairs of wooden *djeret*, both dating to the Third Intermediate Period, perform a gesture closely resembling the Chicago pair (Marseille 286, Nelson 1978, pp. 81–82 no. 319; Louvre E 125 = N 4129, unpublished; Cairo JE 29263, JE 29364, Fischer 1976, p. 43, pl. XIV fig. 9). All three pairs share the elongated bases indicating that they are self-contained sculptures rather than sledge elements (The Brussels/Budapest pair lack a base. Cf. a tomb in Dush, Dunand et al. 1992, pl. 62/4–5).

The unique complexion of the Chicago figures points to a somewhat later date, when the skin of deities in coffin decoration, as well as the faces of anthropoid coffins were frequently colored green (Cat. No. 10, cf. OIM E1098). A date around the middle of the eighth century BC for these figures is suggested by a closely comparable Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette with green face and hands (BM EA 22913, Aston 1991, pp. 99–101, pls. VII, VIII. A second specimen of the same type and provenance is MMA 28.3.48, Aston 1991, pp. 100, 106; idem 2009, pp. 305–307 erroneously 28.3.61). It belonged to a precisely dated burial in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, from which the Chicago statues most likely also originate. All deities depicted on coffin fragments of this figure's owner are green-skinned as well (MMA 28.3.53; MMA 28.3.54). A third figure cited by Aston as a close parallel, MMA 25.3.204, is in fact of a completely different type. Stylistically, the faces of the women and the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris are next to identical: both feature the same full cheeks tapering to a small pointed chin, wide eyes, curved eyebrows and small mouth. The material from this burial was excavated by Edouard Naville prior to 1897 when they were accessioned at the Art Institute of Chicago as part of the Egypt Exploration Fund share of finds (AIC 1897.281 = OIM E9417, AIC 1897.282 = OIM E9418). They were transferred to the Oriental Institute in 1917.

It is quite likely that the wooden statue of Anubis (Cat. No. 39), also from Deir el-Bahari, augmented the *djeret* pair as part of the burial equipment of a prosperous person (Cf. tomb 53 at Dush where figures were found positioned close to the mummy, Dunand et al. 1992, p. 118, pl. 65/2–5). The three figures may have been positioned around the coffin, a *djeret* at each end and Anubis alongside, as depicted in countless scenes invoking the embalming of the deceased or Osiris (cf. Cat. No. 15, OIM E9787I). AK

UNPUBLISHED



D. 19903

34, OIM E9418, front

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D. 19899

34, OIM E9417, front detail



D. 19908

34, OIM E9418, front detail



D. 19900

34, OIM E9417, top detail



D. 19909

34, OIM E9418, top detail

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35. STATUE TRIAD OF OSIRIS, ISIS, AND HORUS

Bronze
Egypt
Gift of Helen Swift Neilson, 1944
Late Period, ca. 664–332 BC
H: 11.5 x W: 7.6 x D: 2.8 cm
OIM E17544



D. 19759

35, front

Small bronzes such as this triad of Osiris, Isis, and Horus were very common in Late Period Egypt. They often included small rings for suspension. This statue has no such means of attachment and the figure either stood upon its own bronze base plate or it may have been incorporated into another piece. Such bronzes were so ubiquitous in the Late Period that it is very difficult to assign provenance and accurate dates to an object that lacks any archaeological record, such as OIM E17544, which was given to the Oriental Institute Museum by Helen Swift Neilson in 1944.

The statue is cast from bronze. Egyptians used the so-called lost wax method of casting whereby a clay mould was produced around a wax form. When the clay was fired to harden it, the internal wax form melted; thus, it was "lost," but the remaining hollow could be filled with molten metal to produce a figure. Small figures such as this one could be cast in solid bronze by this method, while larger bronze statues typically had to be hollow cast.

Osiris is shown draped with a ritual robe and wearing the *atef*-crown. He holds the standard symbols of rulership, the crook and flail. He is flanked by his wife and sister Isis and their son Horus. The three formed one of the primary divine triads of ancient Egypt, sacred to many places, but with a particularly ancient and important association with Abydos, where traditions suggested the god was originally buried. As a trio, the statue evokes the various epics in the myth of Osiris: his murder at the hands of his brother Seth, his mummification at the hands of Isis, and his redemption at the hands of Horus. Horus defeated his uncle to take the crown of Egypt and therefore each Egyptian pharaoh is considered the incarnation of the god Horus on earth. At death, the pharaoh joined the company of Osiris.

This particular statue is likely to be a votive object, perhaps discovered in one of the many votive deposits found near temples when it entered the antiquities market nearly a century ago. Priests, pilgrims, and other religious participants could support a temple by purchasing, and thus subsidizing, the production of these statues and statuettes. They were typically left in the temple as a symbol of the worshiper's devotion to the god. Often, when it became unfeasible to house the large number of votive statues in the temple, they were gathered up and buried in a votive deposit so that the images themselves would not be destroyed. FS

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36. STATUE OF ISIS AND HORUS

Bronze, paint
Egypt
Purchased in Egypt, 1920
Late Period–Ptolemaic Period, ca. 664–30 BC
H: 34.1 x W: 8.3 x D: 12.1 cm
OIM E10682

According to mythology, the goddess Isis, a great magician, helped resurrect her husband, Osiris, after he was murdered. She bore and raised their son Horus, protecting him from imminent dangers in the process. Due to the elaborate mythology surrounding her figure as a mother and a magician, Isis is linked with protection as well as rebirth, both of which extend from Osiris to the deceased associated with him.

In the Book of the Dead Isis primarily plays a supporting role of facilitating the rebirth of Osiris and the deceased, and protecting him/her in the netherworld. In spell 18 of the Book of the Dead, she is listed as part of several divine councils before whom the deceased is vindicated.

The seated figure of the goddess pictured here represents Isis holding her son Horus. She wears a horned crown with a sun disk that was adopted from the cow goddess Hathor and a vulture headdress associated with the goddess Mut — both emphasize her maternal role. YB

PUBLISHED

Cartwright 1929, pp. 183, 185; Casagrande-Kim 2014, p. 107 (no. 149)



D. 19296

36, front

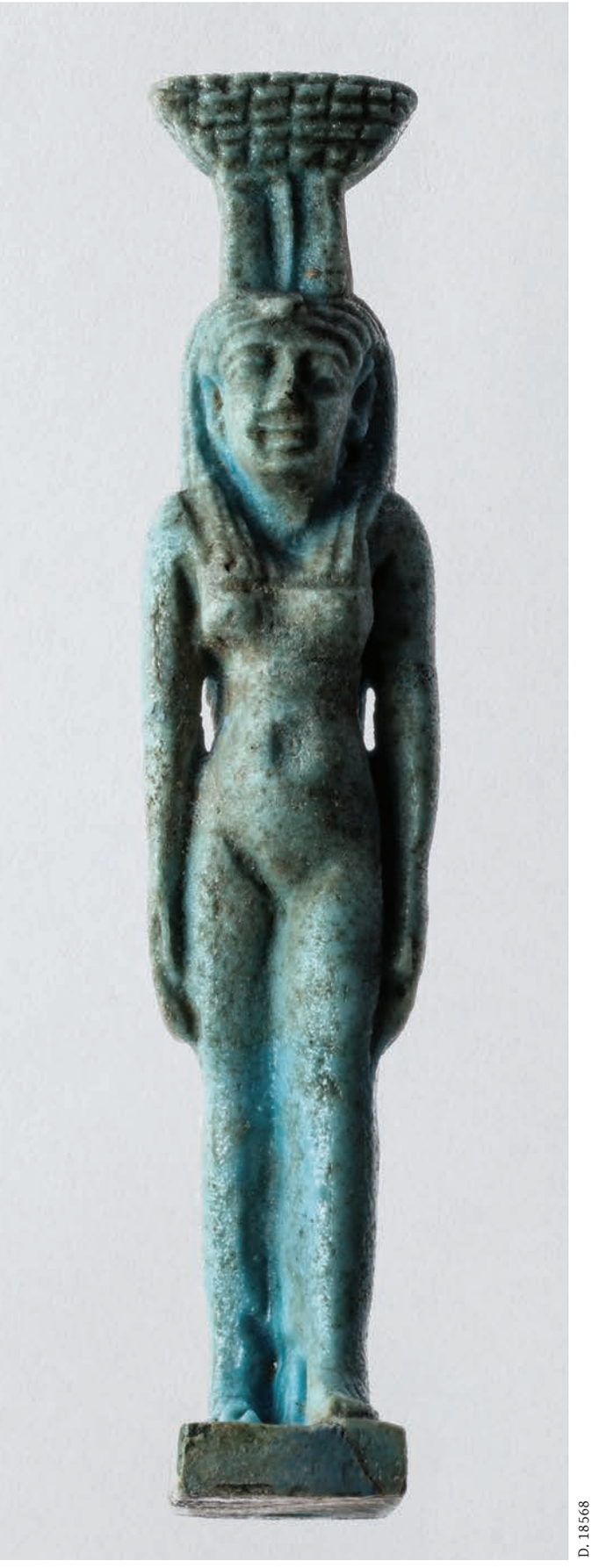
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37. AMULET OF NEPHTHYS

Faience
Egypt, Saqqara(?)
Gift of Helen Swift Neilson, 1944
Late Period–Ptolemaic Period, ca. 664–30 BC
H: 8.5 x W: 1.6 x D: 2.4 cm
OIM E17491

This small amulet was finely fashioned out of faience, a quartz-based material fired for solidity. Despite the minute size, the features of the figure were delicately and carefully molded, including the lines in the hair and the weave of the basket on top of her head used in the hieroglyph of her name. Nephthys (*Nb.t ḥw.t*) meant "lady of the (temple) enclosure" in ancient Egyptian. She was the daughter of Geb and Nut, thus making her sibling to Osiris, Isis, and Seth, the latter of whom also served as her occasional consort. In the death of Osiris, she joined Isis in supporting Osiris against Seth. This serves as the mythological background to how Nepthhys is portrayed throughout the Book of the Dead. She appears most often along with Isis as the quintessential mourning women who wail on the behalf of the dead in their mummified guise as Osiris. As such, the two goddesses served as models for what was considered typical action in the funerary rites. Mimicry during these rituals took elaborate forms, including women impersonating the roles of Isis and Nephthys. According to a text known as the Songs of Isis and Nephthys, otherwise called by the ancient introduction as the "festival of the two kites" (referring to the avian forms the goddesses could take), two women who have undergone a series of purification steps were to have the names of Isis and Nephthys inscribed upon their shoulders and they were to "sing from the stanzas of this book before this god" (Kucharek 2010, p. 166). Perhaps due to her role in the revivification of Osiris, Nephthys, like Isis, was an important goddess of childbirth and appears in the famous birth story of Rudjedet from Papyrus Westcar. There Nephthys stands "behind" Rudjedet; this position mirrors her role in the grave at the head of the body, while Isis was at the feet. FS

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D. 18568

37, front

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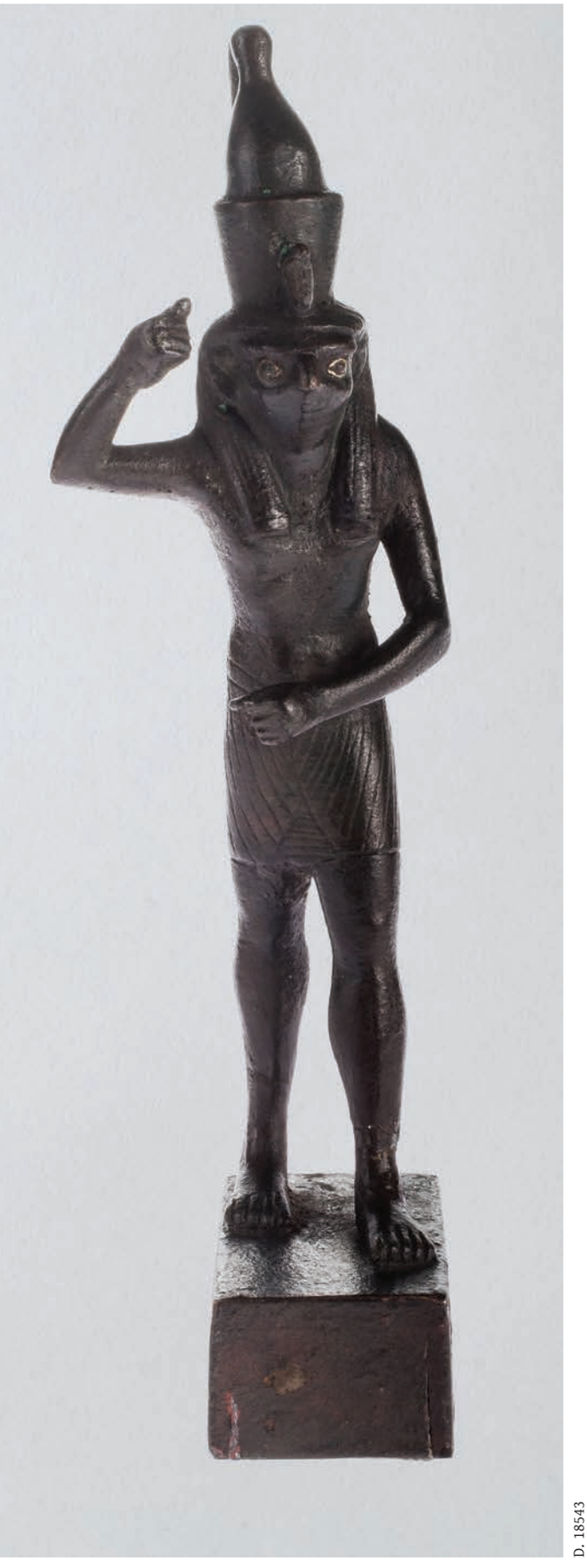
38. STATUE OF HORUS

Bronze
Egypt
Gift of Helen Swift Neilson, 1944
Late Period, ca. 664–332 BC
H: 17.9 x W: 4.6 x D: 64.5 cm
OIM E17550

Horus represented the loyal son who perpetuated his father's memory. In the mythic cycle about Osiris and his family, Horus avenged the murder of his father Osiris by defeating his uncle Seth. The dispute is referenced in Book of the Dead spell 17 as "that day of the fight of the two comrades" when "Horus fought with Seth" and "Horus seized the testicles of Seth." During the struggle, the eye of Horus was damaged by Seth, but it was magically healed by the god Thoth. Such is the mythic background for the very popular *wedjat*-amulets of the eye of Horus. In return for his victory, Geb granted to Horus the crown of Egypt and thereby each pharaoh was the earthly incarnation of Horus. However, every son could fulfill a similar role by "causing to live the name" of his father, a common phrase found on funerary stelae. At the death of the father, it was the son's duty to finish constructing his tomb and ensure the funerary rites were appropriately carried out. This was likewise the duty of legitimate royal successors and it is why we find images of king Aye performing the funeral of king Tutankhamun in the latter's tomb in the Valley of the Kings.

In this statue, Horus wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt to symbolize his rule of the two lands after defeating Seth. Horus is posed to hold a spear, now missing, which would have been thrust into a Sethian animal near his feet. On similar examples, the speared animal is carved into the base, typically a crocodile, hippopotamus, pig, or antelope. It is this type of iconography, developed by the Roman period into an armored Horus thrusting his spear on horseback, that influenced later images of St. George and the dragon. FS

UNPUBLISHED



D. 18543

38, front

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39. STATUE OF ANUBIS

Wood, gesso, paint
Egypt, Luxor, Deir el Bahari
Gift of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1917
Third Imtermediate Period, Dynasty 23–25,
ca. 750 BC
H: 49.4 x W: 13.0 x D: 22.2 cm
OIM E9416



D. 19889

39, front detail

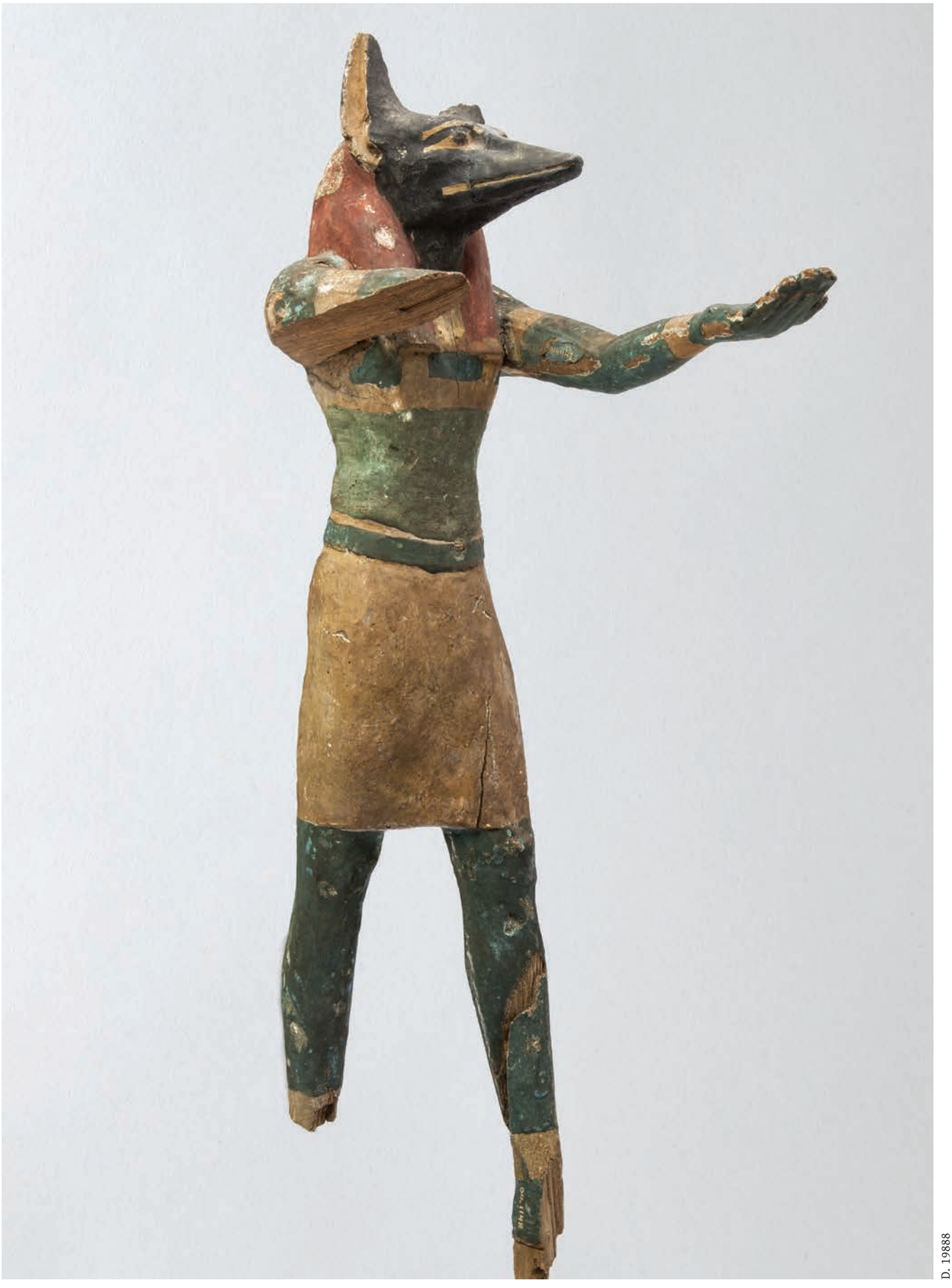
The striding god with a jackal head and human body represents Anubis. Because wild dogs and jackals inhabited the desert edge, the location of most cemeteries, canine deities were closely linked with funerary rites. Anubis was specifically responsible for mummification and protecting the dead in their tombs and in the netherworld.

In the Book of the Dead Anubis plays the important role of vouching for the deceased before the judges of the Osirian court, as well as for tending to the scale in the weighing of the heart ceremony. Stemming from the canine's keen sense of smell, the jackal-god Anubis affirms that the deceased belongs with the gods because he/she smells like them in Book of the Dead spell 125A.

This statue depicts Anubis standing and protectively stretching his arms toward the deceased who has entered the afterlife. YB

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D. 19888

39, front

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40. STATUETTE OF THE *BA*

Wood, gesso, paint
Egypt, Akhmim
Purchased in Egypt, 1894–1895
Late Period, ca. 664–332 BC
H: 16.3 x W: 6.7 x D: 8.4 cm
OIM E109

This statuette in the form of a bird with anthropomorphic head represents what the ancient Egyptians called the "*ba*-bird" (*bꜣ*), one of the manifestations of the deceased after death. It was certainly part of a tomb's equipment and, as suggested by the rectangular base pierced for mounting, probably belonged to a larger object such as a shrine, a stele, a coffin, or a piece of tomb furniture.

This type of statuette is attested since the New Kingdom but became especially popular in the Late Period; the piece in question, coming from Akhmim, is indeed a typical example of the later typology of these statuettes, made in brightly painted wood; the face and body were painted in yellow with black outlines and strokes while on the wings and head cover there are still traces of blue, most of which has faded away. Although less well-preserved than other examples (see for instance OIM E4461 in Scalf 2012) this piece is outstanding for the red sun disk on the head, which points to the solar connection of the *ba*-bird traveling in the sky with the sun god. Spell 85 of the Book of the Dead, for instance, which is a re-adaptation of an earlier Coffin Text spell (CT 307), is entitled "taking the form of a living *ba*," specifying in the text that the deceased wishes to assimilate to the *ba* of Re, the sun god.

Birds were very important divine symbols of mobility and protection in the afterlife. In general, when occurring in magical and funerary representations, they are manifestations of major deities such as the falcon for Horus and Re or the vulture for Nut or Nekhbet. The *ba*-bird represents instead always and only the deceased himself in his/her most mobile manifestation. In the papyri of the Book of the Dead as well as in tomb decorations with vignettes from the corpus, the *ba*-bird is often represented while leaving and re-entering the tomb in a scene that is associated with spell 92 of the Book of the Dead, a spell "for opening the tomb to the *ba* and to the shade" (figs. 1.4 and 4.1).

Moreover, spell 89 of the Book of the Dead was for "enabling the *ba* to rest on her/his corpse," with a vignette representing the *ba*-bird with outstretched wings over the mummy, symbolically reuniting with it. Statuettes like this one were indeed often placed close to the body or on the chest of the anthropoid coffin or sarcophagus, as in the case of the example found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (KV 62) and representing the *ba*-bird on one side and a falcon on the other, both stretching one wing over the king. RL

UNPUBLISHED



D. 19878

40, front

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41. AMULET OF RE

Faience
Egypt
Purchased in Egypt, 1920
Late Period–Roman Period, ca. 664 BC–AD 50
H: 5.2 x W: 1.2 x D: 1.3 cm
OIM E11120

The miniature size of this amulet belies the true importance of its image. The hawk-headed figure with sun disk is likely Re, one of the most important gods in the Egyptian pantheon. Re was the sun god, creator of the universe who illuminates the visible world through his rays. When syncretized to Amun as Amun-Re, he became the *de facto* state god of New Kingdom Egypt. Re was the god of the living while Osiris was god of the dead. When the sun set in the evening, it descended into the netherworldly *duat* during the hours of the night. In the depths of this cavernous realm, Re united with Osiris in order to be reborn into the dawn.

Many passages from the Book of the Dead focus on the sun god, on his theology, and the deceased's apotheosis as Re. A series of hymns to the rising and setting sun has been subsumed under spell 15, which is found commonly on stelae (Cat. Nos. 28–29 and C14) as well as coffins (Cat. No. 10) and papyri (Cat. Nos. 14–15). New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period manuscripts routinely opened with an image of the deceased worshiping the sun god (fig. 5.1). Although it might be assumed that Re, as one of the primary creator gods, was off limits to assimilation by the deceased, in the Book of the Dead, it is routine for individuals to identify themselves with Re. BD spell 42, one of the most important texts in terms of extolling the divinized body parts of the dead (Chapter 9), put the following words into the mouth of the ritualist: "I am Re every day ... People, gods, transfigured spirits, or the dead — any patrician, any citizen, any sun-folk — will not rob from me." In spell 85, a "spell for becoming a living *ba*," the reciter says "I am Re, who came forth from Nun. The god is my *ba*." Thus can the dead take on the form of the creator god in the context of these spells. FS

UNPUBLISHED



D. 19734

41, front

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42. STATUE OF SOBEK

Bronze
Egypt
Purchased in Egypt, 1920
Late Period, ca. 664–332 BC
H: 21.2 x W: 4.6 x D: 4.4 cm
OIM E11371

Sobek was a god associated with the Nile and fertility who was especially venerated in the Fayum region of Egypt where the marshes provided an ideal environment for his tutelary animal, the crocodile. His images often take the form of a crocodile, such as the crocodile on a shrine found in vignettes of BD spell 88 (fig. 4.19), or a crocodile-headed man. In this statue, he is shown wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt fronted by a uraeus and he would have been grasping a staff in his left hand. Cults dedicated to Sobek included the rearing of live crocodiles, for example at sites such as Karanis where temples were dedicated to two forms of Sobek known as Pnepheros and Petesouchos, and their mummification after death. We are especially well informed about the local theologies and cults of Sobek in the Fayum in the Roman Period due to the preservation of numerous Demotic, hieratic, and Greek documents from temple archives belonging to Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos (Stadler 2017).

As a crocodile, Sobek had a rather schizophrenic nature: symbolizing the fecundity of the Nile on one hand and the ferociousness of the crocodile on the other. These were exploited in the Book of the Dead, particularly in spell 88, a "spell for becoming Sobek (or a crocodile)." This spell emphasizes the power and fierceness of Sobek, which the deceased hoped to harness by repeating: "I am Sobek in the midst of his dread. I am Sobek who seizes with aggression." A rather enigmatic etiological text that recalls the Contendings of Horus and Seth, BD spell 113, portrays Sobek as the inventor of the fish net, which he used to retrieve the hands of Horus after Isis amputated them and cast them into the river because they had caught the semen of Seth during the quarrel between the two. FS

UNPUBLISHED



D. 19744

42, front

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43. AMULET OF THOTH

Faience
Egypt
Purchased in Egypt, 1919
Late Period-Ptolemaic, ca. 664–30 BC
H: 8.3 x W: 1.8 x D: 3.1 cm
OIM E11143

Thoth was the god of writing and wisdom who was often portrayed as the inventor of the hieroglyphic script and the author of Egyptian funerary texts such as various Book of the Dead spells and the Books of Breathing. This is clearly expressed in spell 94, the "spell for requesting a water-bowl and writing-palette" (fig. 1.9). The water-bowl and writing-palette is referred to as "this scribal kit of Thoth" in which exist "the secrets of the gods" and the deceased is said to be "equipped with the writings of Thoth." In this way, the dead is portrayed as a scribe who declares "I am a scribe. Bring to me the putrid efflux of Osiris so that I may write with it." Further association and even identification with Thoth occurs in BD spells 96–97, two spells for "being at the side of Thoth," while the deceased specifically takes on the form of Thoth in BD 83, calling out "I am Thoth!" In addition, Thoth played a crucial role in the vignette to BD spell 125 where he recorded the verdict of the judgment of the dead. His role in helping to "justify" or "vindicate" (*sm3ʿ*) the deceased is explicitly referenced in BD spells 18 and 20 in which Thoth "makes true the voice" of the dead against his enemies in tribunals throughout the sacred districts of Egypt, just as he had done for the god Osiris.

The back of this small amulet was molded with a pillar through which a suspension hole was made at the height of Thoth's elbows. Such a hole would have allowed the amulet to be attached to the chest of the mummy. Standing figures of Thoth portrayed as an ibis-headed man were routinely positioned on the chest along with other funerary amulets (Andrews 1994, p. 49). FS

PUBLISHED
Cartwright 1929, p. 187



D. 19738

43, front

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SCRIBAL MATERIALS

Relatively few people in ancient Egypt were fully literate. The training to become a scribe was restricted to a fairly small class with most estimates suggesting less than 10% of society. All of our knowledge about the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead is the result of the work of this small group of ancient scribes whose labors have come to us in the form of written texts. Scribes had various skill levels and many of those working on funerary literature such as the Book of the Dead also had a priestly background. This was typically necessary for funerary literature tended to be conservative, preserving archaic grammar and technical vocabulary in addition to older scripts. For example, the scribe of Papyrus Milbank (Cat. No. 15) wrote in a cursive hieroglyphic script that would have served almost no daily use in the Ptolemaic Period when Greek and Demotic were the contemporary quotidian scripts. Such scribes worked in the intellectual environment of the temple scriptorium, called the "house of life" by the ancient Egyptians. Part workshop and part library, the temple scriptorium would have housed the scrolls used as source material by the scribes. It was a scholarly institution in which the literary heritage of Egypt was transmitted. The relationship between the intellectual exercise of composing and copying the manuscripts and the use of the manuscripts in the actual funerary rites is still uncertain. Many Book of the Dead papyri were probably produced, rolled, and buried with very little use. It would have been difficult to use a 10–15 m scroll in the ritual proceedings and separate papyri were probably employed there. FS



FIGURE C17. An Egyptian scribe is shown holding a brush and papyrus while recording the number of defeated enemies in the Libyan battles of Ramesses III from the temple of Medinet Habu. Negative 964 (courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey)

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44. SCRIBAL PALETTE

Wood, pigments, reeds
Egypt
Purchased in Egypt, 1920
Old Kingdom–New Kingdom, 2686–1069 BC
H: 1.2 x W: 4.8 x D: 36.8 cm
OIM E10780A–D

The most important equipment in the scribe's toolkit was the palette. A typical palette like the one shown here contained two reservoirs for red and black inks and a hollow cavity for storing the writing implements. Such a palette was used by scribes producing Book of the Dead manuscripts as they could easily switch between red and black for spells and rubrics. During most of the pharaonic age, scribes used the shaft of a rush plant, with the end frayed to form a brush. In the Greco-Roman era, scribes adopted the Greek style *kalamos*-pen, a stiff reed sharpened to a point. Although this palette is uninscribed, other examples are decorated with the owner's name and titles.

An image of the Egyptian scribal palette  was used as a hieroglyph to write the root *sš*, which could mean "to write," "scribe," or related notions. The scribal palette (*gsti*) features in Book of the Dead spell 94 by which a water bowl and scribal palette are requested from Thoth. The black ink is referred to in the spell as "the rotten efflux of Osiris," a reference to Osiris as the source of the Nile flood waters filled with fertile black silt. It is interesting that the scribe and his tools were not the focus of more spells in the Book of the Dead. However, this is a reminder of the oral, recitative nature of this collection. Most of the spells are first and foremost utterances (*rꜣ.w*) meant for recitation (*ḏd-mdw*) that are effective via magic (*ḥqꜣ.w*). Their recording on papyrus is a secondary feature, made apparent by the instructions to write the spells on particular amulets. This entextualization produced a more durable copy that served as both a reference and as an amulet for protection for the dead. Within the spells, perhaps the most important action of writing was the recording of the verdict by Thoth in the judgment tribunal of spell 125. FS

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D. 19860

44, top

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45. PAINTER PALETTE WITH PIGMENTS

Wood, pigments
Egypt
Purchased in Egypt, 1928–1929
New Kingdom, ca. 1550–1069 BC
H: 1.8 x W: 4.0 × D: 18.6 cm
OIM E13704

The classic scribal palette (Cat. No. 44), a long and flat rectangular object used to hold ink materials (actually pigments) and reed pens or brushes, was adapted since at least the New Kingdom for coloring and pictorial purposes. Two main types of such painting palettes are attested. The first one is directly derived from the design of the proper scribal implement, enlarged at its upper edge to accommodate more than two color wells, but still with a long vertical slot, sometimes complemented by a movable lid, for storing the thin brushes. This is the case, for instance, of two small ivory palettes in the name of princesses Meritaten (Cairo Museum JE 62079) and Meketaten (Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1295), daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, but also of comparable objects in wood belonging to professionals of artistic production, such as Dedia, the famous chief painter of Amun, in the reign of Seti I (Louvre N 2274), or his colleague, the director of works Amenmose, who was connected to the Deir el Medina crew and its activities in the Valley of the Kings a generation later (Louvre N 3014). The other type uses the entire upper surface of the object for multiple pigment pans, without any compartments for pens or brushes, i.e., a design concept closer to our modern painters' palettes in the western tradition (cf. archaic ink-mixing palettes and intermediary forms such as Metropolitan Museum of Art 48.72 and British Museum EA 36825). Many examples attest to this type, including two palettes inscribed with the name of the vizier Amenemope in the time of Amenhotep II (Metropolitan Museum of Art 48.72 and Cleveland Museum of Art 1914.680) or the one described here. The measurements of OIM E13704 equal exactly ten ancient Egyptian digits or two palms, i.e., a dimension that would allow the palette to be used as a ruler or measuring tool if needed.



D. 19911

45, front

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D. 19910

45, top detail



D. 19915

45, right edge detail



D. 19914

45, front detail



D. 19913

45, left edge detail

Whereas scribes only used black and red to write texts such as the Book of the Dead (Cat. Nos. 14–15, Chapter 3), painters and illustrators needed a broader range of colored pigments to complete their tasks. From three up to fourteen wells may be carved in the upper surface of the palette. They were meant to contain different pigments, usually complementary basic colors in the ancient Egyptian chromatic spectrum, e.g., black, red, white, green/blue (Mathieu 2009), along with various hues of ochre colors, as well as the artificial vitreous pigment known as Egyptian blue (i.e., from green to blue), as on the Chicago palette. Technically, these pigments were powdered and bound with organic material (usually gum Arabic), and required water dilution to be applied. The palette here discussed shows evident signs of use, with wiping traces around some of the wells and holes made by a thin, rather rigid brush in a few pigment cakes.

Because of the amount of pigment kept in the little pans and according to iconographic evidence, it is clear that these palettes could only be used for painting works with a limited surface area, such as decorating small objects (fig. C9; Andreu-Lanoë 2013, p. 16) or illustrating a papyrus (Étienne and Pages-Camagna 2013, pp. 74–79). For larger scale paintings, such as murals in a tomb or colored reliefs on temple walls, ancient Egyptians preferably used ceramic containers (sometimes reused ones), or large shells, and brushes of different kinds and sizes (Polz 1997).

Painting palettes are also attested in iconography as a status symbol for painters or artists (Zivie 2013, pp. 34–35, 66, 119–22, pls. 15–17, 25–27, 52–54, 57, 73; Laboury 2015, pp. 327–30). From this perspective, it is interesting to note that these artists enjoyed a status comparable to the one of scribes in ancient Egyptian society (Laboury 2016, pp. 371–96), sometimes one and the same individual being expert in both fields, but also that elite members, including princes and princesses, could receive some training in the art of painting and perform this activity, going as far as depicting themselves as painters (fig. C10).

The palette OIM E13704 bears remains of an inscription carved and painted in yellow on four contiguous sides of its upper edge, but, partly due to the damaged state of the wood surface, it has

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eluded decipherment. One could expect the name and title of the owner, but a patronage reference, notably to deities, is also — and maybe even more — conceivable in this location (cf. Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1294, British Museum EA 5512, Louvre N 3014, Louvre N 2274). Note that the inscription on the upper surface seems to start — on the right — with three sitting human-like figures, the second one resembling the hieroglyph for the goddess Maat, with an ostrich feather on the top of her head.

Intriguingly enough, the Chicago palette has a twin currently kept in the August Kestner Museum in Hannover (inv. 1951.54; Eggebrecht 1987, p. 135, no. 44). Purchased by Uvo Hölscher from the Egyptian antiquities market a couple of years after the acquisition of OIM E13704, this sibling palette displays almost the same unreadable inscription, the same proportions and design, but is slightly larger (W: 5 x D: 21.7 cm) and made in limestone, with a different color selection. Most probably, one of the two objects was copied from the other, but archaeometric analysis of the pigment remains on the palette now in Germany revealed that some of them are modern, raising doubts about the authenticity of the piece itself. DL/HT

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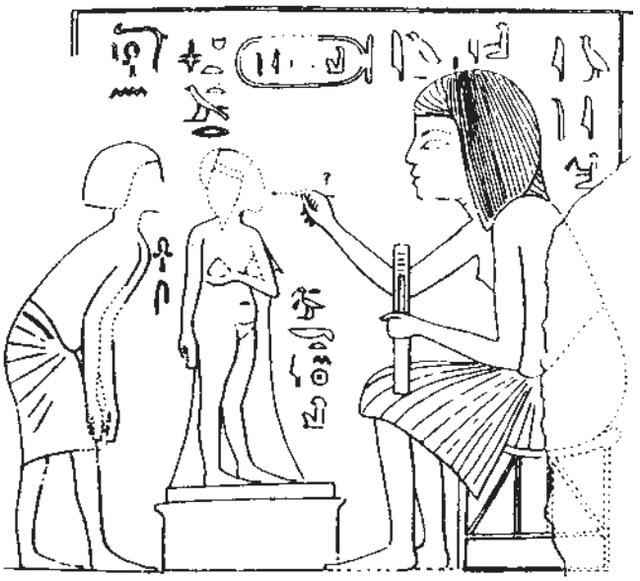


FIGURE C18. A scene from the tomb of Huya at Amarna showing the chief sculptor of queen Tiy, Iuty, using a painter palette and a thin brush to color details on a statuette of princess Baketaten (after Davies 1905, pl. 18)



FIGURE C19. A scene from the mastaba of Mereruka showing him painting the seasons of the year with a pen and an ink well made out of a shell (after Sakkarah Expedition 1938, pl. 7)

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CHECKLIST OF THE EXHIBIT

What is the Book of the Dead

Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank) (OIM E10486A–O)

Stela of Harsiese Inscribed with BD 15 (OIM E12220)

Papyrus Case in the Form of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (OIM E357)

Funerary Figure of Queen Nitocris (OIM E14094A–B)

Funerary Figure of Pharaoh Amenhotep III (OIM E16738)

Magic Brick of Pharaoh Thutmose III (OIM E10544)

What Was the Book of the Dead For

Statue of Osiris (OIM E14292)

Statue of Isis and Horus (OIM E10682)

Amulet of Nephthys (OIM E17491)

Statue of Horus (OIM E17550)

Amulet of Thoth (OIM E11143)

Amulet of Re (OIM E11120)

Statue of Sobek (OIM E11371)

How Did the Book of the Dead Work

Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson (OIM E9787A–C, E–F, H–J)

Stelaphorus Stela of Pashed Inscribed with BD 15 (OIM E13700)

Relief from the Tomb of the Vizier Bakenrenef Inscribed with BD 39 (FMNH 31322)

Statuette of the *Ba* (OIM E109)

Gilded Heart Scarab Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs (OIM E18776)

Statue Triad of Osiris, Isis, and Horus (OIM E17544)

Linen Bandage of Hor Inscribed with BD 146–147 in Hieratic (OIM E19437)

How Was the Book of the Dead Made

Linen Bandage of Herankh Inscribed with BD 1 in Hieratic (OIM E19442)

Linen Bandage of Tjaihorpata Inscribed with BD 144 in Hieratic (OIM E19439)

Heart Scarab with Human Face Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs (OIM E17478)

Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson, OIM E9787D, G)

Papyrus Scroll with Linen Wrapping (OIM E10783A–B)

Scribal Palette (OIM E10780A-D)

Painter Palette with Pigments (OIM E13704)

How Was the Book of the Dead Used

Lady from Akhmim (OIM E271A)

Linen Bandage of Tatiimhotep Inscribed with BD 17 in Hieratic (OIM E19436)

Fragment from the coffin of Djehutymes inscribed with BD 15 (OIM E7196)

Corner post from the coffin of Djehutymes inscribed with glorification spells (OIM E7197)

Sarcophagus Fragment with Divine Guardian (OIM E1368)

Heart Scarab Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs (OIM E14979)

Heart Scarab Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs (OIM E15020)

Statue Pair of the Mourning Goddesses Isis and Nephthys (OIM E9417, OIM E9418)

Statue of Anubis (OIM E9416)

Funerary Figure of Amunirdis (OIM E14198)

Funerary Figures of Khaunbastet (OIM E6332-3, E6335–6)

Magic Brick of the Scribe Amenemhat (OIM E12289)

Djed Pillar of the God's Father Paibmer (OIM E6792)

Magic Brick of the Vizier Nespamedu (OIM E6330A)

Magic Brick of the God's Father Paibmer (OIM E6786)

Relief from the Tomb of the Vizier Bakenrenef Inscribed with BD 36 and 37 (FMNH t2003.0001.000028)

What Happened to the Book of the Dead

Papyrus Inscribed with the First Book of Breathing (FMNH 31324)

Papyrus Inscribed with a Mortuary Compendium of Shemaynefer (OIM E25389H, Y, Z)

Demotic Graffito from the Tomb of Nespeqashuty

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CONCORDANCE OF MUSEUM REGISTRATION NUMBERS

Registration Number	*Catalog / Figure Number*	*Description*
Art Institute of Chicago		
1894.180	Figs. 3.3, 5.8	Papyrus of Tayuhenutmut
Field Museum of Natural History		
T2003.1.28	Cat. No. 31	Relief from the Tomb of the Vizier Bakenrenef Inscribed with BD 36 and 37
31322	Cat. No. 30	Relief from the Tomb of the Vizier Bakenrenef Inscribed with BD 39
31324	Cat. No. 16	Papyrus Inscribed with the First Book of Breathing
The Oriental Institute Museum		
E109	Cat. No. 40	Statuette of the *Ba*
E271A	Cat. No. 1, Fig. C1	Lady from Akhmim
E357	Cat. No. 13	Papyrus Case in the Form of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris
E374	Fig. 11.8	Fragment of a Portable Chest
E1338	Fig. 1.6	Cartonnage Mummy Case
E1368	Cat. No. 12	Sarcophagus Fragment with Divine Guardian
E5033	Fig. 11.1	Stela of Harsiese
E5657	Fig. 2.8	Funerary Figure of Amenhotep II
E6330A	Cat. No. 21	Magic Brick of the Vizier Nespamedu
E6332	Cat. No. 27	Funerary Figures of Khaunbastet
E6333	Cat. No. 27	Funerary Figures of Khaunbastet
E6335	Cat. No. 27	Funerary Figures of Khaunbastet
E6336	Cat. No. 27	Funerary Figures of Khaunbastet
E6739	Fig. 10.4	Stela of Senbu
E6777	Fig. 6.4	Magic Brick of Nespeqashuti
E6786	Cat. No. 22	Magic Brick of the God's Father of Amun Paibmer
E6792	Cat. No. 23, Fig. 6.4	Djed Pillar of the God's Father of Amun Paibmer
E6898A-C	Fig. C14	Stela Inscribed with BD 15
E7196	Cat. No. 10	Fragment from the Coffin of Djehutymes Inscribed with BD 15
E7197	Cat. No. 11	Corner Post from the Coffin of Djehutymes Inscribed with Glorification Spells
E7199	Fig. C5	Coffin Fragment
E9416	Cat. No. 39	Statue of Anubis
E9417	Cat. No. 34	Statue Pair of the Mourning Goddesses Isis and Nephthys
E9418	Cat. No. 34	Statue Pair of the Mourning Goddesses Isis and Nephthys
E9453	Fig. C16	Bronze Statue
E9787A-J	Cat. No. 14	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787A	Fig. 6.9, Overleaf Section IV	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787B	Fig. 9.6	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787E	Fig. 8.3	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787F	Figs. 6.8, 14.4, Overleaf Section III	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787G	Fig. 3.8	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787I	Fig. 8.7	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E9787J	Fig. 9.8	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Nesshutefnut (Papyrus Ryerson)
E10486A-O	Cat. No. 15	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486A	Figs. 4.8, 10.5	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486C	Fig. 3.7	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486D	Fig. 14.6	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486F	Fig. 9.5	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486G	Overleaf Section II	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486J	Fig. 4.15	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486N	Fig. 6.6	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10486O	Figs. 8.1, 8.6	Book of the Dead Papyrus of Irtyuru (Papyrus Milbank)
E10510	Fig. 10.1	Stela of Nakht
E10544	Cat. No. 20, Fig. 6.4	Magic Brick of Pharaoh Thutmose III
E10682	Cat. No. 36	Statue of Isis and Horus
E10755	Fig. 1.8	Funerary Figure of Ramesses III
E10780A-D	Cat. No. 44	Scribal Palette
E10783A-B	Cat. No. 18	Papyrus Scroll with Linen Wrapping
E11120	Cat. No. 41	Amulet of Re
E11143	Cat. No. 43	Amulet of Thoth
E11371	Cat. No. 42	Statue of Sobek
E12072A-B	Fig. 2.2	Coffin of Ipi-ha-ishutef
E12145	Fig. 1.7	Coffin Fragment of Muthetepti
E12220	Cat. No. 29	Stela of Harsiese Inscribed with BD 15
E12289	Cat. No. 19, Fig. 6.4	Magic Brick of the Scribe Amenemhat
E13700	Cat. No. 28	Stelophorus Statue of Pashed Inscribed with BD 15
E13704	Cat. No. 45	Painter Palette with Pigments

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CONCORDANCE OF MUSEUM REGISTRATION NUMBERS

Registration Number	*Catalog / Figure Number*	*Description*
E14066	Fig. 2.3	Papyrus Gardiner III
E14094A-B	Cat. No. 25	Funerary Figure of Queen Nitocris
E14198	Cat. No. 26	Funerary Figure of Amunirdis
E14292	Cat. No. 33	Statue of Osiris
E14979	Cat. No. 6	Heart Scarab Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs
E14982	Fig. C4	Heart Scarab
E15020	Cat. No. 7	Heart Scarab Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs
E15025	Fig. 6.2	Heart scarab
E16014	Fig. 5.2	Ostracon with Cursive Hieroglyphic Text
E16738	Cat. No. 24	Funerary Figure of Pharaoh Amenhotep III
E17246	Fig. 5.9	Linen Wrapping of Amunirdis
E17478	Cat. No. 9	Heart Scarab with Human Face Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs
E17491	Cat. No. 37	Amulet of Nephthys
E17544	Cat. No. 35	Statue Triad of Osiris, Isis, and Horus
E17550	Cat. No. 38	Statue of Horus
E17555	Fig. 11.6	Statuette of Nehebkau
E18236I	Cat. No. 32	Demotic Graffiti from the Tomb of the Vizier Nespeqashuty
E18776	Cat. No. 8	Gilded Heart Scarab Inscribed with BD 30B in Hieroglyphs
E19436	Cat. No. 4	Linen Bandage of Tadiimhotep Inscribed with BD 17 in Hieratic
E19437	Cat. No. 5	Linen Bandage of Hor Inscribed with BD 146–147 in Hieratic
E19439	Cat. No. 3	Linen Bandage of Tjaihorpata Inscribed with BD 144 in Hieratic
E19442	Cat. No. 2	Linen Bandage of Herankh Inscribed with BD 1 in Hieratic
E19443A	Fig. 1.5	Linen Bandage of Pankhered
E25389H, Y, Z	Cat. No. 17	Papyrus of Shemaynefer Inscribed with a Mortuary Compendium

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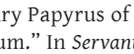
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"I am Osiris, the Lord of Eternity."
- Book of the Dead Spell 43, Papyrus of Ani