

Oxfordshire Communications in Egyptology IV

AT THE COURT OF OSIRIS



BOOK OF THE DEAD spell 194

a rare Egyptian judgment spell
edited and interpreted with commentary by
Terence DuQuesne

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Frontispiece
ANUBIS LORD OF THE BALANCE
illustration by Peter Ra

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विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव शवपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥

*The perceptive see the same in a cow an elephant or even a dog
or an outcaste as in a revered and courtly priest.*

Bhagavad-Gītā V 18.

A proportion of the proceeds from this book will be devoted
to the cause of animal rights.

aan
emProf Dr Matthieu Heerma van Voss
een voorname geleerde
met
eerbied en vriendschap

Contents

| | |
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| frontispiece by <i>Peter Ra</i> | |
| Introduction | 7 |
| Conspectus Papyrorum | 9 |
| Arrangement of Text and Vignettes (¶1-¶16) | 10 |
| Comparative Iconography and Text (¶17-¶22) | 14 |
| Critical Text | 16 |
| Translation | 22 |
| Notes on Orthography | 24 |
| Commentary (¶23-¶96) | 25 |
| Interpretation (¶97-¶128) | 43 |
| Annex: Collateral Texts | 61 |
| Select Bibliography | 65 |
| Indices | 67 |
| Plates | 75 |
| tailpiece | 86 |

Introduction

In the course of my research on Egyptian funerary religion, and the god Anubis in particular, it has been brought home to me that a number of the texts I have been studying intensively were of sufficient interest to justify fresh textual editions with commentary and interpretation. The document under study here is from the Theban *Book of the Dead*. It has been described as 'Chapter 125: Introduction' by Budge and as 'Spell 125A' by TG Allen. Confusion with that part of spell 125 which contains the Negative Statements (called '125A' by Maystre and others) is therefore easy. For this reason, and partly because our text is obviously quite separate from spell 125, I felt it appropriate to call the former 'spell 194.' This would then accord with the numeration given by Allen and would naturally follow the spell to which M Heerma van Voss assigned the number 193 and which he edited in *De spreuk om de kisten te kennen* (Voordracht Oosters Genootschap: Leiden 1971), with further notes in ZÄS 100 (1974) 103f.* A Niwinski, *Studies in the Theban funerary papyri* (Freiburg 1989) 124, has implied that the former 'spell 125A' be re-numbered 194. This would seem adequate justification.**

The main text of spell 194 occurs in three papyri (the Ramesside pBM 10047, and pBM 10472 and pLeiden T 3, both of Dyn XXI). It was brought particularly to my attention by Heerma van Voss's fascinating booklet *Anoebis en de demonen* (Voordracht «Ex Oriente Lux»: Leiden 1978) and by the same author's sumptuous facsimile edition of T 3, which appeared under the title *Zwischen Grab und Paradies* (Basel 1971). A supplementary section is found in pBM 10047, pLeiden T 3, and also in the unpublished late XXIst Dyn pCairo SR IV 982 and pCairo SR VII 10228. Vignettes which in some way relate to the text survive in T 3, pBM 10554, pHabana 1, and pLouvre 3292, as well as in the two previously-cited Cairo papyri, all of Dyn XXI.

Questions of detail are considered in the Commentary, while the Interpretation deals chiefly with broader matters such as the overall significance of the text and parallels in comparative religion. It is suggested that the reader first looks at the Commentary and then turns to the Interpretation, and it is hoped that the Indices will be useful in tracing references to particular names and themes.

Since I am currently working on an extensive commentary on and interpretation of *BD*spell 125 and other judgment texts, I felt that certain complex questions would more appropriately be considered there: for example, issues such as the relationship between ethics and magic in the Egyptian

*The question of the textual tradition of pLeiden T 2 has now been discussed by E Graefe with a rider by M Heerma van Voss OMRO 73 (1993) 23-28 resp 28.

**There are possible objections. The spells numbered by Allen as 191 and 192 appear to belong to a composition different from the *BD*: J-C Goyon, in *Textes et langages* III (Le Caire 1974) 80. A similar view is expressed by E Hornung (A Niwiński, Habilitation-Colloquium, May 1989). Dr Niwiński proposes that the numbers 191 and 192 be simply deleted and that 193 and 194 be retained (personal communication, September 1992). I concur: the Lepsius numeration provides a useful basis and alternative systems are bound to lead to confusion.

judgment, and the purposes and symbolism of these documents. There is also an interesting monograph to be written on the Egyptian use of incenses, their role in funerary religion, and the particular associations of Anubis with them.

I hope that this book will be used as a source and will be more than content if my work generates interest and argument. Only reluctantly have I been drawn into the arena of textual criticism, a field in which others are more experienced. However, publication of anything other than a critical text of this absorbing document would seem unscholarly and inappropriate.

Rather than include a full bibliography in this book, I suggest that readers refer to my cumulative computerized Bibliography of Egyptian Funerary Religion, a recent version of which appeared in my *Jackal at the Shaman's Gate* (Thame 1991) 56-135. This is being regularly updated and formal publication is planned.

For their generous help I am happy to thank the following distinguished colleagues and valued personal friends, some of whom are both: Hunter H Adams III, Chicago; her Worship Councillor Annette Barratt, London; Mark de Brito, London; Ian M Burns, London; Professor Henry George Fischer, New York; Dwina and Robin Gibb; Richard Hansen, Cambridge; Professor Matthieu Heerma van Voss, Amsterdam, to whom this book is respectfully dedicated; Dr Edmund Hermsen, Marburg; Dr Regine Hözl, Vienna; Professor Erik Hornung, Basel; Tony Hutchins, Wellington, New Zealand; Professor László Kákosy, Budapest; Professor Jadwiga Lipińska, Warsaw; Jo Logan, London; Dr Jaromír Malek, Oxford; Tony Naylor, Thame, Oxon; Dr Alessandra Nibbi, Oxford; Dr Andrzej Niwiński, Warsaw; Rima Pecher, Zuchwil, Switzerland; Peter Ra, London; Liesbeth Sewalt, Ryswyk, Netherlands; Richard Smalley, London; Dr Jacques van der Vliet, Amsterdam; Dr Werner Vycichl, Geneva; and Professor Erich Winter, Trier. The author gratefully acknowledges the Fondation Michela Schiff Giorgini for contributing towards the production of this book.

By the grace of the gods, so may it be.

TDuQ
Autumn Equinox 1994

Note on Referencing

The references are designed to assist scholars in pursuing particular themes. They are not intended to show the depth or breadth of the author's learning, and only authorities are cited whose works he has read and which, given his comparative interests, he regards as pertinent. If there are any who resent the fact that I have prepared the present book with diligence and enthusiasm, notwithstanding its admitted faults, then that is their problem, not mine. Some colleagues have suggested that points made in my footnotes would more appropriately appear, with development, in the main text. Indeed, but this book would run to several times its current length: who then could afford to buy or even to photocopy it?

CONSPECTUS PAPYRORUM

A = pBM 10047 (Any), Ramesside, Thebes [pl I]

EAW Budge *Book of the Dead* (text) (1898) 246-248

lb *Papyrus of Ani. Facsimiles* (1913) pls 30, 29

cf P Barguet *Livre des Morts* (1967) 157-158

TG Allen *Book of the Dead* (1974) 101-102

T = pLeiden T 3 (Tayuherit), Dyn XXI, Thebes [pl II]

M Heerma van Voss *Zwischen Grab und Paradies* (1971) pls 19, 18

lb *AEB* (1971) 68 #71258

lb *Anoebis en de demonen* (1978) *passim*

E Graefe OMRO 73 (1993) 23-28

M Heerma van Voss OMRO 73 (1993) 28

C = pBM 10472 (Anhay), Dyn XXI, Thebes [pl III]

EAW Budge *Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the papyri of Anhai...* (1899) pl 3*

N = pBM 10554 (Nesytanebashru, daughter of Pinodjem II), Dyn XXI, Thebes [pl IV]

EAW Budge *The Greenfield Papyrus* (1912) pls 75, 90-91

M Heerma van Voss *Ägypten, die 21. Dynastie* (1982) 8f + 5b, pls 90f *post*

H = pHabana 1 (Bakenwer), Dyn XXI, Thebes [pl V]

J Lipińska *Corpus antiquitatum aegyptiacarum. Cuba I* (1982) 141 (sheet 7)

cf Niwiński *Studies* 124

L = pLouvre 3292 (Amenemsaf), Dyn XXI, Thebes [pl VI]

G Nagel *BIFAO* 29 (1929) 30-31 [1-127] + pl 2

cf A Piankoff *Egyptian Religion* 2 (1935) 139-157

BL Goff *Symbols of Ancient Egypt* (Haag 1978) 168 fig 117

F = pCairo SR IV 982 = J 95880 (Bakenmut), late Dyn XXI, Deir el-Bahari [pl VII]

partly published (Schott photos, Trier, papyrus 'ff')

C Seeber *Untersuchungen zur Totengericht* (Berlin 1978) 212

Niwiński *Studies* 124; 126 fig 17, 138 fig 23; 269; pl 21a, b ('Cairo 45')

W = pCairo SR VII 10228 (Khensemheb), late Dyn XXI, Deir el-Bahari [pl VIII]

partly published (Schott photos, Trier, papyrus 'w')

G Daressy *ASAE* 8 (1907) 30 [3-38]

Seeber *Untersuchungen* 212

Niwiński *Studies* 124-125 + fig 16; 153 fig 44 b, c; 276 ('Cairo 65')

Arrangement of Texts and Vignettes

*Der Zeit ihre Kunst
Der Kunst ihre Freiheit*
(inscribed on Olbrich's Sezession building, Vienna)

*Mais d'où viennent les statues? Dé la mort et d'après elle;
de la tombe et de ce qui s'y cache.*

Michel SERRES *L'Hermaphrodite* (Paris 1987) 101

¶1 papyrus A

pl XXIX text of spell 175 *Not dying again* (invocation to Thoth), left to right, accompanied by vignette showing Any and his wife, wearing white linen, standing with arms raised before a seated figure of Thoth, ibis-headed and carrying an *ankh*. The god is set on a mat which is placed above a 'shrine', the last resembling a tomb entrance. pls XXX-XXIX text of spell 194 *Entering the Hall of Ma'ety*, right to left, accompanied by vignette showing Any and wife in adoration before a laden table of offerings. They worship Osiris and Isis who are in a shrine topped with uraei. Osiris wears White Crown and carries sceptre, flagellum, and *was*. The god is embraced with one hand by Isis. In front of Osiris, and apparently growing out of the *m³ c t*-basis on which he stands, is a flowering lotus on which stand the mummiform figures of the four Children of Horus. NB The text is situated between the two parts of the vignette. pl XXXI text of spell 125, second series of negative statements, set in a broad hall surmounted by uraei alternating with ostrich feathers, small figures of each of the 42 assessors being depicted. To right: the two Ma'ety; Any venerating seated Osiris; a balance with heart and feather; Anubis testing plummet, *c Ammut* crouching beneath scale; Thoth seated on a shrine painting a large ostrich feather.

¶2 papyrus T

pls XVI-XVII text of spell 125, second series of negative statements, with vignettes arranged substantially as in Any and other Theban papyri, continuing to pls XVIII (left)-XIX, which shows a figure of two Ma'ety; Thoth painting the feather; and Horus adjusting an empty balance. To right are text and vignettes of spell 194. There follows the vignette to spell 151A on Anubis and rebirth, which is succeeded by pl XX spell 193 *Knowing the Caskets* (unique), with eight figures of mummies in their coffins.

¶3 papyrus C

pl III 'The Osiris Anhay, musician of Amun' standing in adoration before a table of offerings. She has a sistrum in her left hand and carries a trailing ivy plant. The text of spell 194 is laid out above and around the figure. To left is psychostasia, and to right is spell 146, with text and vignettes showing the guardians of the seven Gateways.

¶4 papyrus N

pl LXXV Nesytanebashru is shown doing a proskynesis with her *ka* before Anubis and eight *akhu*. These figures are standing and carry snake-wands and knives. All but one of the eight assessors wear the *cfn*; the remaining figure (3rd from right) wears a White Crown. The text beneath this vignette is unique and entitled *Spell of Smelling the Earth before Re-Horakhti*. It comprises a long litany to the deity. Pls LXXIII-LXXIV comprise full-sheet vignettes of the Judgment scene and Osiris in a shrine with Isis, Nephthys and the Children of Horus. pls XC-XCI show a very similar scene to that of pl LXXV, with Nesytanebashru and *ka* doing proskynesis to eight assessors and Anubis. All nine carry

snake-wands. One figure (nearest Anubis) has arms raised above head (cf Shu), one of which carries the snake-staff. The 4th figure from left carries a knife. The 3rd figure from left wears the White Crown, while the seven other assessors wear the *cfn̄t*. The text comprises a litany to the 'kas of the Manifestations of Tum' which is otherwise unknown. To left of pl XCI the princess kneels with a tray of offerings before Hathor, who is seen rising out a sycamore tree. Pl LXXXIX shows Osiris seated in a shrine with Isis and the Children of Horus on a lotus. Pl XCII depicts the Opening of the Mouth of the princess by a priest wielding a snake-headed adze. On pl XCIII a balance is shown tended by Anubis and the two Ma^cety. To left is the Lake of Fire with baboons. Note that two series of vignettes to spell 125 occur in Greenfield.

¶5 papyrus F

Five vertical columns of hieroglyphic text give a rare purification spell (cf Niwiński 124), to left of which is a gateway adorned with a uraeus and a second, upright, black snake. The deceased, facing right, kisses the earth before six standing anthropomorphic *akh*, all of but one of whom carry a curved snake-staff in their right hand and all of whom bear an ostrich feather and an *ankh* in their left. Five of the figures wear the *cfn̄t*. The other (top, middle) wears the White Crown. Another (bottom, middle) has the sun-disk and uraeus on his head and carries the ostrich feather at an angle: with his left hand he clasps an ointment-jar(?) to his breast. All the *ȝhw* except the one at top right are bearded.

¶6 papyrus W

To left, a mummiform bearded figure stands facing an anthropomorphic *akh* with beard and *cfn̄t* who stands with arms raised, his left hand holding a curved snake-staff. To right a jackal-headed mummiform figure bearing a snake-staff in his hands stands to left of a tomb doorway.

¶7 T, F, and W have vignettes with accompanying texts as follows:

(1 and 2) N adoring Anubis and anthropomorphic *akh* wearing *cfn̄t*, false beards, and bull-tails, with upraised snake-wand (T, W), with no text apart from name of Nin either T or W); this scene omitted in F:

¶8 (3) anthropomorphic *akh* with *ankh*, feather, and snake-wand (T, F), mummiform figure with *ankh* and snake-wand (W), caption omitted in F:

iw-ky-ȝh-im
wdʒ-rʒ-rn.f

There is another transfigured one there
Accurate-of-Mouth is his name

wdʒ-rʒ occurs in BDspell 145 (346/16 Budge) as one of the seven members of the *dʒdʒt* of gods (see Annex). Cf Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* 5 n40, where he cites occurrences of the name also in BD spell 146 (eg Naville *Yuya* pl 22, 10/3). This designation reinforces the connexion with judgment.

¶9 (4) anthropomorphic *akh* with *ankh*, feather, and snake-wand, wearing white crown (T, F), mummiform figure with *ankh*, feather, and white crown (W), caption omitted in F (cf below under 5):

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>iw-ky-ȝh-im</i> | <i>There is another transfigured one there</i> |
| <i>gsy-rn.f</i> | The Anointed is his name |
| <i>iw-m-šmsw-Wsir</i> | [He] is among the acclaimers of Osiris |

On *gsy*, cf BD spells 145 and 146, eighteenth Gateway (145 s [Dyn XIX] Allen), Naville pl 158, to vignette of snake-headed guardian. Cf also the use of the expression *gswy* in line A25, on which see below, ¶53.

šmsw is written with the standing-hawk determinative, but a reading of 'Horus and Osiris' is unlikely. Cf Deities other

than Horus had *smsw*, eg Osiris in *Pyr* 749. cf J von Beckerath, *LÄ* III [1977] 51f & n10.

¶10 (5) anthropomorphic *akh* with *ankh*, feather, and snake-wand (T, F), mummiform figure with snake-wand (W), with caption (T, F, W) which should properly go with 4, above:

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>iw-ky-ʒḥ-im</i> | <i>There is another transfigured one there</i> |
| <i>ʒḥ-hd̄t-rn.f</i> | Glorious-in-the-White-Crown is his name . |
| <i>didy-mnb-</i> | Who makes effective |
| <i>ḥ c w-nsw-bity</i> | The crowns of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt |

¶11 (6) anthropomorphic *akh* with *ankh* and snake-wand (T, W), mummiform figure with *ankh* and snake-wand (W), with caption (T, W, both omitted in F):

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>iw-ky-ʒḥ-im</i> | <i>There is another transfigured one there</i> |
| <i>b3q-rn.f</i> | The One in the Moringa is his name |
| <i>imtt-imy-s3w</i> | What is in(?) the one who is protected |

b3q is the name given to one of the seven *akhu* in early *BD* spell 17 (see Annex); cf *Wb* I 424/5; Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* 11 n40. “*tt* could be read *twt*” (Heerma van Voss).

¶12 (7) anthropomorphic *akh* holding *ankh*, clasping a heart-amulet and wearing sun-disk on his head (T, F), mummiform figure with *ankh*, snake-wand, and sun-disk (W), with caption (T, F, W):

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>iw-ky-ʒḥ-im</i> | <i>There is another transfigured one there</i> |
| <i>htpy-rn.f</i> | He of the Offering is his name |
| <i>didy-t-n-nny</i> | He gives bread to the Weary One |

¶13 (8) anthropomorphic *akh* with *ankh*, feather, and snake-wand (T, F), mummiform figure with *ankh* and snake-wand (W), with caption (T, F, W):

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>iw-ky-ʒḥ-im</i> | <i>There is another transfigured one there</i> |
| <i>di-ksw-rn.f</i> | The One who Makes [Others] Bow is his name |
| <i>pr-m-Tm-ḥbnt</i> | Who ascends as one without crime |

Heerma van Voss *Vijf dekaden* 12 translates as “Die laat buigen en als zondeloze uitgaat.” On *ḥbnt*, cf Zandee *Death* 289f. This is the *ʒḥ* before whom Tayuherit bows.

¶14 papyrus H

This papyrus has been much damaged, apparently by damp, and the sheet concerned is fragmentary. There are eight lines of vertical hieroglyphic text which appear to contain a much abbreviated version of spell 194, running left to right. The word *w cbt* is distinguishable, as are the name and titles of the owner, these being repeated very frequently throughout the papyrus. Bottom left: Deceased and wife stand facing right with arms raised in adoration, before (bottom right) two standing deities, each of whom carries a palm-branch in his right hand and a straight staff ending in a snake’s head in his left. The deity on the left is bearded and anthropomorphic and faces backwards towards his fellow, who wears the *cfn* and appears to have a ‘demonic’ face. Upper right: A figure with the head of Khopri(?) stands brandishing a staff in his left hand. Sheet 5 has a unique vignette showing the deceased and wife adoring two black jackals. Above human figures the *imyut*-emblem and the Abydos nome-fetish are shown. There are two short texts accompanying the vignettes which are mostly illegible. They include the words *r3... Inpw-imy-wt Wsir N di.k-w c r h3t-n-Wsir nb-pr*.

M³ty. The end of the title in line 1 includes the word *ʒhw* (Heerma van Voss).

¶15 papyrus L

(sheet B) left panel: BD spell 30B, with vignette showing deceased standing before a large heart amulet. Right panel: a version of part of BD 125, including 21 negative statements, entitled *sprt-pwy-N r- ərryt-nt-wsht-m³ty*, which is addressed to the Lords of the Necropolis (*nbw-hrt-ntr*). The latter expression must refer to the eight mummiform deities with crossed neckbands in the middle tableau whom the deceased adores. Each deity stands before a holder with ovoid object.

¶16 Accompanying texts:

(1) to right of deity with a flame-symbol for head:

ntr-ʒ^c nb-n-bʒ great god lord of flame

(2) to right of deity with head of black jackal:

ntr-ʒ^c nb-ṣty<τ> great god lord of the *shetayet*

(3) to right of deity with ram's head:

ntr-ʒ^c nfr-ms great god freshly born

(4) to right of deity with snake's head:

ntr-ʒ^c nb-snd-m-ibw great god inspirer of respect in hearts

(5) to right of deity with dog's or shrew's(?) head:

ntr-ʒ^c nb-dʒt great god lord of the Netherworld

(6) to right of deity with head of uraeus:

ntr-ʒ^c dsr-irw great god sacred of forms

(7) to right of deity with baboon's head:

ntr-ʒ^c wr-bʒw great god mighty of *bʒw*

(8) to right of deity with human head:

ntr-ʒ^c iqr-ht great god most accomplished one

In a personal communication (September 1992) A Niwiński makes the following comment about Land the mummiform figures: "I am not convinced whether L has anything in common with BD194. The jackal-headed figure appears very often in various contexts in the iconography of the 21st Dynasty and it must not necessarily be connected with Anubis. The jackal-head may also in very traditional contexts represent Upwawet or Duamutef. It is often given to a mummiform body representing a form of Osiris (or Re) just to stress a strange aspect of the god, besides multiplicity of other forms with the heads of various animals or objects or even hieroglyphs." I respect this view and hope to consider the relationships between Egyptian jackal deities in due course. Niwinski is perfectly correct about the appearance of the jackal-headed mummiform deity, which in fact appears often in funerary art until Roman times.

Comparative Iconography and Text

The following points will be apparent from the above synopsis:

Texts

- ¶17 (1) No papyrus contains the complete text of spell 194 (if I am correct that the passage commencing *w³b-gm.n.f* comprises a rubric to it).
- (2) A contains the main body of the spell *en clair*, while T and C include partial texts in a jumbled version.
- (3) The rubric occurs in papyri T, F, and W without significant variants (H contains a fragmentary, garbled spell which might be based on the rubric to spell 194).
- (4) No relevant text is found in N, although this papyrus contains two sets of vignettes, perhaps to add decoration to spells for which there was no accepted or pre-existing vignette.
- (5) It is clear from the proximity of spells 125 and/or 145 in most papyri, as well as from the contents of spell 194 itself, that this rare document is intimately connected with other judgment texts.

¶18 Vignettes

- (6) Neither A nor C includes figures which relate directly to the text of spell 194. Instead, C incorporates only a vignette of the deceased standing in adoration, while in A the text is sandwiched between vignettes showing Nesytanebashru in adoration and a representation of Osiris, with Isis and Nephthys, in the Judgment Hall.
- (7) In Dyn XXI there is a tendency to include in certain papyri both the rubric and vignettes showing Anubis and a varying number of *akhu*, who usually carry snake-wands.
- (8) N contains what may be termed the most iconographically comprehensive depictions. In this papyrus the deceased kisses the earth before two rows each of three standing *akhu* and is also shown standing in adoration of a further *akh* who has a snake-wand raised above his head and a jackal-headed figure who carries a snake-wand and an *ankh*.
- ¶19 (9) W shows six *akhu*, but here they are mummiform, and in a separate vignette a further mummiform figure, without wand, faces a standing anthropomorphic *akh* with snake-wand raised. Behind him is a mummiform jackal-headed figure, also with a snake-wand.
- (10) In W, six of the anthropomorphic mummiform figures carry wands, and five of the six also bear ostrich feathers. This series of six is otherwise indistinguishable except that one wears the sun-disk on his head and another wears the White Crown.
- (11) In T and F, the two rows of standing anthropomorphic *akhu* are also indistinguishable except that, as in W, one wears the sun-disk on his head and another wears the White Crown. Both T and F show the figure with sun-disk clasping a heart-amulet to his breast: in F he carries a wand and an *ankh*, in T an *ankh* only.
- ¶20 (12) H shows only three standing *akhu*, two in the lower register. One of these turns back to face the other. Both carry snake-wands and palm-staves. The much damaged figure in the upper register is evidently making the 'Shu' gesture with a snake-wand above his head. (The papyrus is badly damaged and the representations are not clear.)
- (12) F omits altogether the separate vignette of Anubis and the *akh* with upraised wand.
- (13) N shows (pl LXXV) two naked figures of N, one of which is presumably her *ka*, prostrate before eight standing anthropomorphic figures and a figure of Anubis (distinguished by his jackal's head). All nine figures carry snake-wands and knives. One figure (second from right) wears the White Crown, while all the other standing figures except Anubis wear the *cfn*.
- (14) N has a further vignette (pl XCI-XC) which displays substantially the same elements as above, note 13 here, except that here the figure of Anubis has his jackal's face painted in black, the *akh* next to him raises his wand in the 'Shu' gesture, only one *akh* carries a knife (fourth from right), and here all the standing figures wear the *sed* depending from their kilts. Here, as in pl LXXV, N shows the third figure from the right with the White Crown instead of the *cfn*.

(15) L shows eight mummiform figures in two registers, before whom *N* stands in adoration. shown between an abbreviated text to spell 125 and spell 30B, the latter showing a large heart-scarab. They are described in detail above.

¶21 *Captions to vignettes*

(16) Papyri T, F, and W include captions to the vignettes which correspond in most particulars and which refer to the names of the various *akhu*.

(17) In neither T nor W is there any caption to the figures of Anubis and the *akh* making the 'Shu' gesture, except for the name and title of *N*. (F omits this part of the vignette.)

(18) In both T, F, and W the text which refers to the *akh* with the White Crown has been transposed to an adjacent figure.

(19) The names of the *akhu* in L are entirely different from those captioned in T, F, and W, while in N none of the *akhu* has a caption.

(20) The names of the *akhu* given in the captions referred to above are different also from the names of the seven *akhu* given in spell 17.

Cf also above, under Arrangement of Texts and Vignettes, and below, under Interpretation.

¶22 *Relation between vignettes and contents of text*

(21) The main text of spell 194 as given in A, T, and C refers specifically to the *akhu* in A22f, T20f, and C17f, with an oblique reference at A25, where Anubis speaks to those *n-gswy.f.*

(22) Anubis is the principal character in the main text and is represented in the vignettes in T, W, and N (twice). In L, one of the eight *akhu* is shown with the head of a jackal.

(23) The *akhu* are referred to specifically as such at the end of the rubric in T, F, and W (at line T59) and are called *nbw-ht* (line T57).

BOOK OF THE DEAD spell 194

comparative text

SIGLA

| | |
|---|--|
| A | pBM 10047 (Any), Ramesside |
| T | pLeiden T 3 (Tayuherit), Dyn XXI |
| C | pBM 10472 (Anhay), Dyn XXI |
| F | pCairo SR IV 982 (Bakenmut), late Dyn XXI |
| W | pCairo SR VII 10228 (Khonsemheb), late Dyn XXI (for other <i>sigla</i> see under Sources: Texts and Vignettes, p 9 above) |

O Title

A01(1) *r³-n-^cq r-wsht-nt-M³^cty*

A02 *dw³-Wsir-Hnty-Imntr*

A03 *dd-mdw in-Wsir-N-m³^c-hrw*

T01 (11) *dd-mdw in-Wsir-N-m³^c-hrw*

C01 (2) *dd-mdw-in-Wsir-N*

T02 (10) *dd-(11)mdw. Ink-m*

T03 (12) *iri-gsgs (9) rn.f-m³^c*

C02 (12) *n-m-ir.i-mm.^{re}-rn.f-m³^ct*

I Initial Proclamation

A04 (2) *ii.n.i-^cʒ*

T04 (10) *nb.i-ii.n.i-^cʒ*

A05 *r-m³³-nfrw.k*

T05 *r-m³³-nfrw.k*

A06 *ʒwy.i-m-iʒw*

A07 *n-rn.k-m³^c*

A08 *ii.n.i-^cʒ*

T06 (9) *ii.n.i-^cʒ*

C03 (12) *ii.n.i-n^{sc}-^cʒ*

A09 *n-hpr-^cš*

T07 (10) *n-hpr-^cš*

C04 *n-hpr-^cš*

A10 *n- (3) mst-šndt*

T08 *n- (8)-msit-šndt*

C05 *nn-(12) msbt.tw-šndt*

A11 *<n>-qm³w-s³tw-isrw*

T09 *n-qm³- (9) <s³>tw-isrw*

C06 *nn-qm³ (11) s³tw-isrw*

A12 *ir- ^cq.i r-st-št³*
T10 *ir- ^cq.<f> r- {m-i}(7)-st-št³*
C07 *ir- ^cq-r- (12) st-št³*

A13 *iw-mdt. (4) i-*
T11 *(8) iw.f-mdw.f-*
C08 *(9) -i -<s>w3w(?) iw.f-md- (10) w.f-*

A14 *hn ^c-Stš*
T12 *hn ^c-Stš*
C09 *hn ^c-Stš*

A15 *hn*m.i-tkn-im.i**
T13 *hn*ms (6).f-tknw (7) <im.f>-im**
C10 *(7) <h>nm (8) w.f-tkn-i3.īc*

A16 *hbs-hr.f*
T14 *(7) hsb-hr*
C11 *hsb-hr*

A17 *hrw-hr-h_t-št³w*
T15 *iw-hr.f hrw-hr-hwt-<št³wt>*
C12 *(5) iw-hr.f-hr-nw^{sc}-h_t-št³*

A18 *iw.f- (5) ^cq.f*
T16 *iw.f- ^cq.(5)f*
C13 *iw.f (6) ^cq.f*

A19 *r-pr-Wsir*
T17 *r-(6) pr-Rwty*
C14 *r-pr-Rwty*

A20 *iw.f-m³3.f-*
T18 *iw.f-m³3.f-*
C15 *(6) m³3.n.f*

A21 *št³w-nty-im.f*
T19 *št³-nty-im*
C16 *št³- (7) nty*

A22 *iw-d³d³t-nt-sbh_{hywt}*
T20 *iw-d³d³t-(4)nt-sbh_{wt}*
C17 *(4) d³d³t-n-sbh_{wt}*

A23 *m-³hw*
T21 *(6) m- (5) ³hw*
C18 *(5) št³w-m-³hw*

II The Report of Anubis

A24 *dd-mdw-i(6)n-Inpw*
T22 *dd-mdw-Inpw*
C19 *(5) dd-mdw-in-Inpw (5) {dd-mdw in}*

A25 *n-gs<wy.>fy*
T22 *mdw.n.i-m-sr*
C20 *(5) mdw.s (4) <m>-sr m.f*

A26 *hrw-s iw-*
T23 (4) *hrw-s-iw-*
C21 (4) *hrw-s-iw*

A27 *m-T³-mry*
T24 *m-T³-mry*
C22 *m-T³-mry*

A28 *iw.f-rhw-*
T25 *iw-rh.(3)f-*
C23 *iw.f-rh-*

A29 *w³wt- nw-dmiw.n*
T26 *h³t-dmi.n*
C24 *h³t-dmit.n*

A30 *htp-kwi*

A31 (7) *snsn-sty.f*
T27 *snsn.<i>-sty.f*
C25 (4) *snsn.n-sty-im.f*

A33 *m-w^c-im-tn*
T28 *mi-w^c-im.n {dd-mdw r.s-i}*
C26 (3) *mi-w^c-im.sn*

A33 *dd.f-n.i:*
T29 (2) *dd-in.f-n.i*
C27 (3) *dd.s*

A35 *ink N-m³^c-hrw-*
T30 *ink-Wsir-<N-m³^c-hrw>*

A36 *m-htp m³^c-hrw*

A37 *ii.(8)n.i- c³*
T31 *ii.n.i- c³*
C28 *ii.n.i- c³*

A38 *r-m³³-n_frw- c³w*
T32 *r-m³³-n_frw- c³w*
C29 *r-m³³- (4) n_frw- (2) c³w*

A39 *cnh.i-m-htpt-*
T33 *cnh.i-m-htpt-*
C30 *cnh.i-m-htpt-*

A40 *imy-k³w-sn*
T34 *imy-k³w.sn*
C31 *imy-k³w.sn*

A41 *wn.n.i-r-drw-*
T35 *wn.i-r-drw-*
C32 (2) *wn.n.i-r-drw-*

A42 (9) *b³-nb-Ddwt*
T36 *b³-nb-Ddwt*
C33 *b³-nb-Ddwt*

A43 *di.f-pr.i*
T37 *di.(1)-n.i-pr.n.i-*
C34 *di.n.i (3) pr.i*

A44 *m-bnw-r-mdt.i*
T38 *m-bnw-r-mdw.<i>*
C35 *(1) -bnw-r-mdwt.i*

A45 *wn.n.i-m-itrw*
T40 *wn.i-m-itrw*
C36 *wn.n.(2)-i-m-itrw-*

A46 *wd.(10) i-m-sn̄tr*
T41 *wd.i-m-sn̄tr*
C37 *wd.<i>-m-sn̄tr*

A47 *s̄sm.i-m-šndt<y>-n-hrdw*
T42 *s̄sm.<i>-šndt<y>-n-hrdw*
C38 *s̄sm.n.(1) i-šndt<y>-n-hrdw*

A48 *wn.n.i-m-ʒbw*
T43 *wn.<i>-m-ʒbw*
C39 *wn.n.i-m-ʒbw*

A49 *m-pr-Stt*
C40 *m-pr-Stt*

A50 (11) *iw-smh.n.i-wi³ n-hftyw*
C41 *iw-smh.n.i-hft^{sc}*

A51 *iw.i-wd³.kwi r-š-m-nšmt*

A52 *m³³.n.i-*

A53 *s^c(12)hw-Km-wr*

A54 *wn.n.i-m-Ddw sgrw.n.i*

A55 *di.n.i-shm-n̄tr*

A56 *m-rd(13)wy.fy*

A57 *wn.n.i-m-pr-Tpy-dw.f*

A58 *m³³.n.i-Hnty-sh-n̄tr*

A59 *iw.i- c q.kwi r-pr- (14) Wsir*

A60 *kf.n.i- c fnwt n-nty-im*

A61 *iw.i- c q.kwi r-R3-st³w*

A62 *m³³.n.i-št³w (15) nty-im*

A63 *imn.n.i-gm.n.i-tš*

A64 *iw.i-h³.kwi r-Ni³rrf*

A65 *hbs.n.(16)i- nty-im-hr-h³w*

A66 *rdi-n.i- ^cntyw-n-hmt*

A67 *m-šnw-n-Rhyt*

A68 *mk-swt- (17) ddw-n.i-hr.f*

A69 *dd.n.i wn-mh³t.k-m-hr-ibw-n*

III Questions , Answers, and Acceptance

A70 *dd-in-hm-n-Inpw:*

A71 *ir- (18) iw.k-rh.tw rn-n-sb³-pn*

A72 *r-dd- ^cš-.n.i*

A73 *dd-in-N-m³ ^c-hrw- (19) pn:*

A74 *Hr-sk-Šw rn- (20) n-sb³-pn*

A75 *dd-in-hm-n-Inpw:*

A76 *(21) ir-iw.k-rh.tw rn-n-sdm-*

A77 *(22) hry-sdm-hry*

A78 *Nb-m³ ^ct- (23) hry-tp-rdw.y.fy*

A79 *in-rn-n-sdm^{*c}- (24) hry*

A80 *Nb-phty-ts-mnmn(25)t*

A81 *[in-rn-n-sdm-hry]*

A82 *sš-ir.k tw.k-(26)rh.tw*

A83 *Wsir-N (27-28)-m³ ^c-hrw-nb-im³h*

IV Additional Text

T44 (1) *w^cb-gm.n.f-b³-im*

F01 (1) *w^cb-gm.n.f-b³-im*

W01(1) *w^cb-gm.n.f-b³-im*

T45 *sšm-ntr-mn.f*

F02 *sšm-ntr-mn.f*

W02 *sšm-ntr-mn.f*

T46 *šd(y)-m-pr-*

F03 *šd(y)-(2)m-pr-*

W03 *šd(y)-m- (2)pr-*

T47 *Wsir-N-m³ ^c-(2)t-hrw*

F04 *Wsir-m³ ^c-(2)t-hrw*

W04 *Wsir- (title) (3) m³ ^ct*

T48 *ii.n.i-r-bw-hm-n-n_{tr}-<pn>- c^cβ-im*
F05 *ii.n.i-r-bw-nty-hm-n-n_{tr}-pn-im*
W05 *ii.n.m.^fc-bw-nty-hm-n-n_{tr}-pn-im*

T49 *m-wsht-wr[t]*
F06 *m-wsht-wr[t]*
W06 *m-wsht-w(4)r[t]*

T50 *wnn-Wsir-m-hnw*
F07 (3) *wnn-Wsir-m-hnw*
W07 *wnn-Wsir-m-hnw*

T51 *wnn-r-nhh*
F08 *wnn-r-nhh*
W08 *wnn-r-nhh*

T52 *s^cr- (3) dt*
F09 *s^cr-dt*
W09 *s^cr-dt*

T53 *nb-h_t-h_t-t³-n-mrwt*
F10 *nb-h_t-h_t-t³-n-mr(4)wt*
W10 (5) *nb-h_t-h_t-t³-n-mrwt*

T54 *ir.n.f-dm³.n.sn*
F11 *ir.n.f-m³³.n.sn*
W11 *ir.n.f-3³.n.sn*

T55 *rdi.n.f-sw-hr-h_t.f*
F12 *rdi.n.f-sw-hr-h_t.<f>*
W12 *rdi.(6)n.f-sw-hr-h_t.f*

T56 *m-b3h.sn*
F13 *m-b3h.sn*
W13 *m-b3h.sn*

T57 *dd-in.(4) s-n.s<n>*
F14 *dd-in.f-n.sn*
W14 *dd-in.f-n.sn*

T58 *ind-hr.tn-nbw-h_t*
F15 *ind-hr.tn-nbw-h_t*
W15 *ind-hr.tn-nbw-(7) ht*

T59 *ddt-hft-spr-*
F16 (5) *ddt-hft-spr-*
W16 *ddt-hft-spr-*

T60 *r-nn-n-3hw*
F17 *r-nn-n-3hw*
W17 <r>-nn-n-3hw

T61 *ch c.n-isy.n.sw*
F18 *ch c.n-isy.n.sw*
W18 *ch c.n-isy.(8)n.sw*

T62 *Wsir-N-m³ c-hrw-hr-Wsir*
F19 *Wsir- (title)- N-m³ c3<hrw>*
W19 *Wsir- (title)*

Translation

0 Title

*Spell for Entering the Court of the Two Goddesses of Order
Glorifying Osiris Chief of the West*

I Initial Proclamation

*Words spoken by [name] justified:
<Words spoken:
Who am I?
Creator of Regulation is his true name>*

«**My lord** I have come here
To see your renewed beauty
My two hands exalting your true name
I came here
Before the pine-tree came into existence
Before the acacia-tree came to birth
Before the soil threw up tamarisk-bushes
If I enter the Place of Secrets
I dispute with Seth
I smell the one who approaches me
The one who veils his face
And prostrates himself upon the secret objects»

He enters the temple of Osiris
And sees the secrets which are in it
The Tribunal of the Gates [comprises] transfigured souls

II The Report of Anubis

*Said by Anubis to the two on either side of him:
« A man declares to me <as assessor> that he has come from Egypt
And that he knows our roads and settlements
This I accept [because]
I scent his aroma as [of] one among you*

He says to me:
“I am Osiris N justified in acceptance a justified one
I have come here to see the great gods
Since I live on the food-offerings which nourish them

I was at the limits of the Ram-Lord-of-Mendes
And he granted that I ascend as a phoenix when I give voice
When I was at the river
I made offerings of incense
And led the way as the kilted one for [his] children
When I was in Elephantine in the temple of Satis
I sank the boat of [my] enemies
When I crossed the lake in the *neshmet*-barque
I saw the excellencies of Athribis
When I was in Busiris there was silence for me
And I set the power of the god on his two feet
I was in the temple of Him-on-his-Mountain

And I saw the Chief-of-the-Embalming-Tent
Having entered the temple of Osiris
I lifted the veil of the one there
Having entered Ro-Setawe
I saw the secrets which are there
And concealed the one I found to have been dismembered
When I went down to Niarref
I put clothes over the nakedness of the one there
I gave myrrh of women in the circle of the Rekhyt”

Indeed I have reported what concerns him
And now I say “You are balanced within our hearts”»

III Questions, Answers, and Acceptance

Words spoken by the majesty of Anubis:

« Do you know the name of this door
As many state to me [that you do]? »

The Osiris N says:

« You-Overtur-Shu is the name of this door »

The majesty of Anubis says:

« Do you know the names of the upper and the lower leaves? »

« Possessor-of-Balance-He-who-is-on-his-Two-Feet

Is the name of the upper leaf

Possessor-of-Vigour-Marshaller-of-the-Herds

[Is the name of the lower leaf] »

« Proceed then O Osiris [name]
Because you know [their names] »

IV Rubric

<The Pure Place where he has found the *ba*
[Who is] called Guide-of-the-God
[As one who is] taken from the temple of Osiris
I have come to the place
Where the majesty of this great god is
In the Broad Hall
In the midst of which Osiris will be
For eternity and beyond everlasting
The possessor of offerings
Who travels about according to (his) desire
He has performed this obeisance for them [the assessors]
And prostrated himself before them
<S>he said to them:
«Hail to you possessors of offerings»

*To be said when anyone
Approaches these transfigured ones
Then the justified soul
Comes [to and is] with Osiris>*

NOTES ON ORTHOGRAPHY

- A01 The dets are given as *niwt*-signs and cobras. ¶25
- A03/T01/C01 In C, the second phrase could also go before line C27. ¶29
- T03/C02 It is difficult to make any sense of *n-m-ir.i-mm-i* (C), but *m* after *ir.i* is certainly erroneous: the phrase should read *ir.i-gsgs*. ¶31
- A04/T04 In T, *nb* is written with the water-sign, a rare but adequately documented variant found in *Pyr* and elsewhere: *Wb* II [1928] 227. ¶32
- A09/T07/C04 In A, det for *šs* is the leaf-sign. ¶38
- A11/T09/C06 In T, *sʒ* is omitted through contamination with the *qmʒ*-bird. ¶40
- A12/T10/C07 In T, *r* is written here (and in line 1 and pl 18, left, line 4) with the *nb*-sign. It is not clear to me where the following signs *m-i* with seated god det (T) belong. ¶43
- A13/T11/C08 In C, the cross sign (Z9) suggests movement across land, as in *swʒ*. ¶44
- A15/T13/C10 In C, suggesting that the walking-man-with-stick sign (eg *wr*) is det for <*h>nm*. ¶46
- A16/T14/C11 *hsb-hr* T, C. *hbs-hr.f* clearly (with cloth det) in A. ¶47
- A23/T21/C18 In C, *štʒw<t>* could perhaps go with *sbhw*t. It may represent dittography (cf C12 and C16) or might mean 'the secret gate'. Heerma van Voss reads the word as singular in this sense, with *štʒ* corresponding to the exit of the judgment-hall depicted behind Tayuherit and Bakenwer: *Anoebis* 4. In T, *ʒhw* is determined by the seated noble sign. ¶52
- A24/T22/C19 Dittography in C, although the phrase could belong elsewhere. ¶53
- A26/T23/C21 In C, possibly a garbled form of *sr* here, but this word occurs in C20 (Anhay line 4). ¶54
- A29/T26/C24 T begins line with papyrus-roll sign and *-f*. ¶55
- A31/T27/C25 In C, reading the 'pustule' sign (Aa 2) as det for *sty*, although cf line 4 of C (= C25). ¶56
- A33/T28/C26 T has a rubrum and concluding signs in error: cf C lines 3-4: Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n28. ¶56
- A47/T32/C38 *šndt* is definitely singular in all three texts. ¶68
- A80 *in-rn-n-sdm-hry* supplied from the context. ¶91
- T44/F01/W01 *wčb* is to be read as feminine. ¶92
- T47/F04/W04 In W, the rest of the line, which should have carried the name after *hm-ntr-Inn*, is blank. There is no proper name in F either. ¶93
- T48/F05/W05 Note the orthography of *čʒ* in T. *čʒ* is omitted in F and W. ¶93
- T49/F06/W06 *wr* for *wrt* in all three texts. ¶93
- T54/F11/W11 *dmʒ.n.sn* T, *mʒʒ.n.sn* F and W. ¶96
- T62/F19/W19 Remainder of line blank for proper name in W. *hr-Wsir* in T only, perhaps to fill the line. ¶96

Commentary

οὗτος οὖν, φησίν, ὁ Κύων, λόγος τις ὧν θεῖος,
ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν κριτής καθέστηκε...

This dog, the divine logos, has been established judge of the living and the dead.
ARATUS ap HIPPOLYTUS *refutatio IV* 48

Chienne splendide, écarte l'idolâtre!
Paul VALÉRY 'Le Cimetière Marin'

*O if I could hoist a lantern on a long pole
and be led by a dog, under the salt of stars...*

Osip MANDELSHTAM *Poems 1928*

0 Title

A01 *r³-n-^cq r-wsht-nt-M³ ^cty]*

¶23 The term *r³* underscores the point that the spell was spoken: by whom is another question. On uses of the word *r³*: Wb II [1928] 389-393; T DuQuesne *Jackal at the Shaman's Gate* [1991] 24f (*r³-st³w*); G Fecht *Wortakzent u Silbenstruktur* [1960] 96f §179 (*r³-^c*) 121 §233 (*hmwt-r³* = 'Kunst des Mundes'), 134 §259 (*imy-r³*); PJ Frandsen, in *Fs Iversen* [København 1992] 49-62; H Grapow *Bildl Ausdrücke* [1924] 165; T Hopfner *Gr-äg Offenbarungszauber* l² [1974] 324f §551; H Junker ZÄS 77 [1942] 3-7; A Kadry *Officers and officials* [1982] 73 (*r³-hry*); RK Ritner *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian magical practice* [Chicago 1993] 41-43; K Sethe *Von Zahl u Zahlwörtern* [1916] 84-88; M Valloggia *Rech sur les 'messagers'* [1986] 112f (*r³-Nhn*); J Vergote ZÄS 91 [1964] 135-137; W Westendorf, Mund, LÄ IV [1982] 222f. For the pronunciation and related aspects: W Vycichl *Vocalisation de la langue égyptienne I* [Le Caire 1990] 158f, 206.

¶24 Interestingly, the small, late Dyn XXI pBM 10041 contains most unusual variants in the vignettes to *BD* spell 149, where the first mound, normally represented as a 'house' sign, is shown as a large *r³*-glyph, suggesting the idea of entrance to the netherworld: Niwiński *Studies* 130 pl 20a. In the accompanying text in most versions, the judgment connexion is underlined by the words *mh-(sp-sn)-smn-bqsw hq³.k-m-njrw Mnw-qd* "the balance is in equilibrium, in equilibrium and adjusted so that you may have dominion among the gods [as?] Min the fashioner:" 367/8 Budge.

¶25 A translation of *wsht-M³ ^cty* should perhaps reflect the etymology of *wsxt* from *wsḥ* 'broad', 'spacious.' On the *wsht-M³ ^cty*: P Posener-Krieger, *Studi di Egittologia e di Ant Puniche* 12 [1993] 7-16; C Seeber *Unt Totengericht* [1976] 63-67. It is unclear whether the dual *M³ ^cty* should be translated as 'the two Ma^cet-goddesses' or 'Dual Order.' My rule of thumb is to translate as abstract when the two feathers are the determinative and as divinity when, for example, the snake-determinatives are used. Here the dets used are the *niwt-* and cobra-signs. On the *Mrt*-goddesses and their association with Ma^cet: W Guglielmi *Die Göttin Mr.t* [1991] 143-172. On the god *M³ ^cty* ('the Justified One') encountered in the Ptolemaic temples: H Beinlich, Maati, LÄ III [1980] 1119f; cf C J Bleeker *Beteekenis v d godin Ma-a-t* [1929] 29f.

¶26 The two *M³ ^cty* might indeed be seen as Order and Chaos and the cosmic rule which links them: cf T DuQuesne *DE22* [1992] 89f. On the concept of duality in Egyptian religion, W Westendorf has contributed a number of insightful articles, eg ZÄS 100 [1974] 136-141. The *Amduat* commences

by describing the towing of Iuf in the night-barque by the two *M3 c t*-goddesses: *Amduat* 19/1 (Hour 1). On Ma'et in the solar vessel: J Assmann *Ma'at* [1990] 174-195; J Spiegel *MDAIK* 8 (1939) 201-206. Westendorf's notion that the name originally referred to 'guiding', as of the solar vessel, with the rudder being supplanted by the heart, is plausible: *Fs W Will* [1966] 206f [201-225].

A02 *dw3-Wsir-Hnty-Imntt*

¶27 Cf line A50 below, where the *neshmet*-barque associated with the Mysteries of Osiris Khentyamentiu in Abydos is cited. 'The Chief of the Westerners' is Osiris in his chthonic aspect awaiting rebirth. Khentyamentiu was a very early jackal god of Abydos whose connexions with Anubis and Osiris are close but complex: see particularly W Federn *MDAIK* 16 [1958] 126f [120-130]; R Griesammer, Chontamenti, *LÄ* 1 [1975] 964f; JG Griffiths *Origins of Osiris* [1980] 134-137 and *passim*; WJ de Jong *De Ibis* 9 [1984] 29f [25-32]; H Kees *Götterglaube* [1956] 329f; J Spiegel *Götter von Abydos* [1973] 32-37 and *passim*; R Weill *Champ des roseaux* [1936] 1-9, 58, 106, 113, 116, 121. In section IV of the *Book of Caverns*, the *b3w* of Anubis are "the lords of the netherworld who came forth from Khentyamentiu:" pl 30 Piankoff. Cf also E Hornung *Buch v d Pforten* II [1984] 115-119 on Hour 4, scene 21.

¶28 The irresistible implication of spell 194 seems to be that the soul identifies both with Osiris and with Anubis in order to effect reintegration, as symbolized by the collection of the scattered limbs of Osiris and put into effect through the skills of Anubis.

A03 *dd-mdw-in-Wsir-N-m3 c-hrw*

¶29 The formula *dd-mdw* raises the issue of whether and when the person for whom funerary papyri were designed used the spells in them. If such a person did in fact enact these rituals on earth (*tp-t3*) or elsewhere, this does not preclude the possibility of others' doing so on his/her behalf. The rubric to spell 125 (pp 332-334 Naville) specifically refers to recitation of the spell on earth by and for the person concerned, with requirements about clothing, aromatics etc and about making a written copy of the spell in Nubian ink. On the power of the word in Egypt, cf J Assmann, *Reden und Schweigen*, *LÄ* V [1984] 195-201; M Bilolo *La création et le créateur dans la pensée memphite et amarnienne* [1988] 61-74, 90-94; A Bertholet *Die Macht der Schrift* [ADAW, 1949] 9f, 33 and *passim*.

¶30 Maybe *m3 c-hrw* needs a stronger translation, eg 'whose plea is correct', as in BH Stricker *Het zonne-offer* [1989] 13 on S Schott *Urk VI* [1929] 62-65 (of Re). It is useful to be reminded of the fact that *hrw* does not merely mean 'voice.' On the expression *m3 c-hrw*, see particularly J Spiegel *Idee vom Totengericht* [1935] 43f; R Griesammer *Jenseitsgericht* [1970] 40-43; R Anthes *JNES* 13 [1954] 21-51, where he ascribes a legal origin to the term and would translate as 'called right,' in the sense of justification by legal acclamation.

In C, the phrase *n-m-ir.i-mm.i-rn.f-m3 c t* makes little sense and the second element may perhaps belong elsewhere, eg before line C27.

T02-T03 *dd-mdw. ink-m / iri-gsgs rn.f-m3 c]*

¶31 This part of the text occurs in T only: cf Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* 3 n12. For the use of the interrogative he compares *BD* spell 40 (pNu: Budge 109/8) *ink-m-tr* "Who am I indeed?"

It is difficult to make sense of the text as given in Anhay line 12 (C02).

gsgs

Evidently a reduplicated form of *gs* meaning 'to regulate' or 'to judge both sides:' *Wb* V [1931] 207, of the solar deity and, from the NK, commonly of Thoth. Cf the use of *gs* in line A25, below. The

reference here is to the sun-god: Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n14; BM 826/6 = IES Edwards *BMHT* VIII [1939] pl 21/6 = HM Stewart *Bull Inst Arch London* 6 [1967] 53f: *gsgs.n.k-sw* [sc *wnwt*] "You have regulated the hours."

In C, it is difficult to make any sense of *n-m-ir.i-mm-i^c*, but *m* after *ir.i* is certainly erroneous: the phrase should read *ir.i-gsgs*, as in T.

I Initial Proclamation

A04-A05 *ii.n.i-^c3 / r-m³-nfrw.k/*

¶32 On 'seeing' the gods and their Mysteries, cf below lines A20, A37, A51, A57, A61.

Osiris-Wenennofre is, perhaps, 'the one whose fresh beauty is renewed.' On *Wnn-nfr*, with *nfr* as 'fresh', implying sexual maturity, cf H Stock *Nfr nfr = der gute Gott?* [1951] 11f; W Helck, Osiris, *REsuppl* IX [1962] 502f [469-513]; J Bergman *Isis-Seele u Osiris-Ei* [1970] 91n4; VA Donohue *JEA* 64 [1978] 143-148; JN Oswalt *The concept of Amon-Re* [unpubl Diss. Brandeis 1968] 248; D Abou-Ghazi, Favours to the king from Khnum in the Pyramid Texts, *Fs L Kákosy* [Budapest 1992] 30 [27-32].

In T, *nb* is written with the water-sign, a rare but adequately documented variant found in *Pyr* and elsewhere: *Wb* II [1928] 227.

A06-A07 *^cwy.i-m-i³w/n-mn.k-m³^c*

¶33 The raising of the arms must have a particular symbolic significance: cf D & G Khane *Yoga des pharaons* [1983] 33-39. Note the vignette to Tayuhuerit, Bakenwer, and Khensemheb (see further under Vignettes), where one of the 'magistrates' raises both arms, brandishing his snake-wand above his head. This gesture calls to mind the position in which Shu separates Sky from Earth: H te Velde *Studio Aegyptiaca* (Budapest) 3 [1977] 161-167.

¶34 *rn.k-m³^c/* On the importance of true names, see T DuQuesne *A Coptic initiatory invocation* [1991] §125, with literature, to which add DG Martinez *Papyrus Michigan XVI* [1991] 69-75; P Vernus, Name, *LÄ* IV [1982] 320-326; HW Oobbink *De magische beteekenis van den naam* [1925], especially useful on the name as part of the body (4-19) and for further references (2f); also, more generally, L Dürr *Wertung d göttlichen Namens* [1938] 22-32; H Giesebricht *Alttestamentl Schätzung d Gottesnamens* [1901] 68-94; and the excellent studies by JE Fossum *The name of God* [1985] 84-87, 253-256; N Janowitz *Poetics of ascent: a rabbinical ascent text* [1989] 25-28, 83-99. Cf also below, on line A81.

A08-A11 *ii.n.i-^c3 / n-hpr-^cš- / n-mst-šndt / [n]-qm³w-st³w-isrw/*

¶35 Here the justified soul states that he has transcended the constraints of time. In one of the introductory hymns to Osiris in *BD* (13/13 Budge = Any sheet 2/5), it is said of Osiris that *st³.n.f-nty-nn-hpr* "he has bound that which exists and that which has not (yet) come into being" - in other words, he rules the actual and the potential. On this crucial aspect of Egyptian cosmology, see M Bilolo *Les cosmo-théologies philosophiques d'Héliopolis et d'Hermopolis* [Kinshasa 1986] 21-36; M Malaise *Le problème de la genèse dans la pensée égyptienne antique* [Bruxelles 1990] 6f.

¶36 The three plants referred to here all have sacred associations and perhaps are connected with different parts of the country. Possibly they are types of wood used in the doorways to the *wsht-nt-m³^cty*. Uncommon versions of *BD* spell 71 (Yuya, Aufankh) describe the guardian of the 21st Portal

of the netherworld as being called Giraffe, who "came into being before pines grew, before acacias were born, before copper ore was formed in the desert." See Annex, Collateral Texts.

¶37 Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* 10 n16 comments on the funerary aspects and the relationship to Osiris of these trees: all three are used for the Osirian caskets in *BD* spell 193: M Heerma van Voss *ZÄS* 100 [1974] 103f, where he quotes S Sauneron *Rituel del l'embaumement* [1952] 3/10 [line II 10]: 'You receive the best of 's of the West'; K Sethe *ZÄS* 47 [1910] 71-73 on Osiris and the cedar; *isr*: A Szczudlowska *ZÄS* 98 [1970] 70 (top line of text), 79 ad III 1/37, which apparently refers in connexion with Khentyamentiu to 'double doors of *isr*'. *In illo tempore* the trees of the earth had not yet been fashioned: H Grapow *ZÄS* 67 [1931] 34-38, for useful references to primeval time. Cf also U Lust *Studio Aegyptiaca* (Budapest) 2 (1976) 47-81; Zandee *Hymnen aan Amon* 25f; C Zivie-Coché & F Dunand *Dieux et hommes en Égypte* [1991] 52-57. Cf *Rig Veda* X 129.1 for an interesting parallel; and on potentiality vs actuality, cf E Husserl *Cartesian meditations* [den Haag 1977] 56-59.

¶38 's is determined by the leaf-sign in Any, not as printed in Budge. 's: R Germer *Flora d pharaonischen Ägypten* [1985] 7f cf 90-92 (*śndt*); N Baum *Arbres et arbustes* [1988] 303 (on this passage), 303f; L Manniche *Anc Egyptian herbal* [1989] 64f; ST Hollis *Anc Egyptian Tale of Two Brothers* [1990] 116f. On the identification of 's as pine, see A Nibbi *Palestine Exp Q* 113 [1981] 89-99; A Nibbi *Anc Egypt and some eastern neighbours* [1981] 14-31; A Nibbi, Some remarks on the cedar of Lebanon, *DE* 28 [1994] 35-52.

¶39 *śndt* is a holy tree at the Osiris-grave: *Wb* IV [1930] 521f; Baum *oc* 305f, 312, 317f, 321-327, 331; Manniche *oc* 65f; on pronunciation W Vycichl *Vocalisation de la langue égyptienne I* (Le Caire 1990) 81f; cf *śndt* (?) for *śndty* below, line A46. The acacia-house (*śndt* + temple det) in Heliopolis was an important temple during the OK and prefigured the *Akazienhaus* of the NK: E Edel *Akazienhaus* [1970] 35-37; W Helck, Akazie, *LÄ* 1 [1975] 113.

A11 *n-qm³w-s³tw-isrw*

¶40 Barguet translates *s³tw* as 'plancher,' which is certainly arguable. Like Allen, I prefer to take *s³tw* as verbal to balance the phrasing of the two preceding phrases. In T <*s³*> is omitted from *s³tw* through contamination with the *qm³*-bird (Heerma van Voss).

isr(w): Germer [1985] 124f; Baum *oc* 297, 299, 300, 331; Manniche *oc* 149f; more generally: I Gamer-Wallert, Baum, heiliger, *LÄ* 1 [1975] 655-660; H Kees, Baumkult, in H Bonnet *Reallexikon* [1952] 82-87; H Kees *Götterglaube* [1956] 83-89.

¶41 Perhaps there is a connexion with the casket of Khentyamentiu in E Chassinat *Mystère d'Osiris* II [1968] 587, although this is of sycamore (*nht*), and with the caskets referred to in *BD* spell 193, which is unique to pTayuherit and which immediately follows spell 194: on spell 193: M Heerma van Voss *De spreek om de kisten te kennen* [1971]; M Heerma van Voss *ZÄS* 100 [1974] 103f.

A12 *ir- 'q.i-r- / st-śt³w*

¶42 The term 'place of secrets' has strongly Anubidian connotations: (*s*)*śt³* is equivalent to Greek *mustēria* and in Egyptian may also mean 'corpse' or 'casket:' *Wb* IV [1930] 298-300. A *htp-di-nsw* formula of Dyn XIX states: *di.sn-m³³-sśt³-nb-n-d³t* 'may you see all the Mysteries of the netherworld.' W Barta *Aufbau d äg Opferformel* [1964] 147 (89d). On *sśt³*, note also J Assmann *Liturgische Lieder* [1960] 29 n1, 84-86 n9; CJ Bleeker *Initiations* [1965] 49-58; DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §161 n112, with literature; RB Finnestad *Image of the world* [1985] 104-110; BL Goff *Symbols of Egypt* [1979] 187-192; WB Kristensen *Symbool en werkelijkheid* [1962] 163-165; J

Leipoldt & S Morenz *Heilige Schriften* [1953] 88-114; S Mayassis *Mystères et initiations* [1957] 14-20, 176-179; S Morenz *Zauberflöte* [1952] 78-80; G Posener *De la divinité du pharaon* [1960] 47-61; Ritner *oc* [1987] 236f; F Sbordone *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica* [1940] 86-89 *ad Horap I 39*; Zandee *Hymnen aan Amon* 74, 75, 110. A deconstructionist approach to *ta krupta*: J Derrida, in N Abraham & M Torok *Cryptonymie* [1976] 9-73.

¶43 In T10 (line 9, and again in line 1 and pl 18, left, line 4) *ris* written with the *nb* sign, the following three hieroglyphs being erroneous: Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n34. T also has an inversion: *iw-hr.f* for *iw.f-hr* (Any, Anhay). On *sšt³*, cf also below, lines A17, A21, and A61.

Anubis in his role as guardian of the body of Osiris is *hry-sšt³*? Wb IV 298/22 notes this as an important sacerdotal title but gives it as 'selten von Anubis,' citing only *Bals Rit* 8/7 (now S Sauner *Rituel de l'embaumement* [1952] 11/11) and pRhind I 11/12. From the OK Anubis is often so designated: eg (NK) *Book of Caverns* XC 3 Piankoff; A Piankoff & N Rambova *Mythological papyri* II [1957] pl 10. See further R Weill *Recherches* I [1961] 152-170; MG Witkowski *Études et Travaux* (Warszawa) 12 [1983] 43f [37-52]; cf H Altenmüller, *Geheimnis, LÄ* II [1977] 510-513; T DuQuesne *Demeter, Anubis* [1990] 5*; T DuQuesne *Jackal at the Shaman's Gate* [1991] 11-13; BH Stricker *De geboorte van Horus* V [1989] 667.

A13-A14 *iw.mdwt.i- / hn c-Stš]*

¶44

The verb in Anhay line 9 (C07) has the cross sign (Z9), which suggests movement across land, as in *sw³*.

There is a dispute between the Sun and Seth in *BD* spell 125c: Naville *Iouya* pl 27/3 = 261/10 Budge. Cf SSchott *UrkVI* [1929] 69/3, on which see BH Stricker *Het zonne-offer* [1929] 12-14; T DuQuesne *DE* 23 [1992] 87-89 [83-92].

Presumably Seth is here seen in the role of Osiris's enemy. *mdw-hn c* could merely refer to conversation or to a legal dispute, as in *Lebensmüde* 5-6. Does the *st-št³w* contain the severed limbs of Osiris, which it is the responsibility of the new soul to rejoin and revivify? The idea may well be that Seth is to be overpowered by means of *Ma c* et and the use of effective formulae.

¶45 His role in Egyptian judgment texts is limited and esoteric. In the judgment scene shown in *Book of Gates* (hour V) one of his animals, the pig, is chased off by two staff-wielding baboons (*b³w* of Heliopolis?). Anubis is standing by in a prominent position next to Osiris: on interpretation of this scene see M Heerma van Voss *Fs MA Beek* [1974] 85 [80-89]; E Hornung *Buch v d Pfosten* II [1974] 143-152; Seeber *oc* 187-192; cf H te Velde *Seth* [1967] 91-94. In *CT* spell 157 (II 326-348) = *BD* spell 112 (Knowing the *b³w* of Pe), Seth transforms himself into a black pig and wounds the eye of Horus. It is possible that the soul needs to speak with Seth in the latter's function as divine trickster - a deity who would understand the riddles which the soul is required to answer.

A15 *hn̄m.i-tkn-im.i]*

¶46 Cf on lines A31, A45 and A65, below. *hn̄m* may mean 'breathe', 'associate with' and 'scent.' I prefer the latter, especially as we have here a clear identification of the justified soul with Anubis, the jackal who absolutely depends on his olfactory sense. *tkn* followed by preposition indicates the action of approaching: cf RO Faulkner *Concise dictionary* [1964] 302.

C gives the walking-man-with-stick sign with plural strokes, which could be a det for *hn̄m*.

A16 *hbs-hr.f*

¶47 T14 and C11 have instead *hsb-hr*, the former being written with the ‘pustule’ sign: Gardiner Grammar 539 Aa2, on which cf RO Steuer *Aetiological principle of pyaemia* [1948] 1-9. Heerma van Voss compares *Wb* III [1930] 166/6 (*hsb* = ‘zerbrechen’) and 168/4 (*hsb* = ‘schlachten o. ä.’) and translates as: “De Gebrokene van gezicht, zijn blik is op de <geheime> saken gevallen.” Any definitely has *hbs* with the cloth-det.

Cf A59 below, where the soul unveils the one who is there. The syntax is not clear here: the veiled one may be the same as the *tkn-im.i* above. A Ptolemaic ascension spell contains the exhortation “Raise yourself, Pillar, in Busiris. He who veils his head (*hbs-tp*) has hidden your form.” Pleyte *Chapitres supplémentaires* [1881] spell 168 §45. Veiling of the face recalls the wearing of masks, particularly the jackal mask of Anubis: D Meeks *Arch-Nil* 1 [1991] 5-15; MA Murray *Mémoires de l’Institut du Caire* 1 [1934] 251-255; C Seeber, *Maske*, LÄ III [1980] 1196-1199; D Wildung *Antike Welt* 21 [1990] 206-221; A Wolinski *DE* 6 [1986] 47-53.

¶48 One of the titles of the nomarch Djefaihapy was *db-hwt-s3bw-ntrw-šmsw-Hr* (FLI Griffith *Inscr of Siut* [1899] I 173, 238), which Sethe translates as “der bekleidet die heiligen Schakale, der Götter Horusdiener.” K Sethe *Beitr ältesten Religion* [1905] 8. Cf also below, Interpretation, on the *šmsw-Hras 3hw*. The clothing of the deity formed part of the daily temple ritual: AM Blackman *J Manchester Egyptian Soc* 5 [1918/19] 48f [27-51]. There must be something more significant here, however, than the enactment of an everyday *pūjā*.

A17 *hrw-hr-bt-št3w*

¶49 Clearly the one who falls upon (or is prostrate upon) the *ht-št3w* ‘objects of the Mysteries’ does so in order to protect them. The soul is declaring that s/he has performed the proper rituals and engaged with the deities directly. One cannot help being reminded of Anubis the jackal *hr-ht.f*: Pyr 727, 2026; cf 1282, where the king crouches - *inp* - on his belly.

Anubis is *hry-sšt3*, which may quite literally mean ‘he who is upon the casket.’ On *sšt3*, cf on lines A12, A21, and A61.

A18-A19 *iw.f-^cq.f-/r-pr-Wsir]*

¶50 A18-A23 makes the best sense if construed as a return to commentary from direct speech. This passage is paralleled by lines A58-A61, below, the point being that the initiate has actually seen the *sšt3w* of Osiris and taken the role of Anubis in protecting them. The successful outcome of the judgment evidently depends on direct sight of the mysterious objects and on the applicant’s role in identifying and guarding them.

T15 and C30 give *pr-Rwty*.

¶51 The twin lions, depicted in the vignette to *BD* spell 17, flank the horizon and represent, among other things, yesterday and tomorrow: Heerma van Voss *Oudste versie* 53-55; M Heerma van Voss, Ruty, LÄ V [1984] 321; Milde *Vignettes* 32f; Pleyte *Chapitres* I 36-47; BH Stricker *OMRO* suppl 64 [1983] 76f [42-82]; W Westendorf *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes* [1966] 18-20 and *passim*; comprehensive treatment of the Ruty in C de Wit *Rôle et sens du lion* [1951] 123-138; cf B Ockinga *Die Gottheitenbildlichkeit im Alten Ägypten* [1984] 35-37. The ‘house of Ruty’ may be the horizon itself - *3xt* - where the applicant is assessed by *3hw* and joins their numbers: cf M Bilolo *La création et le créateur* [1988] 182-199. A *pr-Rwty* is mentioned in *BD* spell 78, where “I have come today from the temple of Ruty. I have gone from there to the temple of the goddess Isis. I have seen the Mysteries (*dsrw-št3w*), having been led to the Mysteries (*dsrw-imnw*) as she lets me see the birth of the great god.” Budge text 169/13-16. In the same spell, Ruty provides a *nms*-headdress for the

soul: 169/2-3. Cf *CT* spell 312 (IV 81), where “I have come today from the temple of Ruty... to the temple of Isis, to the secret Mysteries.” In this spell the Double Lion has an assessor-like role: cf A de Buck *JEA* 35 [1949] 92f [87-97]. Spell 78, an important transformation text, has a very similar feel to *BD* 194. On headdresses, cf one lines A59, below.

A20-A21 *iw.f-m³3.f- / št³w-nty-im.f/*

Note the emphasis on *sšt³w*: lines A12, A17, A61. On theophanies, cf lines A05, A37, A51, A57, A61.

A22-A23 *iw-d³d³t-nt-sbhywt / m-³xw/*

¶52 Here the syntax is curious, unless the gates are those of the temple of Osiris (or Ruty) mentioned immediately above. This passage refers to the vignette depicting the *ȝhw*. The court (*d³d³t*) comprises *ȝhw* with Anubis as assessor or magistrate *Sr*), the event taking place in front of the exit and within the *wsht*, rather than behind it, as suggested by the vignette. The deceased is examined on his magical knowledge of the door and its parts. Heerma van Voss adds: “In case of a positive result, he may pass, ie leave the hall of *BD* 125 through that very door and gateway (*Anoebis* 19 ad A69-A71). The text in the wrongly called *Schlussrede* is the counterpart and deals with the gate c. a. at the other end of the building; it should enable the deceased to enter the hall” (personal communication, June 1992). Cf his *Anoebis* 4, 6f, 7f, and Heerma van Voss *Acta 1st Congr Egyptol* [Grenoble 1980] 25. That the *ȝhw* are ‘the court of the gateways’ suggests a connexion with the seven gatekeepers and their respective gates in *BD* spell 144. In *BD* spell 17 (= *CTIV* 268-270) the *d³d³t* around Osiris comprises the four Sons of Horus “who are at the back of the Great Bear in the northern sky.” The same text identifies Seven *ȝhw* as Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf and three others: see below, under Interpretation. A taxonomy of *ȝhw* and others: M Heerma van Voss *Vijf dekaden -demonen da capo* [1983] 6, 8, 11; H te Velde, Dämonen, *LÄ* 1 [1975] 980-984. Cf also *CTIII* 142-152, IV 260 (translated in Annex); more generally cf A Brelich *Numen* 7 [1960] 123-136. On *devas* and other entities in Hinduism and their associations with the Conjunction of Opposites: M Eliade *Mitul reintegrarii* [Bucuresti 1942] 41-47. There are some pertinent remarks (re cosmic hierarchies in Sri Lanka) in B Kapferer *A celebration of demons*² [Providence 1991] 155-178.

In Anhay, the word *št³w* could perhaps go with *sbhwt* but may belong elsewhere. It may represent dittography (cf C12 and C16) or might mean ‘the secret gate’. Heerma van Voss reads the word as singular in this sense, with *št³* corresponding to the exit of the judgment hall depicted behind Tayuherit and Bakenwer: *Anoebis* 4. In T, *ȝhw* is determined by the seated noble sign.

II The Report of Anubis

A24 *dd-mdw-in-Inpw/*

¶53 One would expect *in-Inpw*. For Anubis as herald, see Interpretation. Interestingly, his role as psychopomp, which is demonstrated clearly in Ptolemaic funerary papyri, is prefigured or alluded to here.

There is apparent dittography in Anhay, although the phrase could belong elsewhere.

A25 *n-gs<wy.>fy/*

Perhaps more generally “to those on either side of him,” probably referring cryptically to the two Ma‘et-goddesses, to Osiris and Thoth or to the *ȝhw* who accompany him in this spell. Cf the strange epithet of Anubis in *CTIII* 84: “I will not eat excrement, because I am Anubis *k³-gs.f* (Bull of his Side). *hr-gs* means ‘in equilibrium’ in the context of the balance: Seeber *oc* 78f; cf E Lüddeckens *Jhb Ak Wiss Mainz* [1953] 183 n1 [182-199]. In a Roman *Book of the Dead* papyrus, Thoth is to the right and left of a figure of Hathor, while Anubis holds (*mhe*) [the balance] at the side where the two Ma‘aty

are: F Lexa Demot Totenbuch [1910] 6f ad 1 19-20.

A25-A26/T21/C18 *hrw.s-iw- / m-T³-mry/*

¶54 Tayuherit and Anhay add the word *sr(i)* ‘assessor’, an appropriate epithet of Anubis in this context. Possibly there is a garbled version of *sr* in Anhay, but this word does occur in line 4 of her papyrus (C20). According to K Sethe *Fs Griffith* [1932] 432f, this passage shows that the applicant was not a PMNKHME but a foreigner who has visited Egypt. This would suggest that justification was available to non-Egyptians. Such a reference to *T³-mry* would then be otiose. Cf below on line A32.

A28-A30 *iw.f-rhw- / w³wt-nw-dmiw.n / htp.kwi/*

¶55 Because the ‘foreigner’ has familiarized himself with the topography of the country in question, Anubis accepts him. The meaning of *htp* does not lend itself to easy translation: Anubis suggests that he is pleased, propitiated, and at peace. Cf *m³-hrw-m-htp* in line A35, below. Cf K Sethe *Fs Griffith* [1932] 432f, where he compares the role of Thoth as interpreter in *BD* spell 125, p330 Naville.

T26 begins the line with the papyrus-roll sign and *f* and then gives *h³t* instead of *w³wt*: “Hij kent het lijk en onze verblijfplaats” (Heerma van Voss). On the search for the body of the Sun-god, cf Zandee *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I* 350 [1948] 3f; Heerma van Voss *Oudste versie* 59; *CT VI* 376.

A31-A32 *snsn.i-sty.f / m-w^c-im-tn/*

¶56 Cf above, line A15, and below on lines A45 and A65. Reading, in Anhay line 3 (C25) the ‘pustule’ sign (Aa 2) as det for *sty*, although cf line 4 (C25).

On this passage: J Zandee *Death as an enemy* [1960] 238. The aroma of the applicant is as one of the gods. It is worth remembering the importance of scents in Ancient Egypt, where the very word for incense means ‘to make divine’ - *s-ntr*: cf R Germer, Weihrauch, *LÄ VI* [1986] 1167-1169; J Osing, Geruch, *LÄ II* [1977] 555f; Fecht *Wortakzent* 134 §256 (*sti-ntr*); JC Goyon, Räucherung, *LÄ V* [1984] 83-86. The literature is extensive and scattered, and I hope in due course to devote a monograph to the subject. In *Pyr* 365 the king ascends to the sky on the smoke of the great censing, and Hatshepsut’s exquisite text describing her hierogamy with Amun refers to her recognition of the god by his scent: K Sethe *Urk IV* [1906] 220/11; cf Zandee *Hymnen aan Amon* 4-9; E Lohmeyer *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch* [1919] 15-22, and on the context see the excellent account by HP Duerr *Sedna, oder die Liebe zum Leben* [1984] 113-127. In the XXIst Dyn papyrus of Nesykhons, spell 125 ends with a statement that she is “the nostril of the lord of breath:” É Naville *Papyrus funéraires* [1912] pl 29/22.

w^c-im.n/

T28 (line 3) have a rubrum and concluding signs which are in error: cf Anhay line 3 and line 4: Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n28.

¶57 Anubis is master of scents *par excellence*. It was through his acute sense of smell that he led Isis to the scattered limbs of Osiris: Diodorus I 87; cf Plutarch *De Iside* 14; and on the classical testimonies: J-C Grenier *Anubis alexandrini* [1977] 189f. In the *Stundenwachen*, “there comes to you [Osiris-Khentyamentiu] sweet scent... Rise up: Anubis stands by, *hknw*-oil coming from his eyes:” H Junker *Stundenwachen* [1910] 44f III 33, 48f. Already in the *Pyramid Texts* (184) Anubis is *imy-sh-ntr imy-k³p* “the one in the Funerary Workshop, the one in the censing:” cf *Pyr* 2012. There is a splendid NK ostracon (location not stated) which shows Anubis kneeling with an incense jar: MA Murray *Folklore* 66 [1955] pl 5 [257-266].

¶58 The connexion of Anubis with aromatics spans Egyptian history: in the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, he is particularly associated with myrrh: eg *PGM XXXVI* 339. Discussion of the relevant passages: Hopfner *Offenbarungszäuber I* §§484, 539.2, 543. On the transformation of natural human oils, cf J van der Vliet *Aegyptus* 71 [1991] 225-228 [217-242]. Cf now S Aufrère *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* [1991] 329-347, particularly 344 and n(h). One could add many more references, and there is a fascinating study to be done on the divine jackal and incenses.

A XXIst Dyn coffin in Uppsala shows a kneeling Libyan(?) offering incense to a jackal-headed figure named as *nb-Imnyw*. To right, a corresponding kneeling figure offers vegetables to the *b3* of Osiris: G Englund *Medelhavsmuseet Bull* 20 [1985] fig 3 [33-41]. On the *b3* of Osiris, see below, under line A41.

A33-A35 *dd.f-n.i/ink-N-m3c-hrw-/m-htp-m3c-rw]*

¶59 T29 has *dd-in.f-n.i*: cf pl 18, line 3. On *m3c-hrw*, see above on line A03. Note the use of the word *htp* in line A30 above, where Anubis is 'satisfied' by the soul's aroma. The rubrum *{dd-mdw r.s-i}* added in T is clearly erroneous: Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n28.

A36-A37 *ii.n.i- c3 / r-m33-nqrw- c3w]*

On theophanies, cf lines A05, A20, A51, A57, A61.

A38-A39 *cnb.i-m-hptp / imy-k3w.sn]*

Perhaps "who live on the offerings in their *ka*."

A40-A41 *wn.n.i-r-drw- / b3-nb-Ddwt]*

¶60 The word *drw* 'boundaries' may refer to the soul's visits, as recorded in this spell, to the boundaries of Egypt as represented by Elephantine to the south (line A47) and Athribis in the Delta (line A52). Osiris is, in *BD*, often described as *nb-r-dr*: in *CT* the epithet is applied principally to Osiris and Re: B Altenmüller *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* [1975] 272f. The collateral text in *BD* spell 145 has: "I have led festivals there [in Heliopolis?] and given bread to the altar-lords and made offerings... to my father Osiris at the boundary of the Ram (*r-drw-n-B3*)."

¶61 The *b3-nb-Ddwt* 'the Ram Lord of Mendes' is an early local deity: H Bonnet *Reallexikon* [1952] 869f sv Widder [867-871]. There is an obvious connexion with *b3* as 'soul,' as in *BD* spell 85 (transformation into a *b3-cnh*), where the vignette in Any shows *b3-nb-Ddwt*. The ram is closely associated with Chnum, Re, and Amen-Re: T Hopfner *Tierkult* [1913] 89-97; Kees *Götterglaube* 78-81. At the time of Any, the ram would have been seen as a hypostasis of Amen-Re.

¶62 It is in Mendes that the *b3w* of Re and Osiris become 'one *b3*,' according to *CT IV* 276-281 = *BD* spell 17 p60/7-10 Budge (see Annex, below), where *b3* is written with the ram-sign; cf L J Cazemier *Oud-eg voorstellingen aang de ziel* [1930] 119-121; Heerma van Voss *Oudste versie* 42f, 78-80; W Helck, Osiris, *RE* suppl IX [1962] 502 [469-513]; D Kessler *Die heiligen Tiere I* [1989] 12-15. This idea is graphically expressed in a famous painting from the tomb of Nofretary (Ramesses II) which shows the ram-headed united *b3* between Isis and Nephthys: Hornung *Conceptions* 93-95 pl 1. The union of Osiris and Re is a *Leitmotiv* in the Netherworld Books and has cardinal symbolic importance for the reintegration of the soul: see Assmann *Lit Lieder* 101-106 nn18-19; W Barta *Unt z Götterkreis* [1973] 105-116, 135-154; W Barta *Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher* [1985] 11-19; W Barta *JEOL* 29 [1985/86] 98-105; W Barta *ZÄS* 117 [1990] 89-93; DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §§105, 134, 163, with references; G Englund *Akh* [1978] 205-211; M Heerma van Voss *Fs Derchain* [1991] 156 [155-158]; LV Zabkar *Ba concept* [1968] 36-39. On the notion of *b3w-št3w*: J Assmann

Re und Amun [1983] 204-207. See also below, on lines A42-A43.

A42-A43 *di.f-pr.i / m-bnw r-mdt.i]*

¶63 Following offerings made to Osiris, the words *di.i-pr-bnw-mdwt* occur in *BD* spell 145 (see Annex), which seem to mean "I let the phoenix ascend at my word." In pNu, a phoenix (or perhaps a heron) is shown in the vignette to *BD* spell 124 (cf spells 83, 84). On the iconography: H Milde *Vignettes... Neferrenpet* [1991] 190f. Usually the four Sons of Horus are depicted in spell 124, which is for 'going down to the tribunal of Osiris' and hangs closely together with spells 125 and 194. Spell 124, like *CT III* 84 (above on line A25), mentions "not eating excrement." The phoenix is, like the *bȝ-nb-Ddwt* cited immediately above, identified in *BD* as the *bȝ* of Re: spell 29B (94/7 Budge). It is probably the same bird, described as the *bȝ* of Osiris, who is seen on a Ptolemaic representation of the tomb of Osiris beside the sacred tree: eg Kees *Götterglaube*² 88 fig 7, bottom right.

¶64 For the Ptolemaic cult of the *bȝ* of Osiris: H Junker *Götterdekret* [1913] 58-68; cf D Kurth *Der Sarg der Teüris* [1990] 24. There is no doubt that the *bnw* symbolizes immortality like other soul-birds: Bonnet *Reallexikon* 594-596 sv Phönix; A Grimm *ZÄS* 116 [1989] 138-142; E Otto *ZÄS* 77 [1943] 78-91; H te Velde *Fs G Widengren* [1972] 26-31.

r-mdt.i] The implication is that the soul may effect a transformation into the phoenix by means of magical utterance whenever s/he pleases: cf above on line A03.

A44-A45 *wn.n.i-m-itrw / wd.i-m-snȝr]*

¶65 The heron (or phoenix) is a wading bird, so the reference to a river is appropriate. One may also think of the death of Osiris by drowning, which is already referred to in *Pyr* 24, 615, and 766, which state, significantly, that "Horus causes the Children of Horus to assemble for you at the place where you [Osiris] have drowned." Perhaps this is why, in the vignette to this spell in Any, and accompanying the judgment scene in many other papyri, the Children of Horus are so frequently shown in front of Osiris. Horus himself is rescued from marshland: at Kom Ombo, where the god Hike says: "I have come out of the water... my arms are behind you with life and power (*wȝs*)... There [are given?] to you all good things which are in the Delta." W Wet tengel & E Winter *Fs Derchain* [1991] 365 [363-370]. On the ambiguous symbolism of drowning: DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §47; FLI Griffith *ZÄS* 46 [1909] 132-134; A Grimm *SAK* 16 [1989] 111-120; E Hornung *Das Grab Sethos' I* [1991] 46f; H Kees *Fs Griffith* [1932] 402-405; H Kees *Totenglauber*² [1956] 135f; C Strauss, Ertrinken, *LÄ II* [1977] 17-19. The sense and etymology of *hsy* (Osiris 'the drowned one') are disputed, with reason, by C Evrard-Derriks and J Quaegebeur *CdÉ LIV* no 107 [1979] 41f [26-56].

¶66 On drowning, cf also on line A47, below. On uses of the word *itrw*, cf GE Kadish, Seasonality and the name of the Nile, *JARCE* 25 [1988] 185-196. The role of the Nile is well discussed by S-A Naguib, *Les rituels du Nil. L'étude des traditions...* (forthcoming paper, 1993). Kadish should perhaps be forgiven for his snide remark about M Eliade and the 'morass of the eternal return': Eliade was a scholar of greater depth and breadth than most Egyptologists could imagine. It is, however, useful to be reminded of the risks of woolly thinking wherever this occurs. If Kadish thinks there is anything intellectually soft about the concepts of myth and ritual, he should be aware of the work of the neurobiologist EG d'Aquili, *Zygon* 18 [1983] 247-269 & *Zygon* 21 [1986] 141-160.

wd.i-m-snȝr]

¶67 Cf *BD* spell 145, variants: *ii.n.i* (var *mi-R^c*) *m-hwt-nȝr hr-irt-snȝr*. On the importance of scents, cf above on line A15, A31 and A45, and below on line A65. During the Ptolemaic Mysteries for the rebirth of Osiris-Khentyamentiu, incense is offered in hours 1-6 of the night and 3 and 5 of the day:

see Junker *Stundenwachen* ad locc.

A46 *sšm.i-šndt-<y>-n-hrdw]*

¶68 This line is very obscure. All three texts have *šndt*. I led the kilted one (Osiris?) to the children (Children of Horus?). Cf *BD* spell 145, variants: *sšm.n.i-šndty*. The kilt is normally worn by kings and gods: H Bonnet *Die äg Tracht* [1917] 11-17. Is there a paronomasia with *šndt* 'acacia' in line A10, above? Barguet translates as "mon guide l'acacia des enfants (?)," which makes no sense to me. Heerma van Voss proposes "Ik leid het acaciahuis voor de kinderen." Perhaps the meaning is that the justified one leads the gods (eg Horus) to his children, or that s/he is the kilted one, ie <m>-*šndty*.

A47-A48 *wn.n.i-m-ʒbw / m-pr-Stt]*

¶69 *BD* spell 145 omits this passage. Satis is particularly associated with Elephantine, where she had an important cult since OK times. In MK and NK she is regarded as protectress of Egypt's southern border generally: D Valbelle, Satet, *LÄ* V [1984] 487f. For Elephantine as a particular source of *refrigerium*, see B Altenmüller *Reinigungsriten im äg Kult* [Diss. Hamburg 1968] 114-116.

There are very few obvious connexions between Satis and Anubis: D Valbelle *Satis et Anoukis* [1981] 13, 119 doc 111 (where our text is cited), 50 doc 372 (situla with Anubis and Satis: WB Emery *JEA* 53 [1967] pl 25/2), 140-142 §§61-63 (late assimilation to Isis-Sothis). For Sothis as Lady of Elephantine, cf D Müller *Ägypten u die gr Isis-Aretalogien* [1961] 62 cf 90. Elephantine could have been a significant site for the watching of the heliacal rising of Sirius, and the blessing of Satis would certainly have been sought on such an occasion: RA Wells *SAK* 12 [1985] 255-303.

¶70 Incense is offered to her and to Anukis at Edfu (Valbelle *oc* [1981] 139), and these two goddesses are once shown protecting the casket of Osiris at Philae (141 doc 407I pl 12), but the association is tenuous otherwise. However, a prime contender for the site of the tomb of Osiris was Biggeh, and the Nile waters, of which Satis was the patroness, were later held to arise from the humours of Osiris: cf Junker *Götterdekret* [1913] *passim*; D Bonneau *La crue du Nil* [Paris 1964] 243-254; D Wortmann, Kosmogonie und Nilflut, *Bonner Jhb* 166 [1966] 62-112, a superb exposition. There may be a veiled allusion here to Sobk, who like Satis and Anukis is 'Lord of Foreigners' and has Nubian aspects. Sobk is intimately connected with magic, death by drowning, and the rebirth of Osiris: E Brovarski, Sobek, *LÄ* V [1984] 1008 [995-1031]; cf also F Dunand, *La figure animale des dieux, in les grandes figures religieuses* [Besançon 1986] 59-84.

¶71 Satis is patroness of the flow of the Nile, and the soul's visit to her temple may have to do with ritual purification as well as with symbolically guarding the southern frontier: cf the use of *drw* 'boundaries' in line A40, above. The applicant is the archetypal protector of the deities and of the limits of the sacred land. This spell concerns judgment, and I wonder whether there is any relevance in the fact that, at Philae, the name for Elephantine is spelled with the hieroglyph for 'plummet': E Winter, in *Tempel u Kult* ed W Helck [1987] 72-74 [61-76].

A49 *iw-smh.n.i-wiʒ-n-ḥftyw]*

¶72 Following reference to the *neshmet* below, A50, the following occurs in *BD* spell 145: "Osiris Khentyamentet is justified against his enemies. I ferry all his enemies to the place of execution (*ḥbt*) in the East. They shall not elude the guardianship of Geb there. I raise up for him [his] buttocks (*kfʒ*) on the day of his justification. I have come as a spitting scribe (*ss-pg*) - thus Allen - 'so that I may put the *shm* of the god on his feet.' On setting the image of the god upright, cf below, lines A54f, A77. Cf the Ikhernofret stela, where he repels the attackers of the *neshmet*-barque: H Schäfer *Mysterien des Osiris* [1904] line 18. On the river connexion, cf above on line A44. See also on next line.

A50 *iw.i-wd³.kwi r-š-m-nšmt*

¶73 *BD* spell 145 has: *qd³.kwi-mw-n-nšmt*. Crossing the lake in the *neshmet*-boat indicates that the soul has reached Abydos on his itinerary. Ikhernofret supervises work on the *neshmet* during the *prt* of Upwawet in the Mysteries of Osiris-Khentyamentiu (cf above on line A02, noting that this spell is addressed to this form of Osiris): Schäfer *oc* line 14. There the initiate identifies with Upwawet as *ndty-it.f* 'champion of his father,' more usually seen as a role of Horus.

¶74 The lake may be an allusion to the Lake of Fire with four baboons which is figured in the vignette to *BD* spell 125 or 126 (there being close connexions with both): Seeber *oc* 184-186; Milde *oc* 109; cf BH Stricker *Het zonne-offer* [1989] 56-67. Spell 126 addresses the baboons and concerns entry to Ro-Setawe. There is a Lake of the Jackal(s) referred to several times in *Pyrand CT*: eg "Horus purifies this king in the Jackal Lake" *Pyr* 372; cf J Spiegel *Auferstehungsritual* [1971] 257 *ad loc*; L Greven *Der Ka* [1952] 22f, where duality is emphasized: N is purified in the jackal lake: N's ka is purified in the lake of the netherworld. In discussing *CTIII* 360, J Zandee rightly emphasizes the connexion of this netherworldly lake with Anubis and with his purificatory role: *JEOL* 24 [1975/76] 36-38 [1-47]. There is an interesting passage in *BD* spell 17 which links the Lake of Fire with Anubis: "O Re-Atum... may you rescue N from this god whose face is that of a greyhound (*lsm*)... who is at the corner of the Lake of Fire, who swallows corpses ('m-h³t)... Concerning the Lake of Fire, it lies between Niarref and the Court;" *BD* 64/1-10 Budge. Niarref (Abusir el-Malaq) is referred to below in line A63. Anubis is described as *s c m-it.f* in the judgment scene in the *Book of Gates* (hour 5, scene 23): see Hornung II [1974] 147f; M Heerma van Voss *Phoenix* 14 [1968] 170 [165-171], T DuQuesne *DE* 22 [1992] 84 [79-90], and on the magical efficacy of swallowing Ritner *oc* [1993] 102-110. This vignette is in close proximity to hour 4 (scene 16), which shows lakes on which twelve jackal-headed figures are standing: Hornung *oc* II 104f. On sacred lakes: B Gessler-Löhr, *See, heilige, LÄ V* [1984] 791-803.

A51-A52 *m³3.n.i- / s c h³w-Km-wr*

¶75 A51-A53 are not found in *BD* spell 145. On theophanies in this spell, cf lines A05, A20, A37, A57, A61.

For the notion of *s c h³*, cf EAE Raymond *ZÄS* 98 [1972] 132-140. The *šmsw-Hr* are sometimes called *s c h³w*: K Sethe *Beiträge* [1905] 7-8. In *BD* spell 1B, for enabling an individual's *s c h³* to reach the netherworld, the vignette shows Anubis tending the mummy: Naville *Totenbuch* I pl V.

Athribis in the Delta was a centre of the cult of Osiris (at least from Dyn XVIII) and repository of the god's midsection (*Hwt-hry-ib*). The town was sacred to the goddess Khuyt (NK), who is *hbst-ngr* 'clother of the god': *Wb* III [1930] 67/1. On clothing the god, see on line A64, below. The local Athribite ritual of 'fastening the diadem' connects with the references in this spell to veiling and unveiling the deities. On the cults of Athribis: P Vernus, *Athribis, LÄ I* [1975] 519-524.

A53 *wn.n.i-m-Ddw sgrw-n.i*

¶76 Busiris again returns us to the subject of the Osiris-relics. This Lower Egyptian town had *Anedjty* as its local, anthropomorphic deity: Kees *Götterglaube* 110f. Busiris (with Abydos and the Abaton of Philae) had a strong claim to being the site of the tomb of Osiris, and the *dd*-pillar symbolizes stability: cf Bonnet *Reallexikon* 576f *sv* Osirisgrab; Junker *Götterdekret, passim*. To what extent *Anedjty* was associated with Osiris, and when, has been debated: JG Griffiths *Origins of Osiris* [1980] 136-139. Although the evidence for Busiris as the site of the tomb of Osiris is late, it cannot be disputed that he was important there: in a hymn to Osiris-Wenennofre found in Any, he is specifically called *nb-Ddw*: *BD* 13/11 Budge.

sgrw-n.i/ This could mean 'I was silent' or 'there was silence for me.'

A54-A55 *di.n.i-shm-ntr / m-rdw.fy/*

¶77 Cf on A49, above. As usual, there are at least two meanings here. The context is that he is revivifying Osiris, the *wrd-ib* 'the Tired one:' cf, for instance, *BDspell 1*, 19/13 Budge, where the soul draws the bolts of the gates of the *sšt'* of Ro-Setawe.

The *shm* of the god is, *inter alia*, his sacred image in the temple. On *shm*, see particularly W Barta, Sechem, *LÄ V* [1984] 772-776; Bonnet *Reallexikon 692f sv Sechem*; T DuQuesne *Aspects of the goddess Sakhmet* [1992, in press]; S Fodor *Fs Kákosy* [Budapest 1992] 185 [171-186]; P Germond *Sekhmet* [1981] 108-110; A Hassan *GM 103* [1988] 33-37; Hornung *Conceptions* 62f; G Jéquier *Considérations* [1946] 140f; K Koch *SAK 11* [1984] 441-444 [425-454]; Origen *c Celsum VII 62*; S Schott *Mythe u Mythenbildung* [1945] 83-88; L Troy *Patterns of queenship* [1986] 85f; W Westendorf *ZÄS 94* [1967] 145-147; EM Wolf-Brinkmann *Versuch... d Begriffes 'b3'* [1968] 57-61.

¶78 Empowerment of the god is part of a typically Egyptian reciprocity between humans and deities. *CTV 243* (spell 413, for causing the *ba* to travel in the netherworld) has *n-irw-ntr gr-N-pn* "the god was not celebrated [as long as] I was silent." A case in point is the offering of Ma'at to the gods: Assmann *Ma'at* 185-191; T DuQuesne *DE 22* [1992] 86-88; Hornung *Conceptions* 213-216; E Teeter *The offering of Maat* [Diss. Chicago 1989].

The *shm* is often seen in NK as an attribute of Anubis, eg Piankoff/Rambova *Myth papyri II* pl 11, and in the *Book of Caverns* he is repeatedly called *shm-Imntt*: pls 90/3, 5, 7, 9 etc; cf F Lexa *Magie III* [1924] 104a. In *Amduat*-type papyri, the sign showing an armed jackal-headed figure is used to denote *shmyt*: Niwinski *Studies 134n*, table XIII. It is worth briefly noting that the *shm*-sign represents a type of sistrum, an instrument later found in Anubis's armamentarium: J-C Grenier *Anubis alexandrin* [1977] 167.

A56 *wn.n.i-m-pr-Tpy-dw.f/*

¶79 *BDspell 145* has *ii.n.i-m-pr-Tpy-dw.f/m33.n.i-Hnty-sh-ntr*. Perhaps the 'temple of Him who is on his Mountain', ie Anubis, is intended to refer to Cynopolis (Harday), close to Hermopolis, capital of the XVIIth nome of UE: F Gomaa et al *Mittelägypten* [1991] 73f, 173-176; W Helck *Die äg Gaeu* [1974] 112-116. Another possibility is Abydos, an early and major cult-centre of Anubis.

The epithet *tpty-dw.f* underscores the funerary aspect of the god: DuQuesne *Coptic invocation §108*, with literature. I wonder whether the viper sign is in fact a determinative for *dwand* refers to the 12th nome of UE: Helck *Gaeu* 100-102.

A57 *m33.n.i-Hnty-sh-ntr/*

This whole invocation is essentially about theophanies: cf lines A05, A20, A37, A51, A61.

¶80 The Anubidian epithet *hnty-sh-ntr* parallels *tpty-dw.f*, each often designating the two heraldic jackals seen on Abydene stelae of the MK: R Hödlz *Giebelfelddekoration* [1990] 97-109. On religious aspects of the *sh-ntr*: B Altenmüller *Reinigungsriten* [1968] 50-55; H Altenmüller *JEOL 22* [1971/72] 307-317; E Brovarski *Orientalia 46* [1977] 107-113; J Settgast *Bestattungsdarstellungen* [1963] 3-15. On physical and other aspects: D Kurth, *Reinigungszelte*, *LÄ V* [1984] 220-222, with literature. *hnty-sh-ntr* occurs from very early in OK: B Begelsbacher-Fischer *Unt Götterwelt* [1981] 29-31.

If a specific place is to be inferred, perhaps it is Memphis: according to pjumilhac, it was there that

the members of Osiris were reconstituted for reburial at Heliopolis: J Vandier *BIFAO* 32 [1961] 116f [105-123].

A58 *iw.i-^cq.kwi-r-pr-Wsir]*

¶81 It is not clear where this takes place, but Abydos is the most likely candidate. In this spell, the applicant begins by declaring to Osiris-Khentyamentet that s/he has come "to see your beauty" (above, line A05), presumably in Osiris's temple, as corroborated by Anubis.

A59 *kf.n.i-^cfnwt-m-nty-im]*

The ^cfn̄t is the headdress normally worn by deities: on the iconography and differential diagnosis of divine and royal headgear, cf E Vassiliki *Ptolemaic Philae* [1989] 84-93. In Ramesside Egypt, dress was simpler. Although the ^cfn̄t is commonly described as a 'royal headcloth' (as in Faulkner *Concise dict* 42 sv), the term is used in *BD* exclusively of deities. In the wonderfully evocative spell for acquiring a ferryboat in the netherworld (*CT* spell 404, *BD* spell 99), the soul encounters Min and Anubis at their time of festival, when the deities are washing their ^cfn̄t-headwear: H Grapow *Rel Urk* (= *Urk V*) [1915] 162/7. A XXIst Dyn variant (Gatseshny) adds to the end of spell 145 the words "Your eyes are opened for you to see the disk. The one wearing the ^cfn̄t is revealed to you." Allen *Book of the Dead* [1974] 133 §S 5. There are important parallels between parts of our text and spell 145.

A60 *iw.i-^cq.kwi-r-R³-st³w]*

¶82 This line occurs *ipsis verbis* in *BD* spell 145. Literally, Ro-Setawe is part of the necropolis of Saqqara, whose patron is Sokar, but it symbolizes the threshold between this world and the next: T DuQuesne *Anubis and the spirits* [1990] 10f, 16f; DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §§119-121; DuQuesne *Jackal* 8-26; DuQuesne *Fs Zolla* 130-132; Kees *Totenglauben* 292-302; E [Freier-Kindler *Unt zu Wesen d Gottes Sokar* [unpubl Diss Leipzig 1970] 122-124, 191-197.

¶83 Anubis is often cited as *nb-R³-st³w*: examples in DuQuesne *Anubis* 16 n34. *BD* spells 117-122 concern Ro-Setawe as the interface between the worlds, where the soul claims to have been born - a sentiment which echoes *CTVII* 289. The latter text is part of the *Book of the Two Ways*, where Ro-Setawe figures prominently: eg *CT* VII 340 (spell 1072), VII 352f (spell 1080), where a sealed container holding the *rdw* of Osiris is placed there. In the fourth hour of the *Amduat*, there is a strange corridor which is specifically called Ro-Setawe, a place to which only Anubis has access: I 64 Hornung; E Hornung *Nachtfahrt d Sonne* [1991] 61, 66, 67, 213f; cf T DuQuesne *DE21* [1991] 86f [83-88].

A61 *m³.n.i-št³w-nty-im]*

Omitted in *BD* spell 145. On 'seeing' the *sst̄*, cf lines A05, A20-A21, A37, A51, A57, A61. The 'secret things' must relate to the transfiguration of Osiris and of the justified soul itself.

A62 *imn.n.i- gm.n.i-tš̄]*

¶84 Also *verbatim* in *BD* spell 145. *tš̄* 'split apart' seems, *pace* Allen, to make much better sense than *tš̄i* 'be absent.' The context is, after all, the reconstitution of the severed limbs of Osiris by the soul. Hiding the body is a particularly Anubidian function: in the *Book of Caverns*, the jackal god specifically conceals the corruption from which Osiris rises: pls XC-XCI Piankoff. In pJumilhac (XII 22-XIII 10) the members of Osiris are concealed and transformed in the *imy-wt* by Hezat, mother of Anubis: Vandier 63-69 *ad loc.* On this passage cf DuQuesne *Fs Zolla* 122-124; U Köhler *Das Imiut II* [1975] 410f. Does this explain why the *imy-wt* so regularly figures in front of the enthroned Osiris in vignettes of the judgment scene? Cf Seeber *Totengericht* 127, 155 n697; T Andrzejewski *Papyrus mythologique de Te-hem-en-Mout* [1959] 16-19.

A63 *iw.i-h3.kwi-r-Ni3ittf*

¶85 A63-A64 appear similarly (twice) in *BD* spell 145, where the soul also proceeds to glorify Hu and Sia, also twice (Aufankh). On Niarref, location of the Lake of Fire, see above on line A50. The name means something like 'the one who cannot be removed' and the place is identified as Abusir el-Malaq, close to Herakleopolis: J von Beckerath, *Abusir el-Meleq, LÄI* [1975] 28. One of the gates to Ro-setawe is located there, the other being at the *i3t* of Osiris: *BD* spell 17, 55/5 Budge.

A64 *hbs.n.i-nty-im-hr-h3w*

¶86 Cf above on lines A51-A52, on the goddess Khuyt of Athribis as clother of the god. Cf *hbs-hr.f* in line A16 above.

Clothing the naked was an important ethical responsibility. The earliest reference I know is in an inscription from Deir el-Gebrawi of late Vth or early VIth Dyn: K Sethé *UrkI* [1903] 77/9, where the writer also asserts that he has fed the jackals of the desert: *Ib* 77/12.

One might say that clothing the naked *sub specie humanitatis* is equivalent to performing a similar service for the god Osiris, as here. Assmann rightly regards such actions as indicating *m3 ct* and as prefiguring the negative statements of *BD* spell 125: *Ma'at* 99-109; Spiegel *Totengericht* 37-43.

A65-A66 *rdi.n.i- cntyw-n-hmt / m-šnw-n-Rhyt*

¶87 This line is extremely puzzling. There is a parallel passage at the end of *BD* spell 145: *pr- cntyw-mdht(?)-m-šnw-n-Rhyt* "myrrh rises... from the circle of the Delta-dwellers." 349/3 Budge. The following translations of our passage are on offer: "I have given myrrh to women in the circle of the common folk" (Allen); "J'ai donné de la myrrhe aux femmes dans le lac des hommes" (Barguet); "There was given unto me the *anti* unguent [such as] women [use], along with the powder of human beings" (Budge). On *šnw*, cf Fecht *Wortakzent* 94f §§172f. The *šnw-Rhyt* was evidently a physical place, probably in the Western Delta: cf A Nibbi, *ZÄS* 116 [1989] 157 [153-160]; J Vercoutter *BIAFO* 46 [1946] 141-147 [125-158] & *BIAFO* 48 [1948] 136, 137, 138, 142f, 145, 183f (*šnw-Rxyt* and *šnw-H3w-nbwt*). A Ramesside funerary text refers to the deceased as 'one who is concerned with his Rhyt': P Barthelmeß *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern* [Heidelberg 1991] 77f.

¶88 '*ntyw* 'myrrh' is associated principally with Ethiopia, Somalia, and South Arabia rather than with the Delta: R Germer, *Myrrhe*, *LÄ IV* [1982] 275f; A Nibbi *Anc Egypt and some eastern neighbours* 56-80; RO Steuer *Myrrh u Stakte* [1933] 41-58; W Zwickel *Räucherkult u Räuchergeräte* [1990] 35, 342f. Myrrh is important in the reconstitution of the divine body: eg *Urk IV* 347/7.

n-hmt/Perhaps 'of women.' Conceivably the reference is to psychic androgyny to symbolize the soul's reintegration. In the rubric to *BD* spell 125, the initiate (who is certainly male in the case of Any) must be *wrhw-m-h3t-nt- cntyw*: 'anointed with the best myrrh' 268/1 Budge.

m-šnw/This should somehow express the idea of something encircling: on the symbolism cf W Barta *ZÄS* 98 [1970] 5-16.

Rhyt: A Nibbi *Lapwings and Libyans* [1986] *passim*; C Vandersleyen, in *Archaeology... of the Egyptian Delta* [1989] 301-304. I do not underestimate the disagreement among experts about the identity of the lapwing-people. Satis is once cited (Ptolemaic) as *nbtv-Rhyt*: Wb II 233: on Satis, see above, line A48.

A67-A68 *mk-sw-ddw.n.i-hr.f / dd.n.i wn-mh3t-m-hr-ibw.n*

Here Anubis sets the seal on the applicant, whose qualifications are now acceptable to him. Note that the initiate has *seen* the god himself (above, line 57) and is now in a state of balance within the heart of Anubis and the other deities. On the word *ib* and the significance of the heart, see in particular: H Bonnet *Fs Rosellini I* [1949] 237-252; D Müller *Orientalia* 35 [1966] 247-274; M Bilolo *La création et le créateur* [1988] 50-60.

III Questions, Answers, and Acceptance

A69-A71 *dd-mdw-in-hm-n-Inpw/ir-iw.k-rb.tw-m-n-sb³-pn/r-dd-čš.n.i]*

¶89 In BDspell 125, *Schlussrede*, the various parts of the gateways to the Hall of Dual Order ask the applicant to speak their esoteric names, whereas here Anubis is the interrogator. The names in our spell do not correspond with those in the much longer spell 125, on which cf H Brunner *Symbolon* NF 6 [1982] 47f [37-59].

r-dd-čšn.i]

The soul's reputation has preceded him. Is this, perhaps, a reference to previous examinations such as that given by Thoth in spell 125?

A72-A73 *dd-in-N-m³č-hrw-pn/Hr-sk-Św m-n-sb³-pn]*

¶90 The overturning of Shu might mean the restoration of the unity between earth and sky, which Shu separates from each other: cf N Rambova, in A Piankoff & N Rambova *Mythological papyri I* [1959] 46-50; DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §129 and, more generally, §§44, 129-137 with literature. A useful monograph on this theme is W Staudacher *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde* [1942].

A75-A77 *dd-in-hm-n-Inpw/ir-iw.k-rb m-n-sdm-/hry-sdm-hry]*

hm] This is the only occasion in this spell when Anubis is called 'majesty.'

sdm] Such a term does not appear to be among the usual Egyptian words for parts of doors or gates: H Brunner, *Tür und Tor*, LÄ VI [1986] 779f [778-787]. Maybe the implication is that the leaves or flaps of the door are symmetrical, like ears.

A78 *Nb-m³čt-hr-tp-rdw.y.fy/in-rn-n-sdm-hry]*

¶91 Cf above, line A54-A55, where the applicant sets the sacred image of the deity on his two feet.

A79-A80 *Nb-phty-ts-mnnmnt/[in-rn-n-sdm-hry]]*

*nb-phty*sounds very Typhonian. On *č3-phty*and similar epithets, see DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §§83-85, with references, to which add Zandee *Hymnen aan Amon* 43; RK Ritner *Mechanics of ancient Egyptian magical practice* [Chicago 1993] 25f cf 214-220. There is also a close association with Hike, who in papyri of this period often wears the lion-hindquarters sign on his head: H te Velde *JEOL* 21 [1970] 183f [175-186].

ts-mnnmnt]

This description recalls the later epithet of Anubis *p-mr-’h-nfr*: J Quaegebeur *Studia Aegyptiaca* (Budapest) 3 [1977] 119-129. Cf also W Helck, Hirt, LÄ II [1977] 1220-1223; D Müller *ZÄS* 86 [1961] 126-144.

[in-rn.n-sdm-hry]

Supplied from the context.

A81-A82 *sš-ir.k-tw.k-rb.tw / Wsir-N-mʒc-b`rw-nb-imʒb]*

On justification by means of knowledge of esoteric names, cf on line A06, above, and H Brunner, in *Der Name Gottes* ed H von Stietencron [1975] 33-49.

IV Additional Text

¶92 This part of the text, which I would regard as being intimately connected with spell 194, may be seen as a rubric. It occurs in papyri T, F, and W with no *variae lectiones* of substance (see above, text with apparatus).

T44-T45 *wcgb-gm.n.f-bʒ-im / sšm-ntr-rn.f]*

These lines, omitted in Any, form a kind of commentary on the proceedings in general and the vignettes in particular. Cf Heerma van Voss (*Anoebis 6 ad loc*) on the union of the *bʒ* of the justified with that of Osiris. On the *bʒ* of Osiris, see above on line A41, and cf on lines A02 and A32. *wcgb* should be read as feminine: Heerma van Voss 11 n42. For literature on the embalming workshop, cf above on A57.

gm.n.f] Meaning the soul as sun-god.

sšm-ntr] The name of the *bʒ*. Cf *BD* spell 29b; Heerma van Voss *Anoebis 6* n46, re the *bʒ* of Re^c. For *sšm*, cf A46 above.

T46-T47 *šd(y)-m-pr- / Wsir-N-mʒc-brw]*

For *šdy*, cf *Wb IV* [1930] 561. *m-pr*: Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n43. In W, the rest of the line has been left blank for the name of the scroll-owner. The proper name is omitted in F.

T48-T50 *ii.n.i-r-bw-hm-ntr-<pn>-cʒ-im / m-wsbt-wr[t] / wnn-Wsir-m-hnw]*

¶93 On *cʒ*, Heerma van Voss writes: "Plate 19, line 2 shows both the normal writing of *cʒ* (in 'great') and the execution (in 'here'), which explains the haplography in *pn*." *cʒ* is omitted in F and W. Anubis is called *hm* once in T's version of this spell: cf Heerma van Voss 11 n47. Note *wnn* as epithet.

wsbt

Cf above on line A01. I take *ntr-pn* to be Anubis, who is differentiated from Osiris, the latter being deep within the Broad Hall.

wr[t]]

All three texts give *wr* without feminine ending.

T51-T52 *wnn-r-nhh / s cʒr-dt]*

¶94 There is a considerable literature on *dt* and *nhh*: see particularly J Assmann *Zeit u Ewigkeit* [1975]; J Assmann, *Ewigkeit*, LÄ II [1977] 47-54; P Derchain *OLP 6/7* [1975/76] 153-161; WB Kristensen *JEOL 2* [1939/42] xv-xxvi; A Niwiński *GM 48* [1981] 41-54; E Otto *Gott u Mensch* [1964] 91-94; L Kákosy, *Zeit*, LÄ VI [1984] 1361-1371; BH Stricker *OMRO 49* [1968] 40-56; BH Stricker *OMRO suppl 64* [1983] 42-82; W Westendorf, in *Göttinger Tb-studien* [1975] 183-206. Other references in T DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §161 n113.

T53 *nb-bt-bt-tʒ-n-mrwt]*

Free passage within the netherworld is crucial to the justified soul.

T54 *ir.n.f-dm³.n-sn]*

For *dm³* 'to do obeisance' cf Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n49; D Meeks *Année Lexicographique 1978* [1981] #4793. F and W have *m³3.n.sn*. *sn* must refer to the *ȝhw*.

T55-T56 *rdi.n.f-sw-ḥr-ḥt.f- / m-bȝh.sn]*

¶95 On prostrating oneself before the gods, see HG Fischer, Proskynese, *LA* IV [1982] 1125-1127; cf *Shipwrecked Sailor* 137. Cf also above on A31. The expression 'on his belly' recalls an epithet of Anubis *ḥr-ḥt.f*: *Pyr* 727, 2026; *Book of Caverns* XXXIX 1. In *Pyr* 1282 the king crouches (*inp*) on his belly: cf K Sethe *Komm Pyr* V [1939] 196. The vignettes to Tayuherit, Nesytenabashru, and Bakenmut show these individuals respectively prostrate before Anubis and the *ȝhw*.

T57-T58 *dd.in.s-n.s<n> / ind-ḥr.tn-nbw-ḥt]*

¶96 Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* n51. For *n̄b-ḥt*, cf above, line T52.

T59-T60 *ddt-ḥft-spr- / r-nn-n-ȝhw]*

The above surely refers to the main part of the spell rather than to the rubric.

T61-T62 *‘ḥ c.n-isy.n.sw / Wsir-N-m³ c-ḥrw-ḥr-Wsir]*

The juxtaposition of 'Osiris *N*' and 'Osiris' underlines the identification of the one with the other.

ḥr-Wsir] In Tayuherit only, perhaps to fill up the line. The remainder of the line is blank in W.

Interpretation

*però li è concesso che d'Egitto
vegna in Ierusalemme, per vedere,
anzi che 'l militar li sia prescritto.*

Dante *Paradiso* XXV 55-57

There are many riddles of the dead which only the living can answer..

Ben Okri *The famished road* (London 1991) 427; cf 40, 75

La divinité se transforme, l'homme se transforme, la matière se transforme... Il n'a pas de mort dans le monde, il n'y a que des transformations... sans que jamais il s'opère d'anéantissement.

Paul Pierret *Le dogme de la résurrection chez les anciens Égyptiens* [1871] 17

Divinatory Language

¶97 In the cryptic Vedic hymn called 'The Riddle of the Sacrifice,' the poet ironically describes himself as a fool seeking the hidden footprints of the gods.¹ The hermeneutics of Egyptian religious texts is like this too. *Book of the Dead* spell 194 is replete with associations, nuances, *double sens*, and many of its expressions have magical penumbras which are as profound as anything encountered in Sufi poetry. In Egypt, the soul seeking justification has to master the art of divinatory language, in this case by knowing and uttering the hidden names of the gateways to the netherworld and by satisfying Anubis that he/she, so to speak, deserves the keys to the kingdom. In Northern mythology, Odin acquires the runes only after symbolic death and the solution of riddles,² and the princess Turandot will accept only the suitor who answers three enigmatic questions.³

¹Rig Veda I 164.5. In X 28.4, there is a riddle involving a jackal ambushing a boar. On 'intentional language' (Sanskrit *samdhya* *abhāṣā*) cf M Shahidullah *Les chants mystiques de Kanha* [Paris 1928] 9-13; on poetic etymologies and related issues V Mazzarino *Le parole dell'ambiguità* [Bologna 1991] 143-150 and passim; on words, mandalas and related matters: A Padoux, Introduction, in *Mantras et diagrammes rituels dans l'hindouisme* [Paris 1986] 1-9; DL Snellgrove *Hevajra Tantra I* [London 1959] 66-72, especially sloka I vii; DL Snellgrove *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism* [London 1987] 158-175; M Eliade *Yoga*² [Chicago 1969] 249-254, 410f, cf 405f on *mudrās*; M Eliade *Shamanism* [Chicago 1964] 250; W Doniger (O'Flaherty) *The Rig Veda* [London 1981] 15-16. *Mudrā* is discussed by J Gonda, *Mudrā*, in *Ex orbe religionum (Fs G Widengren)* II [Leiden 1972] 21-31; more generally cf J Fernandez, Edification by puzzlement, in *African systems of thought*, ed I Karp & CS Bird [Bloomington 1985] 44-59. On similar gestures in Egypt, cf below §111.

²J de Vries *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* II [Berlin 1937] 185-187 §§162f; on rune-magic cf II 57-64 §§64-67. On *parrhēsia* in the Coptic context: J van der Vliet *Muséon* 105 [1992] 27-43.

³B Bettelheim *Uses of enchantment* [New York 1976] 128f; A Aarne & S Thompson *The types of the folktale*² [Helsinki 1964] #851a.

¶98 Similarly, in the Egyptian text under study, access to the Netherworld is granted when certain secret names are uttered and esoteric rituals performed in particular sacred places.⁴ The initiate must find the meaning behind the mundane interpretation, just as hieroglyphics are not merely pictograms but symbols, words, and syllables of power.⁵ Freud's famous patient known as the Wolf-Man has been ably deconstructed by N Abraham and M Torok, who liken his vocabulary to a Rosetta Stone awaiting its Champollion, an analogy which, not surprisingly, proved irresistible to Jacques Derrida.⁶ The Dogon of Mali have their deconstructive genius too, in the character of Ogo-Yurugu, the pale fox who more closely resembles a darker shade of jackal and who like Anubis is a shape-shifter. Ogo-Yurugu possesses the divinatory half of the forty-eight categories of language, while his human twin the Nommo has to make do with the conventional remainder.⁷ The riddle of the ascent to the sky is amusingly illustrated by a Yiddish folksong in which the suitor offers to build a celestial ladder if his intended bride provides him with seven children but remains a virgin:

*Ikh vel dir oysboyen a leyter hoykh
Tsum himl vet er shtaygn,
Hobe-zhe mir zibn kinder
A meydl zolstu blaybn...⁸*

⁴Cf G van der Leeuw, Unsterblichkeit, *Eranos-Jhb* 18 [1950] 183-206; E Hornung, Discovery of the unconscious in Anc Egypt, *Spring* (Dallas) 1 [1986] 16-28. Riddles are important in Bambara initiations: *D Zahan Sociétés d'initiation bambara* [Paris 1960] 104.

⁵An interesting but brief discussion in O Goldwasser & N Laor, The allure of the holy glyphs, *GM* 123 [1991] 37-51. Comparisons with other visual, symbolic, and magical languages might be instructive. J DeFrancis *Visible speech* [Honolulu 1989] 24-42 is useful for discussing Siberian Yukaghirs pictographs, but takes no account of the magical functions of Egyptian or even Sanskrit or of the philosophical issues. The depth of the problem is bravely discussed by E Cassirer *Philosophy of symbolic forms* I [New Haven 1953] 73-113. There is a remarkable discussion of pictographs as myths and as *signa*, which has great relevance for comparative religion and linguistics, by W-G Hellinga *Pétroglyphes caraïbes: problème sémiologique* [Amsterdam 1954 = *Lingua* 4 (1954) 117-166].

⁶J Derrida, in N Abraham & M Torok *Cryptonymie* [Paris 1976] 7-73. Derrida is at least indirectly aware of *real* hieroglyphs: The pit and the pyramid: introduction to Hegel's semiology, in *Margins of philosophy*, tr [Chicago 1982] 69-108; *De la grammatologie* [Eng tr: Baltimore 1976] 69, 80f, 148, 284f; cf 242-268 on the magico-religious resonances of the *neume* and other forms of sound; re Derrida cf B Krajewski *Traveling with Hermes* [Amherst MA 1992] 84-93. Some of Derrida's ideas are prefigured by JG Herder in his *Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* I [Riga 1774] 241, who wrote of the Orphic Hymns, which he considered Egyptian in origin: "Die aufgefangnen, zugekleideten Sangweisen, die wir haben, was sind sie... als zerstückte Glieder des Urgesangs aller Wesen": *Herders Sämmtliche Werke*, ed B Suphan VI [Berlin 1883] 398 cf 357. Herder rightly raps PE Jablonski over the knuckles for literal attempts to derive the name of Yahveh from that of Re, arguing for a more symbolic approach: *o c* 185f (353f of reprint). There is exciting research in philosophy and biochemistry into language and synesthesia: RE Cytowic *Synesthesia* [New York 1989] 177-189.

⁷G Calame-Griaule *Ethnologie et langage: la parole chez les Dogon* [Paris 1965] 104-250, with summary 174-180; D Paulme, La divination par les chacals chez les Dogon de Sanga, *Journal Soc des Africanistes* (Paris) 7 [1937] 1-15. For the divination tables of Ogo-Yurugu: M Griaule & G Dieterlen *The pale fox*, tr [Chino Valley, Arizona 1986] 293-305.

⁸R Rubin, Some aspects of comparative Jewish folksong, in *Studies in Biblical and Jewish folklore*, ed R Patai et al [Bloomington 1960] 241f [233-252].

¶99 The number seven is of consequence in the Egyptian spell under discussion. Accompanying Anubis, in the vignette to Tayuherit, are seven *akhu* or transfigured souls.⁹ With the jackal god they comprise a tribunal to determine whether the applicant may be admitted to the world beyond. I take these entities to be the same as the seven *akhu* referred to in *BD* spell 17 and elsewhere (see Annex).

¶100 According to the *Midrash*, all sevens are beloved,¹⁰ and this number is of great consequence in Jewish magic.¹¹ The *Sefer Yetzirah* has seven heavens and seven earths,¹² and the *Upaniṣads* refer to seven kinds of breath and seven flames as arising from Brahma.¹³ In the *Qur* ‘ān, the Seven Sleepers in the Cave are accompanied, and, although the text is obscure, apparently roused by the dog who is with them.¹⁴

¶101 The eschatological connexions are encountered in a number of different cultures. When Inanna or Ishtar descends to the netherworld, there are seven gates and she must cast off seven veils.¹⁵ In the Islamic *Book of the Ladder*, the *sīrāt* bridge lies between ‘our earth’ and the other seven earths.¹⁶ Arda

⁹On the vignettes to spells 194 and 125, see Heerma van Voss *Anoebis* 5; cf Milde *Neferrenpet* 36f. See also above, ¶1-¶22. Among interesting parallels: the Indian deity Mallanna (a form of Khandoba) has an army of seven dogs: GD Sontheimer, Between ghost and god, in *Criminal gods and demon devotees*, ed A Hiltzebeitel [New York 1989] 307 [299-337]. Seven ‘angels’ are often encountered in the beautiful Mandaean liturgical texts: M Lidzbarski *Mandäische Liturgien* [Berlin 1920] 18/6, 97/7, 112/8, cf 487/1, 257/9 on the corresponding seven Mysteries.

¹⁰J Trachtenberg *Jewish magic* [NY 1939] 119f; H Zafrani *Kabbale: vie mystique* [Paris 1986] 49f cf 226, 240; OH Lehmann, Number-symbolism as a vehicle of religious experience, *Studia Patristica* IV ed FL Cross [Berlin 1961] 125-135; M Klinghardt, ‘...und auf dass du den Feiertag heiligest’, in *Das Fest und das Heilige*, ed J Assmann & T Sundermeier [Gütersloh 1991] 206-233. Cf the remarkable essay on the symbolism of seven by Philo Alex *de opificio mundi* 89-128. There is a Yoruba proverb: “What comes after six is more than seven;” MT Drewal *Yoruba ritual* [Bloomington 1992] 202. Seven appears to be the maximum number of categories distinguishable by subjects in an experiment on absolute judgments: KH Norwich, To perceive is to doubt: the relativity of perception, *Journal of Theoretical Biology* 102 [1983] 175-190. On human perception of numbers and some epistemological implications: M Delbrück *Mind from matter?* [Palo Alto 1986] 133-162.

¹¹On Hebrew and related symbolism of sevens: FC Endres & A Schimmel *Das Mysterium der Zahl* [Köln 1984] 142-171 with useful bibliography of the number seven 313f; S Agrell *Die pergamenische Zauberscheibe* [Lund 1936] 74f; E Doutté *Magie et religion dans l’Afrique du nord* [Alger 1908] 155-171, 184-188, 608 (add to p188); F Dornseiff *Alphabet in Mystik u Magie* [Leipzig 1922] 86 etc; L Blau *Altjüd Zauberwesen* [Strassburg 1898] 73f, 82. More generally: P Grison, M-M Davy, E Meyerovich & A Gheerbrant, Sept, in *Dictionnaire des symboles*, ed J Chevalier & A Gheerbrant [Paris 1969] 686-691; H Haarmann *Die Gegenwart der Magie* [Frankfurt 1992] 275f.

¹²G Toaff *Sefer Yetzirah* [Roma 1988] 67.

¹³Mṇḍaka *Upaniṣad* II 1.8; on sevens in Vedic symbolism: J Gonda *Vedic ritual* [Leiden 1980] 38.

¹⁴*Qur* ‘ān sura 18; cf Aarne & Thompson *Types of the folk-tale* #513C (seven magical talents), #766 (Seven Sleepers).

¹⁵E Ebeling, Ein Heldenlied auf Tiglatpileser I, *Orientalia* NS 18 [1949] 30-39. Convenient annotated translation in S Dalley *Myths from Mesopotamia* [Oxford 1989] 154-162.

¹⁶E Cerulli *Libro della Scala* [Vaticano 1949] 185 §172; cf 109f §§83 (seven heavens), 109 §81 (the Nile flowing through paradise).

Viraf, the Zoroastrian mystic whose *Himmelsreise* is recounted in a haunting Pahlavi text, has seven sisters who are also his symbolic brides, and these surround him while he is perfumed, takes a sacramental narcotic,¹⁷ and otherwise prepares himself for lift-off.¹⁸

Sevens in Egyptian Symbolism

¶102 For the Egyptians, the number seven was charged with a special magical potency.¹⁹ In the *Book of the Two Ways*, seven divine 'southern and northern hunters' are invoked for each day of the week.²⁰ Also corresponding to the days are the seven gates to the tomb.²¹ A similar number of Ma'et-goddesses are cited,²² while the seven cows figured with their bull in the *BD*²³ are obviously hypostases of the goddess Hathor.²⁴ The seven arrows of Sakhmit are turned back by a series of powerful rituals which were enacted at the New Year in Ptolemaic times.²⁵ Seven uraei came into existence in the West:²⁶ perhaps they are identifiable with Seven *Akhu* who traverse the sky and who are presumably the stars of the Great Bear.²⁷

¶103 Deities who will equip the justified soul every day in the netherworld number seven,²⁸ such as the seven *bas* of Re.²⁹ The tribunals of Osiris³⁰ correspond to the seven gateways in the *Book of the Dead* whose keepers the aspirant must propitiate.³¹ And, to give just one more example, fourteen is the number of sites of the relics of Osiris.³²

¹⁷Probably harmaline: DS Flattery & M Schwartz *Haoma and harmaline* [Berkeley 1989] §§24-28; T DuQuesne, review of H Milde *Vignettes in the Book of the dead of Neferrenpet*, *DE* 24 [1992] n9; DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §§52, 57-59.

¹⁸The *Book of Arda Viraf*, ed DHJ Asa [Bombay 1872] lix, 149-152 (chapter II 1-36); W Belardi *Pahlavi Book of the righteous Viraz* [Vaticano 1979] 91f.

¹⁹Specifically on sevens: BH Stricker *De geboorte van Horus* V [Leiden 1989] 644-651 §121; BH Stricker *De Maat der dingen* [Amsterdam 1976] 5; K Sethe *Von Zahlen u Zahlwörtern* [Strassburg 1916] 33-37; H Kees *Götterglaube*² [Berlin 1956] 158f; Goff *Symbols* 144-145; JG Griffiths *Apuleius: the Isis-Book* [Leiden 1975] 113; RH Wilkinson *Symbol and magic in Egyptian art* [London 1994] 135-137. Generally on number symbolism: F Dunand & C Zivie-Coché *Dieux et hommes* [Paris 1991] 42-44; H Goedicke, *Symbolische Zahlen*, *LÄ* VI [1986] 128f; Hornung *Conceptions of god* 217-223; Sethe *Von Zahl* 31-44; K Sethe *Amun und die acht Urgötter* [Berlin 1929] 42-45. In the Demotic pVandier, the 'seven days' within which the king must die are written in red ink: G Posener *Le papyrus Vandier* [Le Caire 1985] 43 (line 1/6). On the number 777 in a NK magical text: L Kákosy *ZÄS* 117 [1990] 145, 156 [140-157].

²⁰*CT* spell 1027 (VII 249). ²¹*CT* spell 901 (VII 107-108).

²²*CT* spell 126 (II 148).

²³*BD* spell 148, well illustrated in RO Faulkner *Book of the Dead*^b [London 1985] 142f.

²⁴H Brugsch *Thesaurus* [Leipzig 1883-1891] 799f; D Meeks, in *Génies, anges, démons* [Paris 1971] 41f.

²⁵These arrows are cited in *CT* spell 149 (II 237); P Germond *Sekhmet et la protection du monde* [Genève 1981] 74-79 and *passim*; cf Meeks *Génies* 46.

²⁶*CT* spell 87 (II 53), *BD* sp 83/4.

²⁷*CT* spells 400 and 401 (V 168, 174): see Annex. Cf also WG Gundel *Weltbild u Astrologie* [München 1968] 60f on *PGM* IV 673-691. ²⁸*CT* spell 500 (VI 83-85).

²⁹Cf Kees *Götterglaube*² 158f.

³⁰*CT* spell 409 bis (V 227-233), spell 827 (VII 27).

³¹7 caverns: *BD* sp 144, 147.

³²J Dümichen *Geographische Inschriften* II [Leipzig 1885] pl I; cf H Beinlich, *Reliquie*, *LÄ* V [1984] 230-232; W Helck, *Osiris*, *RE suppl* IX [1962] 498f.

The Process of Transfiguration

¶104 Spell 194 is about the process whereby the human person is transformed into an *akh*. In Egyptian, the word *akh* means 'transfiguration'³³ and both the concept and the hieroglyphic writing are intimately connected with the word for 'horizon'.³⁴ In the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead* transfiguration is attained through the various rites of passage at the Hall of the Two Ma'atety.³⁵

¶105 This process may be mediated by a number of deities, and particularly by Anubis. In a 'resurrection' spell in the *Pyramid Texts*, he ordains that the king's *akh* be behind him and his power (*sekhem*) within him,³⁶ while in the *Book of the Two Ways* the jackal god appropriately makes the tomb 'glorious' (*ȝb*).³⁷ A short text in the papyrus of Nu says: "Welcome, O Anubis... You have transfigured (*ȝb*)[me] as a soul (*b3*)³⁸ and as a shadow."³⁹ Elsewhere, both Anubis and the mysterious *smsw-Hr* are given the attribution 'transfigured ones',⁴⁰ and Thoth and Anubis are so described in the *Stundenwachen*.⁴¹

Iconography of the Akhu

¶106 Iconographic differences are to be expected in funerary papyri, especially during the XXIst Dynasty, when art became unbridled in a way we might now describe as surrealistic.⁴² Representations of the *akhu* in the documents under study are compared in detail above (¶18-¶20) and may be summarized as follows:

³³M Heerma van Voss *Vijf dekaden - demonen da capo* [Leiden 1983] 5 and *passim* provides useful taxonomic notes on *akh*, with particular reference to the texts studied here; cf also L Kákosy *Zauberei im alten Ägypten* [Budapest 1989] 66-84; E Otto, Ach, *LÄ* I [1975] 49-52; P Kaplony, *Totengeist*, *LÄ* VI [1986] 648-656; J Assmann, *Verklärung*, *LÄ* VI [1986] 998-1006; H Kees *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* [Leipzig 1912] 17-21; J Assmann, Das ägyptische Prozessionsfest, in *Das Fest und das Heilige*, ed J Assmann & T Sundermeier [Gütersloh 1991] 116f [105-122].

³⁴For celestial associations cf G Englund *Akh* [Uppsala 1978] 54-55 on *Pyr* 1566, where Sothis and Orion are *akhu*, cf 58-60 on *akhu* as stars in *Pyr*. We should not forget that the pyramid, and by extension other forms of tomb, represented the horizon: A Badawy, *The stellar destiny of pharaoh and the so-called air-shafts of Cheops' pyramid*, *MIO* 11 [1963] 189-206.

³⁵Englund *oc* 89, 95, 116, 120f on *CT*; 151, 162, 168, 202, 203 on *akh* and the judgment in *BD*. She does not refer to the seven *akhu* of *BD* spell 17 or to spell 194; cf also J Vandier *Religion égyptienne* [Paris 1949] 131f.

³⁶*Pyr* 1364. On Anubis and the *b3*, cf D Kurth *Der Sarg der Teüris* [Mainz 1991] 29.

³⁷*CT* spell 908 (VII 112).

³⁸On the relationship between *b3* and *ȝb*: E Otto, Die beiden vogelgestaltigen Seelenvorstellungen der Ägypter, *ZÄS* 77 [1942] 78-91; M Bilolo *Les cosmo-théologies philosophiques d'Héliopolis et d'Hermopolis* [Kinshasa 1986] 112-119.

³⁹*BD* spell 188 (491/9-10 Budge); cf Englund *oc* 149. Otto (ref 38) 82 finds the expression *sȝb-b3* only very late, in G Lefebvre *Tombeau de Pétosiris II* [Le Caire 1924] 70/7.

⁴⁰Sethe *Beiträge* [1905] 7f, quoting pBerlin 3064.

⁴¹H Junker *Stundenwachen* [Wien 1910] 76/148; cf H Kees *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs* [München 1912] 15f, 184 (text 7), where the Ptolemaic king identifies himself with Upwawet to open the ways and please his heart with *ȝb*.

⁴²Note the pioneering studies of A Niwiński, eg *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen religiösen Ikonographie der 21. Dynastie I (- II, - III)*, *GM* 49 [1981] 47-59; *GM* 65 [1983] 75-89; *GM* 109 [1989] 53-66; *Religiöse illustrierte Papyri der 21. Dynastie*, *SAK* Beiheft 3 [1989] 315-325.

¶107 T shows six anthropomorphic *akhu* in two rows. In a separate figure stand Anubis and a seventh *akh* who waves a snake-wand;
 F shows six *akhu* in a very similar fashion to T but the rest of the vignette is omitted, perhaps for reasons of economy (the rubric to spell 194 is almost the only 'complete' text in this papyrus, as in the case of W);
 W shows six mummiform *akhu* in one series and one further figure, in addition to an *akh* who raises a snake-wand and Anubis;
 N has (in a vignette which is duplicated) seven *akhu* in addition to a further figure raising a snake-wand and Anubis;
 H shows three figures (much damaged), L gives eight mummiform divinities,⁴³ and A and C omit this vignette.

¶108 The mummiform figures in W and L call to mind the eight guardians of the sacred caskets of Osiris in the unique Spell for Knowing the Caskets which is preserved in T:⁴⁴ since both texts in some way concern the reintegration of the justified soul as Osiris, their proximity is unlikely to be fortuitous. Placed between 'Knowing the Caskets' and spell 194, T has *Book of the Dead* spell 151A, which shows Anubis tending the bier and incorporates the god's hymn to the beauty of the soul as transfigured.⁴⁵

¶109 Comparison of the text and vignettes of spell 194 with those of spell 17 yields interesting results. Spell 17 [see Plate IX] describes Seven *Akhu* who correspond to the seven stars of the Great Bear (*Hps*), some of whom are stated as having the names of the four Sons of Horus (including, of course, the jackal-headed Duamutef). They comprise the 'tribunal around Osiris' and are there to protect his coffin. The function of the seven *Akhu* is made crystal clear in spells 71 and 145: they 'equalize the balance,' and they each guard one of the seven portals of the Netherworld. Their names vary but their functions remain the same.⁴⁶ Their iconography in spell 17 is varied: usually they are represented as seated mummiform persons (*illustration*).⁴⁷ In the Ptolemaic pMilbank, the *bas* of Pe and Nekhen are illustrated adjacent to spell 125:⁴⁸ there are certainly connexions between the *bas* of these cities, the Sons of Horus, the *šmsw-Hr*, and the jackals called *b³w-Imntt* which I hope to explore in due course.⁴⁹

¶110 Much more could be said about the *akhu* and the vignettes depicting them, but a couple of points appear significant. In N, the princess Nesytanebshru prostrates herself before Anubis and the *akhu* in a condition of absolute nakedness: elsewhere she is clothed in the style of the period, while the other papyri show the justified person fully clad before these divinities. It is extremely rare

⁴³Very similar are the twenty-one figures in A Piankoff *Litany of Re* [Princeton 1964] 165-169 pl 6. The fourth of these has the head of a jackal.

⁴⁴M Heerma van Voss *Een mysteriekist ontsluierd* [Leiden 1971]; M Heerma van Voss, Dodenboek 193, ZÄS 100 [1974] 103f + pl 7.

⁴⁵DuQuesne *Jackal at the Shaman's Gate* 25f.

⁴⁶Translations of these texts are given in the Annex, below. Cf also Heerma van Voss *Vijf dekaden* 11-13.

⁴⁷Milde *Neferrnenpet* 36f, 43, 51-53; Budge *BD*(trans) [1898] 100f.; Naville *Totenbuch* I pl 29; Budge *Greenfield* pls 13-14.

⁴⁸They refer specifically to the *rh-b³w* cycle of spells (nos 112-113): TG Allen *Book of the Dead. Documents* [1964] pl 79.

⁴⁹T DuQuesne *Spirits of the Hidden Land* [in preparation]. Cf, *pro tempore*, DuQuesne *Anubis and the Spirits of the West* [Thame 1990].

in Egyptian art for adult individuals to be shown naked,⁵⁰ and the fact that a princess kneels thus before the deities of transfiguration suggests the solemnity of the rite and the humility required for its enactment. Nesytanebshru kisses the earth,⁵¹ a gesture associated particularly with Upwawet, Opener of the Ways and 'twin' of Anubis.⁵² As early as the *Pyramid Texts*, the king is purified in the Lake of the Jackals,⁵³ which may not be far removed from the Lake of Fire which is one of the few apparently invariable vignettes associated with judgment scenes in papyri of the XXIst Dynasty.⁵⁴

Hike, Shu, and Ritual Gestures

¶111 What of the gesture which the entity next to Anubis is making with the snake-wand? The raising of the arms is referred to early in our text (line A06), but it must have a more specific meaning.⁵⁵ The gesture is rarely seen in *Book of the Dead* papyri⁵⁶ and figures in *Amduat*-type documents chiefly in representations of Shu separating Geb from Nowet.⁵⁷ For the sake of convenience, the position is referred to here as the 'Shu gesture.' Shu is associated with the eight Heh-gods who support the sky:⁵⁸

⁵⁰P Behrens, Nacktheit, *LÄ* IV [1982] 292-294; Hornung *Conceptions* 102 ('humans'), 121f ('gods'); cf S-A Naguib *Miroirs du passé* [Genève 1993] 34-40. The naked *ka*-statues are an interesting exception, eg *K Lange & M Hirmer Ägypten* [München 1967] 75 pl 121. The Ethiopian Nuer have quite a different approach: A Akalu *The Nuer view of biological life* [Stockholm 1989] 45f.

⁵¹HG Fischer, *Proskynese*, *LÄ* IV [1982] 1125-1127.

⁵²K Sethe *Ägyptische Lesestücke* [Leipzig 1928] 63 (BM stela 580).

⁵³See above, commentary on line A50. T DuQuesne, review of H Milde *Neferrenpet*, *DE* 24 [1992] in press; E Hornung *Buch v d Pforten* II 103-105; J Zandee, Sargtexte um über Wasser zu verfügen, *JEOL* 24 [1975/76] 36-38 [1-47]. I am inclined to see the OK offering basins with their characteristic *htp-di-nsw* formulae to Anubis as microcosmic Jackal Lakes: ex in HG Fischer, An invocatory offering basin of the Old Kingdom, *MDAIK* 47 [1991] 127-133. Perhaps the obscure MK epithet of Anubis *nb-iw(?)-mtr* is relevant: J Spiegel *Götter v Abydos* [Wiesbaden 1973] 48, 50, 170; M Malaise, *Fs Duchesne-Guillemain* [Leuven 1984] 399f.

⁵⁴Milde *Neferrenpet* 129; Seeber *Untersuchungen* 184-186.

⁵⁵Sacred gestures in Egypt have scarcely been studied but they are obviously just as important as *mudrās* in Hinduism: cf above, §98 and n1. See D & B Khane *Yoga des pharaons* [Paris 1983] 33-44; cf R Wild, Danses sacrées de l'Égypte ancienne, in *Les danses sacrées* [Paris 1963] 33-117. Egyptian gestures for musical notation look very much like *mudrās*: see now G Careddu, L'art musical dans l'Égypte ancienne, *CdÉ* 66 [1991] 43-45 [39-59], and cf G Fano *Origins and nature of language* [Bloomington 1992] 57-59; cf B Ross, Notes on some Jewish amulets, *JAGNES* 2 [1991] 34-37. On upraised arms in Egyptian iconography, cf - but use with caution - P Springborg *Royal persons. Patriarchal monarchy and the female principle* [London 1990] 89-102. There is now a monograph on gestures in Egypt which I have not yet seen: B Dominicus *Gesten u Gebärden in Darstellungen des A u MR* [Heidelberg 1994].

⁵⁶It is sometimes seen in late papyri of deities at the judgment scene: eg in pBM 10479/6, reproduced in Faulkner *Book of the Dead*⁵⁹ 30f. Cf also the vignette to *BD* spell 140 (Saite): Lepsius *Todtenbuch* pl 57 = Budge (trans) 425, of the god with a *wedjat* on his head behind Anubis on the shrine.

⁵⁷Examples: N Rambova in A Piankoff & N Rambova *Mythological papyri* I [New York 1959] 47-50. Cf H te Velde, The theme of the separation of heaven and earth in Egyptian mythology, *Studia Aegyptiaca* (Budapest) 3 [1977] 161-167 and, on Shu as a 'divine midwife', H te Velde, Some aspects of the god Shu, *JEOL* 27 [1981/82] 23-28.

⁵⁸The eight Hermopolitan gods spring to mind: K Sethe *Amun u die acht Urgötter* [Leipzig 1929] 94-96 §§200f; Kees *Götterglaube*⁶⁰ 311; H Altenmüller, Heh, *LÄ* II [1977] 1082-1084.

the head of Heh with the upraised-arms determinative first occurs in the *Pyramid Texts*⁶⁹ and the god is commonly shown as a figure crowned with the *rnpt*-sign and making this gesture.⁷⁰ The ideogram and determinative for *ka*, in all its senses,⁷¹ is a stylized hieroglyph of two uplifted arms.⁷² The god of magic is *H + k*⁷³ and, not surprisingly, *Amduat*-type papyri display him with crossed arms and carrying wavy snake-wands.⁷⁴

The Snake-Wand

¶112 It seems reasonable to suggest that all these associations are present in the vignettes of the *Akhu* in spell 194. Just as this *narthēkophoria*⁷⁵ is symbolically multivalent, so too is the object being waved. In Egypt snakes have a remarkable degree of ambiguity, being associated with Apopis and other manifestations of *isfet* and also with transformation.⁷⁶ Snake-wands are occasionally seen being brandished by enigmatic demons in vignettes to the *Book of the Dead*⁷⁷ and more commonly in *Amduat*-type documents⁷⁸ and on the magical boomerang-like objects.⁷⁹ There is a curious jackal-headed snake in *BD* spell 150⁷⁰ and Anubis has an association with the peculiar snake-stones represented in the pyramid of Neuserre.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Pyr 1390.

⁷⁰ AH Gardiner *Egyptian grammar*³ [Oxford 1957] 449 (C11).

⁷¹ Useful accounts of the *ka* in H Jacobsohn *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs* [Glückstadt 1939] 49-61; P Kaplony, *Ka*, LÄ III [1980] 275-282; U Schweitzer *Das Wesen des Ka* [Glückstadt 1956], notably 15-25; L Greven *Der Ka in Theologie u Königskult... des AR* [Glückstadt 1952], especially 27f, where she usefully demolishes some earlier views; J Pirenne *La religion et la morale dans l'Égypte antique* [1965] 18-23. On connexions with judgment and Ma'et: Assmann *Ma'at* 86f, 189-191.

⁷² Gardiner *Grammar*³ 453 (D28).

⁷³ RK Ritner *Mechanics of Anc Egy magical practice* [Chicago 1993] 1-28 and *passim*.

⁷⁴ Examples: Niwiński *Studies* 171 fig 58b, 173 fig 58e; H te Velde, *The god Heka in Egyptian theology*, JEOL 21 [1970] 175-186 + pls 26-32.

⁷⁵ Cf ER Dodds *Euripides Bacchae*² [1960] 82.

⁷⁶ Cf T DuQuesne, review-article of BH Stricker *Het Zonne-offer*, DE 23 [1992] 83-85 [83-92], with literature; WB Kristensen *Symbool en werkelijkheid* (Zeist 1962) 258-276.

⁷⁷ For instance the entity with snake-staff in pNakht (spell 125): Milde 9, and the beings with snake-staves in *BD* spell 182.1: Faulkner *Book of the Dead*⁴ 178f; Seeber *Untersuchungen* 119, 146. On magical association of the word *ȝh*: RK Ritner *Mechanics of ancient Egyptian magical practice* (Chicago 1993) 30-35.

⁷⁸ Niwiński *Studies* 155 fig 46 (pCairo SR VII 10232).

⁷⁹ H Altenmüller, Ein Zaubermeister des Mittleren Reichs, SAK 13 [1986] 1-27; Bonnet *Reallexikon* 880f *sv Zauberstab*; EAW Budge *From fetish to god* [Oxford 1934] 88; Daressy *Textes et dessins magiques* pls 11-12; W Helck, "Zaubermeister," LÄ VI [1986] 1355. Cf also Harpocrates with snakes on the late *cippi*: Daressy *oc* pls 1, 2.

⁸⁰ Milde *Neferrrenpet* 129; a florid version in Niwinski *Studies* 198 fig 70. Anubis-like figure with snake-wand: S Sharpe *Egy mythology* [1863] 60 fig 79.

⁸¹ H Kees, Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern, ZÄS 57 [1922] 120-136; D Wildung, Schlangensteine, LÄ V [1984] 655f. An interesting parallel are the *nagalokas* or snake-slabs of southern India: JP Vogel *Indian serpent lore* [London 1926] 270-277.

¶113 *wrt-hk³* ('The Mighty of Magic') is a designation of the royal crown⁷² and of the cobra-goddess⁷³ and is also one of the snake-headed implements used in Opening the Mouth.⁷⁴ The connexion with Anubis is clear here also: one object for *wp-r'* is called *nw³-Inpw* 'adze of Anubis'⁷⁵ and the god himself is sometimes called *wr-hk³w*.⁷⁶ The jackal deity or a priest representing him is often shown opening the mouth of the mummy beside the tomb.⁷⁷ There must certainly be parallels with Indian Tantric rituals such as the raising of the *kundalinī*.⁷⁸

¶114 A final note on the iconography: the jackal-headed deity in Tayuherit is shown as being smaller than the wand-waving entity beside him, in apparent violation of the canons of Egyptian art.⁷⁹ The explanation may be twofold: firstly, that even Anubis may be regarded as subject to the rule of Hike, and secondly that the two parts of the vignette are regarded as being to some extent separate - which would explain the omission of this part in papyrus F. It is difficult to tell the extent to which minor *Mischgestalten* represent Anubis in any case, and later dog-headed demons clearly represent debased forms of the archetype, even though their chthonic associations tend to persist.⁸⁰

⁷²Pyr 194; CTI 183, 186; A Erman *Hymnen an das Diadem* [Berlin 1911] 24 (2/1).

⁷³I Nebe, Werethekau, LÄ VI [1986] 1221-1224.

⁷⁴BD spells 21 and 23 vignettes (Saleh *Totenbuch* 9-13, 24-26).

⁷⁵E Otto *Das äg Mundöffnungsritual* II [Wiesbaden 1960] 19f; more generally RB Finnestad, The meaning and purpose of Opening the Mouth, *Numen* 25 [1978] 118-134; AM Roth, Origin of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, *IAE 6th Int Congr of Egyptology, Abstracts* [Torino 1991] 348f; M Tosi *Riti e testi nelle necropoli tebane* [Torino 1988] 81-88.

⁷⁶DMPVI 17; cf *hk³-Inpw* in pBM 19959/14.1 (Grapow *Grundriss* V 482), cf JF Borghouts *Magical texts* [Leiden 1978] #33. *wrt-hk³w* is a common epithet of Isis: cf M Münster *Unt z Göttin Isis* [Berlin 1968] 207; J Bergman *Ich bin Isis* [Uppsala 1968] 285-289. *wr-hk³w* is also commonly used of Thoth: BDspell 182; other citations in P Boylan *Thoth* [Oxford 1922] 184. It is twice applied to Seth in CTII 383, VI 414 and is several times an appellation of the justified soul: CTI 178, II 218, VI 374, VII 94. The above are representative examples only.

⁷⁷BD spell 1, vignette: Naville *Totenbuch* pl 2 cf pl 4.

⁷⁸T DuQuesne, Raising the serpent power: some parallels between Egyptians religion and Indian Tantra, in *Hermes Aegyptiacus: Egyptological studies for BH Stricker* [Oxford, in preparation 1994]; Khane *Yoga des pharaons* 65-89, 129 fig 44, a gratifying reference in an intelligent work on Egyptian religion, albeit one based on secondary sources.

⁷⁹Cf E Brunner-Traut, Aspective, in H Schäfer *Principles of Egyptian art*, tr [Oxford 1974] 433-438; Hornung *Conceptions* 109-125.

⁸⁰Specimen literature on canine demonology: S Christopher Cynocephalus: DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §91, with references, to which add DG White *Myths of the dog-man* [Chicago 1991] 23-46; Z Ameisenova, Animal-headed gods, *JWCI* 12 [1949] 21-45; A Massart *The Leiden magical papyrus I 343 + I 345* [Leiden 1954] 52, 56f cf n46; rt II 7-12, IV 3-7 cf p95f; Psellus *de daem* 506, 550 (167, 171 Gautier), cf Origen *c Celsum* VI 30; M Svoboda *Démonologie de Psellos* [Brno 1927] 18-24; J van der Vliet, Demons in early Coptic monasticism, in *Coptic art & culture*, ed H Hondelink [Le Caire 1990] 151; JW Yellin *Anubis in Meroitic religion* [Diss. Brandeis 1978] 67f. On jackals, hippopotami etc in Mischgestalt, see now A Behrmann *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter* [Frankfurt 1989] ##191a-e.

¶115 By his skills, Anubis breathes life back into the justified soul.⁸¹ The symbolism of the number seven has been discussed above, and there is a splendid relief from the temple of Niuserre which shows the divine jackal administering seven lives, in the form of *ankh*-signs.⁸² Aratus the astronomer, as quoted by Hippolytus, refers to a celestial dog who represents the Divine Logos and who is judge of the living and the dead.⁸³ The various roles of Anubis are intertwined: by the New Kingdom his function as herald⁸⁴ and assessor is well developed, and Hermanubis the psychopomp is clearly discernible.⁸⁵ The jackal is the vehicle for ascent in much the way that Burâq carries Mohammed on his celestial journey.⁸⁶ His achievement is beautifully encapsulated in the text from a Theban tomb, where Anubis declares:

*The gods of the Netherworld receive you
Your place in the necropolis is assigned to you
You are purified with incense*

⁸¹ On the importance of breath in Egyptian religion: W Westendorf, Atem, *LÄ* I [1975] 517f. Related concepts such as those of Hebrew *ruah*, Sanskrit *prana*, Arabic *nafas*, and Greek *pneuma* should need no emphasis.

⁸² L Borchardt *Das Grabdenkmal d Königs Ne-user-Re* [Leipzig 1907] pl 16; MA Murray, Ritual masking, *Mémoires de la Société Egyptologique* I [Le Caire 1934] 252; GA Wainwright *Sky religion* [Cambridge 1938] 47; SB Johnson *The cobra-goddess* [1990] 131 #67. Figures of Anubis giving life are prominent at Deir el-Bahari, upper and lower chapels (unpublished drawings) to be published in MG Witkowski *Les chapelles d'Anubis (Deir el-Bahari VII)* [Warszawa, forthcoming].

⁸³ Aratus ap Hippolytus ref IV 48 (ed M Marcovich [1986] p 135). The reference is to *Cynosura*, or *Ursa Minor*, but the sense is Anubidian. The expression *zōntōn kai nekrōn kritēs* may be Aratus's own or could be a gloss of Hippolytus: in any event the same phrase occurs in NT *Acts* 10.42. The practice of swearing by the dog is an interesting survival of Anubis the judge: RG Hoerber, The Socratic oath 'by the dog', *Classical J* 58 [1963] 268f (on Plato *Gorg* 482b); other examples in PE Jablonski *Pantheon Aegyptiorum* III [Frankfurt 1752] 8-10; C Du Cange *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae...Latinitatis* [Frankfurt 1781] 1 747f.

⁸⁴ Cf line A24 of our text; S Glaser, Le jugement et la justification..., in *Gesamtausgabe der altägyptischen Papyri* Fóti [Budapest 1989] 122f, 126f [119-128]. Anubis also makes proclamations in *BD* spell 151A. In the caption to a vignette of the judgment scene, he states that the scales are in equilibrium for a princess: É Naville *Papyrus funéraires* I [Paris 1912] pl 9 (Dyn XXI). Later examples of him as herald: EAE Reymond, Two versions of the Book of the Dead, *ZÄS* 98 [1972] 131/2 [125-132]; W Pleyte *Chapitres supplémentaires* [Leiden 1881] II 175 (spell 170P), 196 (spell 173P), and 198 (spell 174P). In the latter part of *BD* spell 125 a similar role is played by Thoth. Cf the role of Seshat as 'recording angel' at Edfu: HW Fairman, A scene of the offering of Truth, *MDAIK* 16 [1958] 86-92. The two dogs being led 'to judgment' in pTorino 55001 may be a satirical reference to Anubis and his judicial role: JA Omlin *Papyrus 55001* [Torino 1973] 30.

⁸⁵ Excellent summary of Hermanubis the psychopomp in RE Witt *Isis in the Graeco-Roman world* [London 1970] 198-209; cf also J-C Grenier *Anubis alexandrin et romain* [Leiden 1977]; further literature in DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §§91, 102 and DuQuesne *Festschrift Zolla* 134f.

⁸⁶ Burâq in *Mi ḡrāj*: cf H Corbin *Avicenna and the visionary recital* [Dallas 1980] 172f. The astronomical aspects of Anubis go beyond his associations with Sirius, as for example in the Egyptian constellation called The Jackal(s): *CT* IV 131. JB Sellers *The death of gods in Ancient Egypt* [New York 1992] 105-107 is a farrago of inaccuracies on this as on other matters.

⁸⁷ TT 1, quoted by Seeber *Untersuchungen* 158.

You are reassembled
Your limbs are reunited
As you were created [to do] by those before
You are [now] one of those gods who are in the Netherworld.⁸⁷

Anubis the Assessor

¶116 While his role in the funerary papyri of the New Kingdom has often been commented on,⁸⁸ strong circumstantial evidence links Anubis to Ma'et and the idea of judgment in Egypt prior to the New Kingdom. He is very early represented on the nome-sign for Cynopolis⁸⁹ as a couchant jackal with the ostrich feather, and the feather is also clearly seen on the Mycerinus statuary triads which show the Cynopolitan goddess with the emblem on her head.⁹⁰ It is not obvious to me why some of the animal nome-signs are decorated with *ma'et*-feathers and some are not, or indeed what significance was attached to the ostrich plume in the early period, but perhaps its addition signified some particular divine blessing.

¶117 A rare stela of the First Intermediate Period contains, in course of an idealized autobiography, the expression "I did not lie to any living person - an abomination to Anubis."⁹¹ The 'eloquent peasant' of the Middle Kingdom threatens to take his case to Anubis as judge of appeal.⁹² Throughout, there is a certain vagueness as to the identity of the supreme assessor at the judgment of the dead,⁹³ the point being that whether the *capo* is Geb, Re, Osiris, or Anubis it is the event itself which matters most.

⁸⁸Generally on Anubis and the judgment: Assmann *Ma'at* 133f, 147; CJ Bleeker *Het godin Ma-a-t* [Leiden 1929] 68-76; SGF Brandon *Judgment of the dead* [London 1967] 25; E Brunner-Traut *Gelebte Mythen* [Darmstadt 1988] 72-78; DuQuesne *Fs Zolla* 121f; Grieshammer *Jenseitsgericht* 72, 88f; JG Griffiths *Divine verdict* [Leiden 1991] 207f; Heerma van Voss *Anoebis*; Seeber *Untersuchungen* 154-158, 187-192; L Moraldi *L'aldilà dell'uomo* [Milano 1985] 43, 46f; G Vittmann, Ein neuer religiöser demotischer Text, ZÄS 117 [1990] 87; some interesting insights in the splendid novel by M Josserand *L'ombre d'Anubis* [Monaco 1992]; J Assmann, When justice fails, JEA 78 [1992] 156 [149-162], on Khentyamentiu. There are echoes in Coptic literature, eg *Pistis Sophia* 255, which refers to the judgment of the dog-faced one. Cf too Francis Thompson's poem 'The hound of heaven' in *Oxford book of modern verse*, ed WB Yeats [Oxford 1936] 54-59.

⁸⁹P Kaplony *Inschriften d. äg Frühzeit* III [Wiesbaden 1963] fig 42; K Sethe *Die äg Ausdrücke frechts u links* [Göttingen 1923] pl A.

⁹⁰GA Reisner *Mycerinus* [Cambridge Mass 1931] pls 38, 43. Cf W Wood, A reconstruction of the triads of King Mycerinus, JEA 60 [1974] 82-93. The question of the goddess Anupet and her origin and relationship to Anubis is too complex to consider here, but her name certainly occurs in the OK: K Goedecken *Betrachtung des Inschriften des Meten* [Wiesbaden 1976] 59 etc. On the Cynopolitan connexion: H Kees, Der Gau von Kynopolis und seine Gottheit, MIO 6 [1958] 157-175; J Vandier, L'Anubis femelle et le nome Cynopolite, *Fs Michalowski* [Warszawa 1966] 195-204.

⁹¹J Černý, The stela of Merer in Cracow, JEA 47 [1961] 5-9 (line 7 of stela). Cf the representation of Ma'et carrying a jackal-headed staff: HG Fischer *L'écriture* [Paris 1986] 41-43 fig 11 (= MMJ5 [1972] 21 fig 29).

⁹²Eloquent Peasant B2, 114f (F Vogelsang *Komm z d Klagen des Bauern* [Leipzig 1913] 226): 'I have been pleading with you, and you have not listened to it. I shall go and plead about you to Anubis.'

⁹³Yoyotte *Jugement* 41, 45-48. In BD spell 18 G1, the princes in the judgment of dead are Thoth, Anubis, and Isdennu. There is a most unusual coffin of Dynasty XXII in which Osiris is entirely absent, Anubis clearly alternating for him, and with Re as judge: ST Hollis, The cartonnage case of Pa-di-mut, Harvard Semitic Museum 2230, in *Fs TO Lambdin* [Winona Lake 1987] 165-179.

¶118 The hieroglyph of the jackal *passant* was used as an icon for judicial and sacerdotal functions from the Old Kingdom until the Late Period,⁹⁴ and must have reflected the importance of the deity. A summary of the relevant Anubidian epithets will illustrate the durability of his juridical aspect:

| | |
|------------|---|
| OK: | <i>ip-ibw</i> accounter of hearts; ⁹⁵ <i>shm.f-m-h3wt</i> powerful over hearts; ⁹⁶ <i>sr-d3d3t</i> assessor of the court; ⁹⁷ |
| NK: | <i>sr</i> assessor; ⁹⁸ <i>iry-mh3t</i> guardian of the balance; ⁹⁹ <i>nb-iry-mh3t</i> lord and guardian of the balance; ¹⁰⁰ |
| Ptolemaic: | <i>hb</i> the one who weighs. ¹⁰¹ |

The Severed Head and Other Magical Cut-Ups

¶119 It is possible to see some of the most profound Egyptian texts in terms of disintegration and reintegration: sky and earth have been separated by Shu, so to speak, and the task of the initiate is re-effect the Conjunction of Opposites as it was *in illo tempore*. In the magical traditions of many societies, there are times when *tabu* must be broken in order for cosmic harmony to be restored.¹⁰²

⁹⁴ W Helck, Richtertitel, *LÄV* [1984] 255f; W Helck, Titel u Titulaturen, *LÄVI* [1986] 599 [598-601]; cf F de Cenival, À propos de la stèle de Chéchi, *RdÉ* 27 [1975] 62-69; É Chassinat, Note sur la lecture si et mès du signe [chacal], *BIFAO* 10 [1912] 175-181; R van Walssem, How [*s3b*] and variants became a spelling for 'son', *GM* 83 [1984] 81-83; F Daumas *Valeurs phonétiques I* [Montpellier 1988] 110-112, 159, 200, 237-243, 258-260.

⁹⁵ Pyr 157c-d, 1523 a-c cf Pyr 1287; Piankoff *Livre du jour* pl 6 reg 2, middle; *Inpw ip.f-ibw.tn* lb 66, bottom; *pJumilhac V* 10, XVIII 2 cf Vandier *ad loc* n116, lb pl 1 (vignette); Grenier *Anubis* 16 n64. For *ip*, cf Zandee *Death* 278-280; B George *Schatten* [1970] 31-34; Seeber *Unt* 155f; J Yoyotte *Jugement* 24; S Schott *ZÄS* 74 [1938] 89 n1.

In Ptolemaic times, Horus is once *ip-ibw*: Junker *Stundenwachen* XVII 101, and the epithet is several times applied to Thoth: Mariette *Dendérah* III 81c; Lepsius *Denkmäler* IV 76e; cf *ipy* K Piehl *Inscriptions II* 101 (Edfu). See further Boylan *Thoth* 180; M-T Derchain-Urtel *Le dieu Thot* [Bruxelles 1981] 79f.

⁹⁶ Pyr 157c-d.

⁹⁷ Pyr 1713c; cf Heerma van Voss *IAE Congr Abstracts* [1979] 25; lb *Anoebis* 4; JG Griffiths *Origins of Osiris*² 240f; A Moret *Ann EPHE* [1922] 15f.

⁹⁸ This text, T and C: Heerma *Grab* pl 19/8, Budge *Anhai* pl 3/18.

⁹⁹ BDspell 30B (96/4 Budge), of Anubis or Thoth; cf Seeber *Unt* 154 n695; Zandee *Death* 269. There is an unnamed deity described as *iry-mh3t* in papyrus L: Nagel 32 (F5), and also in pNorthumberland III vs: KA Kitchen *Fs Daumas* [Montpellier 1986] 436 (line 9). Cf also S Glaser *St Aegyptiaca* 12 [1989] 123. Cf the Assyrian deity *moushekil* who is 'weigher' in the final judgment: F Aynard in *Jugement des morts* [1961] 98.

¹⁰⁰ Piankoff & Rambova *Myth papyri* I 135 II pl XV; Heerma van Voss *Ägypten. Die XXI. Dyn* pl IVb; cf Seeber *Unt* 154 n696. It is given as an epithet of Thoth in pHarris I 45/11, cf Boylan *Thoth* 181.

¹⁰¹ *pJumilhac V* 10, XVIII 2; cf T DuQuesne, Aspects of the goddess Sakhmit, *Dragon's Brew* (Cardiff) 11 [1993] 4-10; Grenier *Anubis* 16 n65. One might note that, in one Saite funerary papyrus, the assessor *Knmyt* 'he of Khargeh' is written with the jackal-headed seated god det: U Verhoeven *Das saitische Totenbuch des Iahesnacht* [Bonn 1993] I 233, 345 II 81* ad col 55.3.

¹⁰² Cf the festivals of Ganesa, a psychopompic deity who has much in common with Anubis, and his association with the severed head: P Courtright *Ganesa* [New York 1985] 92-98.

universe:¹⁰³ in the *Book of the Dead*, the soul is not by accident ‘the Osiris so-and-so.’

¶120 In the case of spell 194, one is entitled to ask whether the main text, in the recension of papyri T and C, has been mangled by scribal illiteracy or whether, as seems to me more probable, its phrases have been deliberately subjected to a process of jumbling. One parallel for such a practice would be the Egyptian ritual of the shattering of the red boxes (*sd-dšrwt*), which goes back to the Old Kingdom and which was performed as part of the ritual of Opening of the Mouth and in other funerary contexts.¹⁰⁴ Early versions of the remarkable *BD* spell for acquiring a ferryboat (spell 99) refer to the deceased “trashing the papyrus-rolls” of the gods.¹⁰⁵ The Greco-Egyptian magical papyri typically include series of *onomata barbara* and weird names of deities which are often scrambled versions of their regular names and epithets.¹⁰⁶ These papyri also contain examples of the ‘cutting-up’ of Homeric texts, in the manner of a *cento*, for necromantic purposes.¹⁰⁷

¶121 Modern analogies in art and literature are numerous: a striking example is the technique developed by Brion Gysin and William Burroughs in connexion with the latter’s *The naked lunch*,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Although detailed accounts of the dismemberment of Osiris and its sequels have been transmitted by Greek writers such as Plutarch *De Iside* 13-18 (cf the excellent commentary by T Hopfner *Plutarch über Isis u Osiris* I [Praha 1940] 40-105; JG Griffiths *Plutarch On Isis and Osiris* [Cardiff 1970] 338f *ad loc*), much earlier Egyptian texts surely refer to it, eg *Pyr* 549: “You will not be cut up, O Osiris.” There is some debate about whether this concerns a ritual dismemberment of corpses in predynastic times. Cf DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §42, with literature; DuQuesne *DE* 23 [1992] 91 n42; P Derchain *RdÉ* 41 [1990] 13f; D Meeks, Dieu masqué, dieu sans tête, *Archéo-Nil* 1 [1991] 5-15; K Preisendanz *Akephalos: der kopflose Gott* [Leipzig 1926] *passim*; R Tefnini *Art et magie au temps des pyramides* [1991] 75-95.

¹⁰⁴ P Barthelmess *Der Übergang ins Jensits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern* [Heidelberg 1992] 83-86; J van Dijk, *Zerbrechen der roten Töpfe*, *LÄ* VI [1986] 1389-1396; Ritner *oc* (1993) 144-155. Cf now E el-Metwally, *Archäologische und soziologische Aspekte in der Grabdekoration...*, in *VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti I* [Torino 1992] 175 [171-179]. Parallels in other societies: LV Grinsell *Folklore* 72 [1961] 475-491 & 84 [1973] 111-114. I concede that in some instances, in some societies, objects are broken in order to incapacitate the power within them, but this is certainly not always so: cf A Métraux *Voodoo in Haiti* [London 1959] 252-256, for an account of the funerary ceremony of *bulé-zin* ('burning the vessel') in Vodun. An interesting Amerindian myth whereby the Flood is caused by the breaking of a pot: CH de Goeje *Philosophy, initiation and myths of the Indians of Guiana* [Leiden 1943] 110 §d 24. One is reminded of the breaking of *tabu*, especially at the New Year. Examples: EM Zuesse *Ritual cosmos* [Athens, Ohio 1979] 112-117 (Ila of Congo), a warmly recommended work; C Du Cange *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae Latinitatis* [Frankfurt 1781] II 183-186 sv *Kalendae* (fools' pope in medieval Europe). There might be an analogy to the fools' pope in the 'satirical' animal drawings of pTorino 55001: Omlin *Papyrus 55001* [1973] 72-76, but cf now D Kessler, *Der satirisch-erotische Papyrus...*, *SAK* 15 [1988] 171-196.

¹⁰⁵ H Grapow *Urk* V [Leipzig 1915] 170.

¹⁰⁶ DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §§12-15, with references.

¹⁰⁷ PGM XXIII; commentary by DuQuesne *Jackal at the Shaman's Gate* 37-55. On the *Cento nuptialis* of Ausonius, a *bravura* performance of its kind, see now RPH Green *The works of Ausonius* [Oxford 1992 sc 1991] 518-526. Cut-up in Jewish notarikon: H Zafrani *Kabbale* [Paris 1984] 401-404 cf 410-413. On the cento as an art-form: MM Bakhtin *The dialogic imagination*, tr [Austin 1981] 69-83.

¹⁰⁸ Ted Morgan *Literary outlaw* [New York 1988] 321-325; MR Goss, William Burroughs and Brion Gysin, *Celtic Dawn* 2 [1988] 17-21.

and we could cite the 'desecration' of the 'Mona Lisa' by Marcel Duchamp or the fragmentation of texts in Luciano Berio's *Sinfonia*.¹⁰⁹ In order to effect spiritual reintegration, therefore, one must find and complete a celestial jigsaw puzzle and restore Osiris's - and one's own - severed head.¹¹⁰

The Quest for Reintegration

¶122 For the Egyptian, life could be regarded as *Sein zum Tode*, to borrow Heidegger's evocative expression,¹¹¹ and the replacement of the head¹¹² begins the cycle over again. In a sense, the healing of the body becomes complete through mummification.¹¹³ Osiris is like the Indian Puruṣa, the primeval human being, who is complete only after dismemberment.¹¹⁴ Hence the quest of Isis for the scattered limbs of her consort becomes a powerful metaphor for renewal,¹¹⁵ and the role of Anubis in the revivification of Osiris is underscored by the ubiquity of the *imyut*-emblem in front of Khentyamentiu, as illustrated in the funerary papyri.¹¹⁶ The Jumilhac papyrus explains how the *imyut* is the 'womb' in which the separated members of Osiris are magically treated and transfigured through the agency of Anubis.¹¹⁷

¶123 In our text, therefore, the aspirant soul takes on the attributes of both Osiris, as the god who dies to live, and of Anubis, whose skill catalyses the process. The several more or less cryptic references to the 'place of secrets' (*st-št'w*) and 'secrets of Ro-Setawe' certainly refer to the dead body of Osiris. Although some of the phrases in the soul's declaration and in Anubis's report cannot be fathomed, it is evident that the initiate obtains justification by travelling to various important cities

¹⁰⁹The idea, if not the practice, is clear from the 'concrete' poetic technique of Stéphane Mallarmé. Schiller's *Ode an die Freude* is 'cut up' in the last movement of Beethoven's D-minor Symphony: cf DuQuesne *Magic and the art of seeing* [Oxford 1987] 7f. A fascinating paper on parallels regarding the philosophy and practice of the use of fragments: V Mazzarino, Il frammento accumulato, *Fabrica. Quaderni di retorica* (Napoli) 2 [1987] 87-105.

¹¹⁰On the Egyptian symbolism of the severed head, see particularly BH Stricker, The enemies of Re, *DE* 23 [1992] 45-51[45-76]. This shamanic motif is ubiquitous, and one recalls the 'talking head' of the alchemist Roger Bacon, apparently copied from an example made by his mentor Robert Grosseteste: cf JE Sandys, Roger Bacon in English literature, in *Roger Bacon: essays*, ed AG Little [Oxford 1914] 371f [359-372]. Grosseteste was aware of the entropic tendency of objects: L Baur, Einfluss des Robert Grosseteste, in *Ib* 52 [33-54], which reminds me how chaos theory in physics shows a trend to spontaneous order in apparent violation of Heisenberg's principle of entropy: useful summary in NK Hayles, Complex dynamics in science and literature, in *Chaos and order*, ed NK Hayles [Chicago 1991] 1-33. The *locus classicus* is I Prigogine & I Stengers *Order out of chaos* [New York 1984], especially 213-232.

¹¹¹M Heidegger *Sein u Zeit*¹⁴ [Tübingen 1977] 235-267.

¹¹²Cf the excellent paper by A Hermann, Zergliedern und Zusammenfügen, *Numen* 3 [1956] 81-96; Bonnet *Reallexikon* 421-423 sv Leichenzerstückelung. cf also above, n110.

¹¹³Cf A Wiedemann, Mumie als Heilmittel, *Z d Vereins für rheinische u westfälische Volkskunde* 3 [1906] 1-38.

¹¹⁴In the cult of Ganeśa (cf above, n102), the celebrant "reconstitutes himself as the divine Puruṣa and gives his *prāṇa* to the deity." Courtright *oc* 183.

¹¹⁵G Schoeller *Isis. Auf der Suche nach dem göttlichen Geheimnis* [München 1991] 30-35; P Solié, Die Rolle des Isis- u Osiris-Mythos, *Analytical Psychology* 18 [1987] 182-203

¹¹⁶Seeber *Untersuchungen* 127.

¹¹⁷Cf DuQuesne *Fs Zolla* 122-124.

in Egypt, most if not all of which have strong Osirian connexions. Perhaps the mention of the temple of Satis in Elephantine concerns the rebirth of Osiris from the Nile-waters at the New Year, when the Dogstar rises.¹¹⁸ This is no simple travelogue, and not all the fourteen sites of the Osiris relics are visited, but the overall message emerges with clarity.

Theophanies

¶124 The verb *mʒʒ* 'to see' occurs six times in our spell. "I have come to see your beauty," says the aspirant to Osiris at the outset, and seeing the Mysteries of Ro-Setawe, seeing Anubis and the other deities is obviously central to the text.¹¹⁹ Not through a mirror, as previously, but face to face.¹²⁰ The justified soul is not merely witnessing the unveiling of the sacred image in the temple, but is engaging in a direct encounter with the divine.¹²¹ To my mind the *autoptoi sustaseis* - direct revelatory experiences - of the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri¹²² are derived from, and qualitatively similar to, rituals from pharaonic times. Anubis is often invoked in these later rituals as patron of divination, psychopomp, and direct channel to Osiris and other deities.¹²³

¶125 Arguments about whether Egyptian religious texts were taken literally or metaphorically beg fundamental questions of ontology and epistemology.¹²⁴ It does not really matter whether, from our perspective, statues in the temples remained dumb or whether the gods manifested themselves in a way which would satisfy a logical positivist. Close study of the judgment spells in the *Book of the Dead* convinces me that at least two levels of reality are involved. On the one hand, the locus of the action is evidently the Netherworld. On the other, the applicant him/herself is plainly stated to perform the relevant rituals on earth under certain explicit conditions: anointed with incense, clothed in fresh linen and so on.¹²⁵ At the very end of the *Amduat*, we are told without equivocation that the work is "useful (*ʒb*) for the person who knows it upon earth (*tp-tʒ*), in heaven and on earth."¹²⁶

¹¹⁸ RA Wells, Sothis and the Satet temple on Elephantine: a direct connection, *SAK* 12 [1985] 255-303.

¹¹⁹ See lines A05, A20, A37, A51, A57, and A61.

¹²⁰ NT *I Corinthians* 13.12.

¹²¹ A vivid example involving Osiris, Anubis, and Thoth, in *Setne II*: F.L. Griffith *Stories of the high priests* [Oxford 1900] 152f (4-6). On the subject of theophanies, cf Hornung *Conceptions* 128-135; R Schlichting, *Offenbarung, LÄ* IV [1982] 555-559; Griffiths *Apuleius. The Isis-book* 272f (on Apuleius *Met XI* 5 & 19).

¹²² T Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber II* 1² [Amsterdam 1973] §§121-161.

¹²³ Eg *PGM VII* 319-334, and often in *DMP*, cf DuQuesne *Fs Zolla* 124-126.

¹²⁴ The idea of 'temporal eternity' could provide a way in here: cf E Hornung, *Zeitliches Jenseits im Alten Ägypten, Eranos Jhb* 47 [1978] 269-307. In considering the context of Egyptian funerary texts, I always find it useful to compare the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, ed W.Y. Evans-Wentz [Oxford 1957] with its concept of *bardo*, on which cf K Sagaster, *Grundgedanken des tibetischen Totenbuches*, in *Tod u Jenseits*, ed H-J Klimkeit [Wiesbaden 1978] 175-189; CB Becker, *Views from Tibet: NDEs and the Book of the Dead, Anabiosis* 5 [1985] 3-19.

¹²⁵ See particularly the rubric to *BD* spell 125: 267/13-268/13 Budge.

¹²⁶ *Amduat* III 25/284-286 Hornung. On the pre-netherworld enactment of the judgment scene, see now R Merkelbach, *Diodor über das Totengericht der Ägypter, ZÄS* 120 [1993] 71-84. On *ʒb*, cf F Friedman, The root meaning of *ʒb* - luminosity or effectiveness, *Serapis* 8 [1984/85] 39-46. While the word undoubtedly may mean 'effective', no strictly utilitarian value need be implied.

¶126 In her song 'Like a Prayer' Madonna sings fervently: "In the midnight hour I can feel your power / Just like a prayer you know I'll take you there."¹²⁷ The powerful accompanying video shows the icon before whom she prays spring to life. Even in these secular times theophanies occur. Madonna also sings of the experience of being 'like a virgin,' and *ce dangereux supplément*¹²⁸ must be reintegrated, as in the Egyptian context, for the spiritual shift of plane whereby Ma 'et can be subsumed within ourselves. In his *Vita nuova*,¹²⁹ Dante describes "una mirabile visione" of Beatrice which attended the writing of the last sonnet in his collection, and I wonder whether we are entitled to argue about the ontological status of poetic vision.

Guarantors of Ma 'et

¶127 Erik Hornung has written eloquently about Ma 'et as having been accessible to all by the time the New Kingdom funerary texts were written,¹³⁰ and Kurt Sethe noted that the judgment texts, including the one we now call spell 194, could not apply solely to the inhabitants of Egypt.¹³¹ Although the language has many terms for individual groups, I can find in Egyptian no generic term which is equivalent to *goyim* or *barbaroi*.

¹²⁷Madonna *Like a Prayer* (LP, 1990). On this cf my preliminary study of spell 194: T DuQuesne, «You are balanced within our hearts,» *Occult Observer* 2(1) [1992] 49-51. On the animation of sacred images, a sympathetic account by CA Faraone *Talismans and Trojan horses* [New York 1992] 5-12, 18-22 and *passim*.

¹²⁸I borrow the reference to Rousseau in J Derrida *De la grammatologie* [Paris 1967] II.2, who writes effectively on sexuality as a deconstructive catalyst [English ed. Baltimore 1976] 141-164, especially 148-151. The paradox of being like a virgin is aptly represented in the painting by Federico Faruffini 'La vergine del Nilo': P Jullian *Esthètes et magiciens* [Paris 1969] fig 77 (Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Roma). RM Rilke describes "ce moment quand tu me regardais «en jeune fille»" in *Rilke et Merline. Correspondance 1920-1926* [Zürich 1954] 132.

¹²⁹Dante *Vita nuova* XLII. On this theme in Dante, see L Valli *Il linguaggio segreto di Dante e dei 'fedeli d'amore'* [Roma 1928] 263-326 and *passim*.

¹³⁰E Hornung, Maat - Gerechtigkeit für Alle? *Eranos Jhb* 56 [1987] 385-427 - even for those who run counter to Ma 'et. Cf now F Assaad *Préfigurations égyptiennes de la pensée de Nietzsche* [Lausanne 1986] 102-119.

¹³¹K Sethe, Kosmopolitische Gedanken, *Fs Griffith* [Oxford 1932] 432f; M Bilolo *La création et le créateur dans la pensée memphite et amarnienne* [Kinshasa 1988] 242f, 260-262; Griffiths *Divine verdict* 206f; S Morenz *Ägyptische Religion* [English ed London 1973] 50-56; Hornung *Conceptions* 166; Hornung *Buch v d Pforten* I 176-181; II 134-137; JP Sørensen, Native reactions to foreign rule, in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, ed P Bilde et al [Aarhus 1992] 164-191; S Stadnikow, Die verallgemeinernden Ausdrücke der Könige des Alten Reichs in den Sinai-Inschriften, in *VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia II* [Torin 1993] 515-522; a beautiful colour reproduction of the scene with foreigners in Hornung *Tal der Könige* [Zürich 1990] 147; cf E Hornung *Das Grab Sethos' I* [Zürich 1991] 45. I cannot help wondering whether terms such as *pdt* and *šm'w*, commonly translated 'foreigners', have a much more specific meaning. I also question whether the Egyptians were as generally xenophobic as they are often held to have been: cf W Helck, *Fremde in Ägypten*, *LÄ* II [1977] 306-308; Ib, *Fremde, Verhältnis zur*, *LÄ* II [1977] 311f; Ib, *Fremdvölkerdarstellung*, *LÄ* II [1977] 315-32; cf D Valbelle, in G Husson & D Valbelle *L'état et les institutions en Égypte* [Paris 1992] 114-117, 149fcf 67-69; BH Stricker *De beloofde land* [Assen 1993] 32-35, 40f; Cheikh A Diop

¶128 While it would be unwise to mythologize the attitudes of the Egyptians, the idea of justification for all, regardless of race, class, or gender, is germane to contemporary social and spiritual issues.¹³² Perhaps, as American cities burn, they can help us learn how to grow out of ethnocentric prejudice and free us from the chains of racism, sexism, and religious bigotry. Even today, the idea of cosmic order - Ma'at - can enrich our lives.

*O gibt es Geister in der Luft,
Die zwischen Erd und Himmel herrschend weben,
So steiget nieder aus dem goldnen Duft
Und führt mich weg, zu neuem, buntem Leben!*
GOETHE Faust 1118-1121.

^{131^{cd}} Civilization or barbarism [New York 1991] 67-68, 103-108. Negative transformation of foreigners is considered by H Buchberger *Transformation und Transformat. Sargtextstudien 1* [Wiesbaden 1993] 568-572. Could Anubis, an inhabitant of the desert, be a particular friend of the (apparently inimical) *ḥ3styw?* Cf D Müller *Ägypten u die Isis-Aretalogien* [Berlin 1961] 54-57. In his usual incisive manner, Müller also discusses Isis as patroness of the whole *khôra*, which may or may not mean *kmt: o c* 19-21. There might be an allusion to Anubis as patron of some foreigners in the representation of a jackal carrying a *šm3w*-type stick with a bag attached: satirical papyrus reproduced in Omlin *Papyrus 55001* pl 20b.

¹³² Some of these issues are effectively discussed by Sandra Harding *Whose science? whose knowledge? Thinking from women's lives* [Ithaca 1991] 211-248. In discussing eighteenth-century attitudes, Gloria Flaherty *Shamanism and the eighteenth century* [Princeton 1992] 22 states: "The arrogance of eurocentric male Christianity was evident in most early accounts of shamanism." And, one might add, in most contemporary accounts of Egyptian religion.

Annex: Collateral Texts

CT V 168-173 (sp 400) *spell for rejoining the ferry-boat*

(Note: Immediately follows sp 399: formula of offerings to Anubis. In the deification of parts, the steering-oars are made upright *ḥst-Inpw-wr*)

O you seven Transfigured Ones who traverse (*hnwt*) the sky
Who see that he [Osiris?] is submerged
Come and bring me this ferryboat
In its name of The Lofty One (*qȝit* = high ground?)

CT V 174 (sp 401) *spell for the ferry-boat*

(cf above spell 400)

O you Seven Transfigured Ones who traverse (*hnwt*) the sky
Bring me this ferryboat
Because you know that I am boatless
Since I know you and I know your names
You who see that he is submerged
Bring me this ferryboat
In its name of The Lofty One
In its quality of The Lofty One ///
Because I am proceeding to Amentet by means of it
So that I may reach the gods who are in ///

CT III 142-152 (sp 205) *of not going upside down*

I am made to ascend to the place where Maȝet is...
“On what will you live in this place to which you have come?
You will not see these Seven Transfigured Ones who carry Re and display Re
Who live on excrement and quench their thirst with urine
Who walk upside down”
I will say that I reject these Seven Transfigured Ones who carry Re...
Because I have equipped them
I will judge them (*wp-dmd-hn ȝ.sn*) on that day of going to the Tribunal of Re [etc]

CT IV 254-270 = sp 335A (Barguet p 567), Heerma van Voss *Oudste versie* (Leiden 1963) 36f, 75f, 77f; vignette: see H Milde *Neferrenpet* (Leiden 1991) 36f

BD sp 17a §13 = lines 82-107 (Any: 57/14-59/12):
Praise to you Possessors of Maȝet
Tribunal around Osiris
Who cause separation (*ȝȝd*) from those who do *isfet*
(You) who are in the following of (the goddess) Hotpes-khus
See I come before you
That you may ward off all the sadness (*dwt*)
Which relates to me
Just as I have done for these Seven Transfigured Souls
Who are among the acclamers (*ȝmsw*) of their lord Sepa

Whose places Anubis prepared
On that day (called) Come There Then

What is that?

Concerning these «Possessors of Ma^cet»
They are Seth and Isdez Lord of the West.
As for the «Tribunal around Osiris»
It comprises Imsety Hapi Duamutef and Qebhsenuf
who are behind the Great Bear (*hpš*) in the northern sky [etc]

And as for these «Seven Transfigured Souls»
(They are) Imsety Hapi (Duamutef) and Qebhsenuf
He-Whom-his-Father-Sees
He-Who-is-under-His-Moringa-Tree
and Horus-[Me]khenty-en-Irty
They were placed (there) by Anubis
As magical protection of (Osiris') coffin

Alternative reading:

Behind the Site of Embalmment (*w^cbt*) of Osiris

Alternative reading:

Concerning these «Seven Transfigured Souls»
(They are) *Ndh^cdh*, *ȝqdqd*,
Bull-Who-Gave-No-Flame-when-he-was-Burned,
Keen-Eyed-One-at-his-Time-of-Duty,
Ruddy-Eyed-One-in-the-House-of-Bright-Red-Linen,
Blazing-of-Face-Who-Came-Out-Backwards, (and)
He-Who-Sees-in-Darkness-What-He-Brings-by-Day

I am his Twin *b³w* which are in his two fledglings

What does this mean?

Concerning his Twin *b³w* which are in his two fledglings
They are Osiris when he entered Busiris
And found the *b³* of Re there
And (when) they embraced each other
Then they became his Twin *b³w* [etc]

BD sp 71 §8 Allen (Budge 158/5-159/9) *r³-n-prt-m-hrw* (= CT spell 691)
O you Seven Counsellors who equalize (*rmn*) the balance
This night of assembling the Sound-Eye
Who cut off heads and slit throats
Who plunder hearts and ravish breasts
Who create slaughter in the Isle of Flame
I know you and I know your names
May you recognize me as I recognize <you
May you recognize my name as I recognize your names.> (*suppl from CT*)
May I approach you and may you approach me
May you live through me and may I live through you
May you ordain for me (life) which is in your hands

May you give me the authority (*w3s*) that is in your grasp
May you allot me life at the beginning of (*tp-r3*) (each) year
May there be added many years to my years of life
Many months to my months of life
Many days to (my) days of life
Many nights to (my) nights of life
(Until) I set out and rise (*wbn*) [and join] my image
With breath at my nose
May my eyes see among these Horizon-Dwellers
This day of reckoning (*hsb*) with the Stealer [*end of spell*]

BD spell 145 v, w (Allen) = variant from Yuya, Aufankh (346/6-349/8 Budge)

v

"Hail to you " says Horus
"O Twenty-first Gateway of [Osiris] the Exhausted One
Prepare a way for me because I know you
I know [your] name
I know the name of the god who guards you
«She Who Sharpens Flint at her Word
Revealed of Face who cannot be overturned
Who engages [one] with her Flame» is [your] name
[You possess] the secret of the Champion (*ndty*)
The god who guards you his name is Giraffe
He came into being before pines (*'s*) grew
Before acacias (*śndt*) were born
Before iron ore (*bi³*) was formed in the desert

The Tribunal of [this] Gateway consists of seven gods
Andjety is the name of one of them
Child of the Two Lips is the name of another [of them]
Born of Flame is the name of another [of them]
Sound of Mouth is the name of another [of them]
Upwawet is the name of another [of them]
He who is in the Moringa Tree is the name of another [of them]
[Anubis is the name of another of them]

w

Prepare a way for me I am Min-Horus
Champion of his father Osiris
Heir of [his] father
I have come to give life to my father Osiris
[Now that] I have overthrown all (his) enemies

I have come today from the southern sky
I have given Ma^cet (to) him who practises (it)
I have celebrated the *haker*-festival for its lord
I have conducted festivals for Him who is in the Scaffolding
I have given bread (to) the altar-lords

I have conducted food [and] offerings of bread and beer
Oxen and fowl to my father Osiris
[While I am] beside the Ram
I let the phoenix(es) ascend at (my) word
I have come from the temple offering incense
I have conducted the kilted [one]
Having crossed to the pool of the *neshmet*-barque
Osiris Khentyamentiu has been justified against all his enemies
I ferry all his enemies over to the place of execution of the east
They shall not escape the guardianship of Geb there
I raise up his buttocks on the day of his justification
I have come as an revelatory (*pg³*) scribe
That I may give the god control of his feet

I have come from the temple of Him who is on his Mountain
And have seen Him who is over the Divine Pavilion
Having entered Ro-setawe
I have hidden him I found dismembered
Having gone down to Niaref
I have clothed him who was there naked
Having gone upstream to Abydos
I glorify Hu and Sia
(Now that) I have entered into the temple of Isdez
The disease demons and Sakhmit have boasted of me (in the house of the elders
I receive my coronation and my crown
I occupy my throne
Namely the seat of my father the Primeval One
The birthing-place (*mshnt*) of the Sacred Land gives me adoration
My mouth spews out *ma et*
I have drowned the demons of twilight (*chhw*)
I have come from the palace (called)
She who causes Limbs to Thrive
Let me sail in the barque of the evening Shining One
(As) there comes forth myrrh ? (*mdht*) from the circle of the Rekhyt

You have come approved from Mendes (O) Osiris *N*
Your eyes are opened for you to see the Disk
The veiled one has been revealed to you
The Disk shines on your corpse as (on) all the justified

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Indices

References are to paragraph numbers.

EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PROPER NAMES

Line numbers of text in brackets; see also under Names and Subjects.

- ȝbw* 69-71 (A47)
ȝh 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
ȝhw 52 (A23)
ȝh-hdt 10
ii.n.i-^cȝ 35 (A08), 59 (A36)
ibw.n 88 (A68)
imy-wt (emblem) 84
imy-ȝ 23
imy-sh-ntr-imy-kȝp 57
imtt-imy-sȝw 11
imȝh 91 (A82)
imn.n.i 84 (A62)
inp (crouch) 49
Inpw 53 (A24), 89 (A69), 90 (A74)
Inpw-imy-wt 14
ink-N 59 (A34)
ink-m 51 (T02)
irw (celebrate) 78
isrw ^cwy.i-m-iȝw 36, 40 (A07)
itrw 65-66 (A44)
^cwy-mnh-h ^c-nsw-bity 10
^cȝ(here) 35 (A08), 59 (A36)
^cȝ-phty 91
^cfnt 81 (A59)
^cm-ȝt 74
^cnhw-m-hpt 59 (A38)
^cntyw 87-88 (A65)
^cndty 76
^cs(tree) 35-38 (A09)
^cs(many) 89 (A71)
^cq 42 (A12), 50 (A18), 81 (A58), 82 (A60)
^cqdqd Annex (sp 17)
wȝwt 55 (A28)
wȝs 65
wiȝ 72 (A49)
w^cb(t) 14, 92 (T44)
w^c-im-ȝn 56 (A32)
wrhw-m-hȝt-nt-^cntyw 88
wr 93 (T49)
wrd-ib 77
Wsir 9, 93 (T50)
Wsir-Hnty-imntt 27 (A02)
wsht-wr(t) 36, 93 (T49)
wsht-M^cty 23, 25 (A01)
wd.i-m-sntr 67 (A45)
bȝ-im 92 (T44)
bȝ-^cnh 62
bȝ-nb-Ddwt 60-62 (A41)
bȝw-ȝt 62
bw 93 (T48)
bȝqy 11
bnw 63-64 (A43)
pr.i-m-bnw 63 (A42)
- pr-m-Tm-hbt* 13
pr-Wsir 50 (A19), 81 (A58), 92 (T46)
pr-Rwty 51 (T17, C30)
pr-Stt 69-72 (A48)
pr-Tpy-dw.f 79 (A56)
prt-Wp-wȝwt 74
phty 91 (A79)
pdt 127 n130
mȝȝ (vb) 32 (A05), 52 (A20), 59 (A37), 75 (A51), 79 (A57), 83 (A61)
mȝȝt 91 (A77)
mȝȝ-hrw 30 (A03), 59 (A34), 90 (A72), 91 (A82), 92 (T47)
mȝȝ-hrw-m-htp 59 (A35)
mnmnt 91 (A79)
mnȝ 10
mr-ȝ-nfr 91
mh 24
mhe 53
mhȝt 88 (A68)
mdw.i 63 (A43)
mdw.i-r.Stȝ 44 (A13)
mdȝ-rȝ 8
n-hpr-^cs 36-38 (A09)
nn-hpr 35
Niȝrrf 85 (A63)
nb.i 32 (T04)
nb-imȝh 91 (A82)
nb-Imntyw 58
nb-phty-ȝs-mnmnt 91 (A79)
nb-mȝȝt-ȝr-tp-rdw.y.fy 91 (A77)
nb-r-ȝr 60
nb-Rȝ-stȝw 83
nbty-Rhyt 88
nbw-ȝrt-ntr 15
nfr 32
nfrw 32 (A05)
nnȝ 12
nht (sycamore) 41
nsw-bity 10
nȝmt 72, 73 (A50)
ntr-^cȝ-iqr-ȝt 16(8)
ntr-^cȝ-wr-bȝw 16(7)
ntr-^cȝ-nb-n-bȝ 16(1)
ntr-^cȝ-nb-ȝnd-m-ibw 16(4)
ntr-^cȝ-nb-ȝtyt 16(2)
ntr-^cȝ-nfr-ms 16(3)
ntr-^cȝ-nb-dȝt 16(5)
ntr-^cȝ-dsr-irw 16(6)
ntr-<pn>-^cȝ 93 (T48)
ntrw-^cȝw 59 (A37)
nȝmt 73-74 (A50)
Ndȝhdȝ Annex (sp 17)
rȝ 23-24 (A01)
rȝ-^cȝ 23
rȝ-Nhn 23
rȝ-hry 23
Rȝ-stȝw 82-83 (A60)
Rwty 51 (T17, C30)
rmn Annex (sp 71)

rn.f 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
rn.k-m³c 34 (A07, T03)
rn-n-sb³-pn 89 (A70), 90 (A73)
rn-n-sdm-hry 90 (A75), 91 (A78)
rn-n-sdm-hry 90 (A76), 91 (A80)
rdi.n.i 87 (A65)
rdwy.fy 78 (A55), 91 (A77)
r^h 55 (A28), 89 (A70), 90 (A75)
r^h.tw 89 (A70), 91 (A81)
Rhyt 88 (A66)
h³.kwi 85 (A63)
h³w 86 (A64)
Hwt-hry-ib 75
hbs.n.i 86 (A64)
hbst-n^lr 75
hbs-hr.f 47-48 (A16)
hbs-tp 47
hm-n-Inpw (majesty) 90 (A74)
hm-n^lr-pn 93 (T48)
hmt (women) 87 (A65)
hmwt-r³ 23
hr-gs 53
hr-ht.f 49
hry-s^lt³ 49
hsb-hr 47 (T14)
htpy 12
htp 59 (A35)
htp.kwi 55 (A30)
htpt 59 (A38)
hknw 57
ht-^lt³w 49 (A17)
h³styw 128 n130
h^cw (crown) 10
hbnt 13
hbw 13
hbt 72
hp^l 52, 109, Annex (sp 17)
h^lstyw 72 (A49)
Hnty-Imntt 27 (A02)
Hnty-sh-n^lr 80 (A57)
Hr-sk-Sw 90 (A73)
hrw (fall) 49 (A17)
hrw (voice) 30 (A03), 54 (A25)
h³t 55 (T26)
hnm.i-tkn-im.i 46 (A15)
hrdw 68 (A46)
s³bw-^lmsw-Hr 48
st-^lt³w 42 (A13), 44
s^cm-it.f 74
s^chw 75 (A52)
sb³-pn 89 (A70), 90 (A73)
smh.n.i-wi³ 72 (A49)
snsn.i-sti.f 56-58 (A31)
sn^lr 56, 67 (A45)
sr 54 (T22, C18)
sh-n^lr 79-80 (A57)
shm 72
shm-n^lr 77 (A54, A55)
s^lir.k-tw.k 91 (A81)
s^lpg 72

s^lsm.i 68 (A46)
s^lsm-n^lr 92 (T45)
st³w 40 (A11)
St^l 44 (A14)
st^l-n^lr 56
sgr.n.i 76 (A53)
sdm (door-leaf) 90
sdm-hry 91(A75), 91 (A78)
sdm-hry 90 (A76), 91 (A80)
š 74 (A50)
š-s³bw 74
Šw 90 (A72)
šm³w ('foreigners') 127 n130
šmsw-Wsir 9
šmsw-Sp³ Annex (sp 17)
šnw 88 (A66)
šndt 35-39 (A10), 68
šndty 68 (A46)
št³w 42, 43 (A12), 49 (A17), 51 (A21), 83 (A61)
št³w-R³-st³w 77
šdy 92 (T46)
twt 11
tm-hbw 13
Tpy-dw.f 79, 80 (A56)
t^ls 84 (A62)
tkn-im.i 46 (A15)
ts 91 (A79)
tsm 74
gm.n.i 84 (A62)
gm.n.f 92 (T44)
gsy 9
gswy.f 53 (A25)
gsgs 31 (T03)
qm³w 40 (A11)
k³-gs.f 53
k³w.sn 59 (A39)
kf³ 72
ky-^lh-im 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
kf.n.i 81 (A59)
Km-wr 75 (A52)
di.n.i 77 (A54)
Di-qsw 13
didy 10
di-t-n-nny 12
dw³ 27 (A02)
db-hwt-s³bw-n^lrw-^lmsw-Hr 48
dm³ 94 (T54)
dmiw.n 55 (A28)
d³.kwi 73 (A50)
d³d³t-nt-sbhw 52 (A22)
drw 60 (A40), 71
dsrw-^lt³w 51
dsrw-imnw 51
dd (pillar) 76
dd-^cs 72 89 (A71)
dd-in-N 90 (A72)
dd-in-hm-n-Inpw 90 (A74)
dd.n.i 88 (A68)
dd.f-n.i 59 (A33)

dd-mdw 29 (A03), 53 (A24), 89 (A69)

ddw.n.i 88 (A67)

Ddw 76 (A53)

Ddwt 61-62 (A41)

NAMES AND SUBJECTS

(see also under *Egyptian words*)

Abaton at Philae, and tomb of Osiris 76
Abraham N & Torok M, on Wolf-Man 98
Abusir el-Malaq, and Lake of Fire 74, 85
Abydos, and jackals on stelae 80
Abydos, temple of Osiris at 81
Acacia-house, in funerary ritual 39, 68
‘*fnf* headdress 4, 5, 6, 81
Amun, aroma of 56
Amun, and eight *Urgötter* 111 n58
Amun-Re, as ram 61
‘Anedjty, god of Busiris 76
ankh, Anubis administering 115
Anubis, administering life 115, 115 n82
Anubis, adze of 113
Anubis, as assessor/judge 88, 115, 116-118
Anubis, astronomical aspects 115 n86
Anubis, *b3w* of 27
Anubis, in *Book of Gates* 45
Anubis, and foreigners 128 n130
Anubis, as herald and psychopomp 53, 115
Anubis, as *hm* (majesty) 90, 93
Anubis, holding balance 53
Anubis, *hry-sst3* 43, 49
Anubis, *hr-h3t.f* 49
Anubis, in *htp-di-nsw* formulae 110 n53,
Annex
Anubis, iconography of 22
Anubis, identification of person with 28, 50,
123
Anubis *imy-wt* 14
Anubis, and *imy-wt* emblem 122
Anubis, *ip-ibw* 118 n95
Anubis, *iry-mh3t* 118 n99
Anubis jackals on Abydene stelae 80
Anubis, and judgment 116 n98
Anubis, *k3-gs.f* 53
Anubis, and Khentyamentiu 27
Anubis, and Ma‘et 53, 116
Anubis, and *Mischgestalten* 114, 114 n80
Anubis, *nb-iry-mh3t* 118 n100
Anubis, *nb-iw-mtr* 110 n53
Anubis, and Opening of the Mouth 113
Anubis, and Osiris 27
Anubis, and revival of Osiris 122
Anubis, as oxherd 91
Anubis, *s3m-it.f* 74
Anubis, and ‘satirical’ papyri 115 n64, 128
n130
Anubis, and scents 46
Anubis, role in transfiguration 105
Anubis, and Ro-Setawe 83
Anubis, enabler of *s3h* 75

Anubis, and satirical papyri 115 n84, 121
n104

Anubis, and Satis 69

Anubis, and Sirius 115 n86

Anubis, and sistrum 78

Anubis, and snake-stones 112

Anubis, and snake-wand 18

Anubis, *sr* 54, 118 n98

Anubis, *sr-d3d3t* 118 n97

Anubis, and *st3w* 42

Anubis, and *shm* 78

Anubis, *shm-m-h3wt* 118 n96

Anubis, tender of bier 75, 108

Anubis, *tpy-dw.f* 79

Anubis, as *wr-hk3w* 113

Anubis, *hnty-sh-ntr* 79-80

Anubis, *hh* (weigher) 118 n101

Anubis and Thoth as *3hw* 105

Anubis, Thoth, and Osiris, theophany 124
n121

Anukis and Satis 70

Anupet, and Cynopolis 116, 116 n90

Apopis, and snake symbolism 112

Aroma, of soul 56

Art, Egyptian, proportion in 114

Atribis, as boundary 60

Atribis, and Osiris 75

3h, and *b3* 105 n38, n39

3h, of king 105

3h, of tomb 105

3h, process of becoming 104-105

3h, Upawet giver of 105 n412

3h, usefulness 125

3hw, Anubis and Thoth as 105

3hw, as equalizers of balance 109

3hw, guardians of gates 52, 109

3hw, iconography of 4-16, 18-20, 106-110

3hw, names of 21

3hw, seven 99

3hw, seven, as stars 102, 109

3hw, *Sm3sw-Hr* as 48

3hw, and snake-wands 112

3hw, as stars 104 n34

3hw, taxonomy of 52, 104 n33

Ascension symbolism 98-101

Aspective, in Egyptian art 114 n79

Astronomy, Egyptian 102

bardo, Tibetan, and ‘zeitliches Jenseits’ 125

n124

b3, and ‘*fnf* headdress 4, 5, 6, 81 105 n38,
n39

b3, empowerment of 78

b3 of Osiris, cult 64

b3, union with Osiris 92

b3, transfiguration as 105

b3w of Anubis 27

b3w-Imntt 109

b3w of Heliopolis 45

b3w of Osiris and Re‘ 62

b3w of Pe and Nekhen 109

- b3w*** of Re, seven 103
b3w-št3w 62
 Baboons, chasing Seth 45
 Baboons, and Lake of Fire 74
 Balance, in equilibrium 24, 53, 92
barbarboi, no Egyptian equivalent 127
 Bacon, Roger, and severed head 121 n110
 Bear, Great 52, 109
 Beethoven, Ludwig van, and ‘cut-ups’ 121 n109
 Berio, Luciano, and ‘cut-ups’ 121
 Biggeh, tomb of Osiris at 70
 Body of sun-god, search for 55
 see also under Osiris
 Breath, symbolism of 115
 Bridge, *sirāt*, in *Book of the Ladder* 101
 Buraq, as vehicle of ascent 115
 Burroughs, William S., and ‘cut-ups’ 121
 Busiris, Osiris relics at 76
 Busiris, pillar in 47
 Caskets of Osiris 41, 108
 Chaos theory, and entropy 121 n110
 Chnum, as ram 61
 Christopher, S., Cynocephalus 114 n80
 Ciccone, Madonna, and theophany 126
 Clother of god 86
 Clothing the naked 86
 Cobra-goddess, as *wrt-hk3w* 113
 Conjunction of Opposites 119
 Crown, royal, as *wrt-hk3w* 113
 ‘Cut-ups’, magical 120-121
 Cynopolis, and Anubis 79, 116
 Cynosura, and canine logos 115 n83
 d’Aquili, EG, neurobiology of myth 66
 Deconstruction of *krypta* 42, 98
 Demons, dog-headed 114
 Derrida Jacques, and hieroglyphs 98
 Derrida, Jacques, on *ce dangereux supplément* 126 n128
 Diadem, fastening of, at Athribis 75
 Divination, in Dogon 98
 Djefaihapy, as clother of jackals 48
 Dog, as Logos 115
 Dog, swearing by 115 n83
 Dog, and Seven Sleepers 100
 Dogs, army of seven, of Mallanna 99 n9
 Dog-headed demons 114
 Dogon and symbolic language 98
 Drowning, symbolism of 65
 Drugs see Harmaline
 Duamutef, as *ȝh* 109
 see also under Sons of Horus
 Duchamp, Marcel, and ‘cut-ups’ 121
 Egypt, travel of soul through 123
 Egyptian religion, social relevance 128
 Elephantine, as boundary 60
 Elephantine, Ptolemaic spelling of 71
 Elephantine, temple of Satis on 69, 123
 Eliade, Mircea, and ‘eternal return’ 66
 Empowerment of gods and *b3w* 78
- Epistemology of Egyptian religion 125
 Eternity, Egyptian conceptions of 125 n124
 Ethnocentrism, lessons from Egypt 128
 Faruffini, Federico, ‘Vergine del Nilo’ 126 n128
 Feather, ostrich, and Anubis 116
 Fools’ Pope, in Medieval Europe 120 n104
 Foreigners, Egyptian attitude to 127, 127 n130
 Foreigners, and judgment 54-55
 Freud, Sigmund, and Wolf-Man 98
 Ganesa, and severed head 119 n102
 Ganesa, cult, celebrant reconstituted 122 n114
 Gate to netherworld, *r3* representing 24
 Gates, drawing of bolts to 77
 Gates, guardians of 52, 89
 Gates, parts of 90
 Gates, seven, of netherworld 102, 109
 see also under Ro-Setawé
 Geb, as judge 117
 Gestures, ritual 33, 111
goyim, no Egyptian equivalent 127
 Grosseteste, Robert, and severed head 121 n110
 Gysin, Brion, and ‘cut-ups’ 121
 Harmaline, and ascent 101 n16
 Hathor, represented in judgment scene 53
 Hathor, seven hypostases of 102
 Hatshepsut, hierogamy of 56
 Head, severed 119, 121, 122
 Head, veiling of 47
 Headdresses 51, 81
 see also under c⁴nt
 Healing, through mummification 122
 Heaven and earth, separation of 90
 Heidegger, Martin, *Sein zum Tode* 122
 Heh gods 111
 Heisenberg, Werner, principle of entropy 121 n110
 Heliopolis, reburial of Osiris at 80
 Hermanubis, as psychopomp 115 n85
 Hezat, and *imy-wt* 84
 Hieroglyphs, as symbols 98
 Hike, *nb-phty* 91
 Hike, and ritual gesture 111
 Hike, as protector, Kom Ombo 65
 Homer, ‘cut-ups’ of 120
 Horizon, lions and 51
 Horizon, tomb as 104 n34
 see also under ȝh
 Horus, adjusting balance 2
 Horus, rescue from marshland 65
 Horus, *ȝmsw-Hr* 48
 Horus, Sons of, astronomical aspects 52
 Horus, Sons of, iconography 1, 63
 Horus, Sons of, and ‘kilted one’ 68
 Horus, Sons of, as protectors 65
 Horus, Sons of, as tribunal 52
 Horus, Sons of, as *ȝhw* 109
 Horus, *ip-ibw* 118 n95

- htp-di-nsw* formulae 110 n53
 Hu and Sia, glorification of 85
 Identification, person with god 123
 Ikhernofret stela, *neshmet* in 72
 Ila of Zaire, breaking of *tabu* in 120 n104
 Illiteracy, scribal, questioned 120
 Image, divine 72, 77, 90
 see also under shm
imy-wt and Osiris and Anubis 84, 122
 Inanna/Ishtar, descent of 101
 Incenses 56
 Incenses, at *Stundenwachen* 68
 see also under Myrrh
ip (reckon) 118 n95
 Isdennu, as judge 117 n93
 Isis, Mysteries at temple of 51
 Isis-Sothis, and Satis 69
 Iuf, towing of 26
 Ivy, in iconography 3
 Jackal(s), constellation 115 n86
 Jackal of Dogon 98
 Jackals, *b3w-Imntt* 109
 Jackals, clother of 48 cf 86
 Jackals, feeding of 86
 Jackals, lake of 74, 110
 Jackal riddle in *Rig-Veda* 98 n1
 Jackal hieroglyph 118, 118 n94
 Jackals, on Abydene stelae 80
 Judge, supreme, identity of 117
k3, and Hike 111
 Khandoba, seven dogs of 99 n9
 Khentyamentiu, and Anubis 27
 Khentyamentiu, caskets of 41
 Khentyamentiu, Osiris as 122
 Khentyamentiu, incenses and 67
 see also under Anubis, Osiris
 Khuyt, goddess of Athribis 75, 86
 Kilt, Osiris(?) with 68
 King, stellar destiny of 104 n34
 Kissing the earth 110
kundalini, raising of 113
 Ladder, celestial, in Yiddish folkloore 98
 Lake of Jackals 74, 110
 Lake of Fire 74, 110
 Language, symbolic 98, 98 n1, n5
 Libyan(?), offering incense 58
 Lions, twin, symbolism 51
m33, seeing the gods 124
 Madonna (Ciccone), and theophany 126
 Ma^cet, accessibility of 127
 Ma^cet, Anubis and 116
m3ct, as basis, iconography 1
 Ma^cet, clothing naked as 86
 Ma^cet, offering of 78
 Ma^cet, in solar barque 26
 Ma^cet, and symbolic virginity 126
 Ma^cety, Hall of 25, 93, 104
 Ma^cet goddesses, two 2, 25-26
 Ma^cet goddesses, and Merty 25
 Ma^cet goddesses, seven 102
 Ma^cety, god 25
 Mallanna, seven dogs of 99 n9
 Mallarmé, Stéphane, and 'cut-ups' 121 n109
 Masks, wearing of 47
 Memphis, burial of Osiris at 80
 Mendes, *b3w* of Osiris and Re^c at 62
 Merty goddesses, and Ma^cety 25
 Midrash, Hebrew, and number seven 100
 Min, the fashioner 24
mi craj, Buraq in 115 n86
moushekil, Assyrian judge 118 n99
ms hieroglyph 117 n94
 mudrās, ritual gestures 111
 mudrās and symbolic language 98 n1
 Mumification, healing through 122
 Mycerinus triads 116
 Myrrh, in 'circle of rekhyt' 87-88
 Mysteries, *dsrw* 51
 Mysteries, *st3w* and 42, 49, 83
 Nakedness 86, 110
 Names, barbarous 120
 Names, secret 89, 91, 98
 Names, true 34
narthekophoria 112
 Near-death experiences 125 n124
 Necromancy, 'cutups' in 120
nemes, headdress for soul 51
neshmet, repulsion of attackers 72-73
neshmet, and Osiris-Khentyamentiu 27
neshmet, and *prt* of Upwawet 73
 Netherworld, seven gods of 103
 Niarref, and Lake of Fire 74, 85
 Nile, and Paradise, in *Book of the Ladder* 101
 n16
 Nile, rebirth of Osiris from 70, 123
 Nommo, twin of Ogo-Yurugu 98
 Nubian aspects of Sobk 70
 Numbers, magical 99-103
 Number seven, in descent of Ishtar 101
 Number seven, in Egypt 102-103
 Number seven, in Hebrew myth/ magic 100
 Number seven, in perceptual experiments 100
 n10
 Number seven, in Persian symbolism 100
 Number seven, in *Qur c'an* 100
 Number seven, in *Upaniṣads* 100
nw3-Inpw, in Opening of Mouth 113
 Odin and runes 97
 Offerings basins, and Jackal Lake 110 n53
 Ogo-Yurugu, Dogon trickster 98
 Opening of the Mouth, implements 113
 Opening of the Mouth, and *śd-dsṛwt* 120
 Osiris, and Anubis 27
 Osiris, *b3* of 58, 61-62, 64
 Osiris, *b3* of, united with Re 62
 Osiris, burial of at Memphis and Heliopolis 80
 Osiris, Busiris and 76
 Osiris, coffin of, protected by Satis and Anukis
 70
 Osiris, dismemberment of 119, 121, 122

- Osiris, drowning of 65
 Osiris, iconography of 1, 18
 Osiris, identification with 28
 Osiris, and *imy-wt* 84, 122
 Osiris, as judge 117
 Osiris Khentyamentiu 27, 122
 Osiris myth, in psychoanalysis 122 n115
 Osiris, as Purusa 122
 Osiris, as ram 60
 Osiris, rebirth of, from Nile-waters 123
 Osiris, relics of 76, 103, 123
 Osiris, reconstitution of 84
 Osiris, person as 123
 Osiris, temple of 81
 Osiris, theophany 124 n121
 Osiris, tomb of, at Biggeh 70
 Osiris, transcending time 35
 Osiris, and sacred trees 37, 39
 Osiris, tribunals of 103, 109
 Osiris Wenennofre 32
 Palaeography, notes on [23 ante], 25, 29, 31, 38, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 68, 91, 92, 93, 96
 Palm-branch, iconography 20
 Phoenix, ascent as 63-65
 Pictographs, Carib 98 n5
 Pictographs, Siberian 98 n5
 Pig, Typhonian, in *Book of Gates* 45
 Prosckynesis 4, 5, 110
 Psychoanalysis, use of Osiris myth in 122 n115
 Purusa, Osiris as 122
 Purusa, reconstitution of celebrant as 122 n114
 Pyramid, as horizon 104 n34
 Racism, lessons from Egypt 128
 Ram, *b3-nb-Ddwt* 60-62
 Re, *b3* of, united with Osiris 62
 Re, as judge 116
 Re, dispute with Seth 44
 Re-Horakhti, smelling earth before 4
 Rekhyt, myrrh among 87-88
 Riddles 97
 Ro-Setawe 82-83
 Ro-Setawe, entry to 74
 Ro-Setawe, gate to 85
 Ro-Setawe, *st3w* of 123
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, and virginity 126 n128
 Ruty, temple of 51
 Sakhmit, seven arrows of 102
 Saqqara, and Ro-Setawe 82
 Satirical animal drawings, relevance of 115 n84, 121 n104
 Satis and Anubis 69
 Satis and Anukis 70
 Satis, and Elephantine 69-71
 Satis, and Isis-Sothis 69
 Satis, temple of, at Elephantine 123
sd-dsrwt 120
- Seeing the gods 124
sekhem 77-78
 Seshat, as 'recording angel' 115 n84
 Seth, *'3-phty* 91
 Seth, dispute with 44-45
 Seth, roles of 45
 Seven dogs of Khandoba/Mallanna 99 n9
 Seven sleepers 100
 Sevens, among Yoruba 99 n10
 Sexuality, as deconstructive catalyst 126 n128
 Sexism, lessons from Egypt 128
 Shattering of papyrus-boxes 120
 Shattering of red vases 120
 Shu, as 'divine midwife' 111 n57
 Shu, separating Geb from Nowet 33, 90, 111
 Silence, and speech 29, 76, 78
 Sirius, and Satis 69
 Sirius, rising of 69, 123
 Sistrum, in iconography 3
 Sistrum, *shm* as 78
 Size/proportion in Egyptian art 114
šmsw-Hr 105, 109
sn-t3 110
 Snake-stones 112
 Snake-wands 18-20, 107, 111-114
 Sobk, and Nile 70
 Sokar of Ro-Setawe 82
 Speech, magical 23
 Speech, recitation of spells *tp-t3* 29
st-št3w, place of secrets 123
st3w of Osiris 123
shm, of king 105
Stundenwachen 105
tabu, breaking of 120 n104
 Tantra, and *kundalinī* 113
 Temple, unveiling of images in 125
 Textual notes [23 ante], 25, 29, 31, 32, 38, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 68, 91, 92, 93, 96
 Theophanies 59, 75, 124-126
 Thoth, and Anubis as *3hw* 105
 Thoth, invocation to 1
 Thoth, *ip-ibw* 118 n99
 Thoth, as judge 117 n93
 Thoth, Osiris, and Anubis, theophany 124 n114
 Thoth, painting feather 2
 Thoth, as recorder 115 n84
 Tibetan *Book of the Dead* 125 n124
 Time, transcending 35, 125 n124
 Tomb, as horizon 104 n34
tp-t3, usefulness of rituals 125
 Turandot, and riddles 97
 Upwawet, opens ways for king 105 n41
 Upwawet, *prt* of 73
 Upwawet, *sn-t3* before 110
 Uraei, seven 102
 Vases, shattering of red 120
 Virginity and ascent, in Yiddish folk-song 98
 Virginity, symbolism of 126, 126 n128

Wands *see* Snake-wands
Wolf-Man of Freud 98
Wood, three kinds of sacred 36
Word, power of 29
wrt-hk³w 113
wr(t)-hk³w, of Isis 113 n76
wr-hk³w, of Seth 113 n76
wr-hk³w, of person 113 n76
Yiddish folklore, and ascension 98
Yoruba, sevens among 99 n10
Yukaghir pictographs of Siberia 98 n5

EGYPTIAN TEXTS

Amduat I 9 26
Amduat I 64 83
Amduat III 25 125 n126
Book of Caverns XC 3 Piankoff 43, 78
Book of Caverns XCI Piankoff 84
Book of Gates IV sc 16 74
Book of Gates IV sc 21 27
Book of Gates V 45
BD introductory hymn 13/11 Budge 76
BD introductory hymn 13/13 Budge 35
BD spell 1 77, 113 n77
BD spell 17 52, 62, 74, 104 n35, Annex
BD spell 21 113 n74
BD spell 23 113 n74
BD spell 19b 63
BD spell 29b 92
BD spell 30b 15, 118 n99
BD spell 40 31
BD spell 71 36, 109, Annex
BD spell 78 51
BD spells 83 & 84 63, 103 n26
BD spell 99 81, 120
BD spell 112 45, 109 n48
BD spell 113 109 n48
BD spells 117-122 83
BD spell 124 63
BD spell 125 15, 55, 74, 86, 89, 112 n67, 115 n84, 125 n125
BD spell 125, rubric 29
BD spell 125c, 12 44, 57
BD spell 126 74
BD spell 140 (Saite) 111 n56
BD spell 144 3, 52, 103 n31
BD spell 145 9(3), 9(4), 60, 63, 67, 72, 73, 79, 82, 84, 87, 109, Annex
BD spell 145 (variant, end) 81
BD spell 146 9(3), 9(4)
BD spell 147 103 n31
BD spell 148 103 n23
BD spell 149 24
BD spell 150 112 n70
BD spell 151a 2, 108, 115 n84
BD spell 175 1
BD spell 182 112 n67, 113 n76
BD spell 188 105 n39
BD spell 170 Pleyte 115 n84

BD spell 173 Pleyte 115 n84
BD spell 174 Pleyte 115 n84
BD spell 193 2, 41, 108
BM stela 580 110 n52
BM stela 826 31
CTI 178 (spells 42-43) 113 n76
CTI 183 (spell 44) 113 n72
CTI 186 (spell 44) 113 n72
CTII 53 (spell 87) 103 n26
CTII 148 (spell 126) 103 n22
CTII 218 (spell 148) 113 n76
CTII 237 (spell 149) 103 n25
CTII 326 (spell 157) 45
CTII 383 (spell 160) 113 n76
CTIII 84 (spell 185) 53, 63
CTIII 142 (spell 205) 9(3), 9(4), Annex
CTIII 360 (spell 255) 74
CTIV 81 (spell 312) 50
CTIV 131 (spell 317) 115 n86
CTIV 254 (spell 335a) Annex
CTIV 268 (spell 335a) 9(3), 9(4), 52, Annex
CTIV 276 (spell 335a) 62
CTV 165 (spell 399) Annex
CTV 168 (spell 400) 103 n27, Annex
CTV 174 (spell 401) 103 n27, Annex
CT spell 404 (Urk V 162 81
CTV 227 (spell 409 *bis*) 103 n30
CTV 243 (spell 413) 78
CTVI 83 (spell 500) 103 n28
CTVI 322 (spell 691) Annex
CTVI 374 (spell) 113 n76
CTVI 376 (spell 746) 55
CTVI 414 (spell) 113 n76
CTVII 27 (spell 827) 103 n30
CTVII 94 (spell 885) 113 n76
CTVII 107 (spell 901) 103 n21
CTVII 112 (spell 908) 105 n37
CTVII 249 (spell 1027) 103 n20
CTVII 289 (spell 1040) 83
CTVII 340 (spell 1072) 83
CTVII 352 (spell 1080) 83
DMPVI 17 113 n76
Eloquent Peasant B2, 114 117 n92
Lebensmüde 5-6 44
pBerlin 3064 105 n40
pBM 10041 24
pBM 10479 111 n56
pBM 19959 113 n76
pCairo SR VII 10232 112 n68
pHarris 145/11 118 n100
pJumilhac V 10 118 n95, n101
pJumilhac XII 22-XIII 10 84
pJumilhac XVIII 2 118 n95, n101
pMilbank 109 n48
pRhind I 11/12 43
Pyr 157 118 n95, n96
Pyr 194 113 n72
Pyr 372 74
Pyr 549 119 n103
Pyr 727 49

Pyr 749 9(4)
Pyr 1282 49
Pyr 1287 118 n95
Pyr 1364 105 n36
Pyr 1390 111 n59
Pyr 1566 104 n33
Pyr 1713 118 n97
Pyr 2026 49
Setne II 4-6 124 n121
Stundenwachen 76/148 105 n41
Stundenwachen XVII 101 118 n95
TT 1 115 n87
Urk I 77 86
Urk IV 220 56
Urk V 162 81

COPTIC, GREEK AND OTHER TEXTS
Pistis Sophia 255 116 n88
Aratus *ap Hippolytus ref* IV 48 115 n83
NT *Acts* 10.42 115 n83
NT *I Corinthians* 13.12 124 n120
Origen *contra Celsum* VI 30 114 n80
PGM IV 673-691 103 n27
PGM VII 319-334 124 n123
PGM XXIII 120 n107
PGM XXXVI 58
Plato *Gorgias* 482b 115 n83
Plutarch *de Iside* 13-18 119 n103
Psellus *de daemonibus* 506, 550 114 n80

Arda Viraf, Book of II 1-36 101 n18
Book of the Ladder (Arabic) 101 n16
Dante *Vita nuova* XLII 126
Dante *Paradiso* XXV 55-57 97 *ante*
Mundaka Upaniṣad II 1.8 100 n13
Qur’ān sura 18 100 n14
Rig Veda I 1.164 98 n1
Rig Veda X28.4 98 n1
Sefer Yetzirah 67 Toaff 100 n12

PLATES

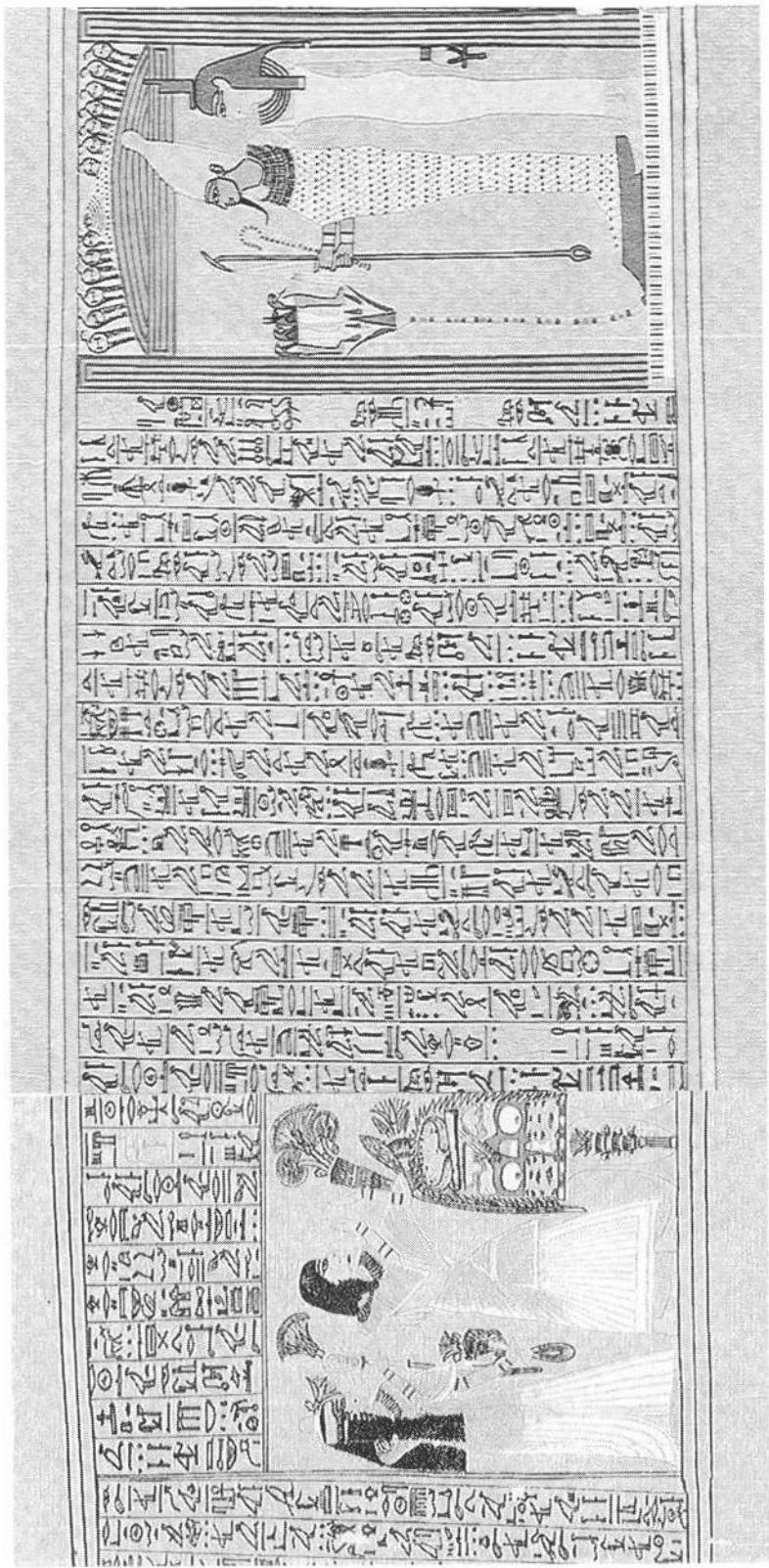


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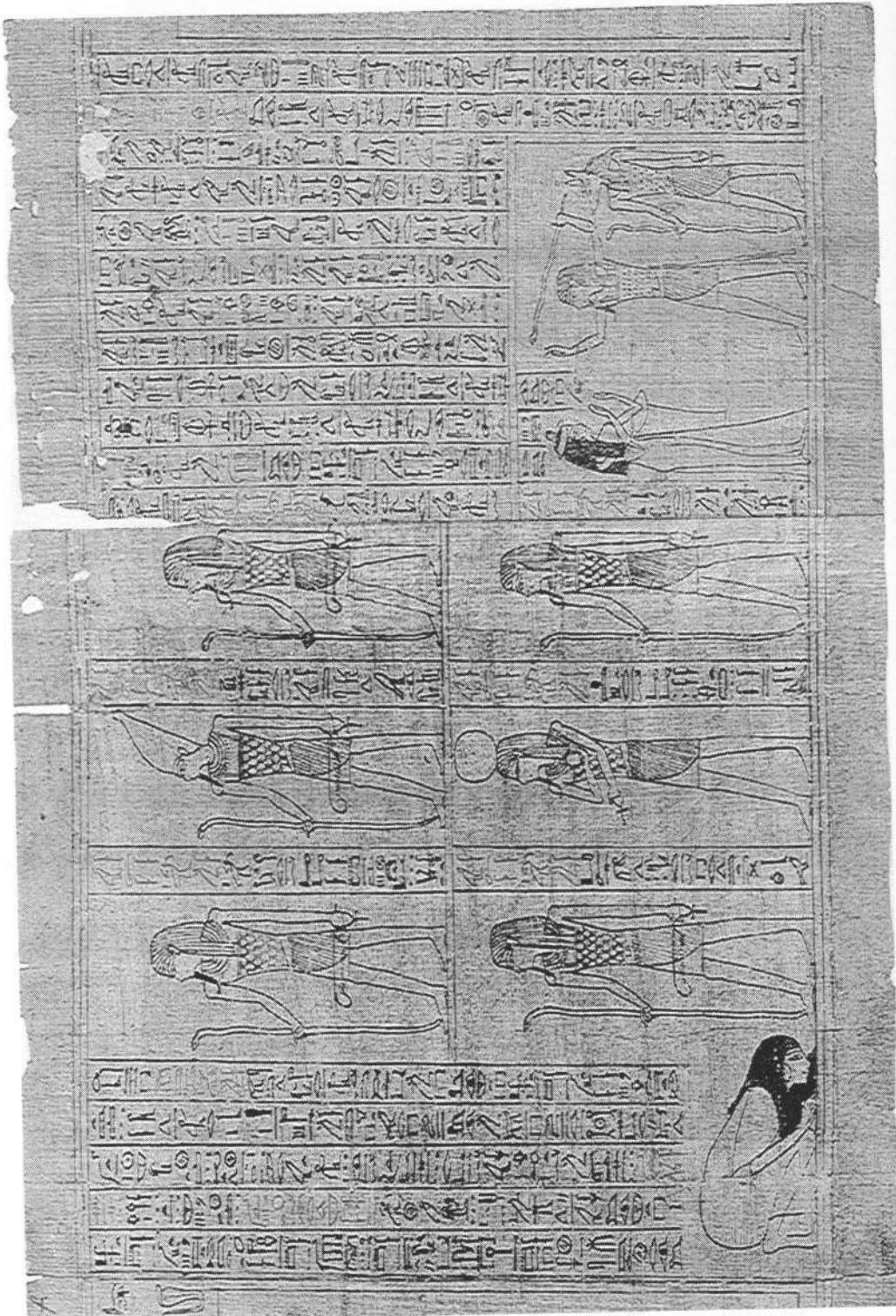


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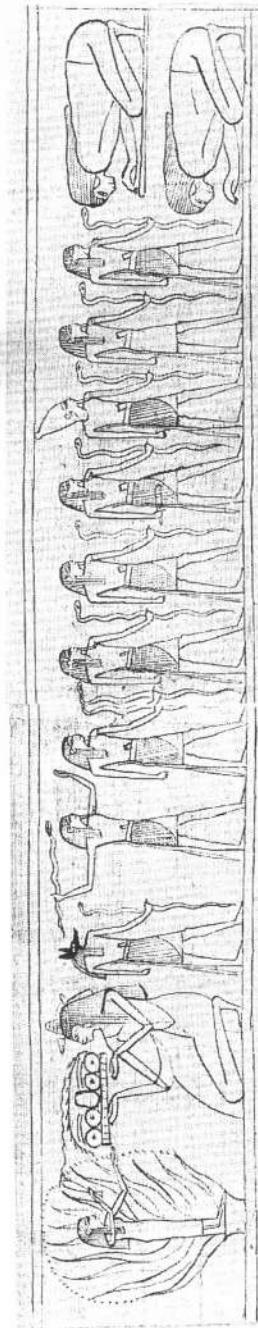
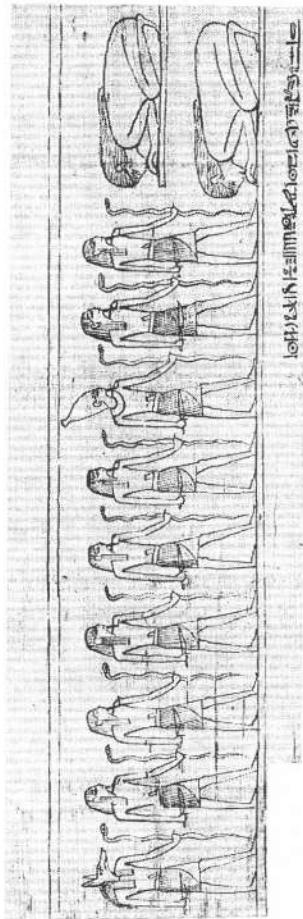


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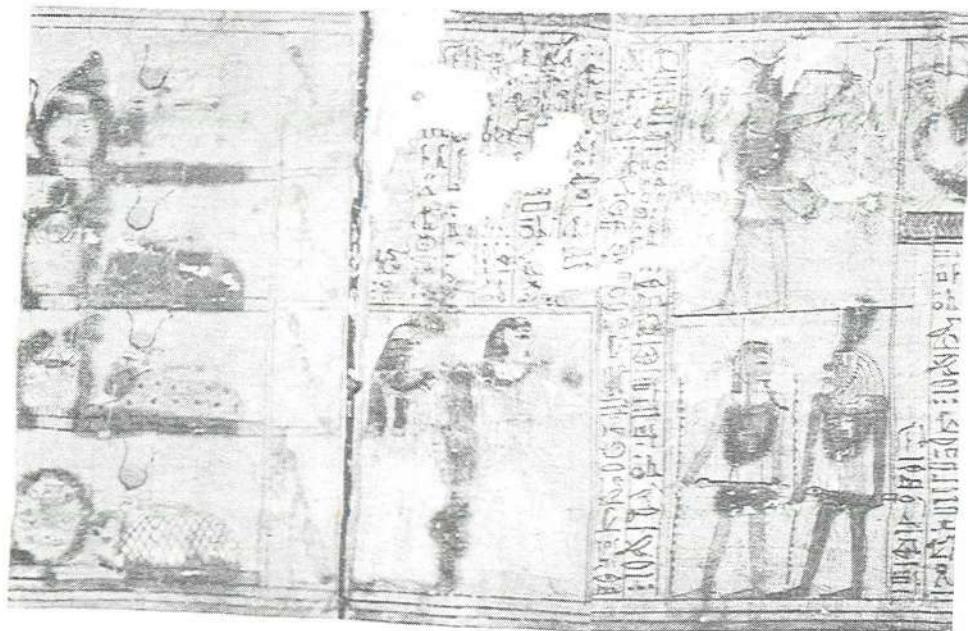
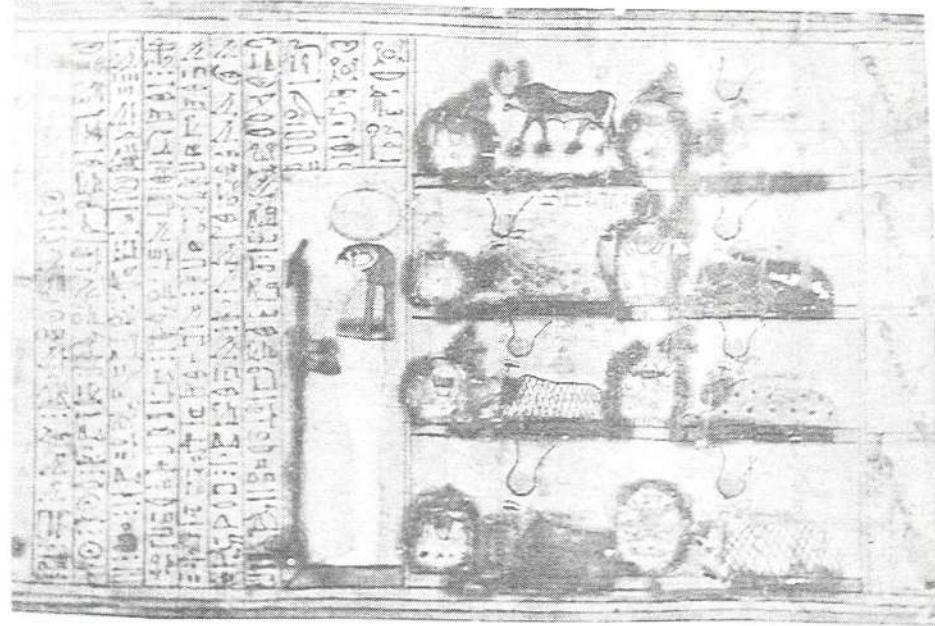


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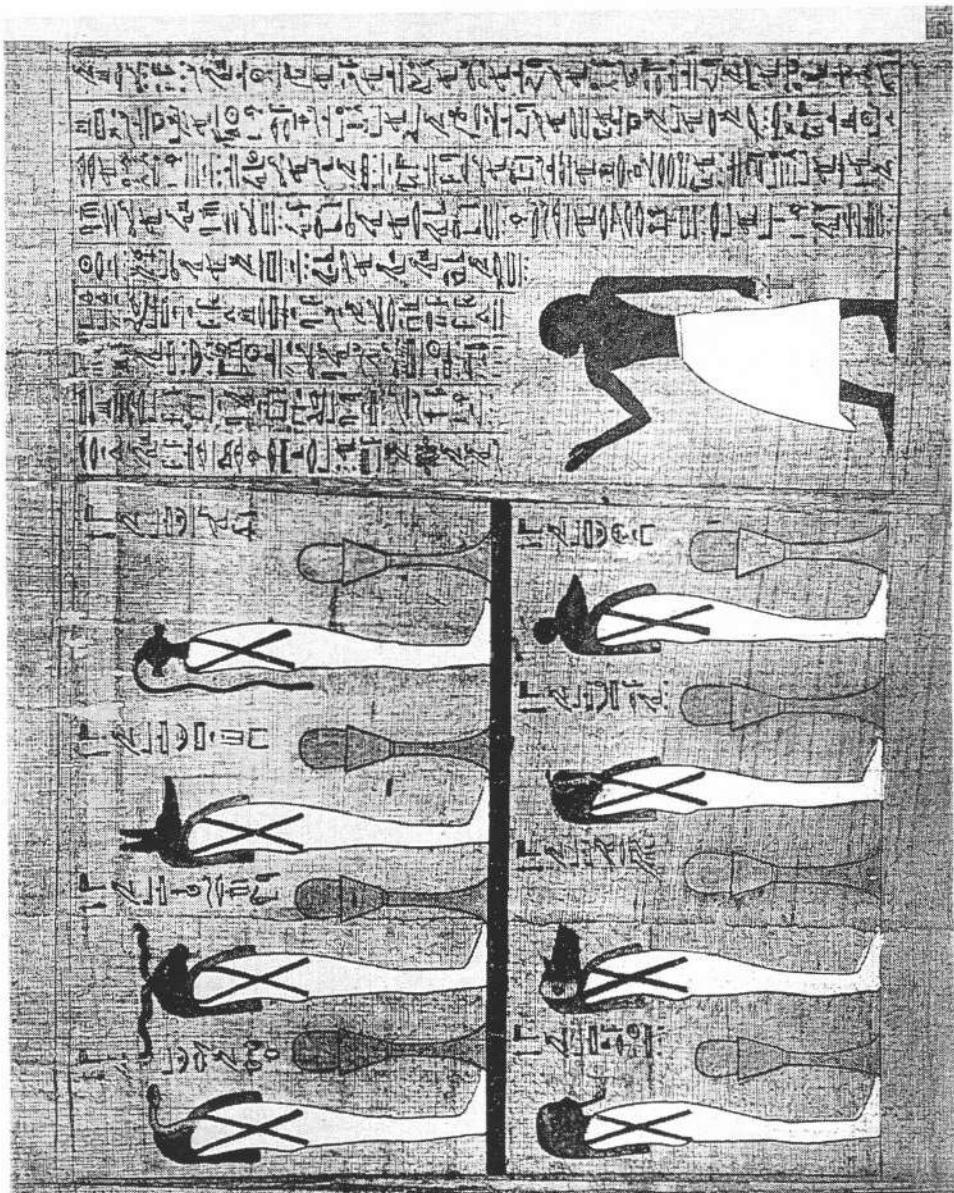


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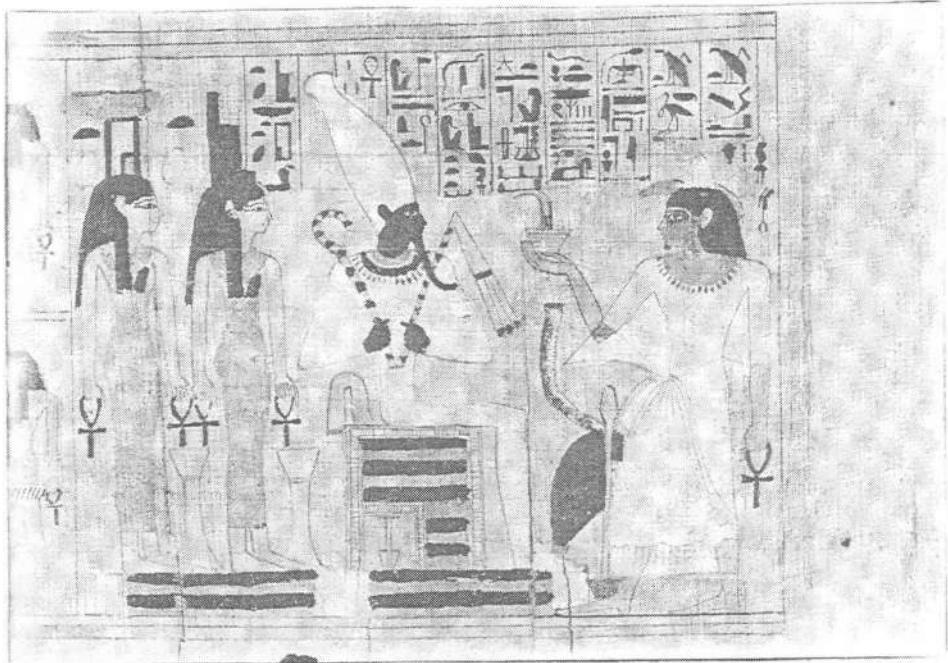


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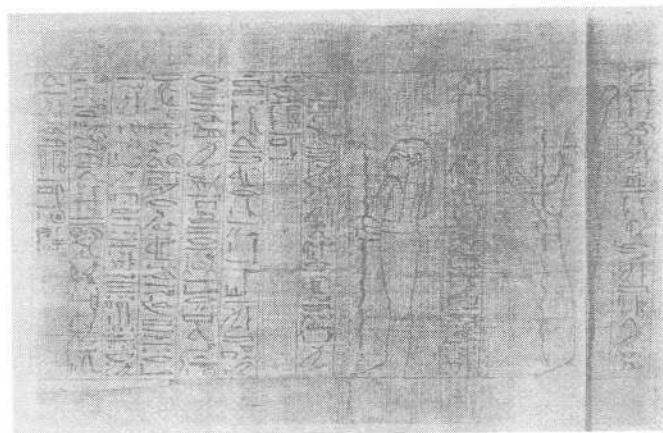
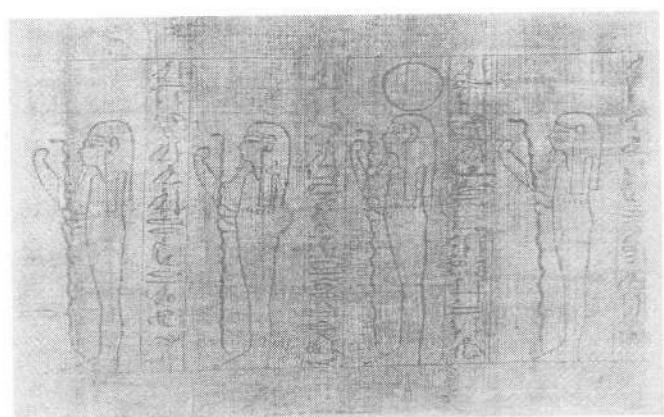
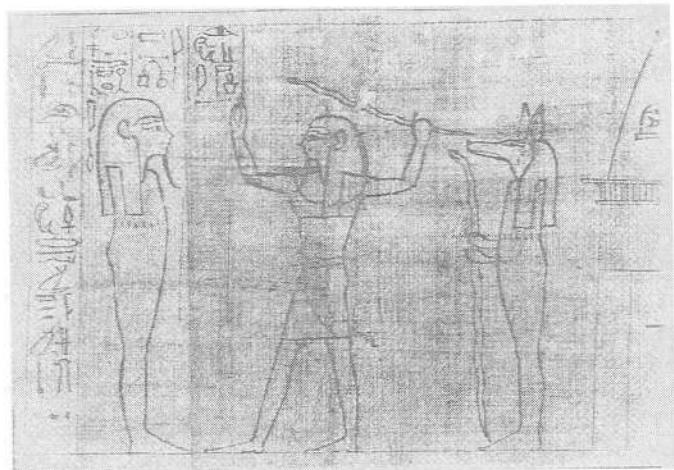


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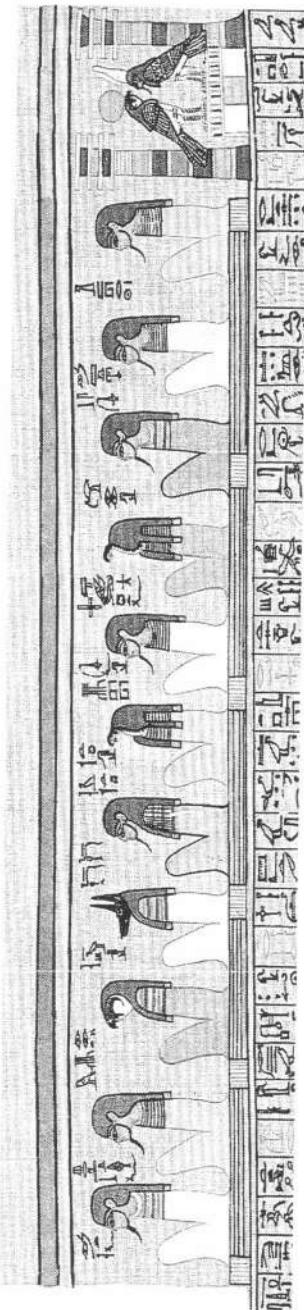
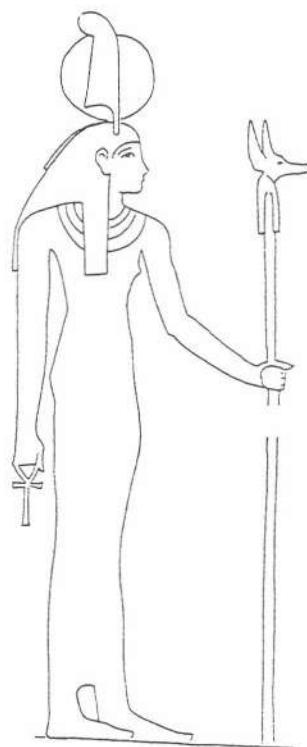


PLATE IX
pBM 10047, sheet 9



Tailpiece

The drawing shows the prenomen of Ramesses II, *Wšr-m3t-Rc*, as a rebus. The goddess Ma'et, crowned with the Sun-disk and feather, holds the wsrt-staff, here clearly seen to have the head of a jackal. From the north wall of the chapel to the south of the great temple of Abu Simbel: HG Fischer *MMJ* 5 (1972) 21 fig 29 [5-23] = his *L'écriture et l'art de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris 1986) 41-43 with fig 11 (reproduced by kind permission of Professor HG Fischer).

