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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बिवाहिनियसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गति हृद्दिति।
मुनि च देव स्वपंके च परिष्ठतः तमदसिनः।।

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-Gîtā 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 voornam geleerde
met
eerbied en vriendschap
**Contents**

frontispiece by *Peter Ra*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conspectus Papyrorum</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrangement of Text and Vignettes (¶1-¶16)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Iconography and Text (¶17-¶22)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Text</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes on Orthography</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary (¶23-¶96)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation (¶97-¶128)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annex: Collateral Texts</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Select Bibliography</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indices</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plates</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tailpiece</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ZAS 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
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 Hölzl, 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
Ib Papyrus of Ani. Facsimiles (1913) pls 30, 29
cf P Barquet Livre des Morts (1967) 157-158

T = pLeiden T 3 (Tayuherit), Dyn XXI, Thebes [pl II]
M Heerma van Voss Zwischen Grab und Paradies (1971) pls 19, 18
Ib AEB (1971) 68 #71258
Ib Anoebis en de demonen (1978) passim
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 + 9b, pls 90f post

H = pHabana 1 (Bakenwer), Dyn XXI, Thebes [pl V]
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 Gaff 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 'f')
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 (Khonsemheb), 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

**91 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 m3t-basis on which he stands, is a flowering lotus on which stand the mumiform 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, Ammut crouching beneath scale; Thoth seated on a shrine painting a large ostrich feather.

**92 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.

**93 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.

**94 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 cfrnt; 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 ‘fnt. 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 Maety. To left is the Lake of Fire with baboons. Note that two series of vignettes to spell 125 occur in Greenfield.

95 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 akhu, 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 ‘fnt. 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 3hw except the one at top right are bearded.

96 papyrus W
To left, a mummiform bearded figure stands facing an anthropomorphic akhu with beard and ‘fnt 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.

97 T, F, and W have vignettes with accompanying texts as follows:
(1 and 2) Nadoring Anubis and anthropomorphic akhwearing ‘fnt, false beards, and bull-tails, with upraised snake-wand (T, W), with no text apart from name of Nin in either T or W; this scene omitted in F:

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

99 (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):

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, 953. 

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

\textbf{Q10} (5) anthropomorphic \textit{akh} with \textit{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:

\begin{verbatim}
iw-ky-ḥ-im
3ḥ-hdq-rr.f
dídy-mnh-
ḥ3-w-nsw-bity
\end{verbatim}

\textit{There is another transfigured one there}  
\textit{Glorious-in-the-White-Crown is his name}.  
\textit{Who makes effective}  
\textit{The crowns of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt}  

\textbf{Q11} (6) anthropomorphic \textit{akh} with \textit{ankh} and snake-wand (T, W), mummiform figure with \textit{ankh} and snake-wand (W), with caption (T, W, both omitted in F):

\begin{verbatim}
iw-ky-ḥ-im
b3q-rr.f
imtt-imy-s3w
\end{verbatim}

\textit{There is another transfigured one there}  
\textit{The One in the Moringa is his name}  
\textit{What is in(?) the one who is protected}  

\textit{b3q} is the name given to one of the seven \textit{akh} in in early BD spell 17 (see Annex); cf Wb 1424/5; Heerma van Voss \textit{Anoebis} 11 n40. "\textit{It} could be read \textit{twt}" (Heerma van Voss).

\textbf{Q12} (7) anthropomorphic \textit{akh} holding \textit{ankh}, clasping a heart-amulet and wearing sun-disk on his head (T, F), mummiform figure with \textit{ankh}, snake-wand, and sun-disk (W), with caption (T, F, W):

\begin{verbatim}
iw-ky-ḥ-im
ḥtpy-rr.f
dídy-t-n-nyy
\end{verbatim}

\textit{There is another transfigured one there}  
\textit{He of the Offering is his name}  
\textit{He gives bread to the Weary One}  

\textbf{Q13} (8) anthropomorphic \textit{akh} with \textit{ankh}, feather, and snake-wand (T, F), mummiform figure with \textit{ankh} and snake-wand (W), with caption (T, F, W):

\begin{verbatim}
iw-ky-ḥ-im
di-ksw-rr.f
pr-m-Tm-ḥbnt
\end{verbatim}

\textit{There is another transfigured one there}  
\textit{The One who Makes [Others] Bow is his name}  
\textit{Who ascends as one without crime}  

Heerma van Voss \textit{Vijf dekaden} 12 translates as "Die laat buigen en als zondeloze uitgaat." On \textit{ḥbnt}, cf Zandee \textit{Death} 289f. This is the \textit{ḥ} before whom Tayuherit bows.

\textbf{Q14} \textit{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 \textit{wčbt} 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 \textit{ḥ3} 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 \textit{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 \textit{rš...} \textit{Inpw-imy-wt} \textit{Wsir} N \textit{di.k-wčr ḫ3t-n-Wsir nbp-}
Mjt. The end of the title in line 1 includes the word Jhw (Heerma van Voss).

**Q15 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-ryyt-nt-wsht-mjt, which is addressed to the Lords of the Necropolis (nbw-lr-t-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.

**Q16 Accompanying texts:**

(1) to right of deity with a flame-symbol for head:
\[ \text{ntr-3c nb-n-b3} \quad \text{great god lord of flame} \]

(2) to right of deity with head of black jackal:
\[ \text{ntr-3c nb-şty<t>} \quad \text{great god lord of the shetayet} \]

(3) to right of deity with ram's head:
\[ \text{ntr-3c nfr-ms} \quad \text{great god freshly born} \]

(4) to right of deity with snake's head:
\[ \text{ntr-3c nb-snq-m-ibw} \quad \text{great god inspirer of respect in hearts} \]

(5) to right of deity with dog's or shrew's(?) head:
\[ \text{ntr-3c nb-d3t} \quad \text{great god lord of the Netherworld} \]

(6) to right of deity with head of uraeus:
\[ \text{ntr-3c dsr-irw} \quad \text{great god sacred of forms} \]

(7) to right of deity with baboon's head:
\[ \text{ntr-3c wr-3bw} \quad \text{great god mighty of b3w} \]

(8) to right of deity with human head:
\[ \text{ntr-3c iqr-ht} \quad \text{great god most accomplished one} \]

In a personal communication (September 1992) A Niwitiski makes the following comment about Land the mummiform figures: "I am not convinced whether L has anything in common with BD 194. 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**

1. No papyrus contains the complete text of spell 194 (if I am correct that the passage commencing ρϯυβ-γμ.ηςCnt 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.

**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 Nesytanobashru 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 *akh* 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 *akh* 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*.
9. W shows six *akh*, 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 *akh* 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.
12. H shows only three standing *akh*, 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.)
13. F omits altogether the separate vignette of Anubis and the *akh* with upraised wand.
14. 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 *cfnt*.
15. 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 *cfnt*. 
(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  p8M 10047 (Any), Ramesside
T  pLeiden T 3 (Tayuherit), Dyn XXI
C  p8M 10472 (Anhay), Dyn XXI
F  pCairo SR IV 982 (Bakenmut), late Dyn XXI
W  pCairo SR VII 10228 (Khonsemheb), late Dyn XXI
(for other sigla see under Sources: Texts and Vignettes, p 9 above)

O Title

A01(1) rŠ-n-Šq r-wsht-nt-MŠty
A02 dwŠ-Wsir-Hnty-1mmt
A03 gd-mdw in-Wsir-N-mŠ-hrw
T01 (11) gd-mdw in-Wsir-N-mŠ-hrw
C01 (2) gd-mdw-in-Wsir-N
T02 (10) gd-(11)mdw. Ink-m
T03 (12) iri-gsgs (9) rn.f-mŠt
C02 (12) n-m-ir.i-mm.rŠ-rn.f-mŠt

I Initial Proclamation

A04 (2) ii.n.i-Š3
T04 (10) nb.i-ii.n.i-Š3
A05 r-mŠ-nfrw.k
T05 r-mŠ-nfrw.k
A06 Śwy.i-m-iŠw
A07 n-rn.k-mŠt
A08 ii.n.i-Š3
T06 (9) ii.n.i-Š3
C03 (12) ii.n.i-mmŠ-rŠ
A09 n-hpr-Šg
T07 (10) n-hpr-Šg
C04 n-hpr-Šg
A10 n- (3) mst-šndt
T08 n- (8)-msit-šndt
C05 nn-(12) mswt.tw-šndt
A11 <n>-qmš-tw-sštw-isrw
T09 n-qmš- (9) <šš>tw-isrw
C06 nn-qmš (11) sštw-isrw

16
Il The Report of Anubis

A24 dd-mdw-i(6)n-lnpw
T22 dd-mdw-lnpw
G19 (5) dd-mdw-in-lnpw (5) \{dd-mdw in\}

A25 n-gs<wy.>fy
T22 mdw.n.i-m-sr
C20 (5) mdw.s (4) <m>-sr m.f
Questions, Answers, and Acceptance

A70 dd-in-hm-n-Inpw:
A71 ir- (18) iw.k-rh.tw m-n-sb3-pn
A72 r-gld- cš-.ni
A73 dd-in-N-m3 c-hrw- (19) pn:
A74 Hr-sk-Šw m- (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 c-t- (23) hry-tp-rdwy.fy
A79 in-rn-n-sdmw- (24) hry
A80 Nb-phty-ts-mnnm(25)t
A81 [in-rn-n-sdm-hry]/
A82 šš-ir.k tw.k-(26)rh.tw
A83 Wsir-N (27-28).-m3 c-hrw-nb-im3h

Additional Text

T44 (1) w c-b-gm.n.f-b3-im
F01 (1) w c-b-gm.n.f-b3-im
W01(1) w c-b-gm.n.f-b3-im

T45 ššm-ngr-m.f
F02 ššm-ngr-m.f
W02 ššm-ngr-m.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 c-t
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

22
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-Overturn-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 c\& is the leaf-sign. \[38 \]
A11/T09/C06 In T, s3 is omitted through contamination with the qm3-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 sw\&. \[44 \]
A15/T13/C10 In C, suggesting that the walking-man-with-stick sign (eg wr) is det for <t>n. \[46 \]
A16/T14/C11 hsb-hr T, C. hbs-hr.f clearly (with cloth det) in A. \[47 \]
A23/T21/C18 In C, št\&<t> could perhaps go with šbh\&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 št\& corresponding to the exit of the judgment-hall depicted behind Tayuherit and Bakenwer: Anoebis 4. In T, šh\& 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 šn\&t is definitely singular in all three texts. \[68 \]
A80 in-m-n-sdm-hry supplied from the context. \[91 \]
T44/F01/W01 w\&b 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-nfr-lmn, is blank. There is no proper name in F either. \[93 \]
T48/F05/W05 Note the orthography of c\& in T. c\& is omitted in F and W. \[93 \]
T49/F06/W06 wr for wr\& in all three texts. \[93 \]
T54/F11/W11 dm\&.n.sn T, m\&3.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

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'idolatre!
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-ty r-wsht-nt-M3 cty]

Q23 The term r3 underscoresthe point that the spell was spoken: by whom is another question. On uses of the word r3: WbII (1928) 389-393; T DuQuesne Jackal at the Shaman's Gate (1991) 24f (r3-stw); G Fecht Wortakzent u Silbenstruktur (1960) 96f §179 (r3-\ct); GMPLLDVEMPWV Ma\ct

Q24 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 mb-tsp- snl-stnn-bqsw hq i.k-m-nttw 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.

Q25 A translation of wsht-M3 cty should perhaps reflect the etymology of wsxt from wsh '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 c6t-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 det used are the niwt- and cobra-signs. On the Mryt-goddesses and their association with Ma c6t: 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, LA III (1980) 1119f; cf Cj Bleeker Beteekenis v d godin Ma-a-t (1929) 29f.

Q26 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 ZAS 100 (1974) 136-141. The Amduat commences
by describing the towing of luf in the night-barque by the two $M^3\text{ct}$-goddesses: *Amduat* 19/1 (Hour I). 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 dwn-Wsir-(nty-Innut)


\[28\] 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 ddn-mdw-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, *LA* V [1984] 195-201; M Bilolo *La creation et le createur dans la pensee 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 Grieshammer *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-nmm-i-rrm-f-m3-c* makes little sense and the second element may perhaps belong elsewhere, eg before line C27.

T02-T03 *dd-mdw. ink-m / iri-gsgs nn-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).

**gsxs**

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

In C, it is difficult to make any sense of n-m-ir.i-mm-\textasciitilde, 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-\textasciitilde / r-m\textasciitilde-nfrw.k]

Q32 On ‘seeing’ the gods and their Mysteries, cf below lines A20, A37, A51, A57, A61.


In T, \textasciitilde 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-i\textasciitilde-w/n-m.r.m\textasciitilde-

Q33 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 Khonsemheb (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 Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest) 3 [1977] 161-167.

Q34 r.m.k-m\textasciitilde-


A08-A11 ii.n.i-\textasciitilde / n-hpr-\textasciitilde / n-mst-\textasciitilde-\textasciitilde / [n]-qm\textasciitilde-w-st\textasciitilde-w-isrw]

Q35 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 st\textasciitilde.n-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.

Q36 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-m\textasciitilde-ty. 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.


139 SnH is a holy tree at the Osiris-grave: Wb IV [1930] 52f; 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 SnH (? for SnHty) below, line A46. The acacia-house (SnH + 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, LA L [1975] 113.

A11 n-qmHw-sHtw-isrw]

140 Barguet translates sHtw as 'planchet,' which is certainly arguable. Like Allen, I prefer to take sHtw as verbal to balance the phrasing of the two preceding phrases. In T sH is omitted from sHtw through contamination with the qmH bird (Heerma van Voss).


141 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 spreuk om de kisten te kennen [1971]; M Heerma van Voss ZAS 100 [1974] 103f.

A12 ir-qsH-iri-st-sHtw]

142 The term 'place of secrets' has strongly Anubidian connotations: (s)H is equivalent to Greek mystēria 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-mH:sH-nb-n-dH 'may you see all the Mysteries of the netherworld:' W Barta Aufbau d ág Opleqformel [1964] 147 (89d). On sH, note also J Assmann Liturgische Lieder [1960] 29 n1, 84-86 n9; CJ Bleeker Initiationen [1965] 49-58; Duquesque Coptic invocation 8161 n112, with literature; RB Finnestad Image of the world [1985] 104-110; BL Goff Symbols of Egypt [1979] 187-192; WB Kristensen Symbolen en werkelijkheid [1962] 163-165; J

\[43\] In T 10 (line 9, and again in line 1 and pl 18, left, line 4) ris written with the nbs sign, the following three hieroglyphs being erroneous: Heerma van Voss Anoebis n34. T also has an inversion: iw-hr.f for iw.f-br (Any, Anhay). On sštJ, cf also below, lines A17, A21, and A61.


A13-A14 iw.mdwt.⁻/ḥn⁻-{SštJ}

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

There is a dispute between the Sun and Seth in BD spell 125c: Naville Letjya pl 27/3 =261/10 Budge. CfESSchott 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-ḥn⁻ could merely refer to conversation or to a legal dispute, as in Lebensmude 5-6. Does the st-SštJw 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⁻ 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 (bšw 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 Pilotten II [1974] 143-152; Seebcr oc 187-192; cf H te Velde Seth [1967] 91-94. In CT spell 157 (II 326-348) = BD spell 112 (Knowing the bšw 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 ḫnm.⁻-tkn-⁻-im⁻]

\[46\] Cf on lines A31, A45 and A65, below. ḫnm 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. tkm 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 ḫnm.
A16 hbs-hr.

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. a.') 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 I [1991] 5-15; MA Murray Mél Maspero I [1934] 251-255; C Seeber, Maske, LA III [1980] 1196-1199; D Wildung Antike Welt 21 [1990] 206-221; A Wolinski DE 6 [1986] 47-53.

A17 htw-sjtw-nrmw-Hrs Iw.

Clearly the one who falls upon (or is prostrate upon) the htw-štšw '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 for 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 pūād.

Anubis is ha-srš, which may quite literally mean 'he who is upon the casket.' On ha-srš, cf on lines A12, A21, and A61.

A18-A19 iw.f- c.f.f- r-pr-Wsi.

This passage is paralleled by lines A58-A61, below, the point being that the initiate has actually seen the ssštw 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-Rwtyn.

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, LA V [1984] 321; Milde Vignettes 32f; Pleyte Chapitres 136-47; BH Stricker OMRO suppl 64 [1983] 76f [42-82]; W Westendorf Altäg Darstellungen d Sonnenlaules [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 Gottheitenbildung im Alten Agypten [1984] 35-37. The 'house of Ruty' may be the horizon itself - 3xt - where the applicant is assessed by ḫw 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 (dšrw-štšw), having been led to the Mysteries (dšrw-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 headaddresses, cf one lines A59, below.

A20-A21 iw.f-m33.f / st3w-nty-im.f
Note the emphasis on s$t3w: lines A12, A17, A61. On the theophanies, cf lines A05, A37, A51, A57, A61.

A22-A23 iw.d3d3t-nt-shhywt / m-3xw/
This 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 $hw. The court (d3d3t) comprises $hw with Anubis as assessor or magistrate $rt, 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 $hw 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 $hw as Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebhsenuf and three others: see below, under Interpretation. A taxonomy of $hw and others: M Heerma van Voss Vijf dekaden - demonen da capo [1983] 6, 8, 11; H te Velde, Dämonen, ĀĀ [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 [Providence 1991] 155-178.

In Anhay, the word $t3w could perhaps go with sbhywt 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 $t3 corresponding to the exit of the judgment hall depicted behind Tayuherit and Bakenwer: Anoebis 4. In T, $hw is determined by the seated noble sign.

II The Report of Anubis

A24 gd-mdw-in-Inpw/
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>.-sfy/
Perhaps more generally "to those on either side of him," probably referring cryptically to the two Ma’at-goddesses, to Osiris and Thoth or to the $hw who accompany him in this spell. Cf the strange epithet of Anubis in CT III 84: "I will not eat excrement, because I am Anubis kr-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

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

Q54 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-rbw- /w3wt-nw-dmiw.n /htp.kwi

Q55 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 m3c-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 hpt instead of w3wt: "Hij kent het lijk en onze verblijfplaats" (Heerma van Voss). On the search for the body of the Sun-god, cf J Zandee De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350 [1948] 3f; Heerma van Voss Oudste versie 59; CT VI 376.

A31-A32 sns.n-sty.f / m-wc-im-tn/

Q56 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, LA VI [1986] 1167-1169; J Osing, Geruch, LA II [1977] 555f; Fecht Wortakzent 134 8256 (sti-ntr); JC Goyon, Raucherung, LA 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 Wohlgemer [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:" F Naville Papyrus funeraires [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.

Q57 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 alexandrin [1977] 189f. In the Stundtenwachen, "there comes to you [Osiris-Khentyamentiu] sweet scent... Rise up: Anubis stands by, hrnw-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 ostraca (location not stated) which shows Anubis kneeling with an incense jar: MA Murray Folklore 66 [1955] pl 5 [257-266].
The connexion of Anubis with aromatics spans Egyptian history; in the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, he is particularly associated with myrrh: e.g. PGM XXXVI 339. Discussion of the relevant passages: Hopfner *Offenbarungszauberei* 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 Aufrere *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* I [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-imntyw*. To right, a corresponding kneeling figure offers vegetables to the *bi* of Osiris: G Englund *Medelhavsmuseet Bull* 20 [1985] fig 3 [33-41]. On the *bi* of Osiris, see below, under line A41.

A33-A35  *dd.f-n.i / ink-N-m3-c-hipster / m-htp-m3-c-rrw*

A39 T29 has *dd-in.f-n.i*: cf pl 18, line 3. On *m3-c-rrw* 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-c-3 / r-m33-ntrw-c-3w*

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

A38-A39  *nb-i-m-htp / imy-k3w.sn*

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

A40-A41  *wn.n.i-r-grw-b3-nb-Qdwt*

The word *grw* '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-grw*; 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-grw-n-B3)."

A60 The word *grw* '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-grw*; 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-grw-n-B3)."

A61 The *nb-nb-Qdwt* 'the Ram Lord of Mendes' is an early local deity: H Bonnet *Realexikon* [1952] 869f sv Widder [867-871]. There is an obvious connexion with *nb* as 'soul,' as in *BD* spell 85 (transformation into a *b3-c-nb*), where the vignette in Any showsankh shows *b3-nb-Qdwt*. 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.

A62 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 LJ Caenmier *Oud-eg voorstellingen aan 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 *Unter dem Götterkreis* [1973] 105-116, 135-154; W Barta *Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher* [1985] 11-19; W Barta *JEOL* 29 [1985/86] 98-105; W Barta *ZAS* 117 [1990] 89-93; DuQuesne *Coptic invocation* §8105, 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

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 CT1ll84 (above on line A25), mentions “not eating excrement.” The phoenix is, like the bjt-bDdwt cited immediately above, identified in BD as the bjt of Osiris: spell29B (94/7 Budge). It is probably the same bird, described as the bjt of Osiris, who is seen on a Ptolemaic representation of the tomb of Osiris beside the sacred tree: eg Kees Göttergläube 88 fig 7, bottom right.

A44-A45 wn.n.i-m-itrw / wd.i-tn-stur

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-tn-stur

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 Pyr24, 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 (wjs)... There are given?) to you all good things which are in the Delta:” W Wettenegel & E Winter Fs Derchain [1991] 365 [363-370]. On the ambiguous symbolism of drowning: DuQuesne Coptic invocation 347; 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 Totenglaubent [1956] 135f; C Strauss, Ertrinken, LA 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 CdELIV no 107 [1979] 41f [26-56].

A44-A45 wn.n.i-m-itrw / wd.i-tn-stur

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’etude 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.

A44-A45 wn.n.i-m-itrw / wd.i-tn-stur

Cf BD spell 145, variants: ii.n.i(var mi-R c) m-hwt-ntr hr-itr-sntr. 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.
This line is very obscure. All three texts have sndt. I led the kilted one (Osiris?) to the children (Children of Horus?). Cf BD spell 145, variants: $s\text{sm}.n.i-\text{sndt}$. The kilt is normally worn by kings and gods: H Bonnet Die äg Tracht [1917] 11-17. Is there a paronomasia with $\text{sndt}$ `acacia` in line A10, above? Barguet translates as "*mon guide l`acacia des enfants (?)*," which makes no sense to me. Heerma van Voss proposes "I led the acacia house for the children." 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 $<m>-\text{sndt}$.

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 (situata with Anubis and Satis: WB Emery JEA 53 [1967] pl 25/2), 140-142 8861-63 (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.

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 4071 pl 12), but the association is tenuous otherwise. However, a prime contester 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 Gött erdekret [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, LA V [1984] 1008 [995-1031]; cf also F Dunand, La figure animale des dieux, in les grandes figures religieuses [Besançon 1986] 59-84.

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 $\text{drw}$ '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].

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 (hbt) in the East. They shall not elude the guardianship of Geb there. I raise up for him [his] buttocks (kEd) on the day of his justification. I have come as a spitting scribe (ss-pg)" - thus Allen - "so that I may put the slim of the god on his feet." On setting the image of the god upright, cf below, lines A54f, A71. 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.
For the notion of $\text{scb}$, cf EAE Reymond (1972) 132-140. The $\text{smsw-Hr}$ are sometimes called $\text{scb}$. K Sethe, Beiträge (1905) 7-8. In BD spell 1B, for enabling an individual's soul to reach the netherworld, the vignette shows Anubis tending the mummy: Naville, Totenbuch I pI V.

Crossing the lake in the neshmet-boat indicates that the soul has reached Abydos on its itinerary. Ikhernofer supervises work on the neshmet during the prt of Upwabet in the Mysteries of Osiris-Khentyamentiu (cf above on line A02, noting that this spell is addresses to this form of Osiris): Schäfer oc line 14. There the initiate identifies with Upwabet as ndty-it f 'champion of his father,' more usually seen as a role of Horus.

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): Seebcr 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, Auferstehungsrритal (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-Atem... may you rescue N from this god whose face is that of a greyhound (jsn)... who is at the corner of the Lake of Fire, who swallows corpses (m-hh)... Concerning the Lake of Fire, it lies between Niarref and the Court;” BD64/1-10 Budge. Niarref (Abusir el-Malaq) is referred to below in line A63. Anubis is described as $s\text{scm-it}$ 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 DuQuesnes DE 22 (1992) 84 [79-90], and on the magical efficacy of swallowing Ritner oc (1993) 102-110. This vignette is 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.

For the notion of $s\text{cb}$, cf EAE Reymond, ZAS 98 (1972) 132-140. The $\text{smsw-Hr}$ are sometimes called $s\text{cb}$: K Sethe, Beiträge (1905) 7-8. In BD spell 1B, for enabling an individual's $s\text{cb}$ to reach the netherworld, the vignette shows Anubis tending the mummy: Naville, Totenbuch I pI 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-hrj-ib). The town was sacred to the goddess Khuyt (NK), who is hbst-nfr '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.

Busiris again returns us to the subject of the Osiris-relics. This Lower Egyptian town had ‘Anedjty as its local, anthropomorphic deity: Kees Götterglube’ 110f. Busiris (with Abydos and the Abaton of Philae) had a strong claim to being the site of the tomb of Osiris, and the gdl-pillar symbolizes stability: cf Bonnet, Reallexikon 576f s\text{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-gdl: BD 13/11 Budge.
This could mean ‘I was silent’ or ‘there was silence for me.’

§77 Cf on A49, above. As usual, there are at least two meanings here. The context is that he is revivifying Osiris, the \textit{wrtd-ib} ‘the Tired one.’ cf, for instance, \textit{BD} spell 1, 19/13 Budge, where the soul draws the bolts of the gates of the \textit{sht} of Ro-Setawe.


§78 Empowerment of the god is part of a typically Egyptian reciprocity between humans and deities. \textit{CTV} 243 (spell 413, for causing the \textit{ba} to travel in the netherworld) has \textit{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\textit{C}et to the gods: Assmann \textit{Ma‘at} 185-191; T DuQuene \textit{DE} 22 [1992] 86-88; Hornung \textit{Conceptions} 213-216; E Teeter \textit{The offering of Maat} [Diss. Chicago 1989].

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

§79 \textit{BD} spell 145 has \textit{ii.n.i-m-pr-Tpy-dw.f} / \textit{m$\ddot{a}$ n.i-\textit{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 XVIIIth nome of UE: F Gomàà et al \textit{Mittelägypten} [1991] 73f, 173-176; W Helck \textit{Die äg Gaue} [1974] 112-116. Another possibility is Abydos, an early and major cult-centre of Anubis.

The epithet \textit{tpy-dw} underscores the funerary aspect of the god: DuQuene \textit{Coptic invocation} §108, with literature. I wonder whether the viper sign is in fact a determinative for \textit{dw} and refers to the 12th nome of UE: Helck \textit{Gaue} 100-102.


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-  q.kwi-r-pr-Wsir

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-  fnwt-m-nty-im

The Cint 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 Cint 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 Cint-headwear: H Grapow Rei 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 Cint 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-  q.kwi-r-R3-st/s

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.

A61 m33.n.i-  st/s-wt-nty-im

Omitted in BD spell 145. On 'seeing' the st/s, 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 imm.n.i-  gm.n.i-ts

Also verbatim in BD spell 145. ts 'split apart' seems, pace Allen, to make much better sense than ts '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-h\[kwi-r-Niirri\]

A65 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, LA I [1975] 28. One of the gates to Ro-seta-wen is located there, the other being at the i\[j\]t of Osiris: BD spell 17, 55/5 Budge.

A64 hbs.n.i-nty-im-hr-h\[j\]w/

A66 Cf above on lines A51-A52, on the goddess Khuyt of Athribis as clouter 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 Sethe Urk I [1903] 77/9, where the writer also asserts that he has fed the jackals of the desert: lb 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 m\[j\]t and as prefiguring the negative statements of BD spell 125: Ma’at 99-109; Spiegel Totengericht 37-43.

A65-A66 rdi.n.i-\[c\]ntyw-n-hmt / m-sn\[w\]-n-Rhyt/

A67 This line is extremely puzzling. There is a parallel passage at the end of BD spell 145: pr-\[n\]ntyw-m\[w\]ght(?)-m-sn\[w\]-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 sn\[w\], cf Fecht Wortakzent 94f §8172f. The sn\[w\]-Rhyt was evidently a physical place, probably in the Western Delta: cf A Nibbi, ZAS 116 [1989] 157 [153-160]; J Vercoutter BIFAO 46 [1966] 141-147 [125-158] & BIFAO 48 [1948] 136, 137, 138, 142f, 145, 183f (sn\[w\]-Rhyt and sn\[w\]-H\[j\]w-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.


n-hmt/ Perhaps ‘of women.’ Conceivably the reference is to psychic androgyny to symbolize the soul’s reintegretion. In the rubric to BD spell 125, the initiate (who is certainly male in the case of Any) must be wr\[w\]-m-h\[j\]t-nt-\[c\]ntyw: ‘anointed with the best myrrh’ 268/1 Budge.

m-sn\[w\]/ This should somehow express the idea of something encircling: on the symbolism cf W Barta ZAS 98 [1970] 5-16.


A67-A68 mk-sw-gdw.n.i-hr.f / qd.n.i wn-mb\[j\]t-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-rh.tw-rm-n-sbj-pn / r-dd-Š.n.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-mjŠ-hrw-pn / (ir-sk-Šw rm-n-sbj-pn)*

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-rh rm-n-sdm- / hry-sdm-hry/ hm]* This is the only occasion in this spell when Anubis is called 'majesty.'

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

A78  *Nb-mjŠ-ib-tp-rdwyy.fy / in-rm-n-sdm-hry]*

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

A79-A80  *Nb-phty-ts-mnmnt / [in-rm-n-sdm-hry]*

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

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A80  *Nb-phty-ts-mnmnt / [in-rm-n-sdm-hry]*

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A80  *Nb-phty-ts-mnmnt / [in-rm-n-sdm-hry]*

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


*Supplied from the context.*
IV Additional Text

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).

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 b3 of the justified with that of Osiris. On the b3 of Osiris, see above on line A41, and cf. on lines A02 and A32. w< h should be read as feminine: Heerma van Voss 11 n42. For literature on the embalming workshop, cf. above on A57.

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

sSm-ntr] The name of the b3. Cf BD spell 29b; Heerma van Voss Anoebis 6 n46, re the b3 of Re. For sSm, cf A46 above.

For dcf, 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.

For wr[t], 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.

All three texts give wr without feminine ending.

T51-T52 wnn-r-nbb / s< r-dl]


T53 nb-hr-ht-t3-n-mrwt]

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

On prostrating oneself before the gods, see HG Fischer, Prosckynese, LÅ IV [1982] 1125-1127; cf Shipwrecked Sailor 137. Cf also above on A31. The expression ‘on his belly’ recalls an epithet of Anubis hr-h[tt]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 3hw.

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

The juxtaposition of ‘Osiris N’ and ‘Osiris’ underlines the identification of the one with the other. hr-Wsir] In Tayuherit only, perhaps to fill up the line. The remainder of the line is blank in W.
There are many riddles of the dead which only the living can answer.

Ben Okri *The famished road* (London 1991) 427; cf 40, 175

La divinité se transforme, l'homme se transforme, la matière se transforme... Il n'a 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; and the princess Turandot will accept only the suitor who answers three enigmatic questions.3


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. The initiate must find the meaning behind the mundane interpretation, just as hieroglyphics are not merely pictograms but symbols, words, and syllables of power. 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. 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. 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:

\[
\text{Ikh vel dir oysboyen a leyter hoykh} \\
\text{Tsum himl vet er shtaygn,} \\
\text{Hobe-zhe mir zibtt kinder} \\
\text{A meydl zolstu blaybn...}
\]


An 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 Yukaghir 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 signs, which has great relevance for comparative religion and linguistics, by W-G Hellinga *Pétroglyphes carabès: problème sémiologique* [Amsterdam 1954 = *Lingua* 4 (1954) 117-166].


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. 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).

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

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. In the Islamic Book of the Ladder, the sirāt bridge lies between 'our earth' and the other seven earths. Arda

On the vignettes to spells 194 and 125, see Heerma van Voss Anoebis 5; cf Milde Neferrenpet 36f. See also above, 11-422. 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 Hillebeitel [New York 1989] 307 [299-337]. Seven 'angels' are often encountered in the beautiful Mandaean liturgical texts: M Lüdzbarski Mandäische Liturgien [Berlin 1920] 186, 97f, 7, 112, cf 487/1, 257/9 on the corresponding seven Mysteries.


Manḍaka Upaniṣad I 1.8; on sevens in Vedic symbolism: J Gonda Vedic ritual [Leiden 1980] 38.

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


E 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, 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. In the *Book of the Two Ways*, seven divine 'southern and northern hunters' are invoked for each day of the week. Also corresponding to the days are the seven gates to the tomb. A similar number of Maet-goddesses are cited, while the seven cows figured with their bull in the *BD* are obviously hypostases of the goddess Hathor. The seven arrows of Sakhmit are turned back by a series of powerful rituals which were enacted at the New Year in Ptolemaic times. Seven uraei came into existence in the West: perhaps they are identifiable with Seven Akhu who traverse the sky and who are presumably the stars of the Great Bear.

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

¹³² These 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.*

²⁴⁷ C f Kees *Göttergläube* ¹⁵⁸f.

²⁴⁸ *CT* spell 409 bis (V 227-233), spell 827 (VII 27).

²⁴⁹ Seven caverns: *BD* sp 144, 147.

²⁵⁰ Cf also WG Gundel *Weltbild u Astrologie* [München 1968] 60f on *PGM* IV 673-691.

²⁵¹ Cf Kees *Göttergläube* ¹⁵⁸f.

²⁵² *CT* spell 500 (VI 83-85).

²⁵³ These arrows are cited in *CT* spell 400 and 401 (V 168, 174); see Annex. Cf also WG Gundel *Weltbild u Astrologie* [München 1968] 60f on *PGM* IV 673-691.

²⁵⁴ *CT* spell 409 (VI 83-85).

²⁵⁵ *CT* spell 126 (II 148).


²⁵⁷ *BD* sp 83/4.


²⁵⁹ *CT* spell 87 (II 53), *BD* sp 83/4.

²⁶⁰ *CT* spell 400 and 401 (V 168, 174); see Annex. Cf also WG Gundel *Weltbild u Astrologie* [München 1968] 60f on *PGM* IV 673-691.

²⁶¹ *CT* spell 500 (VI 83-85).

²⁶² *CT* spell 409 (VI 83-85).

²⁶³ *CT* spell 409 (VI 83-85).


²⁶⁵ *CT* spell 87 (II 53), *BD* sp 83/4.

²⁶⁶ *CT* spell 400 and 401 (V 168, 174); see Annex. Cf also WG Gundel *Weltbild u Astrologie* [München 1968] 60f on *PGM* IV 673-691.

²⁶⁷ *CT* spell 500 (VI 83-85).

²⁶⁸ Cf Kees *Göttergläube* ¹⁵⁸f.

²⁶⁹ *CT* spell 409 bis (V 227-233), spell 827 (VII 27).

²⁷⁰ Seven caverns: *BD* sp 144, 147.

The Process of Transfiguration

1104 Spell 194 is about the process whereby the human person is transformed into an akh. In Egyptian, the word akh means 'transfiguration' and both the concept and the hieroglyphic writing are intimately connected with the word for 'horizon'. 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 Mæty.

1105 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, while in the Book of the Two Ways the jackal god appropriately makes the tomb 'glorious' (ib). A short text in the papyrus of Nu says: "Welcome, O Anubis... You have transfigured (ib) [me] as a soul (b) and as a shadow." Elsewhere, both Anubis and the mysterious smsw-Hr are given the attribution 'transfigured ones', and Thoth and Anubis are so described in the Stundenwachen.

Iconography of the Akhu

1106 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. Representations of the akhu in the documents under study are compared in detail above (§18-20) and may be summarized as follows:


For 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.

Englund 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.


CT spell 908 (VI 112).


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

Sebe Beiträge [1905] 7f, quoting pBerlin 3064.

H 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 ḫ.

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, and A and C omit this vignette.

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: "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."

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 (lpd), 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."Their iconography in spell 17 is varied: usually they are represented as seated mummiform persons (illustration)." In the Ptolemaic pMilbank, the bas of Pe and Nekhen are illustrated adjacent to spell 125: "there are certainly connexions between the bas of these cities, the Sons of Horus, the Smsw-Hr, and the jackals called biw-Itnnt which I hope to explore in due course."

Much more could be said about the akhu and the vignettes depicting them, but a couple of points appear significant. In N, the princess Nesytanebashru 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

Very 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.
DuQuesne Jackal at the Shaman's Gate 25f.
Translations of these texts are given in the Annex, below. Cf also Heerma van Voss Vijf dekaden 11-13.
Milde Nefenrenpet 36f, 43, 51-53; Budge BD(trans) [1898] 100f.; Naville Totenbuch I pl 29; Budge Greenfield pls 13-14.
They refer specifically to the r4-b3w cycle of spells (nos 112-113): TG Allen Book of the Dead. Documents [1964] pl 79.
in Egyptian art for adult individuals to be shown naked, 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. Nesytaneshuru kisses the earth, a gesture associated particularly with Upwawet, Opener of the Ways and 'twin' of Anubis. As early as the Pyramid Texts, the king is purified in the Lake of the Jackals, 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.

Hike, Shu, and Ritual Gestures

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. The gesture is rarely seen in Book of the Dead papyri and figures in Amduat-type documents chiefly in representations of Shu separating Geb from Nowet. 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.
the head of Heh with the upraised-arms determinative first occurs in the *Pyramid Texts* and the god is commonly shown as a figure crowned with the *rnt* -sign and making this gesture. The ideogram and determinative for *ka*, in all its senses, is a stylized hieroglyph of two uplifted arms. The god of magic is *H + k* and, not surprisingly, *Amduat*-type papyri display him with crossed arms and carrying wavy snake-wands.

**The Snake-Wand**

It seems reasonable to suggest that all these associations are present in the vignettes of the *Akhu* in spell 194. Just as this *narthékophoria* 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. Snake-wands are occasionally seen being brandished by enigmatic demons in vignettes to the *Book of the Dead* and more commonly in *Amduat*-type documents and on the magical boomerang-like objects. There is a curious jackal-headed snake in *BD* spell 150 and Anubis has an association with the peculiar snake-stones represented in the pyramid of Neuserre.

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90*Pyr* 1390.
93Gardiner *Grammar* 453 (D28).
96Cf ER Dodds *Euripides Bacchae* [1960] 82.
99Niwinski *Studies* 155 fig 46 (pCairo SR VII 10232).
101Milde *Neterrenpet* 129, a florid version in Niwinski *Studies* 198 fig 70. Anubis-like figure with snake-wand: S Sharpe *Egy mythology* [1863] 60 fig 79.
wrt-bkJ  ('The Mighty of Magic') is a designation of the royal crown and of the cobra-goddess and is also one of the snake-headed implements used in Opening the Mouth. The connexion with Anubis is clear here also: one object for wp-rJ is called nwJ-Inpw 'adze of Anubis' and the god himself is sometimes called wr-bk5w. The jackal deity or a priest representing him is often shown opening the mouth of the mummy beside the tomb. There must certainly be parallels with Indian Tantric rituals such as the raising of the kundalint.

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. 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.

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\[\text{Py}r 194; \text{CT} I 183, 186; \text{A } \text{Erman Hymnen an das Diadem} [\text{Berlin 1911}] 24 (2/1).

\[\text{Nebe, Werethekau, LA VI} [\text{1986}] 1221-1224.

\[\text{BD} \text{spells 21 and 23 vignettes} (\text{Saleh Totenbuch} 9-13, 24-26).

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

\[\text{BD} \text{spell 1, vignette: Naville Totenbuch pl 2 cf pl 4.}

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


\[\text{Specimen literature on canine demonology: S Christopher Cynocephalus: DuQuesne Coptic invocation} 891, with references, to which add DG White Myths of the dog-man [\text{Chicago 1991}] 23-46; Z Ameisenova, Animal-headed gods, JWCI 12 [1949] 21-45; \text{A Massart The Leiden magical papyrus I 1343 + I 1345} [\text{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; \text{M Svoboda Démonologie de Psellos} [\text{Brno 1927}] 18-24; J van der Vliet, Demons in early Coptic monasticism, in Coptic art & culture, ed H Hondelink [\text{Le Caire 1990}] 151; JW Yellin Anubis in Meroitic religion} [\text{Diss. Brandeis 1978}] 67f. On jackals, hippopotami etc in Mischgestalt, see now A Behrmann Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter [\text{Frankfurt 1989}] #191a-e.
Anubis as Herald and Psychopomp

By his skills, Anubis breathes life back into the justified soul. 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. 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. The various roles of Anubis are intertwined: by the New Kingdom his function as herald and assessor is well developed, and Hermanubis the psychopomp is clearly discernible. The jackal is the vehicle for ascent in much the way that Buraq carries Mohammed on his celestial journey. 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

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


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 zónón kai nekrón krités 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 1975] 8-10; C Du Cange Glossarium ad scriptores mediae...Latinitatis [Frankfurt 1781] 1747f.


Buraq in Mt 14:7: 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.

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.

Anubis the Assessor

While his role in the funerary papyri of the New Kingdom has often been commented on, 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 Cynopolis 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. 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.

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." The 'eloquent peasant' of the Middle Kingdom threatens to take his case to Anubis as judge of appeal. Throughout, there is a certain vagueness as to the identity of the supreme assessor at the judgment of the dead, the point being that whether the capo is Geb, Re, Osiris, or Anubis it is the event itself which matters most.


Eloquent 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.'

Yoyote 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, 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:  
ip-ibw accounter of hearts;\textsuperscript{55}  
sbm.I-m-h \textsuperscript{\textit{b}}\textit{wt} powerful over hearts;\textsuperscript{56}  
sr-dJdJt \textsuperscript{\textit{b}}\textit{t} assessor of the court;\textsuperscript{57}

NK:  
sr assessor;\textsuperscript{58}  
iry-m\textit{hJt} guardian of the balance;\textsuperscript{59}  
\textit{nb}-iry-m\textit{hJt} lord and guardian of the balance.\textsuperscript{100}

Ptolemaic:  
\textit{bb} the one who weighs.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{in illo tempore}. In the magical traditions of many societies, there are times when \textit{tabu} must be broken in order for cosmic harmony to be restored.\textsuperscript{97}


\textsuperscript{57}Pyr \textit{157c-d}, 1523 a-c cf Pyr \textit{1287}; Piankoff \textit{Livre du jouir pl 6 reg 2}, middle; \textit{Inpw ip.\textsuperscript{f-ibw.tn} lb 66}, bottom; \textit{pjumilhac V 10}, \textit{XVIII 2} cf Vandier \textit{ad loc.n116}, lb pl 1 (vignette); Grenier \textit{Anubis 16 n64}. For \textit{ip}, cf Zandee \textit{Death} \textit{278-280}; B George \textit{Schatten} \textit{[1970]} 31-34; Seeger \textit{Unt} \textit{155f}; J \textit{Yoyotte} \textit{Jugement 24}; S Schott \textit{ZAS} \textit{74 [1938]} 89 n1.


\textsuperscript{97}Pyr \textit{157c-d}.


\textsuperscript{59}This text, \textit{T} and \textit{C}: Heerma \textit{Grab pl 19/8}, Budge \textit{Anhai pl 3/18}.

\textsuperscript{60}BDspell \textit{308} (96/4 Budge), of Anubis or Thoth; cf Seeger \textit{Unt} \textit{154 n695}; Zandee \textit{Death} \textit{269}. There is an unnamed deity described as \textit{iry-m\textit{hJt}} in papyrus L: Nagel \textit{32} (F5), and also in pNorthumberland \textit{III vs}: KA Kitchen \textit{Fs Daumas} \textit{[Montpellier 1986]} 436 (line 9). Cf also S Glaser \textit{St Aegyptiaca 12 [1989]} 123. Cf the Assyrian deity \textit{moushekil} who is 'weigher' in the final judgment: F Aynard in \textit{jugement des morts [1961]} 98.

\textsuperscript{100}Piankoff & Rambova \textit{Myth papyri I} \textit{135 ll pl XV}; Heerma \textit{v van Voss \textit{Agypten. Die XXTI. Dyn pl IV} \textit{Ib}, cf Seeger \textit{Unt} \textit{154 n696}. It is given as an epithet of Thoth in \textit{pHarris I 45/11}, cf Boylan \textit{Thoth} \textit{181}.

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

\textsuperscript{102}If the festivals of Ganeša, a psychopompic deity who has much in common with Anubis, and his association with the severed head: P Courtright \textit{Ganeśa} \textit{[New York 1985]} 92-98.
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-dsrwt), 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. Early versions of the remarkable BD spell for acquiring a ferryboat (spell 99) refer to the deceased "trashing the papyrus-rolls" of the gods. 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. These papyri also contain examples of the 'cutting-up' of Homeric texts, in the manner of a cento, for necromantic purposes.

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.
and we could cite the 'desecration' of the 'Mona Lisa' by Marcel Duchamp or the fragmentation of
texts in Luciano Berio's *Sinfonia*. 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.

*The Quest for Reintegration*

1122 For the Egyptian, life could be regarded as *Sein zum Tode*, to borrow Heidegger's evocative
expression, and the replacement of the head begins the cycle over again. In a sense, the healing
of the body becomes complete through mummification. Osiris is like the Indian Purusa, the
primeval human being, who is complete only after dismemberment. Hence the quest of Isis for the
scattered limbs of her consort becomes a powerful metaphor for renewal, 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. 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.

1123 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-st*iw) 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

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109 The 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
the philosophy and practice of the use of fragments: V Mazzarino, *Il frammento accumulato, Fabrica. Quaderni
di retorica* (Napoli) 2 [1987] 87-105.

110 On 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*

112 Cf the excellent paper by A Hermann, Zergliedern und Zusammenfügen, *Numen* 3 [1956] 81-96;
Bonnet *Realexikon* 421-423 sv Leichenzerstückerung, cf also above, n110.
113 Cf A Wiedemann, Mumie als Heilmittel, *Z d Vereins fü rheinische u westfäliche Volkskunde* 3

114 In the cult of Ganeša (cf above, n102), the celebrant "reconstitutes himself as the divine Puruṣa and
gives his prāṇa to the deity:" Courtright oc 183.
115 G Schoeller *Isis. Auf der Suche nach dem göttlichen Geheimnis* [München 1991] 30-35; P Solié,
116 Seeber *Untersuchungen* 127.
117 Cf 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. 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 *ml '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. Not through a mirror, as previously, but face to face. 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. To my mind the autoptoi sustseis - direct revelatory experiences - of the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri 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.

\[125\] Arguments about whether Egyptian religious texts were taken literally or metaphorically beg fundamental questions of ontology and epistemology. 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 himself is plainly stated to perform the relevant rituals on earth under certain explicit conditions: anointed with incense, clothed in fresh linen and so on. At the very end of the *Amduat*, we are told without equivocation that the work is "useful (\(\text{lh}\)) for the person who knows it upon earth (\(\text{tp-\text{t}}\)), in heaven and on earth."

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119See lines A05, A20, A37, A51, A57, and A61.
120NT 1 Corinthians 13.12.
123Eg *PGM* VII 319-334, and often in *DMP*, cf DuQuesne *Fs Zolla* 124-126.
125Amduat III 25/284-286 Hornung. On the pre-netherworld enactment of the judgment scene, see now R Merkelbach, Diodor über das Totengericht der Ägypter, *ZAS* 120 [1993] 71-84. On \(\text{lh}\), cf FFriedman, The root meaning of \(\text{lh}\) - luminosity or effectiveness, *Serapis* 8 [1984/85] 39-46. While the word undoubtedly may mean 'effective', no strictly utilitarian value need be implied.
58

\[\text{In her song 'Like a Prayer' Madonna sings fervently: "In the midnight hour I can feel your power / Just like a prayer you know I'll take you there." }\]

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 supplement\[^{12}\] must be reintegrated, as in the Egyptian context, for the spiritual shift of plane whereby Ma\(^{\circ}\) 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.

\[\text{Guarantors of Ma }^{\circ}\text {et}\]

\[\text{Erik Hornung has written eloquently about Ma }^{\circ}\text {et as having been accessible to all by the time the New Kingdom funerary texts were written,}^{130}\text {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}\text {Although the language has many terms for individual groups, I can find in Egyptian no generic term which is equivalent to goyim or barbaroi.}


\[\text{I borrow the reference to Rousseau in J Derrida De la gramma

\[\text{Dante Vita nuova XLI. On this theme in Dante, see L Valli Il linguaggio segreto di Dante e dei 'edeli d'amore' [Roma 1928] 263-326 and passim.}


58
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. 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'et - can enrich our lives.

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


15Some 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 hft-Inpw-wr)

O you seven Transfigured Ones who traverse (htnw) the sky
Who see that he [Osiris?] is submerged
Come and bring me this ferryboat
In its name of The Lofty One (q3it = high ground?)

CT V 174 (sp 401) spell for the ferry-boat
(cf above spell 400)

O you Seven Transfigured Ones who traverse (htnw) 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 Maεet 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-ln ε.sn) on that day of going to the Tribunal of Re [etc]

CT IV 254-270 = sp 335A (Barguet p 367), 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 Maεet
Tribunal around Osiris
Who cause separation (εε.d) 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 of all the sadness (dwt)
Which relates to me
Just as I have done for these Seven Transfigured Souls
Who are among the acclamers (εεmsw) of their lord Sepa
Whose places Anubis prepared
On that day (called) Come There Then

What is that?
Concerning these «Possessors of Maet»
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 (hp3) 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-[Melkhenty-en-Irty
They were placed (there) by Anubis
As magical protection of (Osiris') coffin

Alternative reading:
Behind the Site of Embalmment (w*bt) of Osiris

Alternative reading:
Concerning these «Seven Transfigured Souls»
(They are) N£lb£lb, 3qdgq, 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)

I am his Twin bJwwhich which are in his two fledglings
What does this mean?
Concerning his Twin bJwwhich which are in his two fledglings
They are Osiris when he entered Busiris
And found the bJ there
And (when) they embraced each other
Then they became his Twin bJwwhich [etc]

BD sp 71 88 Allen (Budge 158/5-159/9) rJ-n-prt-m-hrw (= CT spell 691)
O you Seven Counsellors who equalize (rnn) 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

62
May you give me the authority (w₂s) 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)

'Verstore ' 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 (₄₃) grew
Before acacias (₃₄₃) were born
Before iron ore (₃₄) 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]

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 Ma₆et (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 Khentiyamentiu 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-setawie
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.

ibw 69-71 (A47)
ib 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
ibw 52 (A23)
ibw.t 10
ii.n.j-3 35 (A08), 59 (A36)
ibw.n 88 (A68)
imy-wt (emblem) 84
imy-r 23
imy-sh-ngr-imy-k1p 57
imtt (imty-wt) 14
imj 91 (A82)
im.j.n 84 (A62)
inp (crouch) 49
lnpw 53 (A24), 89 (A69), 90 (A74)
lnpw-wt 14
ink 59 (A34)
ink.m 51 (T02)
irw (celebrate) 78
isrw w 36, 40 (A07)
itrw 65-66 (A44)
irw-wy-mnhyj 10
i (here) 35 (A08), 59 (A36)
irw-ngr.wt 14
ink 81 (A59)
imj 74
imj-nhw 59 (A38)
lnyw 87-88 (A65)
endy 76
es (free) 35-38 (A09)
es (many) 89 (A71)
eq 42 (A12), 50 (A18), 81 (A58), 82 (A60)
qdqd Annex (sp 17)
w3wt 55 (A28)
w3 65
wi 72 (A49)
wcty 14, 92 (T44)
wcty-imjt 56 (A32)
wrhw-m-hnt-mntyw 88
wr 93 (T49)
wgr-dj 77
wr 93, 93 (T50)
wrht-htn-mntt 27 (A02)
wsh-twrt 36, 93 (T49)
wsh-tjt 23, 25 (A01)
wdf-m-str 67 (A45)
b3-im 92 (T44)
b3-nh 62
b3-nb-Ddw 60-62 (A41)
b3-strjw 62
bw 93 (T48)
blqy 11
bnw 63-64 (A43)
pr-m-bnw 63 (A42)

pr-m-Tmj 13
pr-Wsir 50 (A19), 81 (A58), 92 (T46)
pr-Rtvy 51 (T17, C30)
pr-Stt 69-72 (A48)
pr-Tpy-tw 79 (A56)
pr-lw-pstrwt 74
phy 91 (A79)
pdt 127 n130
m3j (vb) 32 (A05), 52 (A20), 59 (A37), 75 (A51), 79 (A57), 83 (A61)
m3j 91 (A77)
m3j-hrw 30 (A03), 59 (A34), 90 (A72), 91 (A82), 92 (T47)
m3j-hrw-m-btp 59 (A35)
mnnm 91 (A79)
mnh 10
mi-nhr-nfr 91
mh 24
mhe 53
mhj 88 (A68)
mdw.i 63 (A43)
mdw.i-r/st 44 (A13)
mgj-nfr 8
n-hpr 36-38 (A09)
nh-hpr 35
Nhjfr 85 (A63)
nb.i 32 (T04)
nb-imh 91 (A82)
nb-Imntyw 58
nb-phy-is-mnnm 91 (A79)
nb-m3j-hr-tpt-rbwyfy 91 (A77)
nb-r-ct 60
nb-R3jtw 83
nbty-Nhry 88
nbw-hj-nfr 15
nfr 32
nfrw 32 (A05)
nny 12
nht (sycamore) 41
nsb-bity 10
nsm 72, 73 (A50)
ngr 3-jtr-nhr 16(8)
ngr 3-wr-bjtw 16(7)
ngr 3-nb-nbj 16(1)
ngr 3-nb-sngd-m-ibw 16(4)
ngr 3-nb-styr 16(2)
ngr 3-nfr-ms 16(3)
ngr 3-nb-dnj 16(5)
ngr 3-dsr-wt 16(6)
ngr-epn 93 (T48)
ngrw 3-jtw 59 (A37)
nsmi 73-74 (A50)
Nqhtbh Annex (sp 17)
rj 23-24 (A01)
rj 23
rj-Nhny 23
rj-hry 23
Rj-tjtw 82-83 (A60)
Rtvy 51 (T17, C30)
rnmi Annex (sp 71)
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
& the headdress 4, 5, 6, 81
Amen, aroma of 56
Amen, and eight Urgötter 111 n58
Amen-Re, as ram 61
Anedjty, god of Busiris 76
& 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, bJwof 27
Anubis, in Book of Gates 45
Anubis, and foreigners 128 n130
Anubis, as herald and psychopomp 53, 115
Anubis, as & majesty) 90, 93
Anubis, holding balance 53
Anubis, bry-sstJ 43, 49
Anubis, in btp-di-nsw formulae 110 n53,
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, try-mhJ 118 n99
Anubis jackals on Abydene stelae 80
Anubis, and judgment 116 n98
Anubis, bJ-gs. 53
Anubis, and Khentyamentiu 27
Anubis, and Ma & et 53, 116
Anubis, and Mischgestalten 114, 114 n80
Anubis, nb-try-mhJ 118 n100
Anubis, nb-ibw-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, sJm-it. 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 s' b 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-clgJr 118 n97
Anubis, and st3w 42
Anubis, and sJm 78
Anubis, sJm-n-hJw 118 n96
Anubis, tender of bier 75, 108
Anubis, tpy-diw. 79
Anubis, as wr-hkw 113
Anubis, hnty-st-nr 79-80
Anubis, h (weighter) 118 n101
Anubis and Thoth as 3Jhw 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
Athrabis, as boundary 60
Athrabis, and Osiris 75
Jh, and bj 105 n38, n39
Jh, of king 105
Jh, of tomb 105
Jh, process of becoming 104-105
Jh, Upawat giver of 105 n412
Jh, usefulness 125
Jhw, Anubis and Thoth as 105
Jhw, as equalizers of balance 109
Jhw, as stars 105 n34
Jhw, 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
bj, and leiheaddress 4, 5, 6, 81 105 n38,
n39
bj, empowerment of 78
bj of Osiris, cult 64
bj, union with Osiris 92
bj, transfiguration as 105
bj of Anubis 27
bj-w-imn't 109
bj of Heliopolis 45
bJw of Osiris and Re 62
bJw of Pe and Nekhen 109
Epistemology of Egyptian religion 125
Eternity, Egyptian conceptions of 125 n124
Ethnocentrism, lessons from Egypt 128
Faraffini, 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
Ganeša, and severed head 119 n102
Ganeša, cult, celebrant reconstituted 122 n114
Gate to netherworld, s3 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-Setawe
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
Hathshepsut, hierogamy of 56
Head, severed 119, 121, 122
Head, veiling of 47
Headresses 51, 81
see also under kury
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
Hermopolis, rebirth of Osiris 80
Hermanubis, as psychopomp 115 n85
Hezat, and iny-wt 84
Hieroglyphs, as symbols 98
Hike, nh-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 3h
Horus, adjusting balance 2
Horus, rescue from marshland 65
Horus, smsw-Hr 48
Horus, Sons of, astronomical aspects 52
Horus, Sons of, iconography 1, 63
Horus, Sons of, and 'killed one' 68
Horus, Sons of, as protectors 65
Horus, Sons of, as tribunal 52
Horus, Sons of, as 3h 109
Horus, ip-ibw 118 n95


Mysteries, sttwand 42, 49, 83

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

Narref, 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 `an 100

Number seven, in Upaniṣāds 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 šd-.rstrip 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, Busrirs 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 27, 122
Osiris, as judge 117
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
Proskynesis 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
Rekhdy, myrrh among 87-88
Riddles 97
Ro-Setawe 82-83
Ro-Setawe, entry to 74
Ro-Setawe, gate to 85
Ro-Setawe, stJw 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
seeing the gods 124
sekhem 77-78
Seshat, as ‘recording angel’ 115 n84
Seth, *f-phty 91
Seth, dispute with 44-45
Seth, roles of 45
Seven dogs of Khandoa/Malliana 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
Siris, and Satis 69
Sirus, rising of 69, 123
Sistrum, in iconography 3
Sistrum, slm as 78
Size/proportion in Egyptian art 114
stJw of Osiris 123
Srn, of king 105
Stundenwachen 105
tabu, breaking of 120 n104
Tantra, and kundalini 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 Jhw 105
Thoth, invocation to 1
Thoth, ip-Jhw 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, pr 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

dbh-hk & w, of Isis 113 n76
dbh-hk & w, of Seth 113 n76
dbh-hk & w, 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 X3 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 151 a 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
CT I 178 (spells 42-43) 113 n76
CT I 183 (spell 44) 113 n72
CT I 186 (spell 44) 113 n72
CT II 53 (spell 87) 103 n26
CT II 148 (spell 126) 103 n22
CT II 218 (spell 148) 113 n76
CT II 237 (spell 149) 103 n25
CT II 326 (spell 157) 45
CT II 383 (spell 160) 113 n76
CT III 84 (spell 185) 53, 63
CT III 142 (spell 205) 9(3), 9(4), Annex
CT III 360 (spell 255) 74
CT IV 81 (spell 312) 50
CT IV 131 (spell 317) 115 n86
CT IV 254 (spell 335a) Annex
CT IV 268 (spell 335a) 9(3), 9(4), 52, Annex
CT IV 276 (spell 335a) 62
CT V 165 (spell 399) Annex
CT V 168 (spell 400) 103 n27, Annex
CT V 174 (spell 401) 103 n27, Annex
CT spell 404 (Urck V 162 81
CT V 227 (spell 409) 103 n30
CT V 243 (spell 413) 78
CT VI 83 (spell 500) 103 n28
CT VI 322 (spell 691) Annex
CT VI 374 (spell ) 113 n76
CT VI 376 (spell 746 ) 55
CT VI 414 (spell ) 113 n76
CT VII 27 (spell 827) 103 n30
CT VII 94 (spell 885) 113 n76
CT VII 107 (spell 901) 103 n21
CT VII 112 (spell 908) 105 n37
CT VII 249 (spell 1027) 103 n20
CT VII 289 (spell 1040) 83
CT VII 340 (spell 1072) 83
CT VII 352 (spell 1080) 83
DMP VI 17 113 n76
Eloquent Peasant B2, 114 117 n92
Lebensmude 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**

7499(4)

1287 118 n95

1364 105 n36

1390 111 n59

1566 104 n33

1713 118 n97

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* I 1-36 101 n18

*Book of the Ladder* (Arabic) 101 n16

Dante *Vita nuova* XLII 126

Dante *Paradiso* XXV 55-57 97 ante

*Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* II 1.8 100 n13

Qur 510 sura 18 100 n14

*Rig Veda* I 1.164 98 n1

*Rig Veda* X 28.4 98 n1

*Sefer Yetzirah* 67 Toaff 100 n12
PLATES
PLATE I
Document A = pBM 10047, sheets 30, 29
PLATE II
Document T = pLeiden T 3, pls 19-18
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PLATE III
Document C = pBM 10472, pl 3
PLATE IV
Document N = pBM 10554
    a pl 75
    b pls 91-90
PLATE V
Document H = pHabana 1
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PLATE VI
Document L = pLouvre 3292, pl 2
PLATE VII

Document F = pCairo SR IV 982

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PLATE VIII
Document W = pCairo SR VII 10228
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PLATE IX
pBM 10047, sheet 9
The drawing shows the prenomen of Ramesses II, Wšr-m3t-Rc, as a rebus. The goddess Maet, crowned with the Sun-disk and feather, holds the wərt-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).